**1562-1753: Colonization**

The Founding of St. Augustine and the Massacre by Menendez

John A. Doyle

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The Founding of St. Augustine and the Massacre by Menendez

Title: The Founding of St. Augustine and the Massacre by Menendez

Author: John A. Doyle

Date: 1562-1565

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.3-13

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.3

In 1562 the French Huguenot party, headed by Coligny, made another attempt to secure themselves a refuge in the New World. Two ships set sail under the command of Jean Ribault, a brave and experienced seaman, destined to play a memorable and tragic part in the history of America. Ribault does not seem to have set out with any definite scheme of colonization, but rather, like Amidas and Barlow, to have contented himself. Menendez's expedition of 1565 followed the earlier Spanish expeditions by Ponce de Leon, Narvaez and De Soto. It sailed from Cadiz and comprized eleven ships. Twenty-three other vessels followed, the entire company numbering 2,646 persons. The aim of Menendez was to begin a permanent settlement in Florida. On arrival he found a colony of French Huguenots already in possession, having been there three years. A conflict was inevitable, and one which forms a most melancholy chapter in the early history of American colonization. Menendez hanged Huguenots, "not as Frenchmen, but as heretics," while Gourgues hanged Spaniards "not as Spaniards, but as traitors, robbers and murderers." After the conflicts closed the Spaniards maintained themselves in St. Augustine until 1586, when St. Augustine was completely destroyed by Sir Francis Drake. Two years later the Armada of Spain was overthrown in the English Channel, largely as the work of Drake.

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.4

After he had laid the foundations of a fort, called in honor of the king Charlefort, Ribault returned to France. He would seem to have been unfortunate in his choice alike of colonists and of a commander. The settlers lived on the charity of the Indians, sharing in their festivities, wandering from village to village and wholly doing away with any belief in their superior wisdom and power which might yet have possest their savage neighbors….

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.4

France was torn asunder by civil war, and had no leisure to think of an insignificant settlement beyond the Atlantic. No supplies came to the settlers, and they could not live forever on the bounty of their savage neighbors. The settlers decided to return home. To do this it was needful to build a bark with their own hands from the scanty resources which the wilderness offered. Whatever might have been the failings of the settlers, they certainly showed no lack of energy or of skill in concerting means for their departure. They felled the trees to make planks, moss served for calking, and their shirts andbedding for sails, while their Indian friends supplied cordage. When their bark was finished they set sail. Unluckily in their impatience to be gone, they did not reckon what supplies they would need. The wind, at first favorable, soon turned against them, and famine stared them in the face. Driven to the last resort of starving seamen, they cast lots for a victim, and the lot, by a strange chance, fell upon the very man whose punishment had been a chief count against De Pierria. Life was supported by this hideous relief, till they came in sight of the French coast. Even then their troubles were not over. An English privateer bore down upon them and captured them. The miseries of the prisoners seem, in some measure, to have touched their enemies. A few of the weakest were landed on French soil. The rest ended their wanderings in an English prison.

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.5

The needs of the abandonment of the colony did not reach France till long after the event. Before its arrival a fleet was sent out to the relief of the colony. Three ships were dispatched, the largest of a hundred and twenty tons, the least of sixty tons, under the command of Rene Laudonniere, a young Poitevin of good birth. On their outward voyage they touched at Teneriffe and Dominica, and found ample evidence at each place of the terror which the Spaniards had inspired among the natives. In June the French reached the American shore south of Port Royal. As before, their reception by the Indians was friendly. Some further exploration failed to discover a more suitable site than that which had first presented itself, and accordingly a wooden fort was soon builtwith a timber palisade and bastions of earthen work. Before long the newcomers found that their intercourse with the Indians was attended with unlooked-for difficulties. There were three tribes of importance, each under the command of a single chief, and all more or less hostile to the other. In the South the power of the chiefs seems to have been far more dreaded, and their influence over the national policy more authoritative than among the tribes of New England and Canada. Laudonniere, with questionable judgment, entangled himself in these Indian feuds, and entered into an offensive alliance with the first of these chiefs whom he encountered, Satouriona….

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.6

A new source of trouble, however, soon beset the unhappy colonists. Their quarrels had left them no time for tilling the soil, and they were wholly dependent on the Indians for food. The friendship of the savages soon proved but a precarious means of support. The dissensions in the French camp must have lowered the new-comers in the eyes of their savage neighbors. They would only part with their supplies on exorbitant terms. Laudonniere himself throughout would have adopted moderate and conciliatory measures, but his men at length became impatient and seized one of the principal Indian chiefs as a hostage for the good behavior of his countrymen. A skirmish ensued, in which the French were victorious. It was clear, however, that the settlement could not continue to depend on supplies extorted from the Indians at the point of the sword. The settlers felt that they were wholly forgotten by their friends in France, and theydecided, tho with heavy hearts, to forsake the country which they had suffered so much to win….

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.7

Just, however, as all the preparations for departure were made, the long-expected help came. Ribault arrived from France with a fleet of seven vessels containing three hundred settlers and ample supplies. This arrival was not a source of unmixed joy to Laudonniere. His factious followers had sent home calumnious reports about him, and Ribault brought out orders to send him home to stand his trial. Ribault himself seems to have been easily persuaded of the falsity of the charges, and prest Laudonniere to keep his command; but he, broken in spirit and sick in body, declined to resume office.

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.7

All disputes soon disappeared in the face of a vast common misfortune. Whatever internal symptoms of weakness might already display themselves in the vast fabric of the Spanish empire, its rulers showed as yet no lack of jealous watchfulness against any attempts to rival her successes in America. The attempts of Cartier and Roberval had been watched, and the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon had proposed to the King of Portugal to send out a joint armament to dispossess the intruders. The king deemed the danger too remote to be worth an expedition, and the Spaniards unwillingly acquiesced. An outpost of fur traders in the ice-bound wilderness of Canada might seem to bring little danger with it. But a settlement on the coast of Florida, within some eight days' sail of Havana, with a harbor whence privateers might waylay Spanish ships and even attack Spanish colonies, was a rival not to be endured. Moreover, the colonists were not only foreigners but Huguenots, and their heresy served at once as a pretext and stimulus to Spanish zeal.

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.8

The man to whose lot it fell to support the monopoly of Spain against French aggression was one who, if we may judge by his American career, needed only a wider field to rival the genius and the atrocities of Alva. Pedro de Menendez, when he had scarcely passed from boyhood, had fought both against the French and the Turks, and had visited America and returned laden with wealth. He then did good service in command of the Spanish fleet in the French war, and his prompt cooperation with the land force gave him a share in the glories of St. Quentin. A second voyage to America was even more profitable than the first, but his misconduct there brought him into conflict with the Council of the Indies, by whom he was imprisoned, and heavily fined. His previous services, however, had gained him the favor of the court. Part of his fine was remitted, and he was emboldened to ask not merely for pardon, but for promotion. He proposed to revive the attempt of De Soto and to extend the Spanish power over Florida. The expedition was to be at Menendez's own cost; he was to take out five hundred colonists, and in return to be made Governor of Florida for life and to enjoy certain rights for free trade with the West Indies and with the mother country….

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.9

The military genius of Menendez rose to the new demands made upon it. He at once decided on a bold and comprehensive scheme which would secure the whole coast from Port Royal to Chesapeake Bay, and would ultimately give Spain exclusive possession of the South Seas and the Newfoundland fisheries. The Spanish captain had a mind which could at once conceive a wide scheme and labor at the execution of details. So resolutely were operations carried on that by June, 1565, Menendez sailed from Cadiz with thirty-four vessels and four thousand six hundred men. After a stormy voyage he reached the mouth of the St. John's river. Ribault's party was about to land, and some of the smaller vessels had crossed the harbor, while others yet stood out to sea. Menendez hailed the latter, and after some parley told them that he had come there with orders from the king of Spain to kill all intruders that might be found on the coast. The French being too few to fight, fled. Menendez did not for the present attack the settlement, but sailed southward till he reached a harbor which he named St. Augustine. There the Spaniards disembarked and threw up a fortification destined to grow into the town of St. Augustine, the first permanent Spanish settlement north of the Gulf of Mexico. Various attempts had been made, and with various motives. The slave-hunter, the gold-seeker, the explorer had each tried his fortunes in Florida, and each failed. The difficulties which had baffled them all were at length overcome by the spirit of religious hatred.

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.10

Meanwhile a council of war was sitting at the French settlement, Charlefort. Ribault, contrary to the wishes of Laudonniere and the rest, decided to anticipate the Spaniards by an attack form the sea. A few sick men were left with Laudonniere to garrison the fort; all the rest went on board. Just as everything was ready for the attack, a gale sprang up, and the fleet of Ribault, instead of bearing down on St. Augustine, was straggling in confusion off an unknown and perilous coast. Menendez, relieved from immediate fear for his own settlement, determined on a bold stroke. Like Ribault, he bore down the opposition of a cautious majority, and with five hundred picked men marched overland through thirty miles of swamp and jungle against the French fort. Thus each commander was exposing his own settlement in order to menace his enemies.

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.10

In judging, however, of the relative prudence of the two plans, it must be remembered that an attack by land is far more under control, and far less liable to be disarranged by unforeseen chances than one by sea. At first it seemed as if each expedition was destined to the same fate. The weather was as unfavorable to the Spanish by land as to the French by sea. At one time a mutiny was threatened, but Menendez succeeded in inspiring his men with something of his own enthusiasm, and they persevered. Led by a French deserter, they approached the unprotected settlement. So stormy was the night that the sentinels had left the walls. The fort was stormed; Laudonniere and a few others escaped to the shore and were picked up by one of Ribault's vessels returning from its unsuccessful expedition. Therest, to the number of one hundred and forty, were slain in the attack or taken prisoners. The women and children were spared, the men were hung on trees with an inscription pinned to their breasts: "Not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans."

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.11

The fate of Ribault's party was equally wretched. All were shipwrecked, but most apparently succeeded in landing alive. Then began a scene of deliberate butchery, aggravated, if the French accounts may be believed, by the most shameless treachery. As the scattered bands of shipwrecked men wandered through the forest, seeking to return to Fort Caroline, they were mercilessly entrapped by friendly words, if not by explicit promises of safety. Some escaped to the Indians, a few were at last spared by the contemptuous mercy of the foes. Those of the survivors who profest themselves converts were pardoned, the rest were sent to the galleys. Ribault himself was among the murdered. If we may believe the story current in France, his head, sawn in four parts, was set up over the corners of the fort of St. Augustine, while a piece of his beard was sent as a trophy to the king of Spain….

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.11

Dominic de Gourgues had already known as a prisoner of war the horrors of the Spanish galleys. Whether he was a Huguenot is uncertain. Happily in France, as the history of that and all later ages proved, the religion of the Catholic did not necessarily deaden the feelings of the patriot. Seldom has there been a deed of more reckless daring than that which Dominic de Gourgues now undertook. With the proceeds of his patrimony he bought three small ships, mannedby eighty sailors and a hundred men-at-arms. He then obtained a commission as a slaver on the coast of Guinea, and in the summer of 1567 set sail. With these paltry resources he aimed at overthrowing a settlement which had already destroyed a force of twenty times his number, and which might have been strengthened in the interval….

Doyle, Founding of St. Augustine…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.12

Three days were spent in making ready, and then De Gourgues, with a hundred and sixty of his own men and his Indian allies, marched against the enemy. In spite of the hostility of the Indians the Spaniards seem to have taken no precaution against a sudden attack. Menendez himself had left the colony. The Spanish force was divided between three forts, and no proper precautions were taken for keeping up the communications between them. Each was successively seized, the garrison slain or made prisoners, and as each fort fell those in the next could only make vague guesses as to the extent of the danger. Even when divided into three the Spanish force outnumbered that of De Gourgues, and savages with bows and arrows would have counted for little against men with firearms and behind walls. But after the downfall of the first fort a panic seemed to seize the Spaniards, and the French achieved an almost bloodless victory. After the death of Ribault and his followers nothing could be looked for but merciless retaliation, and De Gourgues copied the severity, though not the perfidy, of his enemies. The very details of Menendez's act were imitated, and the trees on which the prisoners were hung bore the inscription "Not as Spaniards, but as traitors, robbers, and mur-derers." Five weeks later De Gourgues anchored under the walls of Rochelle, and that noble city, where civil and religious freedom found a home in their darkest hour, received him with the honor he deserved.

The Founding of St. Augustine

Title: The Founding of St. Augustine

Author: Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajalas

Date: 1565

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.30-39

Father Mendoza, who was chaplain of the expedition to the coast of Florida commanded by "the illustrious Captain-General Pedro Menendez de Aviles" in 1565, writes of events from first hand knowledge, when he describes the settlement of the oldest town in the United States—St. Augustine.

Pedro Menendez also told this story in despatches to King Philip II, still preserved in the Royal Archives. But his chaplain's account is the only eye-witness narrative of the founding of St. Augustine available in English.

The destruction of the French Huguenot Colony, described in the portion of Mendoza's narrative given here, aroused so little interest on the part of the French Government authorities that they made no effort to avenge it. Had the Huguenot Colony been supported and protected a French settlement might have been built up here half a century before the English began colonization in the new country.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.30

YOUR LORDSHIP will remember that, when the fleet was in preparation in Spain, I went to see the captain-general at the harbor of St. Mary, and, as I told you, he showed me a letter from his Royal Highness Philip II., signed with his name. In this letter his Majesty told him that on May 20 some ships had left France carrying seven hundred men and two hundred women. As I have stated, we learned at St. John's of Porto Rico that our despatch-boat had been captured. This fact, joined to the reflection that our fleet was much injured by the storm, and that of the ten vessels which left Cadiz only four remained, besides the one bought at the last port to transport the horses and troops—all this made it evident to our captain-general, a man of arms, that the French would likely be waiting for him near the harbors, a little farther on; that is, off Monte Christi, Havana, and the Cape of Las Canas, which lie on the same side, and precisely on our route to Florida. This was all the more to be expected since the French had come in possession of our plan to unite our forces at Havana. Not wishing, however, to encounter the French, having now lost our ships, and having but feeble means of defense, the general decided to take a northerly course, and pursue a new route, through the Bahama Channel, leaving the enemy to the windward. When I suggested this route to the admiral and the pilot, they said it was important and necessary to abandon the usual route, by way of Havana.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.31–p.32

Following this dangerous navigation, the Lord permitted the admiral to arrive safely in port on Sunday, the 20th of August. We saw two islands, called the Bahama Islands. The shoals which lie between them are so extensive that the billows are felt far out at sea. The general gave orders to take soundings. The ship purchased at Porto Rico got aground that day in two and a half fathoms of water. At first, we feared she might stay there; but she soon got off and came to us. Our galley, one of the best ships afloat, found herself all day in the same position, when suddenly her keel struck three times violently against the bottom. The sailors gave themselves up for lost, and the water commenced to pour into her hold. But, as we had a mission to fulfill for Jesus Christ and His blessed mother, two heavy waves, which struck her abaft, set her afloat again, and soon after we found her in deep water, and at midnight we entered the Bahama Channel.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.32

ON Saturday, the 25th, the captain-general (Menendez) came to visit our vessel and get the ordnance for disembarkment at Florida. This ordnance consisted of two rampart pieces, of two sorts of culverins, of very small caliber, powder and balls; and he also took two soldiers to take care of the pieces. Having armed his vessel, he stopped and made us an address, in which he instructed us what we had to do on arrival at the place where the French were anchored. I will not dwell on this subject, on which there was a good deal said for and against, although the opinion of the general finally prevailed. There were two thousand (hundred) Frenchmen in the seaport into which we were to force an entrance. I made some opposition to the plans, and begged the general to consider that he had the care of a thousand souls, for which he must give a good account….

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.32–p.33

On Tuesday, the 4th, the fleet left the place of which I have been speaking—and we took a northerly course, keeping all the time close to the coast. On Wednesday, the 5th, two hours before sunset, we saw four French ships at the mouth of a river. When we were two leagues from them, the first galley joined the rest of the fleet, which was composed of four other vessels. The general concerted a plan with the captains and pilots, and ordered the flagship, the San Pelayo, and a chaloupe to attack the French flagship, the Trinity, while the first galley and another chaloupe would attack the French galley, both of which vessels were very large and powerful. All the ships of our fleet put themselves in good position; the troops were in the best of spirits, and full of confidence in the great talents of the captain-general. They followed the galley; but, as our general is a very clever and artful officer, he did not fire, nor seek to make any attack on the enemy. He went straight to the French galley, and cast anchor about eight paces from her. The other vessels went to the windward, and very near the enemy. During the maneuvers, which lasted until about two hours after sunset, not a word was said on either side. Never in my life have I known such stillness. Our general inquired of the French galley, which was the vessel nearest his.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.33

"Whence does this fleet come?"

They answered, "From France."

"What are you doing here?" said the Adelantado. "This is the territory of King Philip II. I order you to leave directly; for I neither know who you are nor what you want here."

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.33

The French commander then replied, "I am bringing soldiers and supplies to the fort of the King of France."

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.33–p.34

He then asked the name of the general of our fleet, and was told, "Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Captain-general of the King of Spain, who have come to hang all Lutherans I find here."

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.34

Our general then asked him the name of his commander, and he replied, "Lord Gasto."

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.34

While this parleying was going on, a long-boat was sent from the galley to the flagship. The person charged with this errand managed to do it so secretly that we could not hear what was said; but we understood the reply of the French to be, "I am the admiral," which made us think he wished to surrender, as they were in so small a force.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.34

Scarcely had the French made this reply, when they slipped their cables, spread their sails, and passed through our midst. Our admiral, seeing this, followed the French commander, and called upon him to lower his sails, in the name of King Philip, to which he received an impertinent answer. Immediately our admiral gave an order to discharge a small culverin, the ball from which struck the vessel amidships, and I thought she was going to founder. We gave chase, and some time after he again called on them to lower their sails.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.34

"I would sooner die first than surrender!" replied the French commander.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.34–p.35

The order was given to fire a second shot, which carried off five or six men; but, as these miserable devils are very good sailors, they maneuvered so well that we could not take one of them; and, notwithstanding all the guns we fired at them, we did not sink one of their ships. We only got possession of one of their large boats, which was of great service to us afterwards. During the whole night our flagship (the San Pelayo) and the galley chased the French flagship (Trinity) and galley….

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.35

The next morning, being fully persuaded that the storm had made a wreck of our galley, or that, at least, she had been driven a hundred leagues out to sea, we decided that so soon as daylight came we would weigh anchor, and withdraw in good order, to a river (Seloy) which was below the French colony, and there disembark, and construct a fort, which we would defend until assistance came to us….

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.35

OUR fort is at a distance of about fifteen leagues from that of the enemy (Fort Caroline). The energy and talents of those two brave captains, joined to the efforts of their brave soldiers, who had no tools with which to work the earth, accomplished the construction of this fortress of defense; and, when the general disembarked, he was quite surprised with what had been done.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.35–p.36

On Saturday, the 8th, the general landed with many banners spread, to the sound of trumpets and salutes of artillery. As I had gone ashore the evening before, I took a cross and went to meet him, singing the hymn Te Deum laudamus. The general marched up to the cross, followed by all who accompanied him, and there they all kneeled and embraced the cross. A large number of Indians watched these proceedings and imitated all they saw done. The same day the general took formal possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, and all the captains took the oath of allegiance to him, as their general and governor of the country….

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.36

Our general was very bold in all military matters, and a great enemy of the French. He immediately assembled his captains and planned an expedition to attack the French settlement and fort on the river with five hundred men; and, in spite of the opinion of a majority of them, and of my judgment and of another priest, he ordered his plan to be carried out. Accordingly, on Monday, September 17, he set out with five hundred men, well provided with fire-arms and pikes, each soldier carrying with him a sack of bread and supply of wine for the journey. They also took with them two Indian chiefs, who were the implacable enemies of the French, to serve as guides….

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.36

They marched the whole distance until Tuesday evening, the 18th of September, 1565, when they arrived within a quarter of a league of the enemy's fort (Caroline), where they remained all night up to their waists in water. When daylight came, Captains Lopez, Patino, and Martin Ochoa had already been to examine the fort, but, when they went to attack the fort, a greater part of the soldiers were so confused they scarcely knew what they were about.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.36–p.37

On Thursday morning our good captain-general, accompanied by his son-in-law, Don Pedro de Valdes and Captain Patino, went to inspect the fort. He showed so much vivacity that he did not seem to have suffered by any of the hardships to which he had been exposed, and, seeing him march off so brisk, the others took courage, and without exception followed his example. It appears the enemy did not perceive their approach until the very moment of the attack, as it was very early in the morning and had rained in torrents. The greater part of the soldiers of the fort were still in bed. Some arose in their shirts, and others, quite naked, begged for quarter; but, in spite of that, more than one hundred and forty were killed.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.37

A great Lutheran cosmographer and magician was found among the dead. The rest, numbering about three hundred, scaled the walls, and either took refuge in the forest or on their ships floating in the river, laden with treasures, so that in an hour's time the fort was in our possession, without our having lost a single man, or even had one wounded.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.37

The taking of this fort gained us many valuable objects, namely, two hundred pikes, a hundred and twenty helmets, a quantity of arquebuses and shields, a quantity of clothing, linen, fine cloths, two hundred tons of flour, a good many barrels of biscuit, two hundred bushels of wheat, three horses, four asses, and two she-asses, hogs, tallow, books, furnace, flour-mill, and many other things of little value. But the greatest advantage of this victory is certainly the triumph which our Lord has granted us, and which will be the means of the Holy Gospel being introduced into this country, a thing necessary to prevent the loss of many souls….

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.38

When we had reached the sea, we went about three leagues along the coast in search of our comrades. It was about ten o'clock at night when we met them, and there was a mutual rejoicing at having found each other. Not far off we saw the camp fires of our enemies, and our general ordered two of our soldiers to go and reconnoiter them, concealing themselves in the bushes, and to observe well the ground where they were encamped, so as to know what could be done. About two o'clock the men returned, saying that the enemy was on the other side of the river, and that we could not get at them. Immediately the general ordered two soldiers and four sailors to return to where we had left the boats, and bring them down the river, so that we might pass over to where the enemy was. Then he marched his troops forward to the river and we saw a great many of the enemy go down to the river to get shell-fish for food.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.38

Our general, who was observing all that, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, said to us,

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.38

"I intend to change these clothes for those of a sailor, and take a Frenchman with me (one of those whom we had brought with us from Spain), and we will go and talk with these Frenchmen. Perhaps they are without supplies, and would be glad to surrender without fighting."

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.38–p.39

He had scarcely finished speaking before he put his plan into execution. As soon as he had called to them, one of them swam towards and spoke to him; told him of their having been shipwrecked and the distress they were in; that they had not eaten bread for eight or ten days; and, what is more, stated that all, or at least the greater part of them. Immediately the general sent him back to his countrymen, to say they must surrender, and give up their arms, or he would put them all to death. A French gentleman, who was a sergeant, brought back the reply that they would surrender on condition their lives should be spared.

Grajalas, Founding of St. Augustine, America, Vol.2, p.39

After having parleyed a long time, our brave captain-general answered "that he would make no promises, that they must surrender unconditionally, and lay down their arms, because, if he spared their lives, he wanted them to be grateful for it, and, if they were put to death, that there should be no cause for complaint." Seeing that there was nothing else left for them to do, the sergeant returned to the camp; and soon after he brought all their arms and flags, and gave them up to the general, and surrendered unconditionally. Finding they were all Lutherans, the captain-general ordered them all to be put to death; but, as I was a priest, and had bowels of mercy, I begged him to grant me the favor of sparing those whom we might find to be Christians. He granted it; and I made investigations, and found ten or twelve of the men Roman Catholics, whom we brought back. All the others were executed, because they were Lutherans and enemies of our Holy Catholic faith. All this took place on Saturday (St. Michael's Day), September 29, 1565….

The Huguenots in Florida

Title: The Huguenots in Florida

Author: Francis Parkman

Date: 1562

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.11-29

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.11

IN THE year 1562 a cloud of black and deadly portent was thickening over France. Surely and swiftly she glided towards the abyss of the religious wars. None could pierce the future, perhaps none dared to contemplate it: the wild rage of fanaticism and hate, friend grappling with friend, brother with brother, father with son; altars profaned, hearthstones made desolate, the robes of Justice herself bedrenched with murder. In the gloom without lay Spain, imminent and terrible. As on the hill by the field of Dreux, her veteran bands of pikemen, dark masses of organized ferocity, stood biding their time while the battle surged below, and then swept downward to the slaughter,—so did Spain watch and wait to trample and crush the hope of humanity.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.11–p.12

In these days of fear, a second Huguenot colony sailed for the New World. The calm, stern man who represented and led the Protestantism of France felt to his inmost heart the peril of the time. He would fain build up a city of refuge for the persecuted sect. Yet Gaspar de Coligny, too high in power and rank to be openly assailed, was forced to act with caution. He must act, too, in the name of the Crown, and in virtue of his office of Admiral of France. A noble man and a soldier,—for the Admiral of France was no seaman,—he shared the ideas and habits of his class; nor is there reason to believe him to have been in advance of his time in a knowledge of the principles of successful colonization. His scheme promised a military colony, not a free commonwealth. The Huguenot party was already a political as well as a religious party. At its foundation lay the religious element, represented by Geneva, the martyrs, and the devoted fugitives who sang the psalms of Marot among rocks and caverns. Joined to these were numbers on whom the faith sat lightly, whose hope was in commotion and change.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.12

An excellent seaman and stanch Protestant, Jean Ribaut of Dieppe, commanded the expedition. Under him, besides sailors, were a band of veteran soldiers, and a few young nobles. Embarked in two of those antiquated craft whose high poops and tub-like proportions are preserved in the old engravings of De Bry, they sailed from Havre on the eighteenth of February, 1562. They crossed the Atlantic, and on the thirtieth of April, in the latitude of twenty-nine and a half degrees, saw the long, low line where the wilderness of waves met the wilderness of woods. It was the coast of Florida….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.12–p.13

On the next morning, the first of May, they found themselves off the mouth of a great river. Riding at anchor on a sunny sea, they lowered their boats, crossed the bar that obstructed the entrance, and floated on a basin of deep and sheltered water, "boiling and roaring," says Ribaut, "through the multitude of all kind of fish." Indians were running along the beach, and out upon the sandbars, beckoning them to land. They pushed their boats ashore and disembarked,—sailors, soldiers, and eager young nobles….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.13

They named the river the River of May. It is now the St. John's….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.13

Preliminary exploration, not immediate settlement, had been the object of the voyage; but all was still rose-color in the eyes of the voyagers, and many of their number would gladly linger in the New Canaan. Ribaut was more than willing to humor them. He mustered his company on deck, and made them a harangue. He appealed to their courage and their patriotism, told them how, from a mean origin, men rise by enterprise and daring to fame and fortune, and demanded who among them would stay behind and hold Port Royal for the King. The greater part came forward, and "with such a good will and jolly courage," writes the commander, "as we had much to do to stay their importunity." Thirty were chosen, and Albert de Pierria was named to command them.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.13–p.14

A fort was begun on a small stream called the Chenonceau, probably Archer's Creek, about six miles from the site of Beaufort. They named it Charlesfort, in honor of the unhappy son of Catherine de Medicis, Charles the Ninth, the future hero of St. Bartholomew. Ammunition and stores were sent on shore, and on the eleventh of June, with his diminished company, Ribaut again embarked and spread his sails for France….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.14

Albert, a rude soldier, with a thousand leagues of ocean betwixt him and responsibility, grew harsh, domineering, and violent beyond endurance. None could question or oppose him without peril of death. He hanged with his own hands a drummer who had fallen under his displeasure, and banished a soldier, named La Chere, to a solitary island, three leagues from the fort, where he left him to starve. For a time his comrades chafed in smothered fury. The crisis came at length. A few of the fiercer spirits leagued together, assailed their tyrant, murdered him, delivered the famished soldier, and called to the command one Nicolas Barre, a man of merit. Barre took the command, and thenceforth there was peace.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.14

Peace, such as it was, with famine, homesickness, and disgust…. But how to escape? A continent was their solitary prison, and the pitiless Atlantic shut them in. Not one of them knew how to build a ship; but Ribaut had left them a forge, with tools and iron, and strong desire supplied the place of skill. Trees were hewn down and the work begun. Had they put forth to maintain themselves at Port Royal the energy and resource which they exerted to escape from it, they might have laid the corner-stone of a solid colony….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.14–p.15

At length a brigantine worthy of Robinson Crusoe floated on the waters of the Chenonceau. They laid in what provision they could, gave all that remained of their goods to the Indians, embarked, descended the river, and put to sea. A fair wind filled their patchwork sails and bore them from the hated coast. Day after day they held their course, till at length the breeze died away and a breathless calm fell on the waters. Florida was far behind; France farther yet before. Floating idly on the glassy waste, the craft lay motionless. Their supplies gave out. Twelve kernels of maize a day were each man's portion; then the maize failed, and they ate their shoes and leather jerkins. The water-barrels were drained, and they tried to slake their thirst with brine. Several died, and the rest, giddy with exhaustion and crazed with thirst, were forced to ceaseless labor, bailing out the water that gushed through every seam. Head-winds set in, increasing to a gale, and the wretched brigantine, with sails close-reefed, tossed among the savage billows at the mercy of the storm. A heavy sea rolled down upon her, and burst the bulwarks on the windward side. The surges broke over her, and, clinging with desperate gripe to spars and cordage, the drenched voyagers gave up all for lost. At length she righted. The gale subsided, the wind changed, and the crazy, water-logged vessel again bore slowly towards France.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.15–p.16

Gnawed with famine, they counted the leagues of barren ocean that still stretched before, and gazed on each other with haggard wolfish eyes, till a whisper passed from man to man that one, by his death, might ransom all the rest. The lot was cast, and it fell on La Chere, the same wretched man whom Albert had doomed to starvation on a lonely island. They killed him, and with ravenous avidity portioned out his flesh. The hideous repast sustained them till the land rose in sight, when, it is said, in a delirium of joy, they could no longer steer their vessel, but let her drift at the will of the tide. A small English bark bore down upon them, took them all on board, and, after landing the feeblest, carried the rest prisoners to Queen Elizabeth.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.16

ON THE twenty-fifth of June, 1564, a French squadron anchored a second time off the mouth of the River of May. There were three vessels, the smallest of sixty tons, the largest of one hundred and twenty, all crowded with men. Rene de Laudonniere held command. He was of a noble race of Poitou, attached to the house of Chatillon, of which Coligny was the head; pious, we are told, and an excellent marine officer….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.16–p.17

The intervening year since Ribaut's voyage had been a dark year for France. From the peaceful solitude of the River of May, that voyager returned to a land reeking with slaughter. But the carnival of bigotry and hate had found a pause…. The king and the queenmother, helpless amid the storm of factions which threatened their destruction, smiled now on Conde, now on Guise,—gave ear to the Cardinal of Lorraine, or listened in secret to the emissaries of Theodore Beza. Coligny was again strong at Court. He used his opportunity, and solicited with success the means of renewing his enterprise of colonization.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.17

Men were mustered for the work. In name, at least, they were all Huguenots; yet now, as before, the staple of the projected colony was unsound, soldiers, paid out of the royal treasury, hired artisans and tradesmen, with a swarm of volunteers from the young Huguenot nobles, whose restless swords had rusted in their scabbards since the peace. The foundation-stone was forgotten. There were no tillers of the soil. Such, indeed, were rare among the Huguenots; for the dull peasants who guided the plow clung with blind tenacity to the ancient faith. Adventurous gentlemen, reckless soldiers, discontented tradesmen, all keen for novelty and heated with dreams of wealth,—these were they who would build for their country and their religion an empire beyond the sea.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.17

On Thursday, the twenty-second of June, Laudonniere saw the low coast-line of Florida, and entered the harbor of St. Augustine, which he named the River of Dolphins, "because that at mine arrival I saw there a great number of Dolphins which were playing in the mouth thereof." Then he bore northward, following the coast till, on the twenty-fifth, he reached the mouth of the St. John's or River of May. The vessels anchored, the boats were lowered, and he landed with his principal followers on the south shore, near the present village of Mayport….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.18

Man and nature alike seemed to mark the borders of the River of May as the site of the new colony; for here, around the Indian towns, the harvest of maize, beans, and pumpkins promised abundant food, while the river opened a ready way to the mines of gold and silver and the stores of barbaric wealth which glittered before the dreaming vision of the colonists. Yet, the better to satisfy himself and his men, Laudonniere weighed anchor, and sailed for a time along the neighboring coasts. Returning, confirmed in his first impression, he set out with a party of officers and soldiers to explore the borders of the chosen stream. The day was hot. The sun beat fiercely on the woolen caps and heavy doublets of the men, till at length they gained the shade of one of those deep forests of pine where the dead, hot air is thick with resinous odors, and the earth, carpeted with fallen leaves, gives no sound beneath the foot. Yet, in the stillness, deer leaped up on all sides as they moved along. Then they emerged into sunlight. A meadow was before them, a running brook, and a wall of encircling forests. The men called it the Vale of Laudonniere. The afternoon was spent, and the sun was near its setting, when they reached the bank of the river. They strewed the ground with boughs and leaves, and, stretched on that sylvan couch, slept the sleep of travel-worn and weary men.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.18–p.19

They were roused at daybreak by sound of trumpet, and after singing a psalm they set themselves to their task. It was the building of a fort, and the spot they chose was a furlong or more above St. John's Bluff, where close to the water was a wide, flat knoll, raised a few feet above the marsh and the river. Boats came up the stream with laborers, tents, provisions, cannon, and tools. The engineers marked out the work in the form of a triangle; and, from the noble volunteer to the meanest artisan, all lent a hand to complete it. On the river side the defenses were a palisade of timber. On the two other sides were a ditch, and a rampart of fascines, earth, and sods…. In honor of Charles the Ninth the fort was named Fort Caroline….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.19

IN the little world of Fort Caroline, a miniature France, cliques and parties, conspiracy and sedition, were fast stirring into life. Hopes had been dashed, and wild expectations had come to naught. The adventurers had found, not conquest and gold, but a dull exile in a petty fort by a hot and sickly river, with hard labor, bad fare, prospective famine, and nothing to break the weary sameness but some passing canoe or floating alligator. Gathered in knots, they nursed each other's wrath, and inveighed against the commandant….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.19–p.20

The growing discontent was brought to a partial head by one La Roquette, who gave out that, high up the river, he had discovered by magic a mine of gold and silver, which would give each of them a share of ten thousand crowns, besides fifteen hundred thousand for the King. But for Laudonniere, he said, their fortunes would all be made….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.20

Two of the ships meanwhile returned to France,—the third, the "Breton," remaining at anchor opposite the fort. The malcontents took the opportunity to send home charges against Laudonniere of peculation, favoritism, and tyranny.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.20

On the fourth of September, Captain Bourdet, apparently a private adventurer, had arrived from France with a small vessel. When he returned, about the tenth of November, Laudonniere persuaded him to carry home seven or eight of the malcontent soldiers. Bourdet left some of his sailors in their place. The exchange proved most disastrous. These pirates joined with others whom they had won over, stole Laudonniere's two pinnaces, and set forth on a plundering excursion to the West Indies. They took a small Spanish vessel off the coast of Cuba, but were soon compelled by famine to put into Havana and give themselves up. Here, to make their peace with the authorities, they told all they knew of the position and purposes of their countrymen at Fort Caroline, and thus was forged the thunderbolt soon to be hurled against the wretched little colony….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.20–p.21

A severe illness again seized Laudonniere, and confined him to his bed. Improving their advantage, the malcontents gained over nearly all the best soldiers in the fort. The ringleader was one Fourneaux, a man of good birth, but whom Le Moyne calls an avaricious hypocrite. He drew up a paper, to which sixty-six names were signed…. It was late in the night. Fourneaux, with twenty men armed to the teeth, knocked fiercely at the commandant's door. Forcing an entrance, they wounded a gentleman who opposed them, and crowded around the sick man's bed. Fourneaux, armed with steel cap and cuirass, held his arquebuse to Laudonniere's throat, and demanded leave to go on a cruise among the Spanish islands. The latter kept his presence of mind, and remonstrated with some firmness; on which, with oaths and menaces, they dragged him from his bed, put him in fetters, carried him out to the gate of the fort, placed him in a boat, and rowed him to the ship anchored in the river….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.21

Fourneaux drew up a commission for his meditated West India cruise, which he required Laudonniere to sign. The sick commandant, imprisoned in the ship with one attendant, at first refused; but receiving a message from the mutineers, that, if he did not comply, they would come on board and cut his throat, he at length yielded.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.21

The buccaneers now bestirred themselves to finish the two small vessels on which the carpenters had been for some time at work. In a fortnight they were ready for sea, armed and provided with the King's cannon, munitions, and stores. Trenchant, an excellent pilot, was forced to join the party….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.21–p.22

The colony was wofully depleted; but the bad blood had been drawn off, and thenceforth all internal danger was at an end. In finishing the fort, in building two new vessels to replace those of which they had been robbed, and in various intercourse with the tribes far and near, the weeks passed until the twenty-fifth of March, when an Indian came in with the tidings that a vessel was hovering off the coast. Laudonniere sent to reconnoiter. The stranger lay anchored at the mouth of the river. She was a Spanish brigantine, manned by the returning mutineers, starving, downcast, and anxious to make terms. Yet, as their posture seemed not wholly pacific, Laudonniere sent down La Caille, with thirty soldiers concealed at the bottom of his little vessel. Seeing only two or three on deck, the pirates allowed her to come alongside; when, to their amazement, they were boarded and taken before they could snatch their arms. Discomfited, woebegone, and drunk, they were landed under a guard….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.22

A court-martial was called near Fort Caroline, and all were found guilty. Fourneaux and three others were sentenced to be hanged.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.22

"Comrades," said one of the condemned, appealing to the soldiers, "will you stand by and see us butchered?"

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.22

"These," retorted Laudonniere, "are no comrades of mutineers and rebels."

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.22

At the request of his followers, however, he commuted the sentence to shooting….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.23–p.24

AND now, in ample measure, the French began to reap the harvest of their folly. Conquest, gold, and military occupation had alone been their aims. Not a rood of ground had been stirred with the spade. Their stores were consumed, and the expected supplies had not come. The Indians, too, were hostile. Satouriona hated them as allies of his enemies; and his tribesmen, robbed and maltreated by the lawless soldiers, exulted in their miseries. Yet in these, their dark and subtle neighbors, was their only hope.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.23–p.24

May-day came, the third anniversary of the day when Ribaut and his companions, full of delighted anticipation, had first explored the flowery borders of the St. John's. The contrast was deplorable; for within the precinct of Fort Caroline a homesick, squalid band, dejected and worn, dragged their shrunken limbs about the sun-scorched area, or lay stretched in listless wretchedness under the shade of the barracks. Some were digging roots in the forest, or gathering a kind of sorrel upon the meadows. If they had had any skill in hunting and fishing, the river and the woods would have supplied their needs; but in this point, as in others, they were lamentably unfit for the work they had taken in hand. "Our misery," says Laudonniere, was so great that one was found that gathered up all the fish-bones that he could find, which he dried and beat into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among us, for our bones eftsoones began to cleave so near unto the skin, that the most part of the soldiers had their skins pierced through with them in many parts of their bodies." Yet, giddy with weakness, they dragged themselves in turn to the top of St. John's Bluff, straining their eyes across the sea to descry the anxiously expected sail.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.24

Had Coligny left them to perish? or had some new tempest of calamity, let loose upon France, drowned the memory of their exile? In vain the watchman on the hill surveyed the solitude of waters. A deep dejection fell upon them.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.24

The Indians had left the neighborhood, but from time to time brought in meager supplies of fish, which they sold to the famished soldiers at exorbitant prices. Lest they should pay the penalty of their extortion, they would not enter the fort, but lay in their canoes in the river, beyond gunshot, waiting for their customers to come out to them. "Oftentimes," says Laudonniere, 'our poor soldiers were constrained to give away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.24

Famine and desperation now reigned at Fort Caroline. The Indians had killed two of the carpenters; hence long delay in the finishing of the new ship. They would not wait, but resolved to put to sea in the Breton and the brigantine. The problem was to find food for the voyage; for now, in their extremity, they roasted and ate snakes, a delicacy in which the neighborhood abounded.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.25

On the third of August, Laudonniere, perturbed and oppressed, was walking on the hill, when, looking seaward, he saw a sight that sent a thrill through his exhausted frame. A great ship was standing towards the river's mouth. Then another came in sight, and another, and another. He despatched a messenger with the tidings to the fort below. The languid forms of his sick and despairing men rose and danced for joy, and voices shrill with weakness joined in wild laughter and acclamation, in so much, he says, "that one would have thought them to be out of their wits."

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.25

A doubt soon mingled with their joy. Who were the strangers? Were they the friends so long hoped for in vain? or were they Spaniards, their dreaded enemies? They were neither. The foremost ship was a stately one, of seven hundred tons, a great burden at that day. She was named the Jesus; and with her were three smaller vessels, the Solomon, the Tiger, and the Swallow. Their commander was "a right worshipful and valiant knight,"—for so the record styles him,—a pious man and a prudent, to judge him by the orders he gave his crew when, ten months before, he sailed out of Plymouth: "Serve God daily, love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keep good company." Nor were the crew unworthy the graces of their chief; for the devout chronicler of the voyage ascribes their deliverance from the perils of the sea to "the Almighty God, who never suffereth his Elect to perish."

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.26

Who then were they, this chosen band, serenely conscious of a special Providential care? They were the pioneers of that detested traffic destined to inoculate with its infection nations yet unborn, the parent of discord and death, filling half a continent with the tramp of armies and the clash of fratricidal swords. Their chief was Sir John Hawkins, father of the English slave-trade.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.26

He had been to the coast of Guinea, where he bought and kidnaped a cargo of slaves. These he had sold to the jealous Spaniards of Hispaniola, forcing them, with sword, matchlock, and culverin, to grant him free trade, and then to sign testimonials that he had borne himself as become a peaceful merchant. Prospering greatly by this summary commerce, but distressed by the want of water, he had put into the River of May to obtain a supply….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.26–p.27

Hawkins came up the river in a pinnace, and landed at Fort Caroline, accompanied, says Laudonniere, "with gentlemen honorably appareled, yet unarmed." Between the Huguenots and the English Puritans there was a double tie of sympathy. Both hated priests, and both hated Spaniards. Wakening from their apathetic misery, the starveling garrison hailed him as a deliverer. Yet Hawkins secretly rejoiced when he learned their purpose to abandon Florida; for although, not to tempt his cupidity, they hid from him the secret of their Appalachian gold mine, he coveted for his royal mistress the possession of this rich domain. He shook his head, however, when he saw the vessels in which they proposed to embark, and offered them all a free passage to France in his own ships. This, from obvious motives of honor and prudence, Laudonniere declined, upon which Hawkins offered to lend or sell to him one of his smaller vessels.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.27

Laudonniere hesitated, and hereupon arose a great clamor. A mob of soldiers and artisans beset his chamber, threatening loudly to desert him, and take passage with Hawkins, unless the offer were accepted. The commandant accordingly resolved to buy the vessel. The generous slaver, whose reputed avarice nowhere appears in the transaction, desired him to set his own price; and, in place of money, took the cannon of the fort, with other articles now useless to their late owners. He sent them, too, a gift of wine and biscuit, and supplied them with provisions for the voyage, receiving in payment Laudonniere's note, "for which," adds the later, "until this present I am indebted to him." With a friendly leave-taking, he returned to his ships and stood out to sea, leaving golden opinions among the inmates of Fort Caroline.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.27

Before the English top-sails had sunk beneath the horizon, the colonists bestirred themselves to depart. In a few days their preparations were made. They waited only for a fair wind. It was long in coming, and meanwhile their troubled fortunes assumed a new phase.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.27–p.28

On the twenty-eighth of August, the two captains Vasseur and Verdier came in with tidings of an approaching squadron. Again the fort was wild with excitement. Friends or foes, French or Spaniards, succor or death,—betwixt these were their hopes and fears divided. On the following morning, they saw seven barges rowing up the river, bristling with weapons, and crowded with men in armor…. Sentries on the bluff challenged, and received no answer. One of them fired at the advancing boats, and still there was no response. Laudonniere was almost defenseless. He had given his heavier cannon to Hawkins, and only two field-pieces were left. They were leveled at the foremost boats, and the word to fire was about to be given, when a voice from among the strangers called out that they were French, commanded by Jean Ribaut.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.28

At the eleventh hour, the long looked for succors were come. Ribaut had been commissioned to sail with seven ships for Florida. A disorderly concourse of disbanded soldiers, mixed with artisans and their families, and young nobles weary of a two years peace, were mustered at the port of Dieppe, and embarked, to the number of three hundred men, bearing with them all things thought necessary to a prosperous colony….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.28–p.29

Ribaut was present, conspicuous by his long beard, an astonishment to the Indians; and here, too, were officers, old friends of Laudonniere. Why, then, had they approached in the attitude of enemies? The mystery was soon explained; for they expressed to the commandant their pleasure at finding that the charges made against him had proved false. He begged to know more; on which Ribaut, taking him aside, told him that the returning ships had brought home letters filled with accusations of arrogance, tyranny, cruelty, and a purpose of establishing an independent command,—accusations which he now saw to be unfounded, but which had been the occasion of his unusual and startling precaution. He gave him, too, a letter from Admiral Coligny. In brief but courteous terms, it required him to resign his command, and requested his return to France to clear his name from the imputations cast upon it. Ribaut warmly urged him to remain; but Laudonniere declined his friendly proposals.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.29

Worn in body and mind, mortified and wounded, he soon fell ill again….

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.29

Stores were landed, tents were pitched, women and children were sent on shore, feathered Indians mingled in the throng, and the borders of the River of May swarmed with busy life. "But, lo, how oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue us, even then when we think to be at rest!" exclaims the unhappy Laudonniere. Amidst the light and cheer of renovated hope, a cloud of blackest omen was gathering in the east.

Parkman, Huguenots in Florida, America, Vol.2, p.29

At half-past eleven on the night of Tuesday, September fourth, the crew of Ribaut's flag-ship anchored on the still sea outside the bar, saw a huge hulk, grim with the throats of cannon, drifting towards them through the gloom; and from its stern rolled on the sluggish air the portentous banner of Spain.

Dominique de Gourgues

Title: Dominique de Gourgues

Author: Francis Parkman

Date: 1567

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.40-46

The history of chivalrous France "may be searched in vain," in the words of Parkman, "for a deed of more romantic daring than the vengeance of Dominique de Gourgues."

After Menendez had butchered the French Huguenots in Florida, the relatives of these slain colonists petitioned their King for redress, "but had the honor of the nation rested in the keeping of its King, the blood of these hundreds of murdered Frenchmen would have cried from the ground in vain." But it was not to be so. Injured humanity found an avenger, and outraged France a champion, in Dominique de Gourgues.

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.40–p.41

THERE was a gentleman of Mont-de-Marsan, Dominique de Gourgues, a soldier of ancient birth and high renown. It is not certain that he was a Huguenot. The Spanish annalist calls him a "terrible heretic"; but the French Jesuit, Charlevoix, anxious that the faithful should share the glory of his exploits, affirms that, like his ancestors before him, he was a good Catholic. If so, his faith sat lightly upon him; and, Catholic or heretic, he hated the Spaniards with a mortal hate. Fighting in the Italian wars,—for from boyhood he was wedded to the sword,—he had been taken prisoner by them near Siena, where he had signalized himself by a fiery and determined bravery. With brutal insult, they chained him to the oar as a galley slave. After he had long endured this ignominy, the Turks captured the vessel and carried her to Constantinople. It was but a change of tyrants; but, soon after, while she was on a cruise, Gourgues still at the oar, a galley of the knights of Malta hove in sight, bore down on her, recaptured her, and set the prisoner free. For several years after, his restless spirit found employment in voyages to Africa, Brazil, and regions yet more remote. His naval repute rose high, but his grudge against the Spaniards still rankled within him; and when, returned from his rovings, he learned the tidings from Florida, his hot Gascon blood boiled with fury.

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.41

The honor of France had been foully stained, and there was none to wipe away the shame. The faction-ridden King was dumb. The nobles who surrounded him were in the Spanish interest. Then, since they proved recreant, he, Dominique de Gourgues, a simple gentleman, would take upon him to avenge the wrong, and restore the dimmed luster of the French name. He sold his inheritance, borrowed money from his brother, who held a high post in Guienne, and equipped three small vessels, navigable by sail or oar. On board he placed a hundred arquebusiers and eighty sailors, prepared to fight on land, if need were. The noted Blaise de Montluc, then lieutenant for the King in Guienne, gave him a commission to make war on the negroes of Benin, that is, to kidnap them as slaves, an adventure then held honorable.

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.41–p.42

His true design was locked within his own breast. He mustered his followers,—not a few of whom were of rank equal to his own,—feasted them, and, on the twenty-second of August, 1567, sailed from the mouth of the Charente. Off Cape Finisterre, so violent a storm buffeted his ships that his men clamored to return; but Gourgues's spirit prevailed. He bore away for Africa, and, landing at the Rio del Oro, refreshed and cheered them as he best might. Thence he sailed to Cape Blanco, where the jealous Portuguese, who had a fort in the neighborhood, set upon him three negro chiefs. Gourgues beat them off, and remained master of the harbor; whence, however, he soon voyaged onward to Cape Verde, and, steering westward, made for the West Indies. Here, advancing from island to island, he came to Hispaniola, where, between the fury of a hurricane at sea and the jealousy of the Spaniards on shore, he was in no small jeopardy,"the Spaniards," exclaims the indignant journalist, "who think that this New World was made for nobody but them, and that no other living man has a right to move or breathe here!" Gourgues landed, however, obtained the water of which he was in need, and steered for Cape San Antonio, at the western end of Cuba. There he gathered his followers about him, and addressed them with his fiery Gascon eloquence. For the first time, he told them his true purpose, inveighed against Spanish cruelty, and painted, with angry rhetoric, the butcheries of Fort Caroline and St. Augustine….

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.42–p.43

They kept their course all night, and, as day broke, anchored at the mouth of a river, the St. Mary's, or the Santilla, by their reckoning fifteen leagues north of the River of May. Here, as it grew light, Gourgues saw the borders of the sea thronged with savages, armed and plumed for war. They, too, had mistaken the strangers for Spaniards, and mustered to meet their tyrants at the landing. But in the French ships there was a trumpeter who had been long in Florida, and knew the Indians well. He went towards them in a boat, with many gestures of friendship; and no sooner was he recognized, than the naked crowd, with yelps of delight, danced for joy along the sands. Why had he ever left them? they asked; and why had he not returned before? The intercourse thus auspiciously begun was actively kept up….

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.43

Morning came, and the woods were thronged with warriors. Gourgues and his soldiers landed with martial pomp….

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.43

He thanked the Indians for their good-will, exhorted them to continue in it, and pronounced an ill-merited eulogy on the greatness and goodness of his King. As for the Spaniards, he said, their day of reckoning was at hand; and, if the Indians had been abused for their love of the French, the French would be their avengers. Here Satouriona forgot his dignity, and leaped up for joy.

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.43

"What!" he cried, "will you fight the Spaniards?"

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.43–p.44

"I came here," replied Gourgues, "only to reconnoiter the country and make friends with you, and then go back to bring more soldiers; but, when I hear what you are suffering from them, I wish to fall upon them this very day, and rescue you from their tyranny." All around the ring a clamor of applauding voices greeted his words….

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.44

"But you will do your part," pursued the French-man; you will not leave us all the honor.

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.44

"We will go," replied Satouriona, "and die with you, if need be."

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.44

"Then, if we fight, we ought to fight at once. How soon can you have your warriors ready to march?"

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.44

The chief asked three days for preparation….

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.44

The day appointed came, and with it the savage army, hideous in warpaint, and plumed for battle….

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.44–p.45

The French forgot their weariness, and pressed on with speed. At dawn they and their allies met on the bank of a stream, probably Sister Creek, beyond which, and very near, was the fort. But the tide was in, and they tried in vain to cross. Greatly vexed,—for he had hoped to take the enemy asleep,—Gourgues withdrew his soldiers into the forest, where they were no sooner ensconced than a drenching rain fell, and they had much ado to keep their gun-matches burning. The light grew fast. Gourgues plainly saw the fort, the defenses of which seemed slight and unfinished. He even saw the Spaniards at work within. A feverish interval elapsed, till at length the tide was out,—so far, at least that the stream was fordable. A little higher up, a clump of trees lay between it and the fort. Behind this friendly screen the passage was begun. Each man tied his powder-flask to his steel cap, held his arquebuse above his head with one hand, and grasped his sword with the other. The channel was a bed of oysters. The sharp shells cut their feet as they waded through. But the farther bank was gained. They emerged from the water, drenched, lacerated, and bleeding, but with unabated mettle. Gourgues set them in array under cover of the trees. They stood with kindling eyes, and hearts throbbing, but not with fear. Gourgues pointed to the Spanish fort, seen by glimpses through the boughs. "Look!" he said, "there are the robbers who have stolen this land from our King; there are the murderers who have butchered our countrymen!"…. In a moment, the fugitives, sixty in all, were enclosed between his party and that of his lieutenant. The Indians, too, came leaping to the spot. Not a Spaniard escaped. All were cut down but a few, reserved by Gourgues for a more inglorious end….

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.45

But Gourgues's vengeance was not yet appeased. Hard by the fort, the trees were pointed out to him on which Menendez had hanged his captives, and placed over them the inscription, "Not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans."

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.45

Gourgues ordered the prisoners to be led thither.

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.45–p.46

"Did you think," he sternly said, as the pallid wretches stood ranged before him, "that so vile a treachery, so detestable a cruelty, against a King so potent and a nation so generous, would go unpunished? I, one of the humblest gentlemen among my King's subjects, have charged myself with avenging it. Even if the Most Christian and the Most Catholic Kings had been enemies, at deadly war, such perfidy and extreme cruelty would still have been unpardonable. Now that they are friends and close allies, there is no name vile enough to brand your deeds, no punishment sharp enough to requite them. But though you cannot suffer as you deserve, you shall suffer all that an enemy can honorably inflict, that your example may teach others to observe peace and alliance which you have so perfidiously violated."

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.46

They were hanged where the French had hung before them; and over them was nailed the inscription, burned with a hot iron on a tablet of pine, "Not as to Spaniards, but as to Traitors, Robbers and Murderers". . .

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.46

Thus Spaniards and Frenchmen alike laid their reeking swords on God's altar.

Parkman, Dominique de Gourgues, America, Vol.2, p.46

Gourgues sailed on the third of May, and gazing back along their foaming wake, the adventurers looked their last on the scene of their exploits. Their success had cost its price. A few of their number had fallen, and hardships still awaited the survivors. Gourgues, however, reached Rochelle on the day of Pentecost, and the Huguenot citizens greeted him with all honor. At court it fared worse with him. The King, still obsequious to Spain, looked on him coldly and askance. The Spanish minister demanded his head. It was hinted to him that he was not safe, and he withdrew to Rouen, where he found asylum among his friends. His fortune was gone; debts contracted for his expedition weighed heavily on him; and for years he lived in obscurity….

Drake in California

Title: Drake in California

Author: Drake's Nephew

Date: 1577

Source: America, Vol.1, pp.284-291

Sir Francis Drake, whose very name has become a synonym for adventure and deeds of daring on the high seas, was what we should nowadays call a pirate. To be sure his piracy was legalized to some extent by his government.

Sailing from Plymouth on November 15, 1577, Drake coasted down the South American continent to the Straits of Magellan. After 17 days spent in working his way through, he came up the West Coast and attempted to sail around the North American continent, and so back to England, but he was halted by fog and bad weather somewhere near the present site of Vancouver, and returned to California before striking out across the Pacific.

The passages given here deal with his experiences in California. They are taken from "The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake," a book prepared in 1628 by his nephew from notes kept by the Admiral's chaplain, with the assistance of "divers others his followers" on the long voyage.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.284–p.285

THE land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the west than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware; and yet the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did seize upon us. The 5 day of June, we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best road we could for the present meet with, where we were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thick, and stinking fogs, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.285

In this place was no abiding for us; and to go further north, the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged our men) would not permit us; and the winds directly bent against us, having once gotten us under sail again, commanded us to southward whether we would or no….

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.285–p.286

The 3 day following, viz., the 21, our ship having received a leak at sea, was brought to anchor nearer the shore, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to prevent any danger that might chance against our safety, our general first of all landed his men, with all necessary provision, to build tents and make a fort for the defense of ourselves and goods: and that we might under the shelter of it with more safety (whatever should befall) end our business; which when the people of the country perceived us doing, as men set on fire to war in defense of their country, in great haste and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came down unto us, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt us: standing, when they drew near, as men ravished in their minds, with the sight of such things as they never had seen or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and fear to worship us as gods, than to have any war with us as with mortal men. Which thing, as it did partly show itself at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode among them. At this time, being willed by signs to lay from them their bows and arrows, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies unto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women….

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.286

In recompense of those things which they had received of us, as shirts, linen cloth, etc., they bestowed upon our general, and diverse of our company, diverse things, as feathers, cawls of network, the quivers of their arrows, made of fawn skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore upon their bodies. Having thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of us, they departed with joy to their houses, which houses are dug round within the earth, and have from the uppermost brims of the circle clefts of wood set up, and joined close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a church; which being covered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warm; the door in the most part of them performs the office also of a chimney to let out the smoke: it's made in bigness and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, only with rushes strewn upon it, and lying round about the house, have their fire in the middle, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, gives a marvelous reflection to their bodies to heat the same.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.287

Their men for the most part go naked; the women take a kind of bulrushes, and combing it after the manner of hemp, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knit about their middles, hangs down about their hips, and so affords to them a covering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they wear also the skin of a deer, with the hair upon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all services; yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consents or being called of the men.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.287

As soon as they were returned to their houses, they began among themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left us (being near about 3 quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainly, with wonder and admiration, did hear the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and doleful manner of shrieking….

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.287

Against the end of three days more (the news having the while spread itself farther, and as it seemed a great way up into the country), were assembled the greatest number of people which we could reasonably imagine to dwell within any convenient distance round about. Among the rest the king himself, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, viz., June 26, came down to see us.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.288

Before his coming, were sent two ambassadors or messengers to our general, to signify that their Hi¢h, that is, their king, was coming and at hand. They in the delivery of their message, the one spoke with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about half an hour. Which being ended, they by signs made request to our general, to send something by their hands to their Hi¢h or king, as a token that his coming might be in peace. Our general willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy return to their Hi¢h. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a show as possibly he could) with all his train came forward.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.288

In their coming forward they cried continually after a singing manner, with a lusty courage. And as they drew nearer and nearer towards us, so did they more and more strive to behave themselves with a certain comeliness and gravity in all their actions.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.288–p.289

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the scepter or royal mace, made of a certain kind of black wood, and in length about a yard and a half, before the king. Whereupon hung two crowns, a bigger and a less, with three chains of a marvelous length, and often doubled, besides a bag of the herb Tabah. The crowns were made of knitwork, wrought upon most curiously with feathers of divers colors, very artificially placed, and of a formal fashion. The chains seemed of a bony substance, every link or part thereof being very little, thin, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the middle. The number of links going to make one chain, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is among them, that few be the persons that are admitted to wear the same; and even they to whom it is lawful to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall use, as some ten, some twelve, some twenty, and as they exceed in number of chains, so thereby are they known to be the more honorable personages.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.289–p.290

Next unto him that bare this scepter, was the king himself with his guard about him; his attire upon his head was a cawl of knitwork, wrought upon somewhat like the crowns, but differing much both in fashion and perfectness of work; upon his shoulders he had on a coat of the skins of conies, reaching to his waist; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some having cawls likewise stuck with feathers, or covered over with a certain down, which grows up in the country upon an herb much like our lettuce, which exceeds any other down in the world for fineness, and being laid upon their cawls, by no winds can be removed. Of such estimation is this herb among them, that the down thereof is not lawful to be worn, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to wear a Plume of feathers on their heads, in sign of honor), and the seeds are not used but only in sacrifice to their gods. After these, in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose hair being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stuck plumes of feathers; but in the forepart only single feathers like horns, every one pleasing himself in his own device.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.290

This one thing was observed to be general among them all, that every one had his face painted, some with white, some black, and some with other colors, every man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their train or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, having with them divers things, as bags of Tobah, a root which they call Petah, whereof they make a kind of meal, and either bake it into bread, or eat it raw; broiled fish, like a pilchard; the seed and down aforenamed, with such like….

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.290–p.291

They are a people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery; their bows and arrows (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they use very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harm with them, being by reason of their weakness more fit for children than for men, sending the arrows neither far off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly bear, one of them would take upon his back, and without grudging carry it easily away, up hill and down hill an English mile together: they are also exceedingly swift in running, and of long continuance, the use whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldom go, but for the most part run. One thing we observed in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so near the shore that they might reach the place without swimming, they would never, or very seldom, miss to take it….

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.291

This country our general named Albion, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might have some affinity, even in name also, with our own country, which was sometimes so called.

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.291

Before we went from thence, our general caused to be set up a monument of our being there, as also of her majesty's and successor's right and title to that kingdom; namely, a plate of brass, fast nailed to a great and firm post; whereon is engraven her grace's name, and the day and year of our arrival there, and of the free giving up of the province and kingdom, both by the king and people, into her majesty's hands: together with her highness' picture and arms, in a piece of sixpence current English money, showing itself by a hole made of purpose through the plate; underneath was likewise engraven the name of our general, etc….

Drake in California, America, Vol.1, p.291

The 23 of July they took a sorrowful farewell of us, but being loath to leave us, they presently ran to the top of the hills to keep us in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

A Description of Drake

Title: A Description of Drake

Author: Don Francisco de Zarate

Date: Unknown

Source: America, Vol.1, pp.292-293

The author of this document, Don Francisco de Zarate, was commander of the Spanish ship captured by Drake just before he reached Guatulco.

De Zarate, Description of Drake, America, Vol.1, p.292-293

THE general of the Englishmen is a cousin of Juan Aquines. He is the same who five years ago took Nombre de Dios. He must be a man of about thirty-five years, short, with a ruddy beard, one of the greatest mariners there are on the sea alike from his skill and his power of command. His ship is a galleon of about four hundred tons, a very fast sailer, and there are aboard her a hundred men, all skilled hands and of warlike age, and all so well trained that they might be old soldiers of the Italian tertias. Every one is specially careful to keep his harquebuss clean. He treats them with affection, and they him with respect. He carries with him nine or ten gentlemen, cadets of high families in England. These are members of his council, and he calls them together upon all occasions, however simple, and although he takes counsel from no one, he is pleased to hear their opinions before issuing his orders. He has no favorite (privado). These of whom I speak are admitted to his table, as well as a Portuguese pilot whom he brought from England. This man never spoke a word the whole time I was there. He is served with much plate with gilt borders and tops and engraved with his arms, and has all possible kinds of delicacies and scents, many of which he says the Queen gave him. None of the gentlemen sit or cover in his presence, without first being ordered once and even several times. The galleon carries about thirty pieces of heavy ordnance and a large quantity of fireworks, and a great deal of ammunition and other necessaries. They dine and sup to the music of violins; and he carries all the appliances of carpenters and caulkers, so as to careen his ship when there is occasion. His ship is not only of the latest type, but sheathed. I understand that all the men he carries are paid, because when they plundered our ship nobody dared take anything without his orders. He keeps very strict discipline, and punishes the slightest fault. He has painters, too, who sketch all the coast in its proper colors. This troubled me to see most of all, because it was so true to nature, that whosoever follows him can by no means lose his way. I heard that he started from his country with five ships and four sea-going shallops, and that the half of the squadron was the Queen's; and I understand this is so, for the reasons I shall give Your Excellency."

Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia Colonies

Title: Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia Colonies

Author: John A. Doyle

Date: 1584-1587

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.23-30

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.23

The task in which Gilbert had failed was to be undertaken by one better qualified to carry it out. If any Englishman in that age seemed to be marked out as the founder of a colonial empire, it was Raleigh. Like Gilbert, he had studied books; like Drake, he could rule men. The pupil of Coligny, the friend of Spenser, traveler-soldier, scholar, courtier, statesman, Raleigh with all his varied graces and powers rises before us, the type and personification of the age in which he lived. The associations of his youth, and the training of his early manhood, fitted him to sympathize with the aims of his half-brother Gilbert, and there is little reason to doubt that Raleigh had a share in his undertaking and his failure.

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.24

In 1584 he obtained a patent precisely similar to Gilbert's. His first step showed the thoughtful and well-planned system on which he began his task. Two ships were sent out, not with any idea of settlement, but to examine and report upon the country. Their commanders were Arthur Barlow and Philip Amidas. To the former we owe the extant record of the voyage: the name of the latter would suggest that he was a foreigner. whether by chance or design, they took a more southerly course than any of their predecessors….

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.24

Coasting along for about a hundred and twenty miles the voyagers reached an inlet and with some difficulty entered. They solemnly took possession of the land in the Queen's name, and then delivered it over to Raleigh according to his patent. They soon discovered that the land upon which they had touched was an island about twenty miles long and not above six broad, named, as they afterward learned, Roanoke. Beyond, separating them from the mainland, lay an enclosed sea, studded with more than a hundred fertile and well-wooded islets….

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.24

Barlow and Amidas returned to England in the middle of September. With them they brought two of the savages, named Wanchese and Manteo. A probable tradition tells us that the Queen herself named the country Virginia, and that Raleigh's knighthood was the reward and acknowledgement of his success. On the strength of this report Raleigh at once made preparations for a settlement. A fleet of seven ships was provided for the conveyance of a hundred and eight settlers. The fleet was under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, who was to establish the set-tlement and leave it under the charge of Ralph Lane….

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.25

On the 20th of June the fleet reached the coast of Florida, and three days later narrowly escaped being cast away off Cape Fear. In a few days more they anchored at Wococon, an island near Roanoke. In entering the harbor the largest ship, the Tiger, struck a sand bar, and was nearly lost, either through the clumsiness or treachery of the pilot, Simon Fernando, a Portuguese. On the 11th of July Grenville, with forty others, including Lane, Amidas, and the chief men of the expedition, crossed over to the mainland. Taking a northerly direction, they explored the coast as far as Secotan, an Indian town some sixty miles south of Roanoke, where they were hospitably received by the savages. It is melancholy, after the bright picture of the intercourse between the natives and the English drawn by Barlow, to have to record hostilities, in which by far the greater share of blame lay with our countrymen. On the voyage back to Roanoke a silver cup was stolen from the English at one of the Indian villages. In revenge the English put the inhabitants to flight, burnt the village and destroyed the crops. On the 3d of August one ship sailed home, and on the 25th Grenville left the colony, followed, as it would seem, during the course of the next month by the rest of the fleet. . . .

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.25

The site of the settlement was the northeast corner of the island of Roanoke, whence the settlers could command the strait. There, even now, choked by vines and underwood, and here and there broken by the crumbling remains of an earthen bastion, may be traced the outlines of the ditch which enclosed the camp, some forty yards square, the home of the first English settlers in the New World….

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.26

If the failure of his colony was likely to deter Raleigh from further efforts, this was more than outweighed by the good report of the country given both by Lane and Heriot. Accordingly, in the very next year, Raleigh put out another and a larger expedition under the leadership of John White. The constitution of White's expedition would seem to show that it was designed to be more a colony, properly speaking, than Lane's settlement at Roanoke. A government was formed by Raleigh, consisting of White and twelve others, incorporated as the governor and assistants of the city of Raleigh. Of the hundred and fifty settlers seventeen were women, of whom seven seem to have been unmarried. The emigrants evidently did not go as mere explorers or adventurers; they were to be the seed of a commonwealth….

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.26

On the 2d of July the fleet reached Haterask, the port at which Grenville had landed on his last voyage. There White took fifty men ashore to search for the fifteen whom Grenville had left there. They found nothing but the bones of one man, slain, as they afterward learned, by the Indians. The rest had disappeared, and it was not till some time afterward that their countrymen learned any tidings of their fate. Ignorant, no doubt, of the altered feelings of the natives, Grenville's men had lived carelessly, and kept no watch. Pemissapan's warriors had seized the opportunity to revenge the death of their chief, and had senta party of thirty men against the English settlement. Two of the chief men were sent forward to demand a parley with two of the English. The latter fell into the trap, and sent out two of their number. One of theses was instantly seized and killed, whereupon the other fled. The thirty Indians then rushed out and fired the house, in which the English settlers took refuge. The English, thus dislodged, forced their way out, losing one man in the skirmish, and at last, after being sorely prest by the arrows of their enemies, and by their skill in fighting behind covert, they reached the boat and escaped to Haterask. After this neither Indians nor English ever heard of them again….

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.27

A more hopeful omen might be drawn from the birth of a child five days later, the first born to English parents in the New World. Her father, Ananias Dare, was one of the twelve assistants, and her mother, Eleanor, was the daughter of John White. Each event, the birth of Virginia Dare, the baptism and ennobling of Manteo, was trivial in itself, yet when brought together, the contrast gives a solemn meaning. It seemed as if within five days the settlement of Roanoke had been an old world pass away, a new world born.

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.27

In August White wished to send home two of the assistants to represent the state of the colony, but, for some reason, none of them were willing to go. The wish of the colony generally seemed to be that White himself should undertake the mission. After some demur, chiefly on the ground that his own private interests required his presence in the settlement, White assented, and on the 27th of August he sailed….

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.28

Soon after White's return Raleigh fitted out a fleet under the command of Grenville. Before that fleet could sail Raleigh and Grenville were called off to a task even more pressing than the relief of the Virginia plantation. Yet, notwithstanding the prospect of a Spanish invasion, White persuaded Raleigh to send out two small vessels, with which White himself sailed from Bideford on the 25th of April, 1588. The sailors, however, fell into the snare so often fatal to the explorers of that age. In the words of a later writer, whose vigorous language seemed to have been borrowed from some contemporary chronicler, the captains, "being more intent on a gainful voyage than the relief of the colony, ran in chase of prizes; till at last one of them, meeting two ships of war, was, after a bloody fight, overcome, boarded and rifled. In this maimed, ransacked, and ragged condition she returned to England in a month's time; and in about three weeks after the other also returned, having perhaps tasted of the same fare, at least without performing her intended voyage, to the distress, and, as it proved, the utter destruction of the colony of Virginia, and to the great displeasure of their patron at home."

Doyle, Raleigh's Virginia Colonies, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.28

Raleigh had now spent forty thousand pounds on the colonization of Virginia, with absolutely no return. In March, 1589, he made an assignment, granting to Sir Thomas Smith, White and others the privilege of trading in Virginia, while he proved at the same time that he had not lost his interest in the undertaking by a gift of a hundred pounds for the conversion of the natives. The unhappy colonists gained nothing by the change. For a whole year no relief was sent. When, atlength, White sailed with three ships, he or his followers imitated the folly of their predecessors, and preferred buccaneering among the Spaniards in the West Indies to conveying immediate relief to the colonists. On their arrival nothing was to be seen of the settlers. After some search the name Croaton was seen carved on a post, according to an arrangement made with White before his departure, by which the settlers were thus to indicate the course they had taken. Remnants of their goods were found, but no trace of the settlers themselves. Years afterward, when Virginia had been at length settled by Englishmen, a faint tradition found its way among them of a band of white captives, who, after being for years kept by the Indians in laborious slavery, were at length massacred. Such were the only tidings of Raleigh's colonists that ever reached the ears of their countrymen. White, with his three ships, returned, and the colonization of Virginia was for a time at an end. Even Raleigh's indomitable spirit gave way, and he seems henceforth to have abandoned all hope of a plantation. Yet he did not, till after fifteen years of disappointment and failure, give up the search for his lost settlers. Before he died the great work of his life had been accomplished, but by other hands. In spite of the intrigues of the Spanish court and the scoffs of playwrights, Virginia had been settled and had become a flourishing colony. A ship had sailed into London laden with Virginia goods, and an Indian princess, the wife of an Englishman, had been received at court, and had for a season furnished wonder and amusement to the fashionable world.

The First Voyage to Roanoke

Title: The First Voyage to Roanoke

Author: Captains Amadas and Barlowe

Date: 1584

Source: America, Vol.2, p.47-56

The new charter, which Raleigh obtained in 1584 for his colonization of America, gave "all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England." It was this provision in Raleigh's charter which formed the basis for the resistance to England that led to the Revolution. So in large measure we are indebted to Raleigh for American Independence.

While still a youth Raleigh had become interested in American colonization, and commanded one of the seven ships in the fleet of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his half-brother, when only 26 years of age. Five years later he furnished one of the five ships in Sir Humphrey's disastrous voyage, and would have sailed on this expedition, but was prevented by the order of the Queen, who was unwilling that her favorite should incur the risk of "dangerous sea fights."

This account of The First Voyage to Roanoke is taken from the written report made by Captains Amadas and Barlowe to Sir Walter.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.47

THE 27 day of April, in the year of our redemption, 1584 we departed the West of England, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of Thames.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.47–p.48

The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelled so sweet, and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be far distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three harquebuz-shot within the haven's mouth on the left hand of the same: and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and rightful Queen, and Princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesty's grant, and letters patents, under her Highness' great seal. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandy and low towards the water's side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and myself having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.48–p.49

We passed from the Sea side towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean heighth, and from thence we beheld the Sea on both sides to the north, and to the south, finding no end any of both ways. This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long, and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white), arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.49–p.50

We remained by the side of this island two whole days before we saw any people of the country: the third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us having in it three persons: this boat came to the island side, four harquebuz-shot from our ships, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards us, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us: then the master and the pilot of the admiral, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captain Philip Amadas, myself, and others rowed to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any show of fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very well; and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining: as soon as he was two bow shot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour, he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnace: which, after he had, as much as he might, requited the former benefits received, departed out of our sight.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.50–p.51

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the King's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behavior as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by her Majesty Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats altogether as the first man did a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat far off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours to show we were all one, smiling and making show the best he could of all love, and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us, we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully, and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time: only the four which were at the other end, spoke one in the other's ear very softly.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.51

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced: the King himself in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which had had with the King of the next country, called Wingina…. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for chamois, buffalo and deer skins: when we showed him all our packet of merchandise, of all things that he saw, a bright tin dish most pleased him, which he presently took up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemy's arrows: for those people maintain a deadly and terrible war, with the people and King adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth twenty crowns, or twenty nobles: and a copper kettle for fifty skins worth fifty crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given anything for swords: but we would not depart with any.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.51–p.52

After two or three days the King's brother came aboard the ships, and drank wine, and ate of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well favored, of mean stature, and very bashful: she had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times: in her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle, whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet, and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and some of the children of the King's brother and other noble men, have five or six in either ear: he himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what metal it should be, neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparel was as his wives, only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of color yellowish, and their hair black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut colored hair.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.52–p.53

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dyes, very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the king's brother was present, none durst trade but himself: except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himself: for that is the difference between the noble men, and the governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their King, nobility, and governors, than these do. The King's brother's wife, when she came to us, as she did many times, was followed with forty or fifty women always: and when she came into the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The King's brother always kept this order, as many boats as he would come withal to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.53–p.54

Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine or of pitch trees: a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tools to make them withal: if they have any they are very few, and those it seems they had twenty years since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wreck which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boats is thus: they burn down some great tree, or take such as are wind fallen, and putting gum and rosin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it has burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their shells, and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider they lay on gums, which burn away the timber, and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport twenty men. Their oars are like scoops, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serves.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.54

The King's brother had great liking of our armor, a sword, and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great box of pearls in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them known, that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew: which now your Worship does very well understand.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.54

He was very just of his promise: for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word, but ever he came within the day and kept his promise.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.54–p.55

After they had been divers times aboard our ships, myself, with seven more went twenty miles into the river that runs toward the city of Shicoak, which river they call Occam: and the evening following we came to an island which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbor by which we entered, seven leagues: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees, to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially; when we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of Granganimeo the King's brother came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billow: others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them, and dried them again: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.55–p.56

After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house, some wheat like furmenty, sodden venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boiled and roasted, melons raw, and sodden, roots of divers kinds and divers fruits: their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasts, they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras, and divers other wholesome, and medicinal herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affords: their meat is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and savory: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweet, their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things….

First Voyage to Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.56

When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent: but after we entered into the haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there lies along the coast a tract of islands, two hundred miles in length 96 adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands, two or three entrances: when you are entered between them, these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more, then there appears another great Sea, containing in breadth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent: and in this enclosed Sea there are above an hundred islands of divers bigness, whereof one is sixteen miles long,. . . replenished with goodly cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we had no leisure to view….

The Colony at Roanoke

Title: The Colony at Roanoke

Author: Ralph Lane

Date: 1586

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.57-66

The enthusiastic account by Captains Amadas and Barlowe of their expedition to Virginia in 1584, delighted the great Elizabeth, as well as Raleigh who had sponsored the enterprise, and England's "Virgin Queen" named the new country Virginia in her own honor.

The expedition which founded Roanoke followed a year later. All told there were one hundred householders. They were left in charge of Ralph Lane, while Sir Richard Grenville, who had transported them, returned to England for supplies. Grenville was delayed, and the sufferings of the colonists were so severe that when Sir Francis Drake put in at Roanoke after destroying St. Augustine, the whole company returned with him to England.

This account of the ten months' history of the Roanoke Colony under Ralph Lane is taken from his report to Sir Walter Raleigh.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.57

TO THE Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130 miles. Our passage thither lies through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channel of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the channel full of shoals….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.57

Chawanook itself is the greatest province and Seigniorie lying upon that river, and that the town itself is able to put 700 fighting men into the field, besides the force of the province itself.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.57–p.58

The king of the said province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country, and the disposition of his own men, but also of his neighbors round about him as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yields.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.58

When I had him prisoner with me, for two days that we were together, he gave me more understanding and light of the country than I had received by all the searches and savages that before I or any of my company had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Among other things he told me, that going three days' journey in a canoe up his river of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within four days' journey to pass over land Northeast to a certain king's country, whose province lies upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an island situated, as he described unto me, in a bay, the water round about the island very deep.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.58

Out of this bay he signified unto me, that this King had so great quantity of pearls, and does so ordinarily take the same, as that not only his own skins that he wears, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the said pearls, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that he has such quantity of them, that it is a wonder to see….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.58–p.59

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go overland into that king's country whensoever I would: but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victual, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his country, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any pearls there, and that he was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which he said would fight very well….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.59

And for that not only Menatonon, but also the savages of Moratoc themselves do report strange things of the head of that river, it is thirty days, as some of them say, and some say forty days' voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springs out of a main rock in that abundance, that forthwith it makes a most violent stream: and further, that this huge rock stands so near unto a Sea, that many times in storms (the wind coming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water for a certain space, grows salt and brackish: I took a resolution with myself, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransom agreed for, and sent his son into the pinnace to Roanoak, to enter presently so far into that river with two double whirries, and forty persons one or other, as I could have victual to carry us, until we could meet with more either of the Moraroks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kind of savages, dwelling more to the westward of the said river: but the hope of recovering more victual from the savages made me and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discovery before our return, as ever men did, that missed the same….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.59–p.60

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the country, that there is a province to the which the said Mangoaks have resource and traffic up that river of Moratoc, which has a marvelous and most strange mineral. This mine is so notorious among them, as not only to the savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the savages of Chawanook, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the main: the country's name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.60

The mineral they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every metal whatsoever: they say it is of the color of our copper, but our copper is better than theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the said metal out of a river that falls very swift from high rocks and hills, and they take it in shallow water: the manner is this.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.60

They take a great bowl by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the mineral: that done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the color of the water, and then suddenly chop down the said bowl with the skin, and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melts, and does yield in five parts at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.61

Of this metal the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the savages adjoining, that they beautify their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I received by report of all the country, and particularly by young Skiko, the King of Chawanooks son of my prisoner, who also himself had been prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set down all the particulars to me before mentioned: but he had not been at Chaunis Temoatan himself: for he said it was twenty days' journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said mineral country, and that they passed through certain other territories between them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.61–p.62

Upon report of the premises, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of by all the savages that dwelt towards these parts, and especially of Menatonon himself, who in everything did very particularly inform me, and promised me guides of his own men, who should pass over with me, even to the said country of Chaunis Temoatan, for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey from sun rising to sun setting, whereas by water it is seven days with the soonest: These things, I say, made me very desirous by all means possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yielded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelihood: for after two days' travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we could never see man, only fires we might perceive made along the shore where we were to pass, and up into the country, until the very last day.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.62

In the evening whereof, about three of the clock we heard certain savages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us: which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shore, but there lighted a volley of their arrows among them in the boat, but did no hurt to any man….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.62

Choosing a convenient ground in safety to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of guard, and putting out good sentinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sun to be going back again, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto: for they were now come to their dog's porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.62–p.63

The end was, we came the next day by night to the river's mouth within four or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day down the current, much as in four days we had done against the same: we lodged upon an island, where we had nothing in the world to eat but pottage of sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meat was never used before as I think. The broad sound we had to pass the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the wind blew so strongly and the billow so great, that there was no possibility of passage without sinking of our boats. This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truly. Upon Easter day in the morning the wind coming very calm, we entered the sound, and by four of the clock we were at Chipanum, whence all the savages that we had left there were left, but their wares did yield us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were far spent. The next morning we arrived at our home Roanoak….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.63

This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came advertisement to me from captain Stafford, lying at my lord Admiral's Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sails: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discern. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.63

The ninth of the said month he himself came unto me, having that night before, and that same day traveled by land twenty miles: and I must truly report of him from the first to the last; he was the gentleman that never spared labor or peril either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.64

He brought me a letter from the General Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountiful and honorable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were entered into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnaces, and boats; they also by him to be victualed, manned and furnished to my contentation.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.64

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harbor: and coming there to an anchor, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honorably to perform that which in writing and message he had most courteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.64

With such thanks unto him and his captains for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and myself, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weak and unfit men for any good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oar-men, artificers, and others.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.64

That he would leave us so much shipping and victual, as about August then next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lack of needful provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.64–p.65

That it would please him withal to leave some sufficient Masters not only to carry us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harbor, if there were any, and especially to help us to some small boats and oar-men….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.65

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my said masters being also gone aboard, my said barks having accepted of their charge, and my own officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the said general the 12 of the said month) the 13 of the same there arose such an unwonted storm, and continued four days….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.65

This storm having continued from the 13 to the 16 of the month, and thus my bark put away as aforesaid, the general coming ashore made a new proffer unto me; which was a ship of 170 tons, called the bark Bonner, with a sufficient master and guide to tarry with me the time appointed, and victualed sufficiently to carry me and my company into England, with all provisions as before: but he told me that he would not for anything undertake to have her brought into our harbor, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto myself, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to do for us; which being within his power, he did assure me as well for his captains as for himself, should be most willingly performed.

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.66

Hereupon calling such captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as myself to the general's offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed bark, with those two special masters, with our principal provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honorable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbor: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve myself with my company to go into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the general in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him….

Lane, Colony at Roanoke, America, Vol.2, p.66

From whence the general in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the relief of whom he had in that storm sustained more peril of wreck than in all his former most honorable actions against the Spaniards, with praises unto God for all, set sail the nineteenth of June 1596, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same year.

The Birth of Virginia Dare

Title: The Birth of Virginia Dare

Author: John White

Date: 1587

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.67-68

Virginia Dare was not "the first white child to be born in America," as is generally supposed, but was the first child of English parentage to be born in America. Her father was Ananias Dare, and her grandfather was John White, Governor of Virginia, who wrote this account of her birth.

The disappearance of White's colony is a mystery about which historians continue to speculate. Other expeditions followed, but no further attempts were made to plant a permanent settlement at Roanoke.

White, Birth of Virginia Dare, America, Vol.2, p.67

THE two and twentieth day of July we came safely to Cape Hatteras, where our ship and pinnac anchored. The Governor went aboard the pinnace accompanied by forty of his best men, intending to pass up to Roanoke. He hoped to find those fifteen Englishmen whom Sir Richard Grenville had left there the year before. With these he meant to have a conference concerning the state of the country and the savages, intending then to return to the fleet and pass along the coast to the Bay of Chesapeake. Here we intended to make our settlement and fort according to the charge given us among other directions in writing under the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh. We passed to Roanoke and the same night at sunset went ashore on the island, in the place where our fifteen men were left. But we found none of them, nor any sign that they had been there, saving only that we found the bones of one of them, whom the savages had slain long before.

White, Birth of Virginia Dare, America, Vol.2, p.68

The Governor with several of his company walked the next day to the north end of the island, where Master Ralph Lane, with his men the year before, had built his fort with sundry dwelling houses. We hoped to find some signs here, or some certain knowledge of our fifteen men.

White, Birth of Virginia Dare, America, Vol.2, p.68

When we came thither we found the fort razed, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the lower rooms of them, and of the fort also, were overgrown with melons of different sorts, and deer were in rooms feeding on those melons. So we returned to our company without the hope of ever seeing any of the fifteen men living.

White, Birth of Virginia Dare, America, Vol.2, p.68

The same day an order was given that every man should be employed in remodeling those houses which we found standing, and in making more cottages.

White, Birth of Virginia Dare, America, Vol.2, p.68

On the eighteenth a daughter was born in Roanoke to Eleanor, the daughter of the Governor and the wife of Ananias Dare. This baby was christened on the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia she was named Virginia Dare.

White, Birth of Virginia Dare, America, Vol.2, p.68

By this time our shipmasters had unloaded the goods and victuals of the planters and taken wood and fresh water, and were newly calking and trimming their vessels for their return to England. The settlers also prepared their letters and news to send back to England.

Gosnald's Discovery of Cape Cod

Title: Gosnald's Discovery of Cape Cod

Author: Bartholemew Gosnold

Date: 1602

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.47-48

Gosnald's Discovery of Cape Cod, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.47

I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed me so much liberty, as to have come unto you before this time; otherwise I would have written more at large concerning the country from whence we lately came, than I did: but not well remembering what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set down disagreeing with the truth), I thought it fittest not to go about to add anything in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come myself; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soon as with conveniency I may. In the mean time, not withstanding whereas you seem not to be satisfied by that which I have already written, concerning some especial matters; I have here briefly (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction….

Gosnald's Discovery of Cape Cod, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.47

We cannot gather, by anything we could observe in the people, or by any trial we had thereof ourselves, but that it is as healthful a climate as any can be. The inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good years, and as it should seem very healthful, are sufficient proof of the healthfulness of the place. First, for ourselves (thanks be to God) we had not a man sick two days together in all our voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other voyages (especially such as went upon reprisal,) were most of them infected with sickness, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sick, returning notwithstanding long before us. But Verazzano, and others (as I take it, you may read in the Book of Discoveries), do more particularly entreat of the age of the people in that coast.

Gosnald's Discovery of Cape Cod, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.48

The sassafras which we brought we had upon the islands; where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty; yet for that the greatest part of our people were employed about the fitting of our house, and such like affairs, and a few (and those but easy laborers) undertook this work, the rather because we were informed before our going forth, that a ton was sufficient to cloy England, and further, for that we had resolved upon our return, and taken view of our victual, we judged it then needful to use expedition; which afterward we had more certain proof of; for when we came to an anchor before Portsmouth, which was some four days after we made the land, we had not one cake of bread, nor any drink, but a little vinegar left: for these and other reasons we returned no otherwise laden than you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can myself come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soon as I could have wished, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time.

Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk

Title: Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk

Author: Gabriel Archer

Date: 1602

Source: America, Vol.1, pp.294-300

After discovering and naming Cape Cod and sailing around it, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold discovered and named Martha's Vineyard, and planted a settlement on Cuttyhunk Island, which he called Elizabeth. Cuttyhunk is one of the 13 small islands known today as Elizabeth Islands.

Gosnold's settlement was the first to be made in New England by Englishmen, but it lasted only a few weeks as the colonists decided to return to England. Gabriel Archer, who wrote this account of the expedition, was one of Gosnold's associates.

Captain John Smith became interested in American ventures as a result of Gosnold's expedition, and decided to join the colony which came to Jamestown five years later. Both Gosnold and Captain Gabriel Archer were members of the Jamestown expedition. The former was a member of the first council at Jamestown, but died there within a year after his arrival.

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.294

THE said captain did set sail from Falmouth the twenty-sixth of March, 1602 (the 42nd year of Elizabeth's Reign), and accompanied with thirty-two persons, whereof eight mariners and sailors, twelve purposing upon the discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest remain there for population. The fourteenth of April following, we had sight of Saint Mary's, an island of the Azores….

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.294–p.295

The fifteenth day of May we had again sight of the land, which made ahead, being as we thought an island, by reason of a large sound that appeared westward between it and the main, for coming to the west end thereof, we did perceive a large opening, we called it Shoal Hope. Near this cape we came to anchor in fifteen fathoms, where we took great store of codfish, for which we altered the name, and called it Cape Cod. Here we saw sculls of herring, mackerel, and other small fish, in great abundance. This is a low sandy shoal, but without danger, also we came to anchor again in sixteen fathoms, fair by the land in the latitude of 42 degrees. This cape is well near a mile broad, and lies north-east by east. The captain went here ashore and found the ground to be full of peas, strawberries, whortleberries, etc., as then unripe, the sand also by the shore somewhat deep, the firewood there by us taken in was of cypress, birch, witch-hazel and beech. A young Indian came here to the captain, armed with his bow and arrows, and had certain plates of copper hanging at his ears; he showed a willingness to help us in our occasions….

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.295–p.296

The eighteenth, being fair we sent forth the boat, to sound over a breach, that in our course lay of another point, by us called Gilbert's Point, who returned us four, five, six, and seven fathoms over. Also, a discovery of divers islands which after proved to be hills and hammocks, distinct within the land. This day there came unto the ship's side divers canoes, the Indians appareled as aforesaid, with tobacco and pipes steeled with copper, skins, artificial strings and other trifles to barter; one had hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper, in length a foot, in breadth half a foot for a breastplate, the ears of all the rest had pendants of copper. Also, one of them had his face painted over, and head stuck with feathers in manner of a turkey-cock's train. These are more timorous than those of the Savage Rock, yet very thievish….

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.296

The four-and-twentieth, we set sail and doubled the cape of another island next unto it, which we called Dover Cliff, and then came into a fair sound, where we rode all night; the next morning we sent off one boat to discover another cape, that lay between us and the main, from which were a ledge of rocks a mile into the sea, but all above water, and without danger; we went about them, and came to ancnor in eight fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that ever I was in. This called we Gosnold's Hope; the north bank whereof is the main, which stretches east and west. This island Captain Gosnold called Elizabeth's isle, where we determined our abode: the distance between every of these islands is, viz. from Martha's Vineyard to Dover Cliff, half a league over the sound, thence to Elizabeth's isle one league distant. From Elizabeth's island unto the main is four leagues. On the north side, near adjoining unto the island Elizabeth, is an islet in compass half a mile, full of cedars, by me called Hill's Hap, to the northward of which, in the mouth of an opening on the main, appears another the like, that I called Hap's Hill, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it.

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.296–p.297

The five-and-twentieth, it was that we came from Gosnold's Hope. The six-and-twentieth, we trimmed and fitted up our shallop. The seven-and-twentieth, there came unto us an Indian and two women, the one we supposed to be his wife, the other his daughter, both clean and straightbodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant. To these the Indian gave heedful attendance for that they shewed them in much familiarity with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch.

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.297–p.298

The eight-and-twentieth we entered counsel about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the west part of Elizabeth's island. The north-east thereof running from out our ken. The south and north stands in an equal parallel. This island in the western side admits some in creeks, or sandy coves, so girded, as the water in some places of each side meets, to which the Indians from the main do oftentimes resort for fishing of crabs. There is eight fathoms very near the shore, and the latitude here is 41 degrees 11 minutes, the breadth from sound to sound in the western part is not passing a mile at most, altogether unpeopled and disinhabited. It is overgrown with wood and rubbish, viz. oaks, ashes, beech, walnut, witch hazel, sassafras, and cedars, with divers other of unknown names. The rubbish is wild peas, young sassafras, cherry-trees, vines, eglantines, gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, raspberries, groundnuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, etc., without count. Touching the fertility of the soil by our own experience made, we found it to be excellent for sowing some English pulse; it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot. In this island is a stage or pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on the one side not distant from the sea thirty yards, in the center whereof is a rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground full of wood, on which we began our fort and place of abode, disposing itself so fit for the same. These Indians call gold wassador, which argues there is thereof in the country.

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.298

The nine-and-twentieth, we labored in getting of sassafras, rubbishing our little fort or islet, new keeling our shallop, and making a punt or flat-bottom boat to pass to and fro our fort over the fresh water, the powder of sassafras, in twelve hours cured one of our company that had taken a great surfeit, by eating the bellies of dog fish, a very delicious meat….

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.298

The first of June, we employed ourselves in getting sassafras, and the building of our fort. The second, third, and fourth, we wrought hard to make ready our house for the provision to be had ashore to sustain us till our ship's return. This day from the main came to our ship's side a canoe, with their lord or chief commander, for that they made little stay only pointing to the sun, as in sign that the next day he would come and visit us, which he did accordingly.

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.298–p.299

The fifth, we continued our labor, when there came unto us ashore from the main fifty savages, stout and lusty men with their bows and arrows; among them there seemed to be one of authority, because the rest made an inclining respect unto him. The ship was at their coming a league off, and Captain Gosnold aboard, and so likewise Captain Gilbert, who almost never went ashore, the company with me only eight persons. These Indians in hasty manner came towards us, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle between the sea and a fresh water; I moved myself towards him seven or eight steps, and clapped my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my musket with a threatening countenance, thereby to signify unto them, either a choice of peace or war, whereupon he using me with mine own signs of peace, I stepped forth and embraced him; his company then all sat down in manner like greyhounds upon their heels, with whom my company fell a bartering. By this time Captain Gosnold was come with twelve men more from aboard, and to show the savage seignior that he was our captain, we received him in a guard, which he passing through, saluted the seignior with ceremonies of our salutations, whereat he nothing moved or altered himself. Our captain gave him a straw hat and a pair of knives; the hat awhile he wore, but the knives he beheld with great marveling, being very bright and sharp; this our courtesy made them all in love with us.

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.299–p.300

The sixth, being rainy, we spent idly aboard. The seventh, the seignior came again with all his troop as before, and continued with us the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noon, they sat with us and did eat of our bacaleure and mustard, drank of our beer, but the mustard nipping them in their noses they could not endure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of dinner the savages had stole a target, wherewith acquainting the seignior, with fear and great trembling they restored it again, thinking perhaps we would have been revenged for it, but seeing our familiarity to continue, they fell afresh to roasting of crabs, red herrings, which were exceeding great, ground nuts, etc., as before. Our dinner ended, the seignior first' took leave and departed, next all the rest saving four that stayed and went into the wood to help us dig sassafras, whom we desired to go aboard us, which they refused and so departed….

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.300

The seventeenth, we set sail, doubling the rocks of Elizabeth's island, and passing by Dover Cliff, came to anchor at Martha's Vineyard, being five leagues distant from our fort, where we went ashore, and had young cranes, herneshowes, and geese, which now were grown to pretty bigness.

Archer, Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk, America, Vol.1, p.300

The eighteenth, we set sail and bore for England, cutting off our shallop, that was well able to land five and twenty men or more, a boat very necessary for the like occasions. The winds do range most commonly upon this coast in the summer time, westerly. In our homeward course we observed the foresaid floating weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe. The three-and-twentieth of July we came to anchor before Exmouth….

First Charter of Virginia, 1606

Title: First Charter of Virginia

Author: King James I

Date: 1606

Source: Harvard Classics, Vol.43, pp.51-60

This charter, granted by King James I on April 10, 1606, to the oldest of the English colonies in America, is a typical example of the documents issued by the British government, authorizing "Adventurers" to establish plantations in the New world. The name "Virginia" was at that time applied to all that part of North America claimed by Great Britain.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.51

I. JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. WHEREAS our loving and well-disposed Subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, Esqrs. William Parker, and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that Part of America, commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coasts thereof;

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.49–p.51

II. And to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies; The one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of London and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, along the Coasts of Virginia and Coasts of America aforesaid; And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth, and of other Places, which do join themselves unto that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, as that Coast lyeth:

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.52

III. We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended Desires;

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.52

IV. And do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of and for our City of London, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the first Colony; And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia or America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of English Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and South west, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marshes, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fifty like English Miles all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and Northeast, or towards the North, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Backside of them, towards the main Land, without the Express License or Consent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.52–p.53

V. And we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, GRANT and agree, that the said Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the Town of Plimouth in the County of Devon, or else-where, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the second Colony; And that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of Virginia and America, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever from the first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty like English Miles as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and Southwest, or towards the South, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Miles, all amongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and Northeast, or towards the North, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands also within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like English Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same for their better Safeguard, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards the main Land, without the express License of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto first had and obtained.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.54

VI. Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.54–p.55

VII. And we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of England; Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed, and comprised in the same instructions; And shall have a several Seal, for all Matters that shall pass or concern the same several Councils; Each of which Seals shall have the King's Arms engraven on the one Side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other And that the Seal for the Council of the said first Colony shall have engraven round about, on the one side, these Words; Sigillum Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae; on the other Side this Inscription, round about; Pro Concilio primae Coloniae Virginiae. And the seal for the Council of the said second Colony shall also have engraven, round about the one Side thereof, the aforesaid Words; Sigillum Regis Magnae, Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae; and on the other Side; Pro Concilio secundae Coloniae Virginiae:

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.55

VIII. And that also there shall be a Council established here in England, which shall, in like Manner, consist of thirteen Persons, to be, for that Purpose, appointed by Us, our Heirs and Successors, which shall be called our Council of Virginia; And shall, from time to time, have the superior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that shall or may concern the Government, as well of the said several Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place, within the aforesaid Precincts of four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, above-mentioned; Which Council shall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council of Colonies, with the like Arms and Portraiture, as aforesaid, with this Inscription, engraven round about on the one Side; Sigillum Regis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae; and round about the other side, Pro Concilio suo Virginiae.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.55

IX. And moreover, we do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that the said several Councils, of and for the said several Colonies, shall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any part of their said several Colonies, as for the said main Lands on the Back-side of the same Colonies; And to Have and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Use and Behoof of the same Colonies, and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Successors, the fifth Part only of all the same Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the same Copper, so to be gotten or had, as is aforesaid, without any other Manner or Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for or in Respect of the same:

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.56

X. And that they shall, or lawfully may, establish and cause to be made a Coin, to pass current there between the People of those several Colonies, for the more Ease of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongst them and the Natives there, of such Metal, and in such Manner and Form, as the said several Councils there shall limit and appoint.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.56

XI. And we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of them, and to the said several Companies, Plantations, and Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said Voyage, and for and towards the said several Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said Colonies and Plantations, such and so many of our Subjects, as shall willingly accompany them, or any of them, in the said Voyages and Plantations; With sufficient Shipping and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Powder, Victual, and all other things, necessary for the said Plantations, and for their Use and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the said Persons be such, as shall hereafter be specially restrained by Us, our Heirs, or Successors.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.56

XII. Moreover, we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT Licence unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of the said Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their several Defences, encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, as well by Sea as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons, as without the especial Licence of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, the Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, of the said several Colonies or Plantations.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.57

XIII. Giving and granting, by these Presents, unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, and their Associates of the said first Colony, and unto the said Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and surprise, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, Goods and other Furniture, which shall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, not being of the same Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer of that Colony, within whose Limits and Precincts they shall so traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, so by them trafficked, bought, or sold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our Obeysance, until they shall pay five upon every Hundred, of such Wares and Merchandise, as they shall traffick, buy, or sell, within the Precincts of the said several Colonies, wherein they shall so traffick, buy, or sell, as aforesaid, WHICH Sums of Money, or Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, shall be wholly emploied to the Use, Benefit, and Behoof of the said several Plantations, where such Traffick shall be made; And after the said one and twenty Years ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs, and Successors, shall be thereunto assigned or appointed.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.58

XIV. And we do further, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and to their Associates of the said first Colony and Plantation, and to the said Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Ministers and Factors, may transport the Goods, Chattels, Armour, Munition, and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwise in Respect of the said Plantations, out of our Realms of England and Ireland, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of seven Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the said several Colonies and Plantations, without any Custom, Subsidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, to be yielded or paid for the same.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.58

XV. Also we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall HAVE and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of England, or any other of our said Dominions.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.58

XVI. Moreover, our gracious Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, declare and set forth, that if any Person or Persons, which shall be of any of the said Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any Wares, Merchandises, or Commodities, out of any of our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the said Colonies and Plantations, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said Colonies and Plantations, shall carry the same into any other Foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, without the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in that Behalf first had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of such Person or Persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.59

XVII. Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Person or Persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their or any of their Licence and Appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjust and unlawful Hostility, to any the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or any the Subjects of any King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Successors, and that upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint of such Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Successors, shall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of England, commodious for that Purpose, That the said Person or Persons, having committed any such Robbery or Spoil, shall, within the Term to be limited by such Proclamations make full Restitution or Satisfaction of all such Injuries done, so as the said Princes, or others, so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; And that, if the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, Satisfaction accordingly, within such Time so to be limited, That then it shall be lawful to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to put the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, and their Procurers, Abetters, or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it shall be lawful and free, for all Princes and others, to pursue with Hostility the said Offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abetters, and Comforters, in that Behalf.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.60

XVIII. And finally, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and all others of the said first Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, TO BE HOLDEN OF US, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor at East-Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite:

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.60

XIX. And do, in like Manner, Grant and Agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to and with the said Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the said second Colony, That We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid TO BE HOLDEN OF US, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manour of East-Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite.

First Charter of Virginia, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.60

XX. All which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, so to be passed by the said several Letters-patent, shall be sufficient Assurance from the said Patentees, so distributed and divided amongst the Undertakers for the Plantation of the said several Colonies, and such as shall make their Plantations in either of the said several Colonies, in such Manner and Form, and for such Estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the Council of the said Colony, or the most Part of them, respectively, within which the same Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments shall lye or be; Although express Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir Thomas Gates, Knt. Sir George Somers, Knt. Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, or any of them, heretofore made, in these Presents, is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness Ourself at Westminster, the tenth Day of April, in the fourth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth.

The Settlement of Jamestown

Title: The Settlement of Jamestown

Author: Captain John Smith

Date: 1607

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.69-81

The Pocahontas incident was only one small episode in the fascinating career of Captain John Smith. Famed alike for his modesty, good judgment and magnanimity, this splendid "soldier of fortune" was a Captain of Artillery in 1601, and a Captain of Cavalry the same year, taking part in battles in Hungary and Transylvania.

He promoted and saved from destruction the plantation at Jamestown. He made a masterly survey of inland Virginia in 1607-8, and the same year he discovered the Chesapeake Bay. In 1614 he discovered the New England Coast.

Along with his other accomplishments he was a writer of no mean ability. He wrote a "Sea Grammar" and began, but never finished, a "History of the Sea," and from 1614 to 1630 he was the indefatigable and eloquent historian of English colonization in America. But for him the process of peopling the new continent with Anglo-Saxons would have been delayed indefinitely.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.69

IT might well be thought, a country so fair (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this have been quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world do see a failure; this following treatise shall give satisfaction to all indifferent readers, how the business has been carried: where no doubt they will easily understand and answer to their question, how it came to pass there was no better speed and success in those proceedings.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.69–p.70

Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many years solicited many of his friends, but found small assistance; at last prevailed with some gentlemen, as Captain John Smith, Master Edward-maria Wingfield, Master Robert Hunt, and divers others, who depended a year upon his projects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industry, it came to be apprehended by certain of the nobility, gentry, and merchants, so that his Majesty by his letters patents, gave commission for establishing councils, to direct here; and to govern, and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another year, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100 tons, another of 40 and a pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captain Christopher Newport, a mariner well practiced for the western parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governors known until they arrived in Virginia.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.70–p.71

On the 19 of December, 1606, we set sail from Blackwall, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weeks in the sight of England; all which time, Master Hunt our preacher, was so weak and sick, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twenty miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than atheists, of the greatest rank among us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the business, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godless foes whose disastrous designs (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrown the business, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envy, and dissension….

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.71

The first land they made they called Cape Henry; where thirty of them recreating themselves on shore, were assaulted by five savages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.71

That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnol, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratliff, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the council, and to choose a president among them for a year, who with the council should govern. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.71

Until the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in; then the council was sworn, Master Wingfield was chosen president, and an oration made, why Captain Smith was not admitted of the council as the rest.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.71–p.72

Now falls every man to work, the council contrive the fort, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clapboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, etc. The savages often visited us kindly. The president's overweening jealousy would admit no exercise at arms, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the form of a half moon by the extraordinary pains and diligence of Captain Kendall.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.72

Newport, Smith, and twenty others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six days they arrived at a town called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile isles, about it many of their cornfields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans. To this place the river is navigable: but higher within a mile, by reason of the rocks and isles, there is not passage for a small boat, this they call the falls. The people in all parts kindly entreated them, till being returned within twenty miles of Jamestown, they gave just cause of jealousy: but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise than those at the fort, there had then been an end of that plantation; for at the fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slain by the savages, and had it not chanced a cross bar shot from the ships struck down a bough from a tree among them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slain, being securely all at work, and their arms in dry fats.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.72

Hereupon the president was contented the fort should be pallisaded, the ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults, and ambuscades of the savages, and our men by their disorderly straggling were often hurt, when the savages by the nimbleness of their heels well escaped.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.73

What toil we had, with so small a power to guard our workmen by day, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our business, to relade the ships, cut down trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corn, etc., I refer to the reader's consideration.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.73

Six weeks being spent in this manner, Captain Newport (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.73

Now Captain Smith, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefs (envying his repute) who fained he intended to usurp the government, murder the council, and make himself king, that his confederates were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederates that revealed it, would affirm it; for this he was committed as a prisoner.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.73–p.74

Thirteen weeks he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should return they pretended out of their commiserations, to refer him to the council in England to receive a check, rather than by particulating his designs make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charity, and publicly defied the uttermost of their cruelty; he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppress their envy; yet so well he demeaned himself in this business, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries' malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many untruths were alleged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a general hatred in the hearts of the company against such unjust commanders, that the president was adjudged to give him 2001.; so that all he had was seized upon, in part of satisfaction, which Smith presently returned to the store for the general use of the colony.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.74

Many were the mischiefs that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher Master Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted of the council.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.74

The next day all received the communion, the day following the savages voluntarily desired peace, and Captain Newport returned for England with news; leaving in Virginia 100 the 15 of June 1607.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.74

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten days scarce ten among us could either go, or well stand, such extreme weakness and sickness oppressed us. And thereat none need marvel, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.74–p.75

While the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of biscuit, which the sailors would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us, for money, sassafras, furs, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither tavern, beer house, nor place of relief, but the common kettle. Had we been as free from all sins as gluttony, and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for Saints; but our president would never have been admitted, for ingrossing to his private, oatmeal, sack, oil, aquavitse, beef, eggs, or what not, but the kettle; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was half a pint of wheat, and as much barley boiled with water for a man a day, and this having fried some 26 weeks in the ship's hold, contained as many worms as grains; so that we might truly call it rather so much bran than corn, our drink was water, our lodgings castles in the air.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.75

With this lodging and diet, our extreme toil in bearing and planting pallisades, so strained and bruised us, and our continual labor in the extremity of the heat had so weakened us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native country, or any other place in the world.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.75

From May, to September, those that escaped, lived upon sturgeon, and sea-crabs, fifty in this time we buried, the rest seeing the president's projects to escape these miseries in our pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sickness) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established Ratcliff in his place, (Gosnol being dead) Kendall deposed. Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliff was by his care preserved and relieved, and the most of the soldiers recovered with the skillful diligence of Master Thomas Wotton our surgeon general.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.75–p.76

But now was all our provision spent, the sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each hour expecting the fury of the savages; when God the patron of all good endeavors, in that desperate extremity so changed the hearts of the savages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted….

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.76

But our comedies never endured long without a tragedy; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captain Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamania river, and taxed by the council, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage he proceeded so far that with much labor by cutting of trees insunder he made his passage; but when his barge could pass no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should go ashore till his return: himself with two English and two savages went up higher in a canoe; but he was not long absent, but his men went ashore, whose want of government gave both occasion and opportunity to the savages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not to have cut off the boat and all the rest.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.76

Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the river's head, twenty miles in the desert, had his two men slain (as is supposed) sleeping by the canoe, while himself by fowling sought them victual: who finding he was beset with 200 savages, two of them he slew, still defending himself with the aid of a savage his guide whom he bound to his arm with his garters, and used him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrows that stuck in his clothes but no great hurt, till at last they took him prisoner.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.77

When this news came to Jamestown, much was their sorrow for his loss, few expecting what ensued.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.77

Six or seven weeks those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphs and conjurations they made of him, yet he so demeaned himself among them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the fort, but procured his own liberty, and got himself and his company such estimation among them, that those savages admired him more than their own Quiyouckosucks….

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.77

At last they brought him to Meronocomoco, where was Powhatan their emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had been a monster; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun (raccoon?) skins, and all the tails hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 years, and along on each side the house, two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red: many of their heads bedecked with the white down of birds; but every one with something: and a great chain of white beads about their necks.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.77–p.78

At his entrance before the king, all the people gave a great shout. The queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beat out his brains, Pocahontas the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves. For the king himself will make his own robes, shoes, bowes, arrows, pots; plant, hunt, or do anything so well as the rest.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.78

They say he bore a pleasant show,

But sure his heart was sad.

For who can pleasant be, and rest,

That lives in fear and dread:

And having life suspected, doth

It still suspected lead.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.78–p.79

Two days after, Powhatan having disguised himself in the most fearful manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and thereupon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behind a mat that divided the house, was made the most doleful noise he ever heard; then Powhatan more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more as black as himself, came unto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns, and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahowosick, and forever esteem him as his son Nantaquoud.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.79

So to Jamestown with 12 guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every hour to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almighty God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith having used the savages with what kindness he could, he showed Rawhunt, Powhatan's trusty servant, two demi-culverins and a millstone to carry Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavy; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles the ice and branches came so tumbling down, that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toys; and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gave them in general full content.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.79

NOW in Jamestown they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the pinnace; which with the hazard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sink.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.80

Some no better than they should be, had plotted with the president, the next day to have put him to death by the Levitical law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry; pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly took such order with such lawyers, that he laid them by the heels till he sent some of them prisoners for England.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.80

Now every once in four or five days, Pocahontas with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their lives, that else for all this had starved with hunger.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.80

Thus from numb death our good God sent relief,

The sweet assuager of all other grief.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.80

His relation of the plenty he had seen, especially at Werawocomoco, and of the state and bounty of Powhatan, (which till that time was unknown) so revived their dead spirits (especially the love of Pocahontas) as all men's fear was abandoned.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.80

Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good endeavor; and the good success of the business being thus often brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God has still delivered it.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.80

As for the insufficiency of them admitted in commission, that error could not be prevented by the electors; there being no other choice, and all strangers to each other's education, qualities, or disposition.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.81

And if any deem it a shame to our Nation to have any mention made of those enormities, let him peruse the Histories of the Spaniard's Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissensions have accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being known to be particular men's offenses; does take away the general scorn and contempt, which malice, presumption, coveteousness, or ignorance might produce; to the scandal and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserve a more worthy respect.

Smith, Settlement of Jamestown, America, Vol.2, p.81

Now whether it had been better for Captain Smith, to have concluded with any of those several projects, to have abandoned the country, with some ten or twelve of them, who were called the better sort, and have left Master Hunt our preacher, Master Anthony Gosnol, a most honest, worthy, and industrious gentleman, Master Thomas Wotton, and some 27 others of his countrymen to the fury of the savages, famine, and all manner of mischiefs, and inconveniences, (for they were but forty in all to keep possession of this large country;) or starve himself with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserve the action, and save all their lives; I leave to the censure of all honest men to consider….

The Founding of Quebec

Title: The Founding of Quebec

Author: Samuel de Champlain

Date: 1608

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.82-89

When Champlain came to America in 1608, it was his third trip to the New World. This time he came with the definite purpose of planting a colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence as a base for future French operations. We have here his own account of his pioneer work in the founding of Quebec, the city which was to play such an important part in the struggle between France and England for possession of the North American Continent.

Francis Parkman, the great historian, who devoted most of his life to the writing of "Pioneers of France in the New World," says of Champlain's writings: "They mark the man—all for his theme and his purpose, nothing for himself. Crude in style, full of superficial errors of carelessness and haste, rarely diffuse, often brief to a fault, they bear on every page the palpable impress of truth."

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.82

HAVING returned to France after a stay of three years in New France, I proceeded to Sieur de Monts, and related to him the principal events of which I had been a witness since his departure, and gave him the map and plan of the most remarkable coasts and harbors there.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.82–p.83

Some time afterward Sieur de Monts determined to continue his undertaking, and complete the exploration of the interior along the great river St. Lawrence, where I had been by order of the late King Henry the Great in the year 1603, for a distance of some hundred and eighty leagues, commencing in latitude 48° 40', that is, at Gaspe', at the entrance of the river, as far as the great fall, which is in latitude 45° and some minutes, where our exploration ended, and where boats could not pass as we then thought, since we had not made a careful examination of it as we have since done.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.83

Now, after Sieur de Monts had conferred with me several times in regard to his purposes concerning the exploration, he resolved to continue so noble and meritorious an undertaking, notwithstanding the hardships and labors of the past. He honored me with his lieutenancy for the voyage; and, in order to carry out his purpose, he had two vessels equipped, one commanded by Pont Grave, who was commissioned to trade with the savages of the country and bring back the vessels, while I was to winter in the country….

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.83

I proceeded to Honfleur for embarkation, where I found the vessel of Pont Grave in readiness. He left port on the 5th of April. I did so on the 13th, arriving at the Grand Bank on the 15th of May, in latitude 45° 15'. On the 26th we sighted Cape St. Mary, in latitude 46° 45', on the Island of Newfoundland. On the 27th of the month we sighted Cape St. Lawrence, on Cape Breton, and also the Island of St. Paul, distant eighty-three leagues from Cape St. Mary. On the 30th we sighted Isle Percee and Gaspe, in latitude 48° 40', distant from Cape St. Lawrence from seventy to seventy-five leagues.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.83–p.84

On the 3d of June we arrived before Tadoussac, distant from Gaspe' from eighty to ninety leagues; and we anchored in the roadstead of Tadoussac, a league distant from the harbor, which latter is a kind of cove at the mouth of the river Saguenay, where the tide is very remarkable on account of its rapidity, and where there are sometimes violent winds, bringing severe cold.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.84

I set out from Tadoussac the last day of the month to go to Quebec….

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.84

From the Island of Orleans to Quebec the distance is a league. I arrived there on the 3d of July, when I searched for a place suitable for our settlement; but I could find none more convenient or better situated than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages, which was covered with nut-trees. I at once employed a portion of our workmen in cutting them down, that we might construct our habitation there: one I set to sawing boards, another to making a cellar and digging ditches, another I sent to Tadoussac with the barque to get supplies. The first thing we made was the storehouse for keeping under cover our supplies, which was promptly accomplished through the zeal of all, and my attention to the work.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.84

Some days after my arrival at Quebec a locksmith conspired against the service of the king. His plan was to put me to death, and, getting possession of our fort, to put it into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, then at Tadoussac, beyond which vessels cannot go, from not having a knowledge of the route, nor of the banks and rocks on the way.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.84–p.85

In order to execute his wretched plan, by which he hoped to make his fortune, he suborned four of the worst characters, as he supposed, telling them a thousand falsehoods, and presenting to them prospects of acquiring riches.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.85

These four men, having been won over, all promised to act in such a manner as to gain the rest over to their side, so that, for the time being, I had no one with me in whom I could put confidence, which gave them still more hope of making their plan succeed; for four or five of my companions, in whom they knew that I put confidence, were on board of the barques, for the purpose of protecting the provisions and supplies necessary for our settlement.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.85

In a word, they were so skillful in carrying out their intrigues with those who remained that they were on the point of gaining all over to their cause, even my lackey, promising them many things which they could not have fulfilled.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.85–p.86

Being now all agreed, they made daily different plans as to how they should put me to death, so as not to be accused of it, which they found to be a difficult thing. But the devil, blindfolding them all and taking away their reason and every possible difficulty, they determined to take me while unarmed, and strangle me, or to give a false alarm at night, and shoot me as I went out, in which manner they judged that they would accomplish their work sooner than otherwise. They made a mutual promise not to betray each other, on penalty that the first one who opened his mouth should be poniarded. They were to execute their plan in four days, before the arrival of our barques, otherwise they would have been unable to carry out their scheme.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.86

On this very day one of our barques arrived, with our pilot, Captain Testu, a very discreet man. After the barque was unloaded, and ready to return to Tadoussac, there came to him a locksmith, named Natel, an associate of Jean du Val, the head of the conspiracy, who told him that he had promised the rest to do just as they did, but that he did not in fact desire the execution of the plot, yet did not dare to make a disclosure in regard to it from fear of being poniarded.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.86

Antoine Natel made the pilot promise that he would make no disclosure in regard to what he should say, since, if his companions should discover it, they would put him to death. The pilot gave him his assurance in all particulars, and asked him to state the character of the plot which they wished to carry out. This Natel did at length, when the pilot said to him: "My friend, you have done well to disclose such a malicious design, and you show that you are an upright man, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But these things cannot be passed by without bringing them to the knowledge of Sieur de Champlain, that he may make provision against them, and I promise you that I will prevail upon him to pardon you and the rest. And I will at once," said the pilot, "go to him without exciting any suspicion; and do you go about your business, listening to all they may say, and not troubling yourself about the rest."

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.87

The pilot came at once to me, in a garden which I was having prepared, and said that he wished to speak to me in a private place, where we could be alone. I readily assented, and we went into the wood, where he related to me the whole affair. I asked who had told it to him. He begged me to pardon him who had made the disclosure, which I consented to do, although he ought to have addressed himself to me. He was afraid, he replied, that you would become angry, and harm him. I told him that I was able to govern myself better than that in such a matter, and desired him to have the man come to me, that I might hear his statement. He went, and brought him all trembling with fear lest I should do him some harm. I reassured him, telling him not to be afraid, that he was in a place of safety, and that I should pardon him for all that he had done, together with the others, provided he would tell me in full the truth in regard to the whole matter, and the motive which had impelled them to it. "Nothing," he said, "had impelled them, except that they had imagined that, by giving up the place into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, they might all become rich, and that they did not want to go back to France." He also related to me the remaining particulars of their conspiracy.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.87–p.88

After having heard and questioned him, I directed him to go about his work. Meanwhile I ordered the pilot to bring up his shallop, which he did. Then I gave two bottles of wine to a young man, directing him to say to these four worthies, the leaders of the conspiracy, that it was a present of wine, which his friends at Tadoussac had given him, and that he wished to share it with them. This they did not decline, and at evening were on board the barque where he was to give them the entertainment. I lost no time in going there shortly after, and caused them to be seized and held until the next day….

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.88

The same day I had six pairs of handcuffs made for the authors of the conspiracy: one for our surgeon, named Bonnerme, one for another, named La Taille, whom the four conspirators had accused, which, however, proved false, and consequently they were given their liberty.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.88

This being done, I took my worthies to Tadoussac, begging Pont Grave to do me the favor of guarding them, since I had as yet no secure place for keeping them, and as we were occupied in constructing our places of abode. Another object was to consult with him, and others on the ship, as to what should be done in the premises. We suggested that, after he had finished his work at Tadoussac, he should come to Quebec with the prisoners, where we should have them confronted with their witnesses, and, after giving them a hearing, order justice to be done.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.88–p.89

I went back the next day to Quebec, to hasten the completion of our storehouse, so as to secure our provisions, which had been misused by all those scoundrels, who spared nothing, without reflecting how they could find more when these failed; for I could not obviate the difficulty until the storehouse should be completed and shut up.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.89

Pont Grave arrived some time after me, with the prisoners, which caused uneasiness to the workmen who remained, since they feared that I should pardon them, and that they would avenge themselves upon them for revealing their wicked design.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.89

After Pont Grave and I, the captain of the vessel, surgeon, mate, second mate, and other sailors had heard their depositions and face to face statements, we adjudged that it would be enough to put to death Du Val, as the instigator of the conspiracy; and that he might serve as an example to those who remained, leading them to deport themselves correctly in future, in the charge of their duty; and that the Spaniards and Basques might not glory in the event. We adjudged that the three others be condemned to be hung, but that they should be taken to France and put into the hands of Sieur de Monts, that such ample justice might be done them as he should recommend; that they should be sent with all the evidence and their sentence, as well as that of Jean du Val, who was strangled and hung at Quebec, and his head was put on the end of a pike, to be set up in the most conspicuous place on our fort.

De Champlain, Founding of Quebec, America, Vol.2, p.89

After all these occurrences, Pont Grave set out from Quebec to return to France with the three prisoners. After he had gone, all who remained conducted themselves correctly in the discharge of their duty.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquois on Lake Champlain

Title: Champlain's Battle with the Iroquois on Lake Champlain

Author: Samuel Champlain

Date: 1609

Source: America, Vol.1, pp.301-307

Samuel Champlain has been rightly called "The Father of New France." He founded Quebec in 1608 and discovered Lake Champlain in 1609, and later became governor of Canada.

He was not only a good naturalist but was a fine writer and has given us the best descriptions that we have of the Indians in their natural state before they came in contact with the white men.

It is interesting to note that at about the same time that Champlain was fighting the Iroquois, on the lake that bears his name today, Hudson was trading peacefully with the Indians near the present site of Albany. Hudson was creating a friendship with the Iroquois which the English colonists afterwards inherited; Champlain was incurring their undying enmity, which became a matter of great importance in the future struggles between the French and English for the possession of America.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.301–p.302

WE continued our course to the entrance of Lake St. Peter, where the country is exceedingly pleasant and level, and crossed the lake, in two, three, and four fathoms of water, which is some eight leagues long and four wide. On the north side, we saw a very pleasant river, extending some twenty leagues into the interior, which I named St. Suzanne; on the south side, there are two, one called Riviere du Pont, the other Riviere de Gennes, which are very pretty, and in a fine and fertile country. The water is almost still in the lake, which is full of fish. On the north bank, there are seen some slight elevations at a distance of some twelve or fifteen leagues from the lake. After crossing the lake, we passed a large number of islands of various sizes, containing many nut trees and vines, and fine meadows, with quantities of game and wild animals, which go over from the main land to these islands. Fish are here more abundant than in any other part of the river that we have seen. From these islands, we went to the mouth or the River of the Iroquois, where we stayed two days, refreshing ourselves with good venison, birds, and fish, which the savages gave us. Here there sprang up among them some difference of opinion on the subject of the war, so that a portion only determined to go with me, while the others returned to their country with their wives and the merchandise which they had obtained by barter.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.302

I set out accordingly from the fall of the Iroquois River on the 2d of July. All the savages set to carrying their canoes, arms, and baggage overland, some half a league, in order to pass by the violence and strength of the fall, which was speedily accomplished….

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.302–p.303

We set out the next day, continuing our course in the river as far as the entrance of the lake. There are many pretty islands here, low, and containing very fine woods and meadows, with abundance of fowl and such animals of the chase as stags, fallow-deer, fawns, roe-bucks, bears, and others, which go from the main land to these islands. We captured a large number of these animals. There are also many beavers, not only in this river, but also in numerous other little ones that flow into it. These regions, although they are pleasant, are not inhabited by any savages, on account of their wars; but they withdraw as far as possible from the rivers into the interior, in order not to be suddenly surprised.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.303

The next day we entered the lake, which is of great extent, say eighty or a hundred leagues long, where I saw four fine islands, ten, twelve, and fifteen leagues long, which were formerly inhabited by the savages, like the River of the Iroquois; but they have been abandoned since the wars of the savages with one another prevail. There are also many rivers falling into the lake, bordered by many fine trees of the same kinds as those we have in France, with many vines finer than any I have seen in any other place; also many chestnut-trees on the border of this lake, which I had not seen before….

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.303

Continuing our course over this lake on the western side, I noticed, while observing the country, some very high mountains on the eastern side, on the top of which there was snow. I made inquiry of the savages, whether these localities were inhabited, when they told me that the Iroquois dwelt there, and that there were beautiful valleys in these places, with plains productive in grain, such as I had eaten in this country, together with many kinds of fruit without limit. They said also that the lake extended near mountains, some twenty-five leagues distant from us, as I judge. I saw, on the south, other mountains, no less high than the first, but without any snow.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.304

When it was evening, we embarked in our canoes to continue our course; and, as we advanced very quietly and without making any noise, we met on the 29th of the month the Iroquois, about ten o'clock at evening, at the extremity of a cape which extends into the lake on the western bank. They had come to fight. We both began to utter loud cries, all getting their arms in readiness. We withdrew out on the water, and the Iroquois went on shore, where they drew up all their canoes close to each other and began to fell trees with poor axes, which they acquire in war sometimes, using also others of stone. Thus they barricaded themselves very well.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.304–p.305

Our forces also passed the entire night, their canoes being drawn up close to each other, and fastened to poles, so that they might not get separated, and that they might be all in readiness to fight, if occasion required…. After arming ourselves with light armor, we each took an arquebuse, and went on shore. I saw the enemy go out of their barricade, nearly two hundred in number, stout and rugged in appearance. They came at a slow pace toward us, with a dignity and assurance which greatly amused me, having three chiefs at their head. Our men also advanced in the same order, telling me that those who had three large plumes were the chiefs, and that they had only these three, and that they could be distinguished by these plumes, which were much larger than those of their companions, and that I should do what I could to kill them. I promised to do all in my power, and said that I was very sorry they could not understand me, so that I might give order and shape to their mode of attacking their enemies, and then we should, without doubt, defeat them all; but that this could not now be obviated, and that I should be very glad to show them my courage and good-will when we should engage in the fight.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.305–p.306

As soon as we had landed, they began to run for some two hundred paces toward their enemies, who stood firmly, not having as yet noticed my companions, who went into the woods with some savages. Our men began to call me with loud cries; and in order to give me a passage-way, they opened in two parts, and put me at their head, where I marched some twenty paces in advance of the rest, until I was within about thirty paces of the enemy, who at once noticed me, and, halting, gazed at me, as I did also at them. When I saw them making a move to fire at us, I rested my musket against my cheek, and aimed directly at one of the three chiefs. With the same shot, two fell to the ground; and one of their men was so wounded that he died some time after. I had loaded my musket with four balls. When our side saw this shot so favorable for them, they began to raise such loud cries that one could not have heard it thunder. Meanwhile, the arrows flew on both sides. The Iroquois were greatly astonished that two men had been so quickly killed, although they were equipped with armor woven from cotton thread, and with wood which was a proof against their arrows. This caused great alarm among them. As I was loading again, one of my companions fired a shot from the woods, which astonished them anew to such a degree that, seeing their chiefs dead, they lost courage, and took to flight, abandoning their camp and fort, and fleeing into the woods, whither I pursued them, killing still more of them. Our savages also killed several of them, and took ten or twelve prisoners. The remainder escaped with the wounded. Fifteen or sixteen were wounded on our side with arrow-shot; but they were soon healed.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.306

After gaining the victory, our men amused themselves by taking a great quantity of Indian corn and some meal from their enemies, also their armor, which they had left behind that they might run better. After feasting sumptuously, dancing and singing, we returned three hours after, with the prisoners. The spot where this attack took place is in latitude 43 degrees and some minutes, and the lake was called Lake Champlain.

Champlain's Battle with the Iroquis, America, Vol.1, p.306–p.307

After going some eight leagues, toward evening they took one of the prisoners, to whom they made a harangue, enumerating the cruelties which he and his men had already practiced toward them without any mercy, and that, in like manner, he ought to make up his mind to receive as much. They commanded him to sing, if he had courage, which he did; but it was a very sad song.

The Discovery of the Hudson River

Title: The Discovery of the Hudson River

Author: Robert Juet

Date: 1609

Source: America, Vol.1, pp.307-314

Henry Hudson came from a family of adventurers and explorers. He was an Englishman, a citizen of London, in the service of the Dutch East India Company.

His life's history is lost in obscurity except for the four years, 1607 to 1611, all of which time was devoted to four unsuccessful voyages in search of a northwest passage to China. The Hudson River, Hudson Strait, and Hudson Bay all bear his name, and the last is his tomb. A mutinous crew set him adrift on its waters in a small boat, and he perished miserably with a half-dozen of his men.

Robert Juet, who kept the journal of the voyage up the Hudson River to the present site of Albany, from which this account is taken, was a leader in the mutiny which cost Henry Hudson his life. On the previous voyage he was Hudson's mate and acted as his confidential clerk.

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.307

THE first of September [1609], fair weather, the wind variable between east and south; we steered away north northwest. At noon we found our height to be 39 degrees, 3 minutes….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.307–p.308

The second, in the morning, close weather, the wind at south in the morning; from twelve until two of the clock we steered north north-west, and had sounding one and twenty fathoms; and in running one glass we had but sixteen fathoms, then seventeen, and so shoaler and shoaler until it came to twelve fathoms. We saw a great fire, but could not see the land; then we came to ten fathoms, whereupon we brought our tacks aboard, and stood to the eastward east south-east, four glasses. Then the sun arose, and we steered away north again, and saw the land from the west by north to the north-west by north, all like broken islands, and our soundings were eleven and ten fathoms. Then we loft in for the shore, and fair by the shore we had seven fathoms. The course along the land we found to be north-east by north. From the land which we had first sight of, until we came to a great lake of water, as we could judge it to be, being drowned land, which made it to rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that land has many shoals, and the sea breaks on them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that lake or bay the land lies north by east, and we had a great stream out of the bay; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms two leagues from the land. At five of the clock we anchored, being little wind, and rode in eight fathoms water; the night was fair. This night I found the land to hall the compass 8 degrees. For to the northward off us we saw high hills. For the day before we found not above 2 degrees of variation. This is a very good land to fall with, and a pleasant land to see.

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.308

The third, the morning misty, until ten of the clock; then it cleared, and the wind came to the south south-east, so we weighed and stood to the northward. The land is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withal. At three of the clock in the afternoon, we came to three great rivers. So we stood along to the northermost, thinking to have gone into it, but we found it to have a very shoal bar before it, for we had but ten foot water….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.309

The fourth, in the morning, as soon as the day was light, we saw that it was good riding farther up. So we sent our boat to sound, and found that it was a very good harbor, and four and five fathoms, two cables length from the shore. Then we weighed and went in with our ship….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.309

The fifth, in the morning, as soon as the day was light, the wind ceased and the flood came. So we heaved off our ship again into five fathoms of water, and sent our boat to sound the bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the south shore. Our men went on land there, and saw great store of men, women, and children, who gave them tobacco at their coming on land….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.309–p.310

The sixth, in the morning, was fair weather, and our master sent John Colman, with four other men in our boat, over to the north-side to sound the other river, being four leagues from us. They found by the way shoal water, two fathoms; but at the north of the river eighteen, and twenty fathoms, and very good riding for ships; and a narrow river to the westward, between two islands. The lands, they told us, were as pleasant with grass and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seen, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open sea, and returned; and as they came back, they were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteen men. The night came on, and it began to rain, so that their match went out; and they had one man slain in the fight, which was an Englishman, named John Colman, with an arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so dark that they could not find the ship that night, but labored to and fro on their oars….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.310

The eleventh was fair and very hot weather. At one of the clock in the afternoon we weighed and went into the river, the wind at south south-west, little wind. Our soundings were seven, six, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathoms. Then it shoaled again, and came to five fathoms. Then we anchored, and saw that it was a very good harbor for all winds, and rode all night. The people of the country came aboard of us, making show of love, and gave us tobacco and Indian wheat, and departed for that night; but we durst not trust them.

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.310

The twelfth, very fair and hot. In the afternoon, at two of the clock, we weighed, the wind being variable between the north and the north-west. So we turned into the river two leagues and anchored….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.310

The thirteenth, fair weather, the wind northerly. At seven of the clock in the morning, as the flood came we weighed, and turned four miles into the river. The tide being done we anchored. Then there came four canoes aboard: but we suffered none of them to come into our ship….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.310–p.311

The fourteenth, in the morning, being very fair weather, the wind south-east, we sailed up the river twelve leagues, and had five fathoms, and five fathoms and a quarter less; and came to a strait between two points, and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms; and it trended north-east by north, one league: and we had twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathoms. The river is a mile broad: there is very high land on both sides. Then we went up northwest, a league and an half deep water. Then northeast by north, five miles; then north-west by north, two leagues, and anchored. The land grew very high and mountainous. The river is full of fish.

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.311

The fifteenth, in the morning, was misty, until the sun arose: then it cleared. So we weighed with the wind at south, and ran up into the river twenty leagues, passing by high mountains….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.311–p.312

The twentieth, in the morning, was fair weather. Our master's mate with four men more went up with our boat to sound the river, and found two leagues above us but two fathoms water, and the channel very narrow; and above that place, seven or eight fathoms. Toward night they returned: and we rode still all night. The one and twentieth was fair weather, and the wind all southerly: we determined yet once more to go farther up into the river, to try what depth and breadth it did bear; but much people resorted aboard, so we went not this day. Our carpenter went on land, and made a fore-yard. And our master and his mate determined to try some of the chief men of the country, whether they had any treachery in them. So they took them down into the cabin, and gave them so much wine and aqua vitae, that they were all merry: and one of them had his wife with him, which sat so modestly, as any of our country women would do in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunk, which had been aboard of our ship all the time that we had been there: and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it. The canoes and folk went all on shore: but some of them came again, and brought straps of beads: some had six, seven, eight, nine, ten; and gave him. So he slept all night quietly.

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.312

The two and twentieth was fair weather: in the morning our master's mate and four more of the company went up with our boat to sound the river higher up…. This night, at ten of the clock, our boat returned in a shower of rain from sounding of the river; and found it to be at an end for shipping to go in. For they had been up eight or nine leagues, and found but seven foot water, and inconstant soundings.

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.312

The three and twentieth, fair weather. At twelve of the clock we weighed, and went down two leagues to a shoal that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tide laid us upon it. So there we sat on ground the space of an hour till the flood came. Then we had a little gale of wind at the west. So we got our ship into deep water, and rode all night very well.

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.312–p.313

The four and twentieth was fair weather: the wind at the north-west, we weighed, and went down the river seven or eight leagues; and at half ebb we came on ground on a bank of oze in the middle of the river, and sat there till the flood. Then we went on land, and gathered good store of chestnuts. At ten of the clock we came off into deep water, and anchored….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.313

The six and twentieth was fair weather, and the wind at south a stiff gale; we rode still. In the morning our carpenter went on land, with our master's mate and four more of our company, to cut wood. This morning, two canoes came up the river from the place where we first found loving people, and in one of them was the old man that had laid aboard of us at the other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more straps of beads and gave them to our master, and showed him all the country thereabout as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine with him, and the old man's wife: for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of the age of sixteen or seventeen years with them, who behaved themselves very modestly. Our master gave one of the old men a knife, and they gave him and us tobacco. And at one of the clock they departed down the river, making signs that we should come down to them; for we were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.313

The first of October, fair weather, the wind variable between the west and the north. In the morning we weighed at seven of the clock with the ebb, and got down below the mountains, which was seven leagues. Then it fell calm and the flood was come, and we anchored at twelve of the clock. The people of the mountains came aboard us, wondering at our ship and weapons….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.314

The second, fair weather. At break of day we weighed, the wind being at north-west, and got down seven leagues; then the flood was come strong, so we anchored. Then came one of the savages that swam away from us at our going up the river with many others, thinking to betray us. But we perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.314

The fifth was fair weather, and the wind variable between the north and the east. We held on our course south-east by east….

Juet, Discovery of the Hudson, America, Vol.1, p.314

We continued our course toward England, without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this month of October: and on the seventh day of November, stilo novo, being Saturday, by the grace of God we safely arrived in the range of Dartmouth, in Devonshire, in the year 1609.

Hudson's Third Voyage

Title: Hudson's Third Voyage

Author: John De Laet

Date: 1609

Source: America, Vol.1, pp.315-320

Hudson was not the first to discover any one of the three bodies of water that bear his name. But he pushed his explorations further, and as a result gave a more complete record to the world, than any of his predecessors.

Hudson sailed from Amsterdam in the "Half Moon in 1609. His friend, Captain John Smith, had written him from Virginia that there was a sea to the north of the English Colonies that led info the Western Ocean. Then Hudson's men reached the end of their endurance, and refused to go on, he turned south to visit Captain John Smith at Jamestown, but changed his mind after they had entered Chesapeahe Bay, and turned northward again and explored Delaware Bay before he found the mouth of the majestic river that bears his name today.

Hudson's journal has been lost, but De Laet, from whose account of the "Nieuwe Werelt" ("New World", 1625) this extract is taken, undoubtedly had Hudson's own words before him.

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.315–p.316

AS TO THE first discovery, the Directors of the privileged East India Company, in 1609, dispatched the yacht, "Half Moon," under the command of Henry Hudson, captain and supercargo, to seek a passage to China by the northeast. But he changed his course and stood over towards New France; and, having passed the banks of Newfoundland in latitude 40° 23', he made the land in latitude 44° 15', with a west-north-west and northwest course, and went on shore at a place where there were many of the natives with whom, as he understood, the French came every year to trade. Sailing hence, he bent his course to the south, until running south-south-west, and south-west by south, posed to be an island, and gave it the name of New Holland, but afterwards discovered that it was Cape Cod, and that, according to his observation, it lay two hundred and twenty-five miles to the west of its place on all the charts. Pursuing his course to the south, he again saw land in latitude 37° 15'. The coast was low, running north and south; and opposite to it lay a bank or shoal, within which there was a depth of eight, nine, ten, eleven, seven, and six and a half fathoms, with a sandy bottom. Hudson called this place Dry Cape.

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.316–p.317

Changing his course to the northward, he again discovered land in latitude 38° 9', where there was a white sandy shore, and within appeared a thick grove of trees full of green foliage. The direction of the coast was north-north-east and south-south-west for about twenty-four miles, then north and south for twenty-one miles, and afterwards south-east and north-west for fifteen miles. They continued to run along the coast to the north, until they reached a point from which the land stretches to the west and northwest where several rivers discharge into an open bay. Land was seen to the east-north-east, which Hudson at first took to be an island; but it proved to be the main land, and the second point of the bay, in latitude 38° 54'. Standing in upon a course north-west by east, they soon found themselves embayed, and, encountering many breakers, stood out again to the south-south-east. Hudson suspected that a large river discharged into the bay, from the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands and shoals.

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.317

Continuing their course along the shore to the north, they observed a white sandy beach and drowned land within, beyond which there appeared a grove of wood, the coast running north-east by east and south-west by south. Afterwards the direction of the coast changed to north by east, and was higher land than they had yet seen. They at length reached a lofty promontory or headland, behind which was situated a bay, which they entered and run up into a roadstead near a low sandy point, in latitude 40° 18'. There they were visited by two savages clothed in elkskins, who showed them every sign of friendship. On the land they found an abundance of blue plums and magnificent oaks, of a height and thickness that one seldom beholds; together with poplars, linden-trees, and various other kinds of wood useful in shipbuilding. Sailing hence in a north-easterly direction, they ascended a river to nearly 43° north latitude, where it became so narrow and of so little depth that they found it necessary to return.

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.317–p.318

From all that they could learn, there had never been any ships or Christians in that quarter before; and they were the first to discover the river and ascend it so far. Henry Hudson returned to Amsterdam with his report; and in the following year, 1610, some merchants again sent a ship thither,—that is to say, to the second river discovered, which was called Manhattes from the savage nation that dwelt at its mouth. And subsequently their high Mightinesses, the States General, granted to these merchants the exclusive privilege of navigating this river and trading there. Whereupon, in the year 1615, a redoubt or fort was erected on the river, and occupied by a small garrison, of which we shall hereafter speak. Our countrymen have continued to make voyages thither from year to year, for the purpose of trafficking with the natives; and on this account the country has very justly received the name of New Netherlands.

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.318

HENRY HUDSON, who first discovered this river, and all that have since visited it, express their admiration of the noble trees growing upon its banks; and Hudson has himself described the manners and appearance of the people that he found dwelling within this bay, in the following terms:—

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.318–p.319

"When I came on shore, the swarthy natives all stood around and sung in their fashion; their clothing consisted of the skins of foxes and other animals, which they dress and make the skins into garments of various sorts. Their food is Turkish wheat (maize or Indian corn), which they cook by baking, and it is excellent eating. They all came on board, one after another, in their canoes, which are made of a single hollowed tree; their weapons are bows and arrows, pointed with sharp stones, which they fasten with hard resin. They had no houses, but slept under the blue heavens, sometimes on mats of bulrushes interwoven, and sometimes on the leaves of trees. They always carry with them all their goods, such as their food and green tobacco, which is strong and good for use. They appear to be a friendly people, but have a great propensity to steal, and are exceedingly adroit in carrying away whatever they take a fancy to."

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.319

In latitude 40° 48', where the savages brought very fine oysters to the ship, Hudson describes the country in the following manner: "It is as pleasant a land as one need tread upon; very abundant in all kinds of timber suitable for shipbuilding, and for making large casks or vats. The people had copper tobacco pipes, from which I inferred that copper might naturally exist there; and iron likewise according to the testimony of the natives, who, however, do not understand preparing it for use."

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.319–p.320

Hudson also states that they caught in the river all kinds of fresh-water fish with seines, and young salmon and sturgeon. In latitude 42° 18' he landed. "I sailed to the shore," he says, "in one of their canoes, with an old man, who was the chief of a tribe, consisting of forty men and seventeen women; these I saw there in a house well constructed of oak bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being well built, with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn, and beans of the last year's growth, and there lay near the house for the purpose of drying enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well made red wooden bowls; two men were also despatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste, with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night, but I returned after a short time on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, and it also abounds in trees of every description. The natives are a very good people; for, when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows, and, taking the arrows, they broke them in pieces, and threw them into the fire," etc.

De Laet, Hudson's Third Voyage, America, Vol.1, p.320

He found there also vines and grapes, pumpkins, and other fruits, from all of which there is sufficient reason to conclude that it is a pleasant and fruitful country, and that the natives are well disposed, if they are only well treated; although they are very changeable, and of the same general character as all the savages in the north.

The First Representative Assembly

Title: The First Representative Assembly

Author: John Twine, Secretary

Date: 1619

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.90-100

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.90

REPORT of the manner of proceedings in the General assembly convened at James City in Virginia, July 30, 1619, consisting of the Governor, the Council of Estate and two Burgesses elected out of each incorporation and plantation, and being dissolved the 4th of August next ensuing.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.90

First. Sir George Yeardley, Knight Governor and captain general of Virginia, sent his summons all over the country, as well to invite those of the Council of Estate that were absent as also for the election of Burgesses….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.90–p.91

The most convenient place we could find to sit in was the quire of the church where Sir George Yeardley, the Governor, being set down in his accustomed place, those of the Council of Estate sat next him on both hands, except only the Secretary then appointed Speaker, who sat right before him, John Twine, clerk of the General assembly, being placed next the Speaker, and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant, standing at the bar, to be ready for any service the Assembly should command him. But forasmuch as men's affairs do little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses took their places in the quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the minister, that it would please God to guide and sanctify all our proceedings to his own glory and the good of this plantation. Prayer being ended, to the intent that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed with awful and due respect towards the Lieutenant, our most gracious and dread Sovereign, all the Burgesses were entreated to retire themselves into the body of the church, which being done, before they were fully admitted, they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) took the oath of supremacy, and then entered the Assembly….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.91

These obstacles removed, the Speaker, who a long time had been extreme sickly and therefore not able to pass through long harangues, delivered in brief to the whole assembly the occasions of their meeting. Which done, he read unto them the commission for establishing the Council of Estate and the general Assembly, wherein their duties were described to the life.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.91–p.92

Having thus prepared them, he read over unto them the great charter, or commission of privileges, orders and laws, sent by Sir George Yeardley out of England. Which for the more ease of the committees, having divided into four books, he read the former two the same forenoon, for expedition's sake, a second time over; and so they were referred to the perusal of two committees, which did reciprocally consider of either, and accordingly brought in their opinions. But some men may here object to what end we should presume to refer that to the examination of the committees which the Council and company in England had already resolved to be perfect, and did expect nothing but our assent thereunto? To this we answer that we did it not to the end to correct or control anything therein contained, but only in case we should find ought not perfectly squaring with the state of this colony or any law which did press or bind too hard, that we might by way of humble petition, seek to have it redressed, especially because this great charter is to bind us and our heirs forever….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.92–p.93

After dinner the Governor and those that were not of the committees sat a second time, while the said committees were employed in the perusal of those two books. And whereas the Speaker had propounded four several objects for the Assembly to consider: First, the great charter of orders, laws, and privileges; Secondly, which of the instructions given by the Council in England to my lord Delaware, Captain Argall or Sir George Yeardley, might conveniently put on the habit of laws; Thirdly, what laws might issue out of the private conceit of any of the Burgesses, or any other of the colony; and lastly, what petitions were fit to be sent home for England. It pleased the Governor for expedition's sake to have the second object of the four to be examined and prepared by himself and the non-committees. Wherein after having spent some three hours' conference, the two committees brought in their opinions concerning the two former books, (the second of which begins at these words of the charter: And forasmuch as our intent is to establish one equal and uniform kind of government over all Virginia, etc.,) which the whole Assembly, because it was late, deferred to treat of till the next morning….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.93

There remaining no farther scruple in the minds of the Assembly, touching the said great charter of laws, orders and privileges, the Speaker put the same to the question, and so it had both the general assent and the applause of the whole assembly, who, as they professed themselves in the first place most submissively thankful to Almighty God, therefore so they commanded the Speaker to return (as now he does) their due and humble thanks to the Treasurer, Council and company for so many privileges and favors as well in their own names as in the names of the whole colony whom they represented.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.93

This being dispatched we fell once more debating of such instructions given by the Council in England to several Governors as might be converted into laws, the last whereof was the establishment of the price of tobacco, namely, of the best at 3d and the second at 18d the pound, . . .

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.93

Monday, Aug. 2.

. . ., the Committees appointed to consider what instructions are fit to be converted into laws, brought in their opinions, and first of some of the general instructions.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.94

Here begin the laws drawn out of the instructions given by his Majesty's Council of Virginia in England….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.94

By this present General Assembly be it enacted, that no injury or oppression be wrought by the English against the Indians whereby the present peace might be disturbed and ancient quarrels might be revived. And farther be it ordained that the Chicohomin are not to be excepted out of this law; until either that such order come out of England, or that they do provoke us by some new injury.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.94

Against idleness, gaming, drunkenness and excess in apparel the Assembly has enacted as follows:

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.94

First, in detestation of idleness be it enacted, that if any men be found to live as an idler or renegade, though a freedman, it shall be lawful for that incorporation or plantation to which he belongs to appoint him a master to serve for wages, till he show apparent signs of amendment.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.94

Against gaming at dice and cards be it ordained by this present assembly that the winner or winners shall lose all his or their winnings and both winners and loosers shall forfeit ten shillings a man, one ten shillings whereof to go to the discoverer, and the rest to charitable and pious uses in the incorporation where the fault is committed.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.94–p.95

Against drunkenness be it also decreed that if any private person be found culpable thereof, for the first time he is to be reproved privately by the minister, the second time publicly, the third time to lie in bolts 12 hours in the house of the Provost Marshal and to pay his fee, and if he still continue in that vice, to undergo such severe punishment as the Governor and Council of Estate shall think fit to be inflicted on him. But if any officer offend in this crime, the first time he shall receive a reproof from the Governor, the second time he shall openly be reproved in the church by the minister, and the third time he shall first be committed and then degraded. Provided it be understood that the Governor has always power to restore him when he shall, in his discretion think fit.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.95

Against excess in apparel that every man be assessed in the church for all public contributions, if he be unmarried according to his own apparel, if he be married according to his own and his wife's, or either of their apparel….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.95

Be it enacted by this present assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian religion, each town, city, borough, and particular plantation do obtain unto themselves by just means a certain number of the natives children to be educated by them in the true religion and civil course of life of which children the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature, so to be fitted for the college intended for them that from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.96

As touching the business of planting corn this present Assembly does ordain that year by year all and every householder and householders have in store for every servant he or they shall keep, and also for his or their own persons, whether they have any servants or no, one spare barrel of corn, to be delivered out yearly, either upon sale or exchange as need shall require. For the neglect of which duty he shall be subject to the censure of the Governor and Council of Estate. Provided always that the first year of every new man this law shall not be of force.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.96

About the plantation of mulberry trees, be it enacted that every man as he is seated upon his division, do for seven years together, every year plant and maintain in growth six mulberry trees at the least, and as many more as he shall think convenient and as his virtue and industry shall move him to plant, and that all such persons as shall neglect the yearly planting and maintaining of that small proportion shall be subject to the censure of the Governor and the Council of Estate.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.96

Be it farther enacted as concerning silk-flax, that those men that are upon their division or settled habitation do this next year plant and dress 100 plants, which being found a commodity, may farther be increased. And whosoever do fail in the performance of this shall be subject to this punishment of the Governor and Council of Estate.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.96–p.97

For hemp also both English and Indian, and for English flax and anniseeds, we do require and enjoin all householders of this colony that have any of those seeds to make trial thereof the next season.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.97

Moreover be it enacted by this present Assembly, that every householder do yearly plant and maintain ten vines until they have attained to the art and experience of dressing a vineyard either by their own industry or by the instruction of some vigneron. And that upon what penalty soever the Governor and Council of Estate shall think fit to impose upon the neglecters of this act.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.97

Be it also enacted that all necessary tradesmen, or so many as need shall require, such as are come over since the departure of Sir Thomas Dale, or that shall hereafter come, shall work at their trades for any other man, each one being paid according to the quality of his trade and work, to be estimated, if he shall not be contented, by the Governor and officers of the place where he works.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.97

Be it further ordained by this General Assembly, and we do by these presents enact, that all contracts made in England between the owners of land and their tenants and servants which they shall send hither, may be caused to be duly performed, and that the offenders be punished as the Governor and Council of Estate shall think just and convenient.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.97–p.98

Be it established also by this present Assembly that no crafty or advantageous means be suffered to put in practice for the enticing away the tenants or servants of any particular plantation from the place where they are seated. And that it shall be the duty of the Governor and Council of Estate most severely to punish both the seducers and the seduced, and to return these latter into their former places….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.98

Tuesday, Aug. 3, 1619.

…. Captain William Powell presented a petition to the general Assembly against one Thomas Garnett, a servant of his, not only for extreme neglect of his business to the great loss and prejudice of the said Captain, and for openly and impudently abusing his house,. . . but also for falsely accusing him to the Governor both of drunkenness and theft, and besides for bringing all his fellow-servants to testify on his side, wherein they justly failed him. It was thought fit by the general assembly (the Governor himself giving sentence), that he should stand four days with his ears nailed to the pillory, viz: Wednesday, Aug. 4th, and so likewise Thursday, Friday and Saturday next following, and every of those four days should be publicly whipped. Now, as touching the neglect of his work, what satisfaction ought to be made to his master for that is referred to the Governor and Council of Estate.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.98

The same morning the laws above written, drawn out of the instructions, were read, and one by one thoroughly examined, and then passed once again the general consent of the whole Assembly….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.99

Wednesday Aug. 4th.

This day (by reason of extreme heat, both past and likely to ensue, and by that means of the alteration of the healths of diverse of the general Assembly) the Governor, who himself also was not well, resolved should be the last of this first session; so in the morning the Speaker (as he was required by the Assembly) read over all the laws and orders that had formerly passed the house, to give the same yet one review more, and to see whether there were anything to be amended or that might be excepted against. This being done, the third sort of laws which I am now coming to set down, were read over thoroughly discussed, which together with the former, did now pass the last and final consent of the General Assembly.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.99

A third sort of laws, such as may issue out of every man's private conceit.

…. All ministers in the colony shall once a year, namely, in the month of March, bring to the Secretary of Estate a true account of all christenings, burials and marriages, upon pain, if they fail, to be censured for their negligence by the Governor and Council of Estate; likewise, where there be no ministers, that the commanders of the place do supply the same duty….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.99–p.100

All ministers shall duly read divine service, and exercise their ministerial function according to the ecclesiastical laws and orders of the church of England, and every Sunday in the afternoon shall catechize such as are not yet ripe to come to the communion. And whosoever of them shall be found negligent or faulty in this kind shall be subject to the censure of the Governor and Council of Estate….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.100

All persons whatsoever upon the Sabbath day shall frequent divine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon, and all such as bear arms shall bring their pieces, swords, powder and shot. And every one that shall transgress this law shall forfeit three shillings a time to the use of the church, all lawful and necessary impediments excepted. But if a servant in this case shall willfully neglect his master's command he shall suffer bodily punishment.

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.100

No maid or woman servant, either now resident in the colony or hereafter to come, shall contract herself in marriage without either the consent of her parents, or of her master or mistress, or of the magistrate and minister of the place both together. And whatsoever minister shall marry or contract any such persons without some of the foresaid consents shall be subject to the severe censure of the Governor and Council of Estate….

First Representative Assembly, America, Vol.2, p.100

In sum Sir George Yeardley, the Governor prorogued the said General Assembly till the first of March, which is to fall out this present year of 1619, and in the mean season dissolved the same.

Origin of Slavery in America

Title: Origin of Slavery in America

Author: John A. Doyle

Date: 1620

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.75-77

Doyle, Origin of Slavery in America, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.75

The economical success which had attended the introduction of negroes into the West Indies made it almost certain that the American colonies would betake themselves to the same resource. The first introduction of negroes is commonly placed in the years 1620, when a Dutch ship landed twenty of them for sale at Jamestown. For some years their numbers increased but slowly. In 1649 Virginia contained only three hundred. By 1661 they had increased to two thousand, while the indented servants were four times that number. Twenty-two years later, if we may trust Culpepper's statement, the number of white servants was nearly doubled, while that of the negroes had only increased by one-half. Of their numbers and proportions in Maryland and North Carolina we have no definite evidence. In South Carolina negro slavery seems to have been almost from the outset the prevalent form of industry.

Doyle, Origin of Slavery in America, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.76

As early as 1708 we are told that three-fifths of the population were blacks. This alteration in the relative numbers of white servants and black slaves was accelerated by a change which had come over the commercial policy of the English Government. In 1662 the Royal African Company was incorporated. At the head of it was the Duke of York, and the King himself was a large shareholder. The chief profit of this company was derived from the exportation of negroes from Guinea to the plantations. The King and his brother henceforth had a direct interest in limiting the supply of indented servants, and it is not unlikely that this explains why Jeffreys for once deviated into the paths of humanity and justice….

Doyle, Origin of Slavery in America, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.76

Had negro slavery never existed, had the natural resources of the Southern colonies favored the growth of a free yeomanry, the system of indenture would have been admirably fitted to establish a population of small proprietors, trained in habits of industry and in a competent knowledge of agriculture. The social and industrial life of the colonies forbade this. A peasant proprietary can only exist under severe restraints as to increase, or where there is urban life to take off the surplus population for trades and handicrafts. The Southern colonies fulfilled neither of these conditions. When the servant was out of his indentures there was no place for him. He could not become a shopkeeper or craftsman or a free agricultural laborer, for none of these callings existed. Moreover, the very same conditions of soil and climate which enabled slavery to exist, made it possible for the freeman to procure a scanty livelihood, without any habits of settled industry. Thus the liberated servant became an idler, socially corrupt, and often politically dangerous. He furnished that class justly described by a Virginian of that day as "a foeculum of beings called overseers, a most abject, unprincipled race." He was the forerunner, and possibly in some degree the progenitor, of that class who did so much to intensify the evils of slavery, the "mean whites" of later times….

Doyle, Origin of Slavery in America, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.77

When once negro slavery was firmly established, any rival form of industry was doomed. For it is an economical law of slavery, that where it exists it must exist without a rival. It can only succeed where it is a predominant form of labor. The utility of the slave is that of a machine. When once he has been trained to any special kind of industry, no attempts to enlarge his sphere of activity can be attended with profit. The time given to the new acquisition is so much waste, and his mental incapacity and absence of any moral interest in his work almost necessarily limits him to a single task. Thus, as we have seen, the many attempts to develop varied forms of production in the Southern colonies failed. Maryland and Virginia grew only tobacco. South Carolina grew mainly rice. Moreover, the spectacle of the free laborer working on the same soil and at the same task, would be fatal to that resignation, and that complete moral and intellectual subjection, which alone can make slave labor possible. Thus the cheaper and more efficient system obtained the mastery so completely that by the beginning of the eighteenth century slave and negro had become well-nigh synonymous terms.

The Voyage of the Mayflower

Title: The Voyage of the Mayflower

Author: William Bradford

Date: 1620

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.101-112

William Bradford was born in 1588 at Austerfield, near Scrooby, the English home of the Pilgrim Fathers. At sixteen years of age he became one of the three guiding spirits of the Pilgrims (Brewster and Robinson were the other two) in their flight from England to Holland and then to America. Following the death of Governor Carver in 1621 he was elected governor at Plymouth. This office he held with two slight breaks until his death.

The original manuscript of Bradford's "History of Plimouth Plantation," from which this account of the voyage of the Mayflower is taken, disappeared from the Old South Meeting-house at the time of the British evacuation of Boston. It was discovered in 1855 in the Bishop of London's palace at Fulham, and 42 years later was returned by the English Church authorities, mainly through the efforts of Senator Hoar, and is now in the Massachusetts State library.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.101

AT length, after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship was bought, and fitted in Holland, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden about 9 score; and all other things got in readiness….

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.101–p.102

Being thus put to sea they had not gone far, but Mr. Reinolds the master of the lesser ship complained that he found his ship so leaky as he dare not put further to sea till she was mended. So the master of the bigger ship (called Mr. Jones) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth and have her there searched and mended, which accordingly was done, to their great charge and loss of time and a fair wind. She was here thoroughly searched from stem to stern, some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen and all, that she was sufficient, and they might proceed without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea again, conceiving they should go comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for after they were gone to sea again above 100 leagues without the land's end, holding company together all this while, the master of the small ship complained his ship was so leaky as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consultation again, and resolved both ships to bear up back again and put into Plymouth, which accordingly was done. But no special leak could be found, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship, and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company, and proceed with the other ship….

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.102–p.103

THESE troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued diverse days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet according to the usual manner many were afflicted with sea-sickness. And I may not omit here a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the sea-men, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be contemning the poor people in their sickness and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had; and if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him….

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.103–p.104

But to omit other things, (that I may be brief,) after long beating at sea they fall with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had among themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's river for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell among dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape-harbor where they rode in safety. A word or two by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnol and his company, Anno Domine: 1602, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name among sea-men. Also that point which first showed those dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoals, and the losses they have suffered there.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.104

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.104–p.105–p.106

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at these poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor. It is recorded in scripture as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage view. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world….

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.106

Being thus arrived at Cape-Cod the 11 of November, and necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation, (as well as the master's and mariners Importunity,) they having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up; but being much bruised and shattered in the ship with foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending. Whereupon a few of them tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, while the shallop was in mending; and the rather because as they went into that harbor there seemed to be an opening some 2 or 3 leagues off, which the master judged to be a river. It was conceived there might be some danger in the attempt, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to go, being 16 of them well armed, under the conduct of Captain Standish, having such instructions given them as was thought meet.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.106–p.107

They set forth the 15 of November: and when they had marched about the space of a mile by the seaside, they espied 5 or 6 persons with a dog coming towards them, who were savages; but they fled from them, and ran up into the woods, and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speak with them, and partly to discover if there might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indians seeing themselves thus followed, they again forsook the woods, and ran away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the track of their feet sundry miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their rendezvous and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet the night, and the next morning followed their track till they had headed a great creek, and so\_ left the sands, and turned another way into the woods. But they still followed them by guess, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soon lost both them and themselves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their clothes and armor in pieces, but were most distressed for want of drink.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.107–p.108

But at length they found water and refreshed themselves, being the first New England water they drunk of, and was now in their great thirst as pleasant unto them as wine or beer had been in former times. Afterwards they directed their course to come to the other shore, for they knew it was a neck of land they were to cross over, and so at length got to the seaside, and marched to this supposed river, and by the way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantity of clear ground where the Indians had formerly set corn, and some of their graves. And proceeding further they saw new stubble where corn had been set the same year, also they found where lately a house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverse fair Indian baskets filled with corn, and some in ears, fair and good, of diverse colors, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (having never seen any such before). This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seek; unto which they went and found it to open itself into 2 arms with a high cliff of sand in the entrance, but more like to be creeks of salt water than any fresh, for ought they saw; and that there was good harborage for their shallop; leaving it further to be discovered by their shallop when she was ready. So their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship, least they should be in fear of their safety; and took with them part of the corn, and buried up the rest, and so like the men from Eshcoll carried with them of the fruits of the land, and showed their brethren; of which, and their return, they were marvelously glad, and their hearts encouraged….

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.108–p.109

The month of November being spent in these affairs, and much foul weather falling in, the 6 of December: they sent out their shallop again with 10 of their principal men, and some seamen, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape-Cod. The weather was very cold, and it froze so hard that the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed; yet that night betimes they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some 10 to 12 Indians very busy about something. They landed about a league or 2 from them, and had much ado to put ashore anywhere, it lay so full of fiats. Being landed, it grew late, and they made themselves a barricade with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time, and set out their sentinel and betook them to rest, and saw the smoke of the fire the savages made that night.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.109

When morning was come they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat, and the rest marched through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to the place where they saw the Indians the night before, and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2 inches thick of fat like a hog, some pieces whereof they had left by the way; and the shallop found 2 more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usual after storms in that place, by reason of the great flats of sand that lie off. So they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When the sun grew low, they hastened out of the woods to meet with their shallop, to whom they made signs to come to them into a creek hard by, the which they did at highwater; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day, since the morning.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.109–p.110

So they made them a barricade (as usually they did every night) with logs, stakes, and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (making their fire in the middle, and lying round about it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betook them to rest….

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.110–p.111

From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but discerned no place likely for harbor; and therefore hastened to a place that their pilot, (one Mr. Coppin who had been in the country before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather. After some hours sailing, it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as 2 men could do to steer her with a couple of oars. But their pilot bade them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbor; but the storm increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in, while they could see. But herewith they broke their mast in 3 pieces, and their sail fell overboard, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them struck into the harbor. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived in the place, and said, the Lord be merciful unto them, for his eyes never saw that place before; and he and the master mate would have run her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before the wind. But a lusty seaman which steered, bade those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheer and row lustily, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.111–p.112

And though it was very dark, and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island, and remained there all that night in safety. But they knew not this to be an island till morning, but were divided in their minds; some would keep the boat for fear they might be among the Indians; others were so weak and cold, they could not endure, but got ashore, and with much ado got fire, (all things being so wet,) and the rest were glad to come to them; for after midnight the wind shifted to the north-west, and it froze hard. But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing (as usually he does to his children), for the next day was a fair sunshining day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces, and rest themselves, and gave God thanks for his mercies, in their manifold deliverances. And this being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath. On Monday they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land and found diverse cornfields, and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation; at least it was the best they could find, and the season, and their present necessity, made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

Bradford, Voyage of the Mayflower, America, Vol.2, p.112

On the 15 of December: they weighed anchor to go to the place they had discovered, and came within 2 leagues of it, but were fain to bear up again; but the 16 day the wind came fair, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And afterwards took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling; and the 25 day began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods….

How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived

Title: How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived

Author: Edward Winslow

Date: 1621

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.115-120

During the first terrible winter at Plymouth, Edward Winslow's wife died, and likewise Mrs. Susannah White's husband. Mrs. White not only survived but gave birth to the first white child born in New England, Peregrine White. Two months after Mrs. Winslow's death New England's first wedding took place between Edward Winslow and Susannah White.

Edward Winslow was one of the great men of the Plymouth Colony, and was several times elected Governor. Once on a visit to England he appeared before the Crown Council and argued successfully against any attempt to destroy the self-government of the colony. His best remembered benefit to the colony was to negotiate a treaty with the Indian Chief Massasoit.

This description of living conditions was contained in a letter Winslow wrote soon after the landing from the Mayflower, and gives a vivid first-hand picture of the problems the Pilgrims faced.

Winslow, How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived, America, Vol.2, p.115

ALTHOUGH I received no letter from you by this ship, yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was, to write unto you truly and faithfully of all things, I have therefore at this time sent unto you accordingly, referring you for further satisfaction to our more large relations.

Winslow, How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived, America, Vol.2, p.115–p.116

You shall understand that in this little time a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling-houses and four for the use of the plantation, and have made preparation for divers others. We set last spring some twenty acres of Indian corn, and sowed some six acres of barley and peas; and according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with herrings, or rather shads, which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors. Our corn did prove well; and, God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian corn, and our barley indifferent good, but our peas not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sown. They came up very well, and blossomed; but the sun parched them in the blossom.

Winslow, How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived, America, Vol.2, p.116

Our harvest being gotten in, our governor sent four men on fowling, that so we might, after a special manner, rejoice together after we had gathered the fruit of our labors. They four in one day killed as much fowl as, with a little help beside, served the company almost a week. At which time, among other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming among us, and among the rest their greatest king, Massasoit, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted; and they went out and killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation, and bestowed on our governor, and upon the captain and others. And although it be not always so plentiful as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God we are so far from want, that we often wish you partakers of our plenty.

Winslow, How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived, America, Vol.2, p.116–p.117

We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us, very loving, and ready to pleasure us. We often go to them, and they come to us. Some of us have been fifty miles by land in the country with them, the occasions and relations whereof you shall understand by our general and more full declaration of such things as are worth the noting. Yea, it has pleased God so to possess the Indians with a fear of us and love unto us, that not only the greatest king among them, called Massasoit, but also all the princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us; so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end. Yea, an isle at sea, which we never saw, hath also, together with the former, yielded willingly to be under the protection and subject to our sovereign lord King James. So that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly, neither would have been but for us; and we, for our parts, walk as peaceably and safely in the wood as in the highways in England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestowing their venison on us. They are a people without any religion or knowledge of any God, yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, ripe-witted, just.

Winslow, How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived, America, Vol.2, p.117–p.118

For the temper of the air here, it agrees well with that in England; and if there be any difference at all, this is somewhat hotter in summer. Some think it to be colder in winter; but I cannot out of experience so say. The air is very clear, and not foggy, as has been reported. I never in my life remember a more seasonable year than we have here enjoyed; and if we have once but kine, horses, and sheep, I make no question but men might live as contented here as in any part of the world. For fish and fowl, we have great abundance. Fresh cod in the summer is but coarse meat with us. Our bay is full of lobsters all the summer, and affords a variety of other fish. In September we can take a hogshead of eels in a night, with small labor, and can dig them out of their beds all the winter. We have muscles and othus [others?] at our doors. Oysters we have none near, but we can have them brought by the Indians when we will. All the spring-time the earth sends forth naturally very good salad herbs. Here are grapes, white and red, and very sweet and strong also; strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries, etc.; plums of three sorts, white, black, and red, being almost as good as a damson; abundance of roses, white, red and damask; single, but very sweet indeed. The country wants only industrious men to employ; for it would grieve your hearts if, as I, you had seen so many miles together by goodly rivers uninhabited; and withal, to consider those parts of the world wherein you live to be even greatly burdened with abundance of people. These things I thought good to let you understand, being the truth of things as near as I could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalf give God thanks, who hath dealt so favorably with us.

Winslow, How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived, America, Vol.2, p.118–p.119

Our supply of men from you came the 9th of November, 1621, putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from us. The Indians that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the corn which we found in caves, for which we have given them full content, and are in great league with them. They sent us word there was a ship near unto them, but thought it to be a Frenchman; and indeed for ourselves we expected not a friend so soon. But when we perceived that she made for our bay, the governor commanded a great piece to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at work. Whereupon every man, yea boy, that could handle a gun, were ready, with full resolution that, if she were an enemy, we would stand in our just defense, not fearing them. But God provided better for us than we supposed. These came all in health, not any being sick by the way, otherwise than by sea-sickness, and so continue at this time, by the blessing of God….

Winslow, How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived, America, Vol.2, p.119

When it pleased God we are settled and fitted for the fishing business and other trading, I doubt not but by the blessing of God the gain will give content to all. In the meantime, that we have gotten we have sent by this ship; and though it be not much, yet it will witness for us that we have not been idle, considering the smallness of our number all this summer. We hope the merchants will accept of it, and be encouraged to furnish us with things needful for further employment, which will also encourage us to put forth ourselves to the uttermost.

Winslow, How the Pilgrim Fathers Lived, America, Vol.2, p.119–p.120

Now because I expect your coming unto us, with other of our friends, whose company we much desire, I thought good to advertise you of a few things needful. Be careful to have a very good bread-room to put your biscuits in. Let your cask for beer and water be iron-bound, for the first tire, if not more. Let not your meat be dry-salted; none can better do it than the sailors. Let your meal be so hard trod in your cask that you shall need an adz or hatchet to work it out with. Trust not too much on us for corn at this time, for by reason of this last company that came, depending wholly upon us, we shall have little enough till harvest. Be careful to come by some of your meal to spend by the way; it will much refresh you. Build your cabins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes and bedding with you. Bring every man a musket or fowling-piece. Let your piece be long in the barrel, and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands. Bring juice of lemons, and take it fasting; it is of good use. For hot waters, aniseed water is the best; but use it sparingly. If you bring anything for comfort in the country, butter or salad oil, or both, is very good. Our Indian corn, even the coarsest, makes as pleasant meat as rice; therefore spare that, unless to spend by the way. Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows, with cotton yarn for your lamps. Let your shot be most for big fowls, and bring store of powder and shot. I forbear further to write for the present, hoping to see you by the next return. So I take my leave, commending you to the Lord for a safe conduct unto us, resting in him,

Your loving friend,

E. W.

Founding of New Amsterdam

Title: Founding of New Amsterdam

Author: Nicholas Jean de Wassenaer

Date: 1623

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.121-126

Wassenaer was a Dutch historian. In his "Description of the First Settlement of New Netherland" he gives an account of the events that took place during his own lifetime.

Following the voyages of Sir Henry Hudson, the Dutch began trading with the natives and established a temporary trading post on the extreme southern end of Manhattan Island. As their trade flourished it became so profitable that the West India Company sent over a colony of thirty families, which located near the present site of Albany. This was in 1623. Two years later they decided upon a permanent colony on Manhattan Island and other settlers came over and settled there.

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.121

NUMEROUS voyages realize so much profit for adventurers that they discover other countries, which they afterwards settle and plant. Virginia, a country lying in 42 1/2 degrees, is one of these. It was first peopled by the French; afterwards by the English, and is to-day a flourishing colony. The Lords States General observing the great abundance of their people as well as their desire to plant other lands, allowed the West India Company to settle that same country. Many from the United Colonies did formerly and do still trade there;. . .

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.121–p.122

Those who come from the interior, yea thirty days' journey, declare there is considerable water everywhere and that the upper country is marshy; they make mention of great freshets which lay waste their lands; so that what many say may be true, that Hudson's Bay runs through to the South Sea, and is navigable, except when obstructed by the ice to the northward….

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.122

We treated in our preceding discourse of the discovery of some rivers in Virginia; the studious reader will learn how affairs proceeded. The West India Company being chartered to navigate these rivers, did not neglect so to do, but equipped in the spring [of 1623] a vessel of 130 lasts, called the New Netherland whereof Cornelis Jacobs of Hoorn was skipper, with 30 families, mostly Walloons, to plant a colony there. They sailed in the beginning of March, and directing their course by the Canary Islands, steered towards the wild coast, and gained the westwind which luckily (took) them in the beginning of May into the river called, first Rio de Montagnes, now the river Mauritius, lying in 40 1/2 degrees. He found a Frenchman lying in the mouth of the river, who would erect the arms of the King of France there; but the Hollanders would not permit him, opposing it by commission from the Lords States General and the directors of the West India Company; and in order not to be frustrated therein, with the assistance of those of the Mackerel which lay above, they caused a yacht of 2 guns to be manned, and convoyed the Frenchman out of the river, who would do the same thing in the south river, but he was also prevented by the settlers there.

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.122

This being done, the ship sailed up to the Maykans, 44 miles, near which they built and completed a fort named "Orange" with 4 bastions, on an island, by them called Castle Island….

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.123

Respecting these colonies, they have already a prosperous beginning; and the hope is that they will not fall through provided they be zealously sustained, not only in that place but in the South river. For their increase and prosperous advancement, it is highly necessary that those sent out be first of all well provided with means both of support and defense, and that being freemen, they be settled there on a free tenure; that all they work for and gain be theirs to dispose of and to sell it according to their pleasure; that whoever is placed over them as commander act as their father not as their executioner, leading them with a gentle hand; for whoever rules them as a friend and associate will be beloved by them, as he who will order them as a superior will subvert and nullify everything; yea, they will excite against him the neighboring provinces to which they will fly. 'Tis better to rule by love and friendship than by force….

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.123–p.124

As the country is well adapted for agriculture and the raising of everything that is produced here, the aforesaid Lords resolved to take advantage of the circumstances, and to provide the place with many necessaries, through the Honorable Pieter Evertsen Hulst, who undertook to ship thither, at his risk, whatever was requisite, to wit; one hundred and three head of cattle; stallions, mares, steers and cows, for breeding and multiplying, besides all the hogs and sheep that might be thought expedient to send thither; and to distribute these in two ships of one hundred and forty lasts, in such a manner that they should be well foddered and attended to….

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.124

In company with these, goes a fast sailing vessel at the risk of the directors. In these aforesaid vessels also go six complete families with some freemen, so that forty-five newcomers or inhabitants are taken out, to remain there. The natives of New Netherland are very well disposed so long as no injury is done them. But if any wrong be committed against them they think it long till they be revenged….

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.124

They are a wicked, bad people, very fierce in arms. Their dogs are small. When the Honorable Lambrecht van Twenhuyzen, once a skipper, had given them a big dog, and it was presented to them on ship-board, they were very much afraid of it; calling it, also, a Sachem of dogs, being the biggest. The dog, tied with a rope on board, was very furious against them, they being clad like beasts with skins, for he thought they were game; but when they gave him some of their bread made of Indian corn, which grows there, he learned to distinguish them, that they were men….

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.124

The Colony was planted at this time, on the Manhates where a Fort was staked out by Master Kryn Frederycke an engineer. It will be of large dimensions….

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.124–p.125

The government over the people of New Netherland continued on the 19th of August of this year in the aforesaid Minuit, successor to Verhulst, who went thither from Holland on 9th January, 1626, and took up his residence in the midst of a nation called Manhates, building a fort there, to be called Amsterdam, having four points and faced outside entirely with stone, as the walls of sand fall down, and are now more compact. The population consists of two hundred and seventy souls, including men, women, and children. They remained as yet without the fort, in no fear, as the natives live peaceably with them. They are situate three miles from the Sea, on the river by us called Mauritius, by others, Rio de Montagne….

De Wassenaer, Founding of New Amsterdam, America, Vol.2, p.125–p.126

After the Right Honorable Lords Directors of the privileged West India Company in the United Netherlands, had provided for the defense of New Netherland and put everything there in good order, they taking into consideration the advantages of said place, the favorable nature of the air, and soil, and that considerable trade and goods and many commodities may be obtained from thence, sent some persons, of their own accord, thither with all sorts of cattle and implements necessary for agriculture, so that in the year 1628 there already resided on the island of the Manhates, two hundred and seventy souls, men, women, and children, under Governor Minuit, Verhulst's successor, living there in peace with the natives. But as the land, in many places being full of weeds and wild productions, could not be properly cultivated in consequence of the scantiness of the population, the said Lords Directors of the West India Company, the better to people their lands, and to bring the country to produce more abundantly, resolved to grant diverse privileges, freedoms, and exemptions to all patroons, masters or individuals who should plant any colonies and cattle in New Netherland, and they accordingly have constituted and published in print (certain) exemptions, to afford better encouragement and infuse greater zeal into whomsoever should be inclined to reside and plant his colony in New Netherland.

The Beginnings of the Massachusetts Bay Colony

Title: The Beginnings of the Massachusetts Bay Colony

Author: Governor Thomas Dudley

Date: 1627-1631

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.114-118

Dudley, Beginnings of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.114

Touching the plantacon which wee here haue begun, it fell out thus about the yeare 1627 some friends beeing togeather in Lincolnesheire, fell into some discourse about New England and the plantinge of the gospell there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons by l'res [letters] & messages to some in London & the west country where it was likewise deliberately thought vppon [upon], and at length with often negociation soe ripened that in the year 1628. wee procured a patent from his Ma'tie for our planting between the Matachusetts Bay, and Charles river on the South; and the River of Merimack on the North and 3 miles on ether side of those Rivers & Bay, as allso for the government of those who did or should inhabit within that compass and the same year we sent Mr. John Endecott & some with him to beginne a plantacon & to strengthen such as he should bind there which wee sent thether from Dorchester & some places adioyning [adjoining]; from whom the same year receivinge hopefull news.

Dudley, Beginnings of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.115

The next year 1629 wee sent diverse shipps over w'th about 300 people, and some Cowes, Goates & Horses many of which arrived safely. Theis [these] by their too large comendacons [commendations] of the country, and the comodities thereof, invited us soe strongly to goe on that Mr. Wenthropp of Soffolke (who was well knowne in his own country & well approved heere for his pyety, liberality, wisedome & gravity) comeinge in to us, wee came to such resolution that in April 1630, wee sett saile from Old England with 4 good shipps. And in May following 8 more followed, 2 having gone before in February and March, and 2 more following in June and August, besides another set out by a private merchant. Theis 17 Shipps arrived all safe in New England, for the increase of the plantacon here theis yeare 1630….

Dudley, Beginnings of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.115

Our 4 shipps which sett out in Aprill arrived here in June and July, where wee found the colony in a sadd and unexpected condicon aboue 80 of them being dead the winter before and many of those aliue weake and sicke: all the corne & bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a forthnight, insoemuch that the remainder of 180 servants wee had the 2 years before sent over, comeinge to vs for victualls to sustaine them wee found ourselves wholly unable to feed them by reason that the p'visions [provisions] shipped for them were taken out of the shipp they were put in, and they who were trusted to shipp them in another failed us, and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us to our extreme loss togiue them all libertie; who had cost us about: 16 or 20þs [sterling] a person furnishing and sending over.

Dudley, Beginnings of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.116

But bearing theis things as wee might, wee beganne to consult of the place of our sitting downe: ffor Salem where wee landed, pleased us not. And to that purpose some were sent to the Bay to search vpp the rivers for a convenient place; who vppon their returne reported to haue found a good place vppon Mistick; but some other of us seconding theis to approoue [approve] or dislike of their judgment; we found a place [that] liked vs better 3 leagues vp Charles river—And there vppon vnshipped our goods into other vessels and with much cost and labour brought them in July to Charles Towne; but there receiveing advertisements by some of the late arived shipps from London and Amsterdam of some Ffrench preparations against vs (many of our people brought with vs beeing sick of ffeavers [fevers] & the scurvy and wee thereby vnable to car[r]y vp our ordinance and baggage soe farr) wee were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charles Towne which standeth on the North Side of the mouth of Charles River; some on the South Side thereof, which place we named Boston (as wee intended to haue done the place wee first resolved on) some of vs vppon Mistick, which wee named Meadford; some of vs westward on Charles river, 4 miles from Charles Towne, which place wee named Watertoune; others of vs 2 miles from Boston in a place wee named Rocksbury, others vppon the river of Sawgus betweene Salem and Charles Toune. And the westerne men 4 miles South from Boston at a place wee named Dorchester.

Dudley, Beginnings of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.117

This dispersion troubled some of vs, but helpe it wee could not, wanting abillity to remove to any place fit to build Toune vppon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer least [lest] the winter should surprize vs before wee had builded our houses…. of the people who came over with vs from the time of their setting saile from England in Aprill 1630. vntill December followinge there dyed by estimacon about 200 at the least—Soe lowe hath the Lord brought vs! Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged but bearing God's corrections with humilitye and trusting in his mercies, and considering how after a greater ebb hee had raised vpp our neighbours at Plymouth we beganne againe in December to consult a fitt place to build a Toune [town] vppon, leavinge all thoughts of a fort, because vppon any invasion wee were necessarily to loose our howses when we should retire thereinto; soe after diverse meetings at Boston, Rocksbury and Waterton on the 28th of December wee grew to this resolution to bind all the Assistants Mr. Endicott & Mr. Sharpe excepted, which last purposeth to returne by the next ships into England) to build howses at a place, a mile east from Waterton neere Charles river, the next Springe, and to winter there the next yeare, that soe by our examples and by removeinge the ordinance and munition thether, all who were able, might be drawne thether, and such as shall come to vs hereafter to their advantage bee compelled soe to doe; and so if God would, a fortifyed Toune might there grow vpp, the place fitting reasonably well thereto….

Dudley, Beginnings of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.118

But now haueing some leasure to discourse of the motiues for other mens comeinge to this place or their abstaining from it, after my brief manner I say this—That if any come hether [hither] to plant for worldly ends that canne live well at home hee co[m]mits an errour of which hee will soon repent him. But if for spirittuall [ends] and that noe particular obstacle hinder his removeall, he may finde here what may well content him: vizt: materialls to build, fewell [fuel] to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to ffish in, a pure ayer [air] to breath[e] in, good water to drinke till wine or beare canne be made, which togeather with the cowes, hoggs and goates brought hether allready may suffice for food, for as for foule [fowl] and venison, they are dainties here a well as in England. Ffor cloaths and beddinge they must bring them with them till time and industry produce them here. In a word, wee yett enioy [enjoy] little to bee envyed but endure much to be pittyed in the sicknes & mortalitye of our people.

The Settlement of Massachusetts

Title: The Settlement of Massachusetts

Author: Edward Johnson

Date: 1630

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.127-131

Captain Johnson, who came to Massachusetts Bay in 1630 with Governor Winthrop, and founded the town of Woburn, was a typical Puritan farmer-colonist, pious, brave and fond of recording current events. For twenty-eight years, from 1643 to 1671, he represented the town in the General Court, and served on many important committees.

His history of the settlement of Massachusetts is best known under its sub-title, "The Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Savior," published anonymously in London in 1654. It is valuable as a minute record of civil and ecclesiastical procedure in the Bay Colony, and has been incorporated in the Massachusetts Historical Collection.

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.127–p.128

WHEN England began to decline in religion, like lukewarm Laodicea, and instead of purging out popery, a farther compliance was sought, not only in vain, idolatrous ceremonies, but also in profaning the Sabbath, and by proclamation throughout their parish churches, exasperating lewd and profane persons to celebrate a Sabbath like the heathen to Venus, Bacchus and insomuch that the multitude of irreligious, lascivious and popish affected persons spread the whole land like grasshoppers, in this very time Christ the glorious King of his churches, raises an army out of our English nation, for freeing his people from their long servitude under usurping prelacy; and because every corner of England was filled with the fury of malignant adversaries, Christ creates a new England to muster up the first of his forces in; whose low condition, little number, and remoteness of place made these adversaries triumph, despising this day of small things, but in this height of their pride the Lord Christ brought sudden, and unexpected destruction upon them. Thus have you a touch of the time when this work began.

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.128

Christ Jesus intending to manifest His kingly office toward His churches more fully than ever yet the sons of men saw,. . . stirs up His servants as the heralds of a King to make this proclamation for volunteers as follows.

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.128

"Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! All you the people of Christ that are here oppressed, imprisoned and scurrilously derided, gather yourselves together, your wives and little ones, and answer to your several names as you shall be shipped for His service, in the western world, and more especially for planting the united colonies of New England; Where you are to attend the service of the King of Kings, upon the divulging of this proclamation by his heralds at arms….

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.128

This proclamation being audibly published through the isle of Great Britain by sundry heralds, which Christ had prepared for that end: the rumor ran through cities, towns and villages; when those that were opposites heard it, some cried one thing, and some another….

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.128–p.129

The place picked out by this people to settle themselves in, was in the bosom of the outstretched arm of Cape Anne, now called Gloucester, but at the place of their abode they began to build a town, which is called Salem, after some little space of time having made trial of the sordid spirits of the neighboring Indians, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their own, those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novelties, found a readier way to make an end of their master's provision, than they could find means to get more; they that came over their own men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong beer and full cups ran as small as water in a large land, but little corn, and the poor Indians so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out their own food with acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts, the ditch between England and their now place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staff, yet some delighting their eye with the rarity of things present, and feeding their fancies with new discoveries at the spring's approach, they made shift to rub out the winter's cold by the fireside, having fuel enough growing at their very doors, turning down many a drop of the bottle, and burning tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing between times, of the great progress they would make after the summer's sun had changed the earth's white furred gown into a green mantle….

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.129–p.130

This year 1629 came over three godly ministers of Christ Jesus, intending to show His power in His people's lowest condition as His manner is, thereby to strengthen their faith in following difficulties, and now although the number of the faithful people of Christ were but few, yet their longing desires to gather into a church were very great;. . . Wherefore they elected and ordained one Mr. Higgingson to be teacher of this first church of Christ….

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.130

AND now behold the several regiments of these A soldiers of Christ, as they are shipped for His service in the western world, part thereof being come to the town and port of Southampton in England, where they were to be shipped, that they might prosecute this design to the full, one ship called the Eagle, they wholly purchase, and many more they hire, filling them with the seed of man and beast to sow this yet untilled wilderness withal, making sale of such land as they possess, to the great admiration of their friends and acquaintance,. . .

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.130–p.131

But to go on with the story, the 12th of July or thereabout 1630 these soldiers of Christ first set foot on this western end of the world; where arriving in safety, both men, women and children. On the north side of Charles River, they landed near a small island, called Noddell's Island, where one Mr. Samuel Mavereck then living, a man of a very loving and courteous behavior, very ready to entertain strangers, yet an enemy to the reformation in hand, being strong for the lordly prelatical power on this island, he had built a small fort with the help of one Mr. David Tompson, placing therein four murderers to protect him from the Indians. About one mile distant upon the river ran a small creek, taking its name from Major General Edward Gibbons, who dwelt there for some years after; On the south side of the river on a point of land called Blaxton's Point, planted Mr. William Blaxton; to the south-east of him, near an island called Tompson's Island lived some few planters more, these persons were the first planters of those parts, having some small trading with the Indians for beaver skins, which moved them to make their abode in those parts, whom these first troops of Christ's army found as fit helps to further their work. At their arrival those small number of Christians gathered at Salem, greatly rejoicing and the more, because they saw so many that came chiefly for promoting the great work of Christ in hand, the Lady Arrabella and some other godly women abode at Salem, but their husbands continued at Charlestown, both for the settling the civil government, and gathering another church of Christ.

Johnson, Settlement of Massachusetts, America, Vol.2, p.131

The first court was held aboard the Arrabella the 23rd of August. When the much honored John Winthrop Esq. was chosen Governor for the remainder of that year, 1630. Also the worthy Thomas Dudley Esq. was chosen Deputy Governor, and Mr. Simon Bradstreet Secretary, the people after their long voyage were many of them troubled with the scurvy, and some of them died: the first station they took up was at Charlestown, where they pitched some tents of cloth, other built them small huts, in which they lodged their wives and children. The first beginning of this work seemed very dolorous….

The Founding of Connecticut

Title: The Founding of Connecticut

Author: Alexander Johnston

Date: 1633-1636

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.135-144

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.135

During the ten years after 1620, the twin colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay had been fairly shaken down into their places, and had even begun to look around them for opportunities of extension. It was not possible that the fertile and inviting territory to the southwest should long escape their notice. In 1629, De Rasieres, an envoy from New Amsterdam, was at Plymouth. He found the Plymouth people building a shallop for the purpose of obtaining a share in the wampum trade of Narragansett Bay; and he very shrewdly sold them at a bargain enough wampum to supply their needs, for fear they should discover at Narragansett the more profitable peltry trade beyond. This artifice only put off the evil day.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.135

Within the next three years, several Plymouth men, including Winslow, visited the Connecticut River, "not without profit." In April, 1631, a Connecticut Indian visited Governor Winthrop at Boston, asking for settlers, and offering to find them corn and furnish eighty beaver skins a year. Winthrop declined even to send an exploring party. In the midsummer of 1633, Winslow went to Boston to propose a joint occupation of the new territory by Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay; but the latter still refused, doubting the profit and the safety of the venture.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.136

Three months later Plymouth undertook the work alone. A small vessel, under command of William Holmes, was sent around by sea to the mouth of the Connecticut River, with the frame of a trading house and workmen to put it up. When Holmes had sailed up the river as far as the place where Hartford was afterward built, he found the Dutch already in possession. For ten years they had been talking of erecting a fort on the Varsche River; but the ominous and repeated appearance of New Englanders in the territory had roused them to action at last.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.136

John Van Corlear, with a few men, had been commissioned by Governor Van Twiller, and had put up a rude earthwork, with two guns, within the present jurisdiction of Hartford. His summons to Holmes to stop under penalty of being fired into met with no more respect than was shown by the commandant of Rensselaerswyck to his challengers, according to the veracious Knickerbocker. Holmes declared that he had been sent up the river, and was going up the river, and furthermore he went up the river. His little vessel passed on the present site of Windsor. Here the crew disembarked, put up and garrisoned their trading house, and then returned home. Plymouth had at least planted the flag far within the coveted and disputed territory.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.136

In December of the following year a Dutch force of seventy men from New Amsterdam appeared before the trading house to drive out the intruders. He must be strong who drives a Yankee away from a profitable trade; and the attitude of the little garrison was so determined that the Dutchmen, after a few hostile demonstrations, decided that the nut was too hard to crack, and withdrew. For about twenty years thereafter the Dutch held post at Hartford, isolated from Dutch support by a continually deepening mass of New Englanders, who refrained from hostilities, and waited until the apple was ripe enough to drop.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.137

With respect to the claims of the Indians, the attitudes of the two parties to the struggle were directly opposite. The Dutch came on the strength of purchase from the Pequots, the conquerors and lords paramount of the local Indians. Holmes brought to the Connecticut River in his vessel the local sachems, who had been driven away by the Pequots, and made his purchases from them. The English policy will account for the unfriendly disposition of the Pequots, and, when followed up by the tremendous overthrow of the Pequots, for Connecticut's permanent exemption from Indian difficulties. The Connecticut settlers followed a straight road, buying lands fairly from the Indians found in possession, ignoring those who claimed a supremacy based on violence, and, in case of resistance by the latter, asserting and maintaining for Connecticut an exactly similar title,—the right of the stronger. Those who claimed right received it; those who preferred force were accommodated.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.137

One route to the new territory by Long Island Sound and the Connecticut River, had thus been appropriated. The other, the overland route through Massachusetts, was explored during thesame year, 1633, by one John Oldham, who was murdered by the Pequots two years afterward. He found his way westward to the Connecticut River, and brought back most appetizing accounts of the upper Connecticut Valley; and his reports seem to have suggested a way out of a serious difficulty which had come to a head in Massachusetts Bay.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.138

The colony of Massachusetts Bay was at this time limited to a district covering not more than twenty or thirty miles from the sea, and its greatest poverty, as Cotton stated, was a poverty of men. And yet the colony was to lose part of its scanty store of men. Three of the eight Massachusetts towns, Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown (now Cambridge), had been at odds with the other five towns on several occasions; and the assigned reasons are apparently so frivolous as to lead to the suspicion that some fundamental difference was at the bottom of them. The three towns named had been part of the great Puritan influx of 1630. Their inhabitants were "newcomers," and this slight division may have been increased by the arrival and settlement, in 1633, of a number of strong men at these three towns, notably Hooker, Stone, and Haynes at Newtown. Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown showed many symptoms of an increase of local feeling: the two former led the way, in October, 1633, in establishing town governments under "selectmen;" and all three neglected or evaded, more or less, the fundamental feature of Massachusetts policy,—the limitation of office-holding and the elective franchise to church-members. The three towns fell into the position of the commonwealth's opposition, a position not particularly desirable at the time and under all the circumstances.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.139

The ecclesiastical leaders of Dorchester were Warham and Maverick; of Newtown, Hooker and Stone; of Watertown, Phillips. Haynes of Newtown, Ludlow of Dorchester, and Pynchon of Roxbury, were the principal lay leaders of the half-formed opposition. Some have thought that Haynes was jealous of Governor Winthrop, Hooker of Cotton, and Ludlow of everybody. But the opposition, if it can be fairly called an opposition, was not so definite as to be traceable to any such personal source. The strength which marked the divergence was due neither to ambition nor to jealousy, but to the strength of mind and character which marked the leaders of the minority.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.139

Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone were of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Hooker began to preach at Chelmsford in 1626, and was silenced for non-conformity in 1629. He then taught school, his assistant being John Eliot, afterward the apostle to the Indians; but the chase after him became warmer, and in 1630 he retired to Holland and resumed his preaching. In 1632 he and Stone came to New England as pastor and teacher of the church at Newtown; and the two took part in the migration to Hartford. Here Hooker became the undisputed ecclesiastical leader of Connecticut until his death in 1647. John Warham and John Maverick, both of Exeter in England, came to New England in 1630, as pastor and teacher of Dorchester. Maverick died while preparing to follow his church, but Warham settled with his parishioners at Windsor, and died there in 1670. George Phillips, also a Cambridgeman, came to New England in 1630, as pastor of the church at Watertown. He took no part in the migration, but lived and died at Watertown. Fate seems to have determined that Wendell Phillips should belong to Massachusetts.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.140

Roger Ludlow was Endicott's brother-in-law. He came to New England in 1630, and settled at Dorchester. He was deputy governor in 1634, and seems to have been "slated," to use the modern term, for the governorship in the following year. But this private agreement among the deputies was broken, for some unknown reason, by the voters, who chose Haynes, perhaps as a less objectionable representative of the opposition. Ludlow complained so openly and angrily of the failure to carry out the agreement that he was dropped from the magistracy at the next election. He went at once to Connecticut, and was deputy governor there in alternate years until 1654. Incensed at the interference of New Haven to prevent his county, Fairfield, from waging an independent warfare against the Dutch, he went to Virginia in 1654, taking the records of the county with him. It is not known when or where he died. Pynchon, the third lay leader of the opposition, took part in the migration, but remained within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, founding the town of Springfield.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.140

At the May session of the Massachusetts General Court in 1634, an application for "liberty to remove" was received from Newton. It was granted. At the September session the request was changed into one for removal to Connecticut. This was a very different matter, and, after a long debate, was defeated by the vote of the Assist-ants, tho the Deputies passed it. Various reasons were assigned for the request to remove to Connecticut,—lack of room in their present locations, and "the strong bent of their spirits to remove thither;" but the last looks like the strongest reason. In like manner, while the arguments to the contrary were those which would naturally suggest themselves, the weakening of Massachusetts, and the peril of the emigrants, the concluding argument, that "the removing of a candlestick" would be "a great judgment," seems to show the feeling of all parties that the secession was the result of discord between two parties.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.141

Haynes was made governor at the next General Court. Successful inducements were offered to some of the Newtown people to remove to Boston, and some few concessions were made. But the migration which had been denied to the corporate towns had probably been begun by individuals. There is a tradition that some of the Watertown people passed this winter of 1634-35 at the place where Wethersfield now stands. In May, 1635, the Massachusetts General Court voted that liberty be granted to the people of Watertown and Roxbury to remove themselves to any place within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In March, 1636, the secession having already been accomplished, the General Court issued a "Commission to Several Persons to govern the people at Connecticut."

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.141

Its preamble reads: "Whereas, upon some reasons and grounds, there are to remove from this our Commonwealth and body of the Massachusetts in America divers of our loving friends and neighbors, freemen and members of Newton, Dorchester, Watertown, and other places, who are resolved to transport themselves and their estates unto the river of Connecticut, there to reside and inhabit; and to that end divers are there already, and divers others shortly to go." This tacit permission was the only authorization given by Massachusetts; but it should be noted that the unwilling permission was made more gracious by a kindly loan of cannon and ammunition for the protection of the new settlements.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.142

If it be true that some of the Watertown people had wintered at Wethersfield in 1634-35, this was the first civil settlement in Connecticut; and it is certain that, all through the following spring, summer, and autumn, detached parties of Watertown people were settling at Wethersfield. During the summer of 1635, a Dorchester party appeared near the Plymouth factory, and laid the foundations of the town of Windsor. In October of the same year a party of sixty persons, including women and children, largely from Newtown, made the overland march and settled where Hartford now stands. Their journey was begun so late that the winter overtook them before they reached the river, and, as they had brought their cattle with them, they found great difficulty in getting everything across the river by mens of rafts.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.142

It may have been that the echoes of all these preparations had reached England, and stirred the tardy patentees to action. During the autumn of 1635, John Winthrop, Jr., agent of the Say and Sele associates, reached Boston, with authority to build a large fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River. He was to be "Governor of the River Connecticut" for one year, and he at once issued a proclamation to the Massachusetts emigrants, asking "under what right and preference they had lately taken up their plantation."

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.143

It is said that they agreed to give up any lands demanded by him, or to return on having their expenses repaid. A more dangerous influence, however, soon claimed Winthrop's attention. Before the winter set in he had sent a party to seize the designated spot for a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River. His promptness was needed. Just as his men had thrown up a work sufficient for defense and had mounted a few guns, a Dutch ship from New Amsterdam appeared, bringing a force intended to appropriate the same place. Again the Dutch found themselves a trifle late; and their post at Hartford was thus finally cut off from effective support.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.143

This was a horrible winter to the advanced guard of English settlers on the upper Connecticut. The navigation of the river was completely blocked by ice before the middle of November; and the vessels which were to have brought their winter supplies by way of Long Island Sound and the river were forced to return to Boston, leaving the wretched settlers unprovided for. For a little while some scanty supplies of corn were obtained from the neighboring Indians, but this resource soon failed. About seventy persons straggled down the river to the fort at its mouth. There they found and dug out of the ice a sixty-ton vessel, and made their way back to Boston. Others turned back on the way they had come, and struggled through the snow and ice to "the Bay." But a few held their grip on the new territory. Sub-sisting first on a little corn bought from more distant Indians, then by hunting, and finally on ground-nuts and acorns dug from under the snow, they fought through the winter and held their ground. But it was a narrow escape. Spring found them almost exhausted, their unsheltered cattle dead, and just time enough to bring necessary supplies from home. The Dorchester people alone lost cattle to the value of two thousand pounds.

Johnston, Founding of Connecticut, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.144

The Newtown congregation, in October, 1635, found customers for their old homes in a new party from England; and in the following June Hooker and Stone led their people overland to Connecticut. They numbered one hundred, with one hundred and sixty head of cattle. Women and children were of the party. Mrs. Hooker, who was ill, was carried on a litter; and the journey, of "about one hundred miles," occupied two weeks. Its termination was well calculated to dissipate the evil auguries of the previous winter. The Connecticut Valley in early June! Its green meadows, flanked by wooded hills, lay before them. Its oaks, whose patriarch was to shelter their charter, its great elms and tulip-trees, were broken by the silver ribbon of the river; here and there were the wigwams of the Indians, or the cabins of the survivors of the winter; and, over and through all, the light of a day in June welcomed the newcomers. The thought of abandoning Connecticut disappeared forever.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland

Title: Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland

Author: George and Leonard Calvert

Date: 1633

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.132-142

George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, was a member of the Virginia Company, and counselor to the New England Company. A year after the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, he sent a colony to Newfoundland, and seven years later came over with his family, but decided that the Newfoundland venture was a failure.

He returned to England and obtained from Charles I a grant of land on the Potomac, which he named Maryland in honor of Charles' Queen, Henrietta Maria. Before the King's Seal could be attached to the Maryland charter, Lord Baltimore died, and the grant was made out to his son, Cecil, who founded St. Mary's.

The present account, taken from letters "of some of the adventurers to their friends in England," was doubtless written by Cecil Calvert's brothers, Leonard and George, who accompanied the expedition. Published in London in 1634, these letters are profoundly interesting as first impressions of a new country.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.132–p.133

ON Friday the 22 of November 1633, a small gale of wind coming gently from the northwest, weighed from the Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, about ten in the morning; and (having stayed by the way twenty days at the Barbadoes, and fourteen days at St. Christophers, upon some necessary occasions,) we arrived at Point-Comfort in Virginia, on the 24 of February following, the Lord be praised for it. At this time one Captain Claybourn was come from parts where we intended to plant, to Virginia, and from him we understood, that all the natives of these parts were in preparation of defense, by reason of a rumor somebody had raised among them, of six ships that were come with a power of Spaniards, whose meaning was to drive all the inhabitants out of the country.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.133

We had good letters from his Majesty to the Governor and Council of Virginia, which made him favor us and show us as noble usage as the place afforded, with promise, that for their cattle and hogs, corn and poultry, our plantation should not want the open way to furnish ourselves from thence: He told us likewise, that when his lordship should be resolved on a convenient place to make himself a seat, he should be able to provide him with as much brick and tile as he should have occasion to employ, until his lordship had made of his own: Also, that he had to furnish his lordship with two or three hundred stocks ready grafted with pears, apples, plums, apricots, figs, and peaches, and some cherries: That he had also some orange and lemon trees in the grounds which yet thrived; Also filberts, hazelnuts and almonds; and in one place of the colony, quince trees, wherewith he could furnish his lordship; and, in fine, that his lordship should not want anything that colony had.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.133–p.134

On the 3 of March we came into Chesapeake Bay, and made sail to the north of Patomac river, the bay running between two sweet lands in the channel of 7, 8 and 9 fathoms deep, 10 leagues broad, and full of fish at the time of the year; It is one of the delightfulest waters I ever saw, except Patomac, which we named St. Gregory's. And now being in our own country, we began to give names to places, and called the southern point, Cape Saint Gregory; and the northerly point, Saint Michael's.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.134

This river, of all I know, is the greatest and sweetest, much broader than the Thames; so pleasant, as I for my part, was never satisfied in beholding it. Few marshes or swamps, but the greatest part solid good earth, with great curiosity of woods which are not choked up with under-shrubs, but set commonly one from the other in such distance, as a coach and four horses may easily travel through them.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.134

At the first appearance of the ship on the river, we found (as was foretold us) all the country in arms. The King of the Paschattowayes had drawn together 1500 bowmen, which we ourselves saw, the woods were fired in manner of beacons the night after; and for that our vessel was the greatest that ever those Indians saw, the scouts reported we came in a canoe, as big as an island, and had as many men as there be trees in the woods.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.134–p.135

We sailed up the river till we came to Heron islands, so called from the infinite swarms of that fowl there. The first of those islands we called Saint Clement's: The second Saint Katharine's; And the third, Saint Cicily's. We took land first in Saint Clement's, which is compassed about with a shallow water, and admits no access without wading; here by the overturning of the shallop, the maids which had been washing at the land were almost drowned, beside the loss of much linen, and among the rest, I lost the best of mine which is a very main loss in these parts. The ground is covered thick with pokickeries (which is a wild walnut very hard and thick of shell; but the meat (though little) is passing sweet,) with black walnuts, and acorns bigger than ours. It abounds with vines and salads, herbs and flowers, full of cedar and sassafras. It is but 400 acres big, and therefore too little for us to settle upon.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.135

Here we went to a place, where a large tree was made into a cross; and taking it on our shoulders, we carried it to the place appointed for it. The Governor and commissioners putting their hands first unto it, then the rest of the chiefest adventurers. At the place prepared we all kneeled down, and said certain prayers; taking possession of the country for our Saviour, and for our sovereign lord the King of England.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.135–p.136

Here our Governor had good advice given him, not to land for good and all, before he had been with the Emperor of Paschattoway, and had declared unto him the cause of our coming: Which was first to learn them a divine doctrine, which would lead their souls to a place of happiness after this life were ended; And also, to enrich them with such ornaments of a civil life wherewith our country does abound: and this Emperor being satisfied, none of the inferior kings would stir. In conformity to this advice, he took two pinnaces, his own, and another hired in Virginia; and leaving the ship before Saint Clement's at anchor, went up the river and landing on the south side, and finding the Indians fled for fear, came to Patomac Town, when the King being a child, Archlhau his uncle governed both him and his country for him. He gave all the company good welcome: and one of the company having entered into a little discourse with him touching the errors of their religion, he seemed well pleased therewith; and at his going away desired him to return unto him again, telling him he should live at his table, his men should hunt for him, and he would divide all with him….

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.136–p.137

Our town we call Saint Marie's; and to avoid all just occasion of offense, and color of wrong, we bought of the king for hatchets, axes, hoes, and clothes, a quantity of some 30 miles of land, which we call Augusta Carolina; And that which made them the more willing to sell it, was the wars they had with the Susquehannock, a mighty bordering nation, who came often into their country, to waste and destroy; and forced many of them to leave their country, and pass over Patomac to free themselves from peril before we came. God no doubt disposing all this for them, who were to bring his law and light among the infidels. Yet, seeing we came so well prepared with arms, their fear was much less, and they could be content to dwell by us: Yet do they daily relinquish their houses, lands, and cornfields, and leave them to us. Is not this a piece of wonder that a nation, which a few days before was in arms with the rest against us, should yield themselves now unto us like lambs, and give us their houses, land and livings, for a trifle? Digitus Dei est hic: and surely some great good is intended by God to his nation.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.137

We had not been long time seated there, ere Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, did our Governor the honor (in most friendly manner) to visit him: and during the time of his being there, the King of Patuxunt also came to visit us; and being come aboard the Ark, and brought into the great cabin, and seated between the two Governors (Captain Fleete and Master Golding the interpreters being present) he began his speech as follows:

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.137

"When I heard that a great werowance of the English was come to Yoacomoco, I had a great desire to see him. But when I heard the werowance of Pasbiehaye was come thither also to visit him, I presently start up, and without further counsel, came to see them both."

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.137

In the time of his stay at Saint Mairie's, we kept the solemnity of carrying our colors on shore: and the king of Patuxunt accompanying us, was much taken with the ceremony. But the same night (he and Captain Fleete being at the Indian house) the Ark's great guns, to honor the day, spoke aloud; which the king of Patuxunt with great admiration hearing, counseled his friends the Yoacomoco Indians to be careful that they break not their peace with us; and said:

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.137–p.138

"When we shoot, our bow-strings give a twang that's heard but a little way off: But do you not hear what cracks their bow-strings give?" Many such pretty sayings he used in the time of his being with us, and at his departure, he thus expressed his extraordinary affection unto us:

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.138

"I do love the English so well, that if they should kill me, so that they left me with so much breath, as to speak unto my people, I would commend them not to revenge my death."

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.138

As for the natives they are proper tall men of person; swarthy by nature but much more by art: painting themselves with colors in oil, like a dark red, which they do to keep the gnats off: wherein I confess, there is more ease than comeliness.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.138

As for their faces, they have other colors at times, as blue from the nose upward, and red downward, and some time contrariwise in great variety, and in very ghastly manner; sometimes they have no beards till they come to be very old, and therefore draw from each side of their mouths, lines to their very ears, to represent a beard; and this sometimes of one color, and sometimes of another.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.138

They wear their hair generally very long, and it is as black as jet: which they bring up in a knot to the left ear, and tie it about with a large string of wampampeg, or roanoke, or some other of the best jewels among them. Upon their forehead, some use to wear a fish of copper, and some wear other figures.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.138–p.139

About their necks, they use to wear many bugle chains, though these begin now not to be esteemed among them for truck. Their apparel generally is deer-skin, and some fur, which they wear like loose mantles: yet under this about their middle, all women and men, at man's estate, wear Perizomata (or round aprons) of skins, which keeps them decently covered, that without any offense to chaste eyes, we may converse with them.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.139

All the rest of their bodies are naked, and at times, some of the youngest sort both of men and women have just nothing to cover them. Their feet are as hard as any horn, when they run over prickles and thornes they feel it not. Their arms is a bow, with a bunch of arrows, of a yard long, furnished with three feathers at the top; and pointed either with the point of a deer's horn, or a sharp three-cornered white flint; the rest is a small cane, or straight stick. They are so expert at these, that I have once seen one, a good distance off, strike a very small bird through the middle: and they used to cast a thing up from hand, and before it came to the ground to meet it with a shaft. Their bows are but weak, and carry not level very far; yet these are their livelihood, and every day they are abroad after squirrels, partridges, turkeys, deer, and the like game; whereof there is a wonderful plenty; though we dare not yet be so bold ourselves, as to fetch fresh meat by this means far off.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.139–p.140

The Indian houses are all built here in a long half oval; nine or ten foot high to the middle top, where (as in ancient temples) the light is admitted by a window, half a yard square; which window is also the chimney, which gives passage to the smoke, the fire being made in the middle of the floor (as in our old halls of England) and about it they use to lie. Save only that their kings and great men have their cabins, and a bed of skins well dressed (wherein they are excellent) set on boards and four stakes driven into the ground. And now at this present, many of us live in these Witchotts (as they term them) conveniently enough till better be set up: But they are dressed up something better than when the Indians had them.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.140

The natural wit of this nation is good and quick, and will conceive a thing very readily: they excel in smell and taste, and have far sharper sight than we. Their ordinary diet is pone and hominy, both made of corn, to which they add at times, fish, fowl, and venison.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.140

They are of great temperance, especially from hot waters or wine, which they are hardly brought to taste, save only whom the English have corrupted with their own vices.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.140

For modesty, I must confess, I never saw from man or woman, any action tending to levity; and yet daily the poor souls are here in our houses, and take content to be with us, bringing sometimes turkeys, sometimes squirrels as big as English rabbits, but much more dainty; at other times fine white cakes, partridges, oysters ready boiled and stewed: and do run unto us with smiling countenance when they see us, and will fish and hunt for us, if we will; and all this with intercourse of very few words, but we have hitherto gathered their meaning by signs.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.141

It is lawful among them to have more wives than one: but all keep the rigor of conjugal faith unto their husbands. The women's aspect is modest and grave.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.141

Generally the nation is so noble, that you cannot do them any favor or good turns but they return it. There is small passion among them, but they weigh all with a calm and quiet reason. And to do this the better, in great affairs they are studying in a long silence what is best to be said or done: And then they answer yea or no, in two words: And stand constantly to their resolution….

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.141

We have planted since we came, as much maize (or Indian wheat) as will suffice (if God prosper it) much more company than we have. It is up about knee high above ground already, and we expect return of 1000 for one, as we have reason for our hope, from the experience of the yield in other parts of this country, as is very credibly related to us.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.141

We have also English peas, and French beans, cotton, oranges, lemons, quinces, apples, pears, potatoes, and sugar-cane of our own planting, beside hortage coming up very finely.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.141–p.142

But such is the quantity of vines and grapes now already upon them (though young) as I daresay if we had vessels and skill, we might make many a ton of wine, even from about our plantation; and such wine, as those of Virginia say (for yet we can say nothing) as is as good as the wine of Spain. I fear they exceed; but surely very good. The clime of this country is near the same with Seville and Cordova; lying between 38 and 40 degrees of northerly latitude. Of hogs we have already got from Achomack (a plantation in Virginia) to the number of 100, and more: and some 30 cows; and more we expect daily, with goats and hens; our horses and sheep we must have out of England, or some other place by the way, for we can have none in Virginia.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.142

For the commodities, I will speak more when I see further; only we have sent over a good quantity of iron-stone, for a trial, which, if it prove well, the place is likely to yield infinite store of it. And for that flax and hemp which we have sowed, it comes up, and we hope will thrive exceedingly well: I end with the soil, which is excellent, covered with store of large strawberries, raspberries, vines, sassafras, walnuts, acorns, and the like: and this in the wildest woods too.

Lord Baltimore's Plantation, America, Vol.2, p.142

The mold is black, a foot deep, and then comes after a red earth. All is high wood, but in the Indian fields, which are some parcels of ground cleared for corn. It abounds with good springs, which is our drink. Of beasts; I have seen deer, raccoons, and squirrels, beside which there are many others, which I have not yet seen. Of birds diversely feathered there are infinite; eagles, bitterns, herons, swans, geese, partridge, ducks, red, blue, partly-colored birds, and the like. By all which it appears, the country abounds not only with profit but with pleasure. And to say truth, there wants nothing for the perfecting of this hopeful plantation; but greater numbers of our countrymen to enjoy it.

The Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic

Title: The Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic

Author: John Mason

Date: [Not given]

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.143-148

The Pequot Indians, numbering some three thousand and inhabiting Connecticut and Rhode Island, murdered an English trader named John Oldham, who had maltreated them, and subsequently scalped seven members of an armed force sent against them to demand retribution. This "outrage," as the English regarded it, so enraged the colonists that the extermination of the Pequots was decided upon.

Influenced by Roger Williams, the neighboring tribes pledged their neutrality, and the Pequots, left to fight alone, fortified themselves near the Mystic River. Against them was sent a force of Connecticut colonists under Captain Mason, who gives this account of the massacre in the third person.

The fort was stormed and the tribe was virtually destroyed. After this exploit Captain Mason became Deputy Governor of Connecticut and long presided as Chief Judge of the colony.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.143–p.144

AFTER a march of some eighteen to twenty miles (along Narragansett Bay) we camped with our Indian-allies for the night. Purposing to make our assault before day, we roused early, and briefly commended ourselves and design to God, thinking immediately to go to the assault; the Indians showing us a path, told us that it led directly to the fort. We held on our march about two miles, wondering that we came not to the fort, and fearing we might be deluded. But seeing corn newly planted at the foot of a great hill, supposing the fort was not far off, a champaign country being round about us, then making a stand, gave the word for some of the Indians to come up. At length Onkos and one Wequash appeared. We demanded of them, "Where is the fort?" They answered, "On the top of that hill." Then we demanded, "Where are the rest of the Indians?" They answered, "Behind, exceedingly afraid." We wished them to tell the rest of their fellows that they should by no means fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether Englishmen would now fight or not.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.144

Then Captain Underhill came up, who marched in the rear; and commending ourselves to God, divided our men, there being two entrances into the fort, intending to enter both at once; Captain Mason leading up to that on the north-east side, who approaching within one rod, heard a dog bark and an Indian crying "Owanux! Owanux!" which is "Englishmen! Englishmen!" We called up our forces with all expedition, gave fire upon them through the palisado; the Indians being in a dead, indeed their last sleep. Then we wheeling off fell upon the main entrance, which was blocked up with bushes about breast high, over which the captain passed, intending to make good the entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavored to enter; but being somewhat cumbered, stepped back and pulled out the bushes and so entered, and with him about about sixteen men. We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the sword and save the plunder.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.144–p.145

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entered a wigwam; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the breach in the wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entered; but in his entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their beds. The captain going out of the wigwam saw many Indians in the lane or street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the end of the lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were slain, as they said. The captain facing about, marched a slow pace up the lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of, breath; and coming to the other end near the place where he first entered, saw two soldiers standing close to the palisado with their swords pointed to the ground. The captain told them that we should never kill them after that manner. The captain also said, "We must burn them"; and immediately stepping into the wigwam where he had been before, brought out a fire-brand, and putting it into the mats with which they were covered, set the wigwams on fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as men most dreadfully amazed.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.145–p.146

And indeed such a dreadful terror did the Almighty let fall upon their spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very flames, where many of them perished. And when the fort was thoroughly fired, command was given, that all should fall off and surround the fort; which was readily attended by all; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.146

The fire was kindled on the north-east side to windward; which did swiftly overrun the fort, to the extreme amazement of the enemy, and great rejoicing of ourselves. Some of them climbing to the top of the palisado; others of them running into the very flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their arrows; and we repaid them with our small shot. Others of the stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the number of forty, who perished by the sword….

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.146

What I have formerly said, is according to my own knowledge, there being sufficient living testimony to every particular.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.146–p.147

But in reference to Captain Underhill and his parties acting in this assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after the fight. Thus they marching up to the entrance on the south-west side, there made some pause; a valiant, resolute gentleman, one Mr. Hedge, stepping towards the gate, saying, "If we may not enter, wherefore came we here," and immediately endeavored to enter; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian which did impede his entrance; but the Indian being slain by himself and Sergeant Davis, Mr. Hedge entered the fort with some others; but the fort being on fire, the smoke and flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the fort.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.147

Thus were they now at their wits' end, who not many hours before exalted themselves in their great pride, threatening and resolving the utter ruin and destruction of all the English, exulting and rejoicing with songs and dances. But God was above them, who laughed his enemies and the enemies of his people to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus were the stout-hearted spoiled, having slept their last sleep, and none of their men could find their hands. Thus did the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies!

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.147

And here we may see the just judgment of God, in sending even the very night before this assault, one hundred and fifty men from their other fort, to join with them of that place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very instant when this heavy stroke came upon them, where they perished with their fellows. So that the mischief they intended to us, came upon their own pate. They were taken in their own snare, and we through mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one hour's space was their impregnable fort with themselves utterly destroyed, to the number of six or seven hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.147–p.148

Of the English, there were two slain outright, and about twenty wounded. Some fainted by reason of the sharpness of the weather, it being a cool morning, and the want of such comforts and necessaries as were needful in such a case; especially our surgeon was much wanting, whom we left with our barks in Narragansett Bay, who had order there to remain until the night before our intended assault.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.148

And thereupon grew many difficulties: Our provision and munition near spent; we in the enemy's country, who did far exceed us in number, being much enraged; all our Indians, except Onkos, deserting us; our pinnaces at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

Mason, Pequot Massacre at Fort Mystic, America, Vol.2, p.148

But as we were consulting what course to take, it pleased God to discover our vessels to us before a fair gale of wind, sailing into Pequot harbor, to our great rejoicing.

Roger Williams in Rhode Island

Title: Roger Williams in Rhode Island

Author: Nathaniel Morton

Date: 1634

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.149-152

In 1669 the commissioners of the New England colonies requested Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, to compile a history of New England. He called the work which he published at Cambridge, Massachusetts, "New England's Memorial, or a Brief Relation of the Most Remarkable and Memorable Passages of the Providence of God Manifested to the Planters of New England."

This narrative, from which we have taken our account of Roger Williams, was often reprinted both in England and the colonies, and was the chief source of information about the period until recent discoveries of other documents, letters, diaries, etc. Morton lived in the home of Governor Bradford and was strongly prejudiced against Roger Williams for seceding from the Puritan manner of life and mode of religious thought, and that Morton could find nothing worse to say about him, is an eloquent testimonial to the character of Williams.

Morton, Roger Williams in Rhode Island, America, Vol.2, p.149

IN the year 1634 Mr. Roger Williams removed from Plymouth to Salem: he had lived about three years at Plymouth, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismission to the Church of Salem, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster (the ruling elder there) fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause division, and [thinking that] there being then many able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him then [than] themselves could. . . the Church of Plymouth consented to his dismission, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem….

Morton, Roger Williams in Rhode Island, America, Vol.2, p.150–p.151

But he having in one year's time filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to Anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, sent to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they not hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance; for Mr. Williams had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as among many others these were some; That it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special, not the oath of fidelity to the Civil Government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion either in family prayer, or in an oath with such as they judged unregenerate: and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do; also, that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither; and therefore he admonished any church-members that had done so, as for heinous sin: also he spoke dangerous words against the Patent, which was the foundation of the Government of the Massachusetts Colony: also he affirmed, that the magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first table [of the commandments], but only the second; and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution….

Morton, Roger Williams in Rhode Island, America, Vol.2, p.151

He persisted, and grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public church assembly, the scope of which was to give them notice, That if the church of Salem would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them: the more prudent and sober part of the church being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him: whereupon he never came to the church assembly more, professing separation from them as antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there, insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies. . . which the prudent magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts Colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and commonwealth.

Morton, Roger Williams in Rhode Island, America, Vol.2, p.151–p.152

After which Mr. Williams sat down in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the church of Salem, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the persecution that was against him: some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to Anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, and so began a church in that way; but Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that had followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles: and so they dissolved themselves, and turned seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences; but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinances of God anywhere upon earth.

How the Bay Colony Differed from Plymouth

Title: How the Bay Colony Differed from Plymouth

Author: John G. Palfrey

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.119-124

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.119

The emigration of the Englishmen who settled at Plymouth had been prompted by religious dissent. In what manner Robinson, who was capable of speculating on political tendencies, or Brewster, whose early position had compelled him to observe them, had augured concerning the prospect of public affairs in their native country, no record tells; while the rustics of the Scrooby congregation, who fled from a government which denied them liberty in their devotions, could have had but little knowledge and no agency in the political sphere. The case was widely different with the founders of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. That settlement had its rise in a state of things in England which associated religion and politics in an intimate alliance….

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.119

Winthrop, then forty-two years old, was descended from a family of good condition, long seated at Groton, in Suffolk, where he had a property of six or seven hundred pounds a year, the equivalent of at least two thousand pounds at the present day. His father was a lawyer and magistrate. Commanding uncommon respect and confidence from an early age, he had moved in the circles where the highest matters of English policy were discust, by men who had been associates of Whitgift, Bacon, Essex, and Cecil. Humphrey was "a gentleman of special parts, of learning and activity, and a godly man"; in the home of his father-in-law, Thomas, third earl of Lincoln, the head in that day of the now ducal house of Newcastle, he had been the familiar companion of the patriotic nobles.

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.120

Of the assistants, Isaac Johnson, esteemed the richest of the emigrants, was another son-in-law of Lord Lincoln, and a landholder in three counties. Sir Richard Saltonstall of Halifax, in Yorkshire, was rich enough to be a bountiful contributor to the company's operations. Thomas Dudley, with a company of volunteers which he had raised, had served, thirty years before, under Henry IV of France; since which time he had managed the estates of the Earl of Lincoln. He was old enough to have lent a shrill voice to the huzzas at the defeat of the armada, and his military services had indoctrinated him in the lore of civil and religious freedom. Theophilus Eaton, an eminent London merchant, was used to courts and had been minister of Charles I in Denmark. Simon Bradstreet, the son of a Non-conformist minister in Lincolnshire, and a grandson of "a Suffolk gentleman of a fine estate," had studied at Emanuel College, Cambridge. William Vassal was an opulent West India proprietor. "The principal planters of Massachusetts," says the prejudiced Chalmers, "were English country gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes; of enlarged understandings, improved by liberal education; of extensive ambition, concealed under the appearance of religious humility."

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.121

But it is not alone from what we know of the position, character, and objects of those few members of the Massachusetts Company who were proposing to emigrate at the early period now under our notice, that we are to estimate the power and the purposes of that important corporation. It had been rapidly brought into the form which it now bore, by the political exigencies of the age. Its members had no less in hand than a wide religious and political reform—whether to be carried out in New England, or in Old England, or in both, it was for circumstances, as they should unfold themselves, to determine. The leading emigrants to Massachusetts were of that brotherhood of men who, by force of social consideration as well as of the intelligence and resolute patriotism, molded the public opinion and action of England in the first half of the seventeenth century. While the large part stayed at home to found, as it proved, the short-lived English republic, and to introduce elements into the English Constitution which had to wait another half-century for their secure reception, another part devoted themselves at once to the erection of free institutions in this distant wilderness.

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.121

In an important sense the associates of the Massachusetts Company were builders of the British, as well as of the New England, commonwealth. Some ten or twelve of them, including Cradock, the Governor, served in the Long Parliament. Of the four commoners of that Parliament distinguished by Lord Clarendon as first in influence, Vane had been governor of the company, and Hampden, Pym, and Fiennes—all patentees of Connecticut—if not members, were constantly consulted upon its affairs. The latter statement is also true of the Earl of Warwick, the Parliament's admiral, and of those excellent persons, Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke, both of whom at one time proposed to emigrate.

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.122

The company's meetings placed Winthrop and his colleagues in relations with numerous person destined to act busy parts in the stirring times that were approaching—with Brereton and Hewson, afterward two of the Parliamentary major-generals; with Philip Nye, who helped Sir Henry Vane to "cozen" the Scottish Presbyterian Commissioners in the phraseology of the Solemn League and Covenant; with Samuel Vassall, whose name shares with those of Hampden and Lord Say and Sele the renown of the refusal to pay ship-money, and of courting the suit which might ruin them or emancipate England; with John Venn, who, at the head of six thousand citizens, beset the House of Lords during the trial of Lord Strafford, and whom, with three other Londoners, King Charles, after the battle of Edgehill, excluded from his offer of pardon; with Owen Rowe, the "firebrand of the city"; with Thomas Andrews, the lord mayor, who proclaimed the abolition of royalty….

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.122

He who well weighs the facts which have been presented in connection with the principal emigration to Massachusetts, and other related facts which will offer themselves to notice as we proceed, may find himself conducted to the conclusion that when Winthrop and his associates prepared to convey across the water a charter from the King which, they hoped, would in their beginnings afford them some protection both from himself andthrough him from the powers of Continental Europe, they had conceived a project no less important than that of laying, on this side of the Atlantic, the foundations of a nation of Puritan Englishmen, foundations to be built upon as future circumstances should decide or allow. It would not perhaps be pressing the point too far to say that in view of the thick clouds that were gathering over their home, they contemplated the possibility that the time was near at hand when all that was best of what they left behind would follow them to these shores; when a renovated England, secure in freedom and pure in religion, would rise in North America; when a transatlantic English empire would fulfil, in it beneficent order, the dreams of English patriots and sages of earlier times….

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.123

The Arbella arrived at Salem after a passage of nine weeks, and was joined in a few days by three vessels which had sailed in her company. The assistants, Ludlow and Rossiter, with a party from the west country, had landed at Nantasket a fortnight before, and some of the Leyden people on their way to Plymouth, had reached Salem a little earlier yet. Seven vessels from Southampton made their voyages three or four weeks later. Seventeen in the whole came before winter, bringing about a thousand passengers….

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.123

It is desirable to understand how this population, destined to be the germ of a state, was constituted. Of members of the Massachusetts Company, it cannot be ascertained that so many as twenty had come over. That company, as has been explained, was one formed mainly for the furtherance, not of any private interests, but of a greatpublic object. As a corporation, it had obtained the ownership of a large American territory, on which it designed to place a colony which should be a refuge for civil and religious freedom. By combined counsels, it had arranged the method of ordering a settlement, and the liberality of its members had provided the means of transporting those who should compose it. This done, the greater portion were content to remain and await the course of events at home, while a few of their number embarked to attend to providing the asylum which very soon might be needed by them all.

Palfrey, How the Bay Colony Differed…, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.124

The reception of the newcomers was discouraging. More than a quarter part of their predecessors at Salem had died during the previous winter, and many of the survivors were ill or feeble. The faithful Higginson was wasting with a hectic fever, which soon proved fatal. There was a scarcity of all sorts of provisions, and not corn enough for a fortnight's supply after the arrival of the fleet. "The remainder of a hundred eighty servants," who, in the two preceding years, had been conveyed over at heavy cost, were discharged from their indentures, to escape the expense of their maintenance. Sickness soon began to spread, and before the close of autumn had proved fatal to two hundred of this year's emigration. Death aims at the "shining mark" he is said to love. Lady Arbella Johnson, coming "from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoyed in the family of a noble earldom, into a wilderness of wants," survived her arrival only a month; and her husband, esteemed and beloved by the colonists, died of grief a few weeks after. "He was a holy man and wise and died in sweet peace."

The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut

Title: The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut

Author: Unknown

Date: 1639

Source: Harvard Classics, Vol.43, pp.63-68

These "Orders" were adopted by a popular convention of the three towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, on January 14, 1639. They form, according to historians, "the first written constitution, in the modern sense of the term, as a permanent limitation on governmental power, known in history, and certainly the first American constitution of government to embody the democratic idea."

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.63

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased the Almighty God by the wise disposition of his divyne providence so to Order and dispose of things that we the Inhabitants and Residents of Windsor, Harteford and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and uppon the River of Conectecotte and the Lands thereunto adjoyneing; And well knowing where a people are gathered togather the word of God requires that to mayntayne the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Goverment established according to God, to order and dispose of the affayres of the people at all seasons as occation shall require; doe therefore assotiate and conjoyne our selves to be as one Publike State or Comonwelth; and doe, for our selves and our Successors and such as shall be adjoyned to us att any tyme hereafter; enter into Combination and Confederation togather, to mayntayne and presearve the liberty and purity of the gospell of our Lord Jesus which we now professe, as also the disciplyne of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said gospell is now practised amongst us; As also in our Civell Affaires to be guided and governed according to such Lawes, Rules, Orders and decrees as shall be made, ordered & decreed, as followeth:—

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.64

1. It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed, that there shall be yerely two generall Assemblies or Courts, the on the second thursday in Aprill, the other the second thursday in September, following; the first shall be called the Courte of Election, wherein shall be yerely Chosen from tyme to tyme soe many Magestrats and other publike Officers as shall be found requisitte: Whereof one to be chosen Gouernour for the yeare ensueing and untill another be chosen, and noe other Magestrate to be chosen for more than one yeare; prouided allwayes there be sixe chosen besids the Gouernour; which being chosen and sworne according to an Oath recorded for that purpose shall haue power to administer justice according to the Lawes here established, and for want thereof according to the rule of the word of God; which choise shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and haue taken the Oath of Fidellity, and doe cohabitte within this Jurisdiction, (hauing beene admitted Inhabitants by the major part of the Towne wherein they liue,) or the mayor parte of such as shall be then present.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.64

2. It is Ordered, sentensed and decreed, that the Election of the aforesaid Magestrats shall be on this manner: euery person present and quallified for choyse shall bring in (to the persons deputed to receaue them) one single paper with the name of him written in yt whom he desires to haue Gouernour, and he that hath the greatest number of papers shall be Governor for that yeare. And the rest of the Magestrats or publike Officers to be chosen in this manner: The Secretary for the tyme being shall first read the names of all that are to be put to choise and then shall seuerally nominate them distinctly, and euery one that would haue the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written uppon, and he that would not haue him chosen shall bring in a blanke: and euery one that hath more written papers then blanks shall be a Magistrat for that yeare; which papers shall be receaued and told by one or more that shall be then chosen by the court and sworne to be faythfull therein; but in case there should not be sixe chosen as aforesaid, besids the Governor, out of those which are nominated, then he or they which haue the most written papers shall be a Magestrate or Magestrats for the ensueing yeare, to make vp the foresaid number.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.65

3. It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the Secretary shall not nominate any person, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the Magestracy which was not propownded in some Generall Courte before, to be nominated the next Election; and to that end yt shall be lawfull for ech of the Townes aforesaid by their deputyes to nominate any two whom they conceaue fitte to be put to election; and the Courte may ad so many more as they iudge requisitt.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.65

4. It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed that noe person be chosen Governor aboue once in two yeares, and that the Governor be always a member of some approved congregation, and formerly of the Magestracy within this Jurisdiction; and all the Magestrats Freemen of this Comonwelth: and that no Magestrate or other publike officer shall execute any parte of his or their Office before they are seuerally sworne, which shall be done in the face of the Courte if they be present, and in case of absence by some deputed for that purpose.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.65

5. It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed, that to the aforesaid Courte of Election the seuerall Townes shall send their deputyes, and when the Elections are ended they may proceed in any publike searuice as at other Courts. Also the other Generall Courte in September shall be for makeing of lawes, and any other publike occation, which conserns the good of the Comonwelth.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.65

6. It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed, that the Governor shall, ether by himselfe or by the secretary, send out sumons to the Constables of euery Towne for the cauleing of these two standing Courts, on month at lest before their seuerall tymes: And also if the Governor and the gretest parte of the Magestrats see cause vppon any spetiall occation to call a generall Courte, they may giue order to the secretary soe to doe within fowerteene dayes warneing; and if vrgent necessity so require, vppon a shorter notice, giueing sufficient grownds for yt to the deputyes when they meete, or els be questioned for the same; And if the Governor and Mayor parte of Magestrats shall ether neglect or refuse to call the two Generall standing Courts or ether of them, as also at other tymes when the occations of the Comonwelth require, the Freemen thereof, or the Mayor parte of them, shall petition to them soe to doe: if then yt be ether denyed or neglected the said Freemen or the Mayor parte of them shall haue power to giue order to the Constables of the seuerall Townes to doe the same, and so may meete togather, and chuse to themselues a Moderator, and may proceed to do any Acte of power, which any other Generall Courte may.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.66

7. It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed that after there are warrants giuen out for any of the said Generall Courts, the Constable or Constables of ech Towne shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some Publike Assembly or by goeing or sending from howse to howse, that at a place and tyme by him or them lymited and sett, they meet and assemble them selues togather to elect and chuse certen deputyes to be att the Generall Courte then following to agitate the afayres of the comonwelth; which said Deputyes shall be chosen by all that are admitted Inhabitants in the seuerall Townes and haue taken the oath of fidellity; prouided that non be chosen a Deputy for any Generall Courte which is not a Freeman of this Comonwelth.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.66

The foresaid deputyes shall be chosen in manner following: euery person that is present and quallified as before expressed, shall bring the names of such, written in seuerall papers, as they desire to haue chosen for that Imployment, and these 3 or 4, more or lesse, being the number agreed on to be chosen for that tyme, that haue greatest number of papers written for them shall be deputyes for that Courte; whose names shall be endorsed on the backe side of the warrant and returned into the Courte, with the Constable or Constables hand vnto the same.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.66

8. It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed, that Wyndsor, Hartford and Wethersfield shall haue power, ech Towne, to send fower of their freemen as deputyes to euery Generall Courte; and whatsoeuer other Townes shall be hereafter added to this Jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputyes as the Courte shall judge meete, a resonable proportion to the number of Freemen that are in the said Townes being to be attended therein; which deputyes shall have the power of the whole Towne to giue their voats and alowance to all such lawes and orders as may be for the publike good, and unto which the said Townes are to be bownd.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.67

9. It is ordered and decreed, that the deputyes thus chosen shall haue power and liberty to appoynt a tyme and a place of meeting togather before any Generall Courte to aduise and consult of all such things as may concerne the good of the publike, as also to examine their owne Elections, whether according to the order, and if they or the gretest parte of them find any election to be illegall they may seclud such for present from their meeting, and returne the same and their resons to the Courte; and if yt proue true, the Courte may fyne the parte or partyes so intruding and the Towne, if they see cause, and giue out a warrant to goe to a newe election in a legall way, either in parte or in whole. Also the said deputyes shall haue power to fyne any that shall be disorderly at their meetings, or for not coming in due tyme or place according to appoyntment; and they may returne the said fynes into the Courte if yt be refused to be paid, and the tresurer to take notice of yt, and to estreete or levy the same as he doth other fynes.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.67

10. It is Ordered, sentenced and decreed, that euery Generall Courte, except such as through neglecte of the Governor and the greatest parte of Magestrats the Freemen themselves doe call, shall consist of the Governor, or some one chosen to moderate the Court, and 4 other Magestrats at lest, with the mayor part of the deputyes of the seuerall Townes legally chosen; and in case the Freemen or mayor parte of them, through neglect or refusall of the Governor and mayor parte of the magestrats, shall call a Courte, yt shall consist of the mayor parte of Freemen that are present or their deputyes, with a Moderator chosen by them: In which said Generall Courts shall consist the supreme power of the Comonwelth, and they only shall haue power to make laws or repeale them, to graunt leuyes, to admitt of Freemen, dispose of lands vndisposed of, to seuerall Townes or persons, and also shall haue power to call ether Courte or Magestrate or any other person whatsoeuer into question for any misdemeanour, and may for just causes displace or deale otherwise according to the nature of the offence; and also may deale in any other matter that concerns the good of this comon welth, excepte election of Magestrats, which shall be done by the whole boddy of Freemen.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.68

In which Courte the Governor or Moderator shall haue power to order the Courte to giue liberty of spech, and silence vnceasonable and disorderly speakeings, to put all things to voate, and in case the vote be equall to haue the casting voice. But non of these Courts shall be adiorned or dissolued without the consent of the maior parte of the Court.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.68

11. It is ordered, sentenced and decreed, that when any Generall Courte vppon the occations of the Comonwelth haue agreed vppon any sume or somes of mony to be leuyed vppon the seuerall Townes within this Jurisdiction, that a Comittee be chosen to sett out and appoynt what shall be the proportion of euery Towne to pay of the said leuy, provided the Comittees be made vp of an equall number out of each Towne.

14th January, 1638, the 11 Orders abovesaid are voted.

THE OATH OF THE GOUERNOR, FOR THE [PRESENT.]

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.68

I, N.W. being now chosen to be Governor within this Jurisdiction, for the yeare ensueing, and vntil a new be chosen, doe sweare by the greate and dreadfull name of the everliueing God, to promote the publicke good and peace of the same, according to the best of my skill; as also will mayntayne all lawfull priuiledges of this Comonwealth; as also that all wholsome lawes that are or shall be made by lawfull authority here established, be duly executed; and will further the execution of Justice according to the rule of Gods word; so helpe me God, in the name of the Lo: Jesus Christ.

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.68

THE OATH OF A MAGESTRATE, FOR THE PRESENT.

I, N.W. being chosen a Magestrate within this Jurisdiction for the yeare ensueing, doe sweare by the great and dreadfull name of the euerliueing God, to promote the publike good and peace of the same, according to the best of my skill, and that I will mayntayne all the lawfull priuiledges thereof, according to my vnderstanding, as also assist in the execution of all such wholesome lawes as are made or shall be made by lawfull authority heare established, and will further the execution of Justice for the tyme aforesaid according to the righteous rule of Gods word; so helpe me God, etc.

The Body of Liberties

Title: The Body of Liberties

Author: Nathaniel Ward

Date: 1641

Source: Harvard Classics, Vol.43, pp.70-89

The Massachusetts "Body of Liberties," the first code of laws established in New England, was compiled by Nathaniel Ward (c. 1578-1652) a leading English Puritan minister, who had been trained as a lawyer. He came to the colony in 1634, and was for a time pastor at Ipswich. The "Liberties" were established by the Massachusetts General Court in December, 1641.

THE LIBERTIES OF THE MASSACHUSETS COLLONIE

IN NEW ENGLAND, 1641

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.70

THE free fruition of such liberties, Immunities, and priveledges as humanitie, Civilitie, and Christianitie call for asdue to every man in his place and proportion, without impeachment, and infringement, hath ever bene and ever will be the tranquillitie and Stabilitie of Churches and Commonwealths. And the deniall or deprivall thereof, the disturbance if not the ruine of both.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.70

We hould it therefore our dutie and safetie whilst we are about the further establishing of this Government to collect and expresse all such freedomes as for present we foresee may concerne us, and our posteritie after us, And to ratify them with our sollemne consent.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.70

Wee doe therefore this day religiously and unanimously decree and confirme these following Rites, liberties, and priveledges concerneing our Churches, and Civill State to be respectively, impartiallie, and inviolably enjoyed and observed throughout our Jurisdiction for ever.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.70–p.71

1. No mans life shall be taken away, no mans honour or good name shall be stayned, no mans person shall be arested, restrayned, banished, dismembred, nor any wayes punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no mans goods or estaite shall be taken away from him, nor any way indammaged under colour of law or Countenance of Authoritie, unlesse it be by vertue or equitie of some expresse law of the Country waranting the same, established by a generall Court and sufficiently published, or in case of the defect of a law in any partecular case by the word of God. And in Capitall cases, or in cases concerning dismembring or banishment according to that word to be judged by the Generall Court.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.71

2. Every person within this Jurisdiction, whether Inhabitant or forreiner, shall enjoy the same justice and law, that is generall for the plantation, which we constitute and execute one towards another without partialitie or delay.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.71

3. No man shall be urged to take any oath or subscribe any articles, covenants or remonstrance, of a publique and Civill nature, but such as the Generall Court hath considered, allowed, and required.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.71

4. No man shall be punished for not appearing at or before any Civill Assembly, Court, Councell, Magistrate, or Officer, nor for the omission of any office or service, if he shall be necessarily hindred by any apparent Act or providence of God, which he could neither foresee nor avoid. Provided that this law shall not prejudice any person of his just cost or damage, in any civill action.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.71

5. No man shall be compelled to any publique worke or service unlesse the presse be grounded upon some act of the generall Court, and have reasonable allowance therefore.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.71

6. No man shall be pressed in person to any office, worke, warres, or other publique service, that is necessarily and suffitiently exempted by any naturall or personall impediment, as by want of yeares, greatnes of age, defect of minde, fayling of sences, or impotencie of Lymbes.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.71

7. No man shall be compelled to goe out of the limits of this plantation upon any offensive warres which this Comonwealth or any of our friends or confederats shall volentarily undertake. But onely upon such vindictive and defensive warres in our owne behalfe or the behalfe of our freinds and confederats as shall be enterprized by the Counsell and consent of a Court generall, or by authority derived from the same.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.71–p.72

8. No mans Cattel or goods of what kinde soever shall be pressed or taken for any publique use or service, unlesse it be by warrant grounded upon some act of the generall Court, nor without such reasonable prices and hire as the ordinarie rates of the Countrie do afford. And if his Cattel or goods shall perish or suffer damage in such service, the owner shall be suffitiently recompenced.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.72

9. No monopolies shall be granted or allowed amongst us, but of such new Inventions that are profitable to the Countrie, and that for a short time.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.72

10. All our lands and heritages shall be free from all fines and licenses upon Alienations, and from all hariotts, wardships, Liveries, Primer-seisins, yeare day and wast, Escheates, and forfeitures, upon the deaths of parents or Ancestors, be they naturall, casuall or Juditiall.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.72

11. All persons which are of the age of 21 yeares, and of right understanding and meamories, whether excommunicate or condemned shall have full power and libertie to make there wills and testaments, and other lawfull alienations of theire lands and estates.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.72

12. Every man whether Inhabitant or fforreiner, free or not free shall have libertie to come to any publique Court, Councel, or Towne meeting, and either by speech or writeing to move any lawfull, seasonable, and materiall question, or to present any necessary motion, complaint, petition, Bill or information, whereof that meeting hath proper cognizance, so it be done in convenient time, due order, and respective manner.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.72

13. No man shall be rated here for any estaite or revenue he hath in England, or in any forreine partes till it be transported hither.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.72

14. Any Conveyance or Alienation of land or other estaite what so ever, made by any woman that is married, any childe under age, Ideott or distracted person, shall be good if it be passed and ratified by the consent of a generall Court.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.72

15. All Covenous or fraudulent Alienations or Conveyances of lands, tenements, or any heriditaments, shall be of no validitie to defeate any man from due debts or legacies, or from any just title, clame or possession, of that which is so fraudulently conveyed.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.73

16. Every Inhabitant that is an howse holder shall have free fishing and fowling in any great ponds and Bayes, Coves and Rivers, so farre as the sea ebbes and flowes within the presincts of the towne where they dwell, unlesse the free men of the same Towne or the Generall Court have otherwise appropriated them, provided that this shall not be extended to give leave to any man to come upon others proprietie without here leave.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.73

17. Every man of or within this Jurisdiction shall have free libertie, notwithstanding any Civill power to remove both himselfe, and his familie at their pleasure out of the same, provided there be no legall impediment to the contrarie.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.73

Rites, Rules, and Liberties concerning Juditiall proceedings

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.73

18. No mans person shall be restrained or imprisoned by any authority whatsoever, before the law hath sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient securitie, bayle or mainprise, for his appearance, and good behaviour in the meane time, unlesse it be in Crimes Capitall, and Contempts in open Court, and in such cases where some expresse act of Court doth allow it.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.73

19. If in a general Court any miscariage shall be amongst the Assistants when they are by themselves that may deserve an Admonition or fine under 20 sh. it shall be examined and sentenced amongst themselves, If amongst the Deputies when they are by themselves, it shall be examined and sentenced amongst themselves, If it be when the whole Court is togeather, it shall be judged by the whole Court, and not severallie as before.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.73

20. If any which are to sit as Judges in any other Court shall demeane themselves offensively in the Court, The rest of the Judges present shall have power to censure him for it, if the cause be of a high nature it shall be presented to and censured at the next superior Court.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.73

21. In all cases where the first summons are not served six dayes before the Court, and the cause breifly specified in the warrant, where appearance is to be made by the partie summoned, it shall be at his libertie whether he will appeare or no, except all cases that are to be handled in Courts suddainly called, upon extraordinary occasions, In all cases where there appeares present and urgent cause any assistant or officer apointed shal have power to make our attaichments for the first summons.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.74

22. No man in any suit or action against an other shall falsely pretend great debts or damages to vex his adversary, if it shall appeare any doth so, The Court shall have power to set a reasonable fine on his head.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.74

23. No man shall be adjudged to pay for detaining any debt from any Crediter above eight pounds in the hundred for one yeare, And not above that rate proportionable for all somes what so ever, neither shall this be a coulour or countenance to allow any usurie amongst us contrarie to the law of god.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.74

24. In all Trespasses or damages done to any man or men, If it can be proved to be done by the meere default of him or them to whome the trespasse is done, It shall be judged no trespasse, nor any damage given for it.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.74

25. No Summons pleading Judgement, or any kinde of proceeding in Court or course of Justice shall be abated, arested or reversed upon any kinde of cercumstantiall errors or mistakes, If the person and cause be rightly understood and intended by the Court.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.74

26. Every man that findeth himselfe unfit to plead his owne cause in any Court shall have Libertie to imploy any man against whom the Court doth not except, to helpe him, Provided he give him noe fee or reward for his paines. This shall not exempt the partie him selfe from Answering such Questions in person as the Court shall thinke meete to demand of him.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.74

27. If any plantife shall give into any Court a declaration of his cause in writeing, The defendant shall also have libertie and time to give in his answer in writeing, And so in all further proceedings betwene partie and partie, So it doth not further hinder the dispach of Justice then the Court shall be willing unto.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.74

28. The plantife in all Actions brought in any Court shall have libertie to withdraw his Action, or to be nonsuited before the Jurie hath given in their verdict, in which case he shall alwaies pay full cost and chardges to the defendant, and may afterwards renew his suite at an other Court if he please.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.75

29. In all actions at law it shall be the libertie of the plantife and defendant by mutual consent to choose whether they will be tryed by the Bensh or by a Jurie, unlesse it be where the law upon just reason hath otherwise determined. The like libertie shall be granted to all persons in Criminall cases.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.75

30. It shall be in the libertie both of plantife and defendant, and likewise every delinquent (to be judged by a Jurie) to challenge any of the Jurors. And if his challenge be found just and reasonable by the Bench, or the rest of the Jurie, as the challenger shall choose it shall be allowed him, and tales de cercumstantibus impaneled in their room.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.75

31. In all cases where evidences is so obscure or defective that the Jurie cannot clearely and safely give a positive verdict, whether it be a grand or petit Jurie, It shall have libertie to give a non Liquit, or a spetiall verdict, in which last, that is in a spetiall verdict, the Judgement of the cause shall be left to the Court, And all Jurors shall have libertie in matters of fact if they cannot finde the maine issue, yet to finde and present in their verdict so much as they can, If the Bench and Jurors shall so suffer at any time about their verdict that either of them cannot proceede with peace of conscience the case shall be referred to the Generall Court, who shall take the question from both and determine it.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.75

32. Every man shall have libertie to replevy his Cattell or goods impounded, distreined, seised, or extended, unlesse it be upon execution after Judgement, and in paiment of fines. Provided he puts in good securitie to prosecute his replevin, And to satisfie such demands as his Adversary shall recover against him in Law.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.75

33. No mans person shall be arrested, or imprisoned upon execution or judgment for any debt or fine, If the law can finde competent meanes of satisfaction otherwise from his estaite, and if not his person may be arrested and imprisoned where he shall be kept at his owne charge, not the plantife's till satisfaction be made, unlesse the Court that had cognizance of the cause or some superior Court shall otherwise provide.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.76

34. If any man shall be proved and Judged a common Barrator vexing others with unjust frequent and endlesse suites, It shall be in the power of Courts both to denie him the benefit of the law, and to punish him for his Barratry.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.76

35. No mans corne nor hay that is in the feild or upon the Cart, nor his garden stuffe, nor any thing subject to present decay, shall be taken in any distresse, unles he that takes it doth presently bestow it where it may not be imbesled nor suffer spoile or decay, or give securitie to satisfie the worth thereof if it come to any harme.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.76

36. It shall be in the libertie of every man cast condemned or sentenced in any cause in any Inferior Court, to make their appeale to the Court of Assistants, provided they tender their appeale and put in securitie to prosecute it, before the Court be ended wherein they were condemned, And within six dayes next ensuing put in good securitie before some Assistant to satisfie what his Adversarie shall recover against him; And if the cause be of a Criminall nature for his good behaviour, and appearance, And everie man shall have libertie to complaine to the Generall Court of any Injustice done him in any Court of Assistants or other.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.76

37. In all cases where it appeares to the Court that the plantife hath wilingly and witingly done wronge to the defendant in commencing and prosecuting an action or complaint against him, They shall have power to impose upon him a proportionable fine to the use of the defendant or accused person, for his false complaint or clamor.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.76

38. Everie man shall have libertie to Record in the publique Rolles of any Court any Testimony given upon oath in the same Court, or before two Assistants, or any deede or evidence legally confirmed there to remaine in perpetuam rei memoriam, that is for perpetuall memoriall or evidence upon occasion.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.76

39. In all actions both real and personall betweene partie and partie, the Court shall have power to respite execution for a convenient time, when in their prudence they see just cause so to doe.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.76

40. No conveyance, Deede, or promise whatsoever shall be of validitie, If it be gotten by Illegal violence, imprisonment, threatening, or any kinde of forcible compulsion called Dures.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

41. Everie man that is to Answere for any criminall cause, whether he be in prison or under bayle, his cause shall be heard and determined at the next Court that hath proper Cognizance thereof, And may be done without prejudice of Justice.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

42. No man shall be twise sentenced by Civill Justice for one and the same Crime, offence, or Trespasse.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

43. No man shall be beaten with above 40 stripes, nor shall any true gentleman, nor any man equall to a gentleman be punished with whipping, unles his crime be very shamefull, and his course of life vitious and profligate.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

44. No man condemned to dye shall be put to death within fower dayes next after his condemnation, unles the Court see spetiall cause to the contrary, or in case of martiall law, nor shall the body of any man so put to death be unburied 12 howers unlesse it be in case of Anatomie.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

45. No man shall be forced by Torture to confesse any Crime against himselfe nor any other unlesse it be in some Capitall case, where he is first fullie convicted by cleare and suffitient evidence to be guilty, After which if the cause be of that nature, That it is very apparent there be other conspiratours, or confederates with him, Then he may be tortured, yet not with such Tortures as be Barbarous and inhumane.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

46. For bodilie punishments we allow amongst us none that are inhumane Barbarous or cruel.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

47. No man shall be put to death without the testimony of two or three witnesses or that which is equivalent thereunto.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

48. Every Inhabitant of the Countrie shall have free libertie to search and veewe any Rooles, Records, or Regesters of any Court or office except the Councell, And to have a transcript or exemplification thereof written examined, and signed by the hand of the officer of the office paying the appointed fees therefore.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

49. No free man shall be compelled to serve upon Juries above two Courts in a yeare, except grand Jurie men, who shall hould two Courts together at the least.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.77

50. All Jurors shall be chosen continuallie by the freemen of the Towne where they dwell.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.78

51. All Associates selected at any time to Assist the Assistants in Inferior Courts, shall be nominated by the Townes belonging to that Court, by orderly agreement amonge themselves.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.78

52. Children, Idiots, Distracted persons, and all that are strangers, or new comers to our plantation, shall have such allowances and dispensations in any cause whether Criminal or other as religion and reason require.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.78

53. The age of discretion for passing away of lands or such kinde of herediments, or for giveing, of votes, verdicts or Sentence in any Civill Courts or causes, shall be one and twentie yeares.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.78

54. Whensoever any thing is to be put to vote, any sentence to be pronounced, or any other matter to be proposed, or read in any Court of Assembly, If the president or moderator thereof shall refuse to performe it, the Major parte of the members of that Court or Assembly shall have power to appoint any other meete man of them to do it, And if there be just cause to punish him that should and would not.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.78

55. In all suites or Actions in any Court, the plaintife shall have libertie to make all the titles and claims to that he sues for he can. And the Defendant shall have libertie to plead all the pleas he can in answere to them, and the Court shall judge according to the intire evidence of all.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.78

56. If any man shall behave himselfe offensively at any Towne meeting, the rest of the freemen then present, shall have power to sentence him for his offence. So be it the mulct or penaltie exceede not twentie shilings.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.78

57. Whensoever any person shall come to any very suddaine untimely and unnaturall death, Some assistant, or the Constables of that Towne shall forthwith sumon a Jury of twelve free men to inquire of the cause and manner of their death, and shall present a true verdict thereof to some neere Assistant, or the next Court to be helde for that Towne upon their oath.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.78

Liberties more peculiarlie concerning the free men

58. Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to see the peace, ordinances and Rules of Christ observed in every church according to his word, it be done in a Civill and not in an Ecclesiastical way.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.79

59. Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to deale with any Church member in a way of Civill Justice, notwithstanding any Church relation, office or interest.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.79

60. No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any Civill dignitie, office, or Authoritie he shall have in the Commonwealth.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.79

61. No Magestrate, Juror, Officer, or other man shall be bound to informe present or reveale any private crim or offence, wherein there is no perill or danger to this plantation or any member thereof, when any necessarie tye of conscience binds him to secresie grounded upon the word of god, unlesse it be in case of testimony lawfully required.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.79

62. Any Shire or Towne shall have libertie to choose their Deputies whom and where they please for the Generall Court. So be it they be free men, and have taken there oath of fealtie, and Inhabiting in this Jurisdiction.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.79

63. No Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistant, Associate, or grand Jury man at any Court, nor any Deputie for the Generall Court, shall at any time beare his owne chardges at any Court, but their necessary expences shall be defrayed either by the Towne or Shire on whose service they are, or by the Country in generall.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.79

64. Everie Action betweene partie and partie, and proceedings against delinquents in Criminall causes shall be briefly and destinctly entered on the Rolles of every Court by the Recorder thereof. That such actions be not afterwards brought againe to the vexation of any man.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.79

65. No custome or prescription shall ever pervaile amongst us in any morall cause, our meaneing is maintaine anythinge that can be proved to be morrallie sinfull by the word of god.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.79

66. The Freemen of every Towneship shall have power to make such by laws and constitutions as may concerne the wellfare of their Towne, provided they be not of a Criminall, but onely of a prudential nature, And that their penalties exceede not 20 sh. for one offence. And that they be not repugnant to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie. And if any Inhabitant shall neglect or refuse to observe them, they shall have power to levy the appointed penalties by distresse.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.80

67. It is the constant libertie of the free men of this plantation to choose yearly at the Court of Election out of the freemen all the General officers of this Jurisdiction. If they please to dischardge them at the day of Election by way of vote. They may do it without shewing cause. But if at any other generall Court, we hould it due justice, that the reasons thereof be alleadged and proved. By Generall officers we meane, our Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, Generall of our warres. And our Admirall at Sea, and such as are or hereafter may be of the like generall nature.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.80

68. It is the libertie of the freemen to choose such deputies for the Generall Court out of themselves, either in their owne Towne or elsewhere as they judge fitest. And because we cannot foresee what varietie and weight of occasions may fall into future consideration, And what counsells we may stand in neede of, we decree. That the Deputies (to attend the Generall Court in the behalfe of the Countrie) shall not any time be stated or inacted, but from Court to Court, or at the most but for one yeare, that the Countrie may have an Annuall libertie to do in that case what is most behoofefull for the best welfaire thereof.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.80

69. No Generall Court shall be desolved or adjourned without the consent of the Major parte thereof.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.80

70. All Freemen called to give any advise, vote, verdict, or sentence in any Court, Counsell, or Civill Assembly, shall have full freedome to doe it according to their true judgements and Consciences, So it be done orderly and inofensively for the manner.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.80

71. The Governor shall have a casting voice whensoever an Equi vote shall fall out in the Court of Assistants, or generall assembly, So shall the presedent or moderator have in all Civill Courts or Assemblies.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.80

72. The Governor and Deputy Governor Joyntly consenting or any three Assistants concurring in consent shall have power out of Court to reprive a condemned malefactour, till the next quarter or generall Court. The generall Court onely shall have power to pardon a condemned malefactor.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.81

73. The Generall Court hath libertie and Authoritie to send out any member of this Comanwealth of what qualitie, condition or office whatsoever into forreine parts about any publique message or Negotiation. Provided the partie sent be acquainted with the affaire he goeth about, and be willing to undertake the service.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.81

74. The freemen of every Towne or Towneship, shall have full power to choose yearly or for lesse time out of themselves a convenient number of fitt men to order the planting or prudentiall occasions of that Towne, according to Instructions given them in writeing, Provided nothing be done by them contrary to the publique laws and orders of the Countrie, provided also the number of such select persons be not above nine.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.81

75. It is and shall be the libertie of any member or members of any Court Councell or Civill Assembly in cases of makeing or executing any order or law, that properlie concerne religion, or any cause capitall, or warres, or Subscription to any publique Articles or Remonstrance, in case they cannot in Judgement and conscience consent to that way the Major vote or suffrage goes, to make their contra Remonstrance or protestation in speech or writeing, and upon request to have their dissent recorded in the Rolles of that Court. So it be done Christianlie and respectively for the manner. And their dissent onely be entered without the reasons thereof, for the avoiding of tediousnes.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.81

76. Whensoever any Jurie of trialls or Jurours are not cleare in their Judgments or consciences conserneing any cause wherein they are to give their verdict, They shall have libertie in open Court to advise with any man they thinke fitt to resolve or direct them, before they give in their verdict.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.81

77. In all cases wherein any freeman is to give his vote, be it in point of Election, makeing constitutions and orders or passing sentence in any case of Judicature or the like, if he cannot see reason to give it positively one way or an other, he shall have libertie to be silent, and not pressed to a determined vote.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

78. The Generall or publique Treasure or any parte thereof shall never be exspended but by the appointment of a Generall Court, nor any Shire Treasure, but by the appointment of the freemen therof, nor any Towne Treasurie but by the freemen of that Township.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

Liberties of Women

79. If any man at his death shall not leave his wife a competent portion of his estaite, upon just complaint made to the Generall Court she shall be relieved.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

80. Everie marryed woeman shall be free from bodilie correction or stripes by her husband, unlesse it be in his owne defence upon her assalt. If there be any just cause of correction complaint shall be made to Authoritie assembled in some Court, from which onely she shall receive it.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

Liberties of Children

81. When parents dye intestate, the Elder sonne shall have a doble portion of his whole estate reall and personall, unlesse the Generall Court upon just cause alleadged shall judge otherwise.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

82. When parents dye intestate haveing noe heires males of their bodies their Daughters shall inherit as Copartners, unles the Generall Court upon just reason shall judge otherwise.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

83. If any parents shall wilfullie and unreasonably deny any childe timely or convenient mariage, or shall exercise any unnaturall severitie towards them, such children shall have free libertie to complaine to Authoritie for redresse.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

84. No Orphan dureing their minoritie which was not committed to tuition or service by the parents in their life time, shall afterwards be absolutely disposed of by any kindred, freind, Executor, Towneship, or Church, nor by themselves without the consent of some Court, wherein two Assistants at least shall be present.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

Liberties of Servants

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.82

85. If any servants shall flee from the Tiranny and crueltie of their masters to the howse of any freeman of the same Towne, they shall be there protected and susteyned till due order be taken for their relife. Provided due notice thereof be speedily given to their maisters from whom they fled. And the next Assistant or Constable where the partie flying is harboured.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.83

86. No servant shall be put of for above a yeare to any other neither in the life time of their maister nor after their death by their Executors or Administrators unlesse it be by consent of Authoritie assembled in some Court or two Assistants.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.83

87. If any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man-servant, or maid servant, or otherwise mayme or much disfigure him, unlesse it be by meere casualtie, he shall let them goe free from his service. And shall have such further recompense as the Court shall allow him.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.83

88. Servants that have served deligentlie and faithfully to the benefitt of their maisters seaven yearse, shall not be sent away emptie. And if any have bene unfaithfull, negligent or unprofitable in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their maisters, they shall not be dismissed till they have made satisfaction according to the Judgement of Authoritie.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.83

Liberties of Forreiners and Strangers

89. If any people of other Nations professing the true Christian Religion shall flee to us from the Tiranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famyne, warres, or the like necessary and compulsarie cause, They shall be entertayned and succoured amongst us, according to that power and prudence, god shall give us.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.83

90. If any ships or other vessels, be it friend or enemy, shall suffer shipwrack upon our Coast, there shall be no violence or wrong offerred to their persons or goods. But their persons shall be harboured, and relieved, and their goods preserved in safety till Authoritie may be certified thereof, and shall take further order therein.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.83

91. There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or Captivitie amongst us unles it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.84

Off the Bruite Creature

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.84

92. No man shall exercise any Tirranny or Crueltie towards any bruite Creature which are usuallie kept for man's use.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.84

93. If any man shall have occasion to leade or drive Cattel from place to place that is far of, so that they be weary, or hungry, or fall sick, or lambe, It shall be lawful to rest or refresh them, for competant time, in any open place that is not Corne, meadow, or inclosed for some peculiar use.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.84

94. Capitall Laws

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.84

1.

If any man after legall conviction shall have or worship any other god, but the lord god, he shall be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.84

2.

If any man or woeman be a witch, (that is hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit,) they shall be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.84

3.

If any person shall Blaspheme the name of god, the father, Sonne or Holie Ghost, with direct, expresse, presumptuous or high handed blasphemie, or shall curse god in the like manner, he shall be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.84

4.

If any person committ any wilfull murther, which is manslaughter, committed upon premeditated malice, hatred, or Crueltie, not in a mans necessarie and just defence, nor by meere casualtie against his will, he shall be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.85

5.

If any person slayeth an other suddaienly in his anger or Crueltie of passion, he shall be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.85

6.

If any person shall slay an other through guile, either by poysoning or other such divelish practice, he shall be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.85

7.

If any man or woeman shall lye with any beaste or bruite creature by Carnall Copulation, They shall surely be put to death. And the beast shall be slaine, and buried and not eaten.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.85

8.

If any man lyeth with mankinde as he lyeth with a woeman, both of them have committed abhomination, they both shall surely be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.85

9.

If any person committeth Adultery with a maried or espoused wife, the Adulterer and Adulteresse shall surely be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.85

10.

If any man stealeth a man or mankinde, he shall surely be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.85

11.

If any man rise up by false witnes, wittingly and of purpose to take away any mans life, he shall be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.85

12.

If any man shall conspire and attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publique rebellion against our commonwealth, or shall indeavour to surprize any Towne or Townes, fort or forts therein, or shall treacherously and perfediouslie attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of politie or Government fundamentallie, he shall be put to death.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.86

95. A Declaration of the Liberties the Lord Jesus hath

given to the Churches

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.86

1.

All the people of god within this Jurisdiction who are not in a church way, and be orthodox in Judgement, and not scandalous in life, shall have full libertie to gather themselves into a Church Estaite. Provided they doe it in a Christian way, with due observation of the rules of Christ revealed in his word.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.86

2.

Every Church hath full libertie to exercise all the ordinances of god, according to the rules of scripture.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.86

3.

Every Church hath free libertie of Election and ordination of all their officers from time to time, provided they be able, pious and orthodox.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.86

4.

Every Church hath free libertie of Admission, Recommendation, Dismission, and Expulsion, or deposall of their officers, and members, upon due cause, with free exercise of the Discipline and Censures of Christ according to the rules of his word.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.86

5.

No Injunctions are to be put upon any Church, Church officers or member in point of Doctrine, worship or Discipline, whether for substance or cercumstance besides the Institutions of the lord.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.86

6.

Every Church of Christ hath freedome to celebrate dayes of fasting and prayer, and of thanksgiveing according to the word of god.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.87

7.

The Elders of Churches have free libertie to meete monthly, Quarterly, or otherwise, in convenient numbers and places, for conferences, and consultations about Christian and Church questions and occasions.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.87

8.

All Churches have libertie to deale with any of their members in a church way that are in the hand of Justice. So it be not to retard or hinder the course thereof.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.87

9.

Every Church hath libertie to deale with any magestrate, Deputie of Court or other officer what soe ever that is a member in a church way in case of apparent and just offence given in their places, so it be done with due observance and respect.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.87

10.

Wee allowe private meetings for edification in religion amongst Christians of all sortes of people. So it be without just offence for number, time, place, and other cercumstances.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.87–p.88

11.

For the preventing and removeing of errour and offence that may grow and spread in any of the Churches in this Jurisdiction, And for the preserveing of trueith and peace in the severall churches within themselves, and for the maintenance and exercise of brotherly communion, amongst all the churches in the Countrie, It is allowed and ratified, by the Authoritie of this Generall Court as a lawful libertie of the Churches of Christ. That once in every month of the yeare (when the season will beare it) It shall be lawfull for the minesters and Elders, of the Churches neere adjoyneing together, with any other of the breetheren with the consent of the churches to assemble by course in each severall Church one after an other. To the intent after the preaching of the word by such a minister as shall be requested thereto by the Elders of the church where the Assembly is held, The rest of the day may be spent in publique Christian Conference about the discussing and resolveing of any such doubts and cases of conscience concerning matter of doctrine or worship or government of the church as shall be propounded by any of the Breetheren of that church, will leave also to any other Brother to propound his objections or answeres for further satisfaction according to the word of god. Provided that the whole action be guided and moderated by the Elders of the Church where the Assemblie is helde, or by such others as they shall appoint. And that no thing be concluded and imposed by way of Authoritie from one or more churches upon an other, but onely by way of Brotherly conference and consultations. That the trueth may be searched out to the satisfying of every mans conscience in the sight of god according his worde. And because such an Assembly and the worke thereof can not be duly attended to if other lectures be held in the same weeke. It is therefore agreed with the consent of the Churches. That in that weeke when such an Assembly is held, All the lectures in all the neighbouring Churches for that weeke shall be forborne. That so the publique service of Christ in this more solemne Assembly may be transacted with greater deligence and attention.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.88

96. Howsoever these above specified rites, freedomes Immunities, Authorites and priveledges, both Civill and Ecclesiastical are expressed onely under the name and title of Liberties, and not in the exact forme of Laws or Statutes, yet we do with one consent fullie Authorise, and earnestly intreate all that are and shall be in Authoritie to consider them as laws, and not to faile to inflict condigne and proportionable punishments upon every man impartiallie, that shall infringe or violate any of them.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.88

97. Wee likewise give full power and libertie to any person that shall at any time be denyed or deprived of any of them, to commence and prosecute their suite, Complaint or action against any man that shall so doe in any Court that hath proper Cognizance or judicature thereof.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.88

98. Lastly because our dutie and desire is to do nothing suddainlie which fundamentally concerne us, we decree that these rites and liberties, shall be Audably read and deliberately weighed at every Generall Court that shall be held, within three yeares next insueing, And such of them as shall not be altered or repealed they shall stand so ratified, That no man shall infringe them without due punishment.

Ward, Body of Liberties, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.89

And if any Generall Court within these next thre yeares shall faile or forget to reade and consider them as abovesaid. The Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, and every Assistant present at such Courts, shall forfeite 20sh. a man, and everie Deputie 10sh. a man for each neglect, which shall be paid out of their proper estate, and not by the Country or the Townes which choose them, and whensoever there shall arise any question in any Court amonge the Assistants and Associates thereof about the explanation of these Rites and liberties, The Generall Court onely shall have power to interprett them.

The Founding of Harvard College

Title: The Founding of Harvard College

Author: Unknown

Date: 1642

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.153-158

This is the oldest printed account of Harvard University still in existence. It is evidently an anonymous letter dated from Boston, September 26, 1642, and entitled "New England's First Fruits in Respect to the Progress of Learning in the College at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay."

It was published in London in 1643, a year after the graduation of Harvard's first class of nine members. The letter gives a graphic account of conditions in and around the future university, and shows the optimism with which the Puritans regarded the future "amid the stumps of their clearing in the wilderness."

Until recently the ancestry and early life of John Harvard was lost in obscurity. We now know that he was born in Southwark, London, in November, 1607. He was ordained as a dissenting clergyman at 30 years of age, and crossed the Atlantic to become minister in Charlestown, Mass., where he died a year later.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.153–p.154

AFTER God had carried us safe to New England, and we had built our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the Civil Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance learning, and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust. And as we were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman and a lover of learning, there living among us) to give the one half of his estate (it being in all about 1700 pounds) towards the erecting of a college, and all his library: after him another gave 300 pounds, others after them cast in more, and the public hand of the State added the rest: the college was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge, a place very pleasant and accommodating and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard College.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.154

The edifice is very fair and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall; (where they daily meet at commons, lectures, exercises) and a large library with some books to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the students, and all other rooms of office necessary and convenient, with all needful offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the college a fair Grammar School, for the training up of young scholars, and fitting of them for academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the college of this school. Master Corlet is the master, who has very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulness in teaching and education of the youth under him.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.154–p.155

Over the college is master Dunser placed, as President, a learned conscionable and industrious man, who has so trained up his pupils in the tongues and arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of divinity and Christianity that we have to our great comfort, (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progress in learning and godliness also; the former of these has appeared in their public declamations in Latin and Greek, and disputations logical and philosophical, which they have been wonted (besides their ordinary exercises in the college-hall) in the audience of the magistrates, ministers and other scholars, for the probation of their growth in learning, upon set days, constantly once every month to make and uphold: The latter has been manifested in sundry of them by the savory breathings of their spirits in their godly conversation. Insomuch that we are confident, if these early blossoms may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of learning, and lovers of this pious work, they will by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.155

Over the college are twelve overseers chosen by the general court, six of them are of the magistrates, the other six of the ministers, who are to promote the best good of it, and (having a power of influence into all persons in it) are to see that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.155

Rules, and precepts that are observed in the college.

1. When any scholar is able to understand Tully, or such like classical Latin author extempore, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose, And decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the college.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.155–p.156

2. Let every student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the main end of his life and studies is, to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternal life, John 17:3, and therefore to lay Christ in the bottom, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.156

And seeing the Lord only giveth wisdom, let every one seriously set himself by prayer in secret to seek it of him Prov. 2, 3.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.156

3. Every one shall so exercise himself in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in theoretical observations of the language, and logic, and in practical and spiritual truths, as his tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple, Psalm. 119. 130.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.156

4. That they eschewing all profanation of God's name, attributes, word, ordinance, and times of worship, do study with good conscience, carefully to retain God, and the love of his truth in their minds else let them know, that (notwithstanding their learning) God may give them up to strong delusions, and in the end to a reprobate mind, 2 Thes. 2. 11, 12. Rom. 1. 28.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.156

5. That they studiously redeem the time; observe the general hours appointed for all the students, and the special hours for their own classes: and then diligently attend the lectures without any disturbance by word or gesture. And if in any thing they doubt, they shall inquire as of their fellows, so, (in case of non satisfaction) modestly of their tutors.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.156–p.157

6. None shall under any pretense whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead an unfit, and desolate life. Nor shall any without his tutor's leave, or (in his absence) the call of parents or guardians, go abroad to other towns.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.157

7. Every scholar shall be present in his tutor's chamber at the seventh hour in the morning, immediately after the sound of the bell, at his opening the Scripture and prayer, so also at the fifth hour at night, and then give account of his own private reading, as aforesaid in particular the third, and constantly attend lectures in the hall at the hours appointed. But if any (without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or lectures, he shall be liable to admonition, if he offend above once a week.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.157

8. If any scholar shall be found to transgress any of the laws of God, or the school, after twice admonition, he shall be liable, if not adultus, to correction, if adultus, his name shall be given up to the overseers of the college, that he may be admonished at the public monthly act….

The manner of the late commencement, expressed in a letter sent over from the Governor, and diverse of the ministers, their own words these:

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.157–p.158

The students of the first class that have been these four years trained up in university learning (for their ripening in the knowledge of the tongues and arts) and are approved for their manners as they have kept their public acts in former years, ourselves being present, at them; so have they lately kept two solemn acts for their commencement, when the Governor, magistrates, and the ministers from all parts, with all sorts of scholars, and others in great numbers were present, and did hear their exercises; which were Latin and Greek orations, and declamations and Hebrew analysis grammatical, logical and rhetorical of the Psalms: And their answers and disputations in logical, ethical, physical and metaphysical questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree, (commonly called bachelor) pro more academiarum in Anglia: Being first presented by the President to the magistrates and ministers, and by him, upon their approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a book of arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read lectures in the hall upon any of the arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the library.

Founding of Harvard College, America, Vol.2, p.158

All things in the college are at present, like to proceed even as we can with, may it but please the Lord to go on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithful, and able servants in our own native country, and here, (as he has graciously begun) to advance this honorable and most hopeful work. The beginnings whereof and progress hitherto (generally) do fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation, of the Lord's goodness for hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the churches of Christ Jesus.

The Founding of New Sweden

Title: The Founding of New Sweden

Author: Israel Acrelius

Date: 1643

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.159-166

This account of the founding of New Sweden is taken from the "History of New Sweden," by Rev. Israel Acrelius, who was for eight years pastor of the church at Christiana (now Wilmington, Del.) and was provost over the Swedish congregations in America. His history is a volume of 400 pages and while it was written more than a century after the Swedish colony was planted on the banks of the Delaware, it has remained the most authoritative work on the subject.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.159

AFTER that the magnanimous Genoese, Christopher Columbus, had, at the expense of Ferdinand, King of Spain, in the year 1492, discovered the Western hemisphere, and the illustrious Florentine, Americus Vespucius, sent out by King Emanuel of Portugal, in the year 1502, to make a further exploration of its coasts, had had the good fortune to give the country his name, the European powers have, from time to time, sought to promote their several interests there.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.159

Our Swedes and Goths were the less backward in such expeditions, as they had always been the first therein. They had already, in the year 996 after the birth of Christ, visited America, had named it Vinland the Good, and also Skraellinga Land, and had called its inhabitants "the Skraellings of Vinland." It is therefore evident that the Northmen had visited some part of North America before the Spaniards and Portuguese went to South America….

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.160

From that time until 1623, when the West India Company obtained its charter, their trade with the Indians was conducted almost entirely on shipboard, and they made no attempts to build any house or fortress until 1629. Now, whether that was done with or without the permission of England, the town of New Amsterdam was built and fortified, as also the place Aurania, Orange, now called Albany, having since had three general-governors, one after the other. But that was not yet enough. They wished to extend their power to the river Delaware also, and erected on its shores two or three small forts, which were, however, soon after destroyed by the natives of the country.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.160–p.161

It now came in order for Sweden also to take part in this enterprise. William Usselinx, a Hollander, born at Antwerp in Brabant, presented himself to King Gustaf Adolph, and laid before him a proposition for a Trading Company, to be established in Sweden, and to extend its operations to Asia, Africa, and Magellan's Land (Terra Magellanica), with the assurance that this would be a great source of revenue to the kingdom. Full power was given him to carry out this important project; and thereupon a contract of trade was drawn up, to which the Company was to agree and subscribe it. Usselinx published explanations of this contract, wherein he also particularly directed attention to the country on the Delaware, its fertility, convenience, and all its imaginable resources. To strengthen the matter, a charter (octroy) was secured to the Company, and especially to Usselinx, who was to receive a royalty of one thousandth upon all articles bought or sold by the Company.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.161

The powerful king, whose zeal for the honor of God was not less ardent than for the welfare of his subjects, availed himself of this opportunity to extend the doctrines of Christ among the heathen, as well as to establish his own power in other parts of the world. To this end, he sent forth Letters Patent, dated at Stockholm on the 2d of July, 1626, wherein all, both high and low, were invited to contribute something to the Company, according to their means. The work was completed in the Diet of the following year, 1627, when the estates of the realm gave their assent, and confirmed the measure. Those who took part in this Company were: His Majesty's mother, the Queen Dowager Christina, the Prince John Casimir, the Royal Council, the most distinguished of the nobility, the highest officers of the army, the bishops and other clergymen, together with the burgomasters and aldermen of the cities, as well as a large number of the people generally. The time fixed for paying in the subscriptions was the 1st of May of the following year (1628). For the management and working of the plan there were appointed an admiral, vice-admiral, chapman, under-chapman, assistants, and commissaries; also a body of soldiers duly officered.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.161–p.162

But when these arrangements were now in full progress, and duly provided for, the German war and the king's death occurred, which caused this important work to be laid aside. The Trading Company was dissolved, its subscriptions nullified, and the whole project seemed about to die with the king. But, just as it appeared to be at its end, it received new life. Another Hollander, by the name of Peter Menewe, sometimes called Menuet, made his appearance in Sweden. He had been in the service of Holland in America, where he became involved in difficulties with the officers of their West India Company, in consequence of which he was recalled home and dismissed from their service. But he was not discouraged by this, and went over to Sweden, where he renewed the representations which Usselinx had formerly made in regard to the excellence of the country and the advantages that Sweden might derive from it.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.162–p.163

Queen Christina, who succeeded her royal father in the government, was glad to have the project thus renewed. The royal chancellor, Count Axel Oxenstierna, understood well how to put it in operation. He took the West India Trading Company into his own hands, as its president, and encouraged other noblemen to take shares in it. King Charles I, of England had already, in the year 1634, upon representations made to him by John Oxenstierna, at that time Swedish ambassador in London, renounced, in favor of the Swedes, all claims and pretensions of the English to that country, growing out of their rights as its first discoverers. Hence everything seemed to be settled upon a firm foundation, and all earnestness was employed in the prosecution of the plans for a colony.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.163

As a good beginning, the first colony was sent off; and Peter Menewe was placed over it, as being best acquainted in those regions. They set sail from Gotheborg, in a ship-of-war called the Key of Colmar, followed by a smaller vessel bearing the name of the Bird Griffin, both laden with people, provisions, ammunition, and merchandise, suitable for traffic and gifts to the Indians. The ships successfully reached their place of destination. The high expectations which our emigrants had of that new land were well met by the first views which they had of it. They made their first landing on the bay or entrance to the river Poutaxat, which they called the river of New Sweden; and the place where they landed they called Paradise Point.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.163

A purchase of land was immediately made from the Indians; and it was determined that all the land on the western side of the river, from the point called Cape Inlopen or Hinlopen, up to the fall called Santickan, and all the country inland, as much as was ceded, should belong to the Swedish crown forever. Posts were driven into the ground as landmarks, which were still seen in their places sixty years afterwards. A deed was drawn up for the land thus purchased. This was written in Dutch, because no Swede was yet able to interpret the language of the heathen.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.163–p.164

The first abode of the newly arrived emigrants was at a place called by the Indians Hopokahacking. There, in the year 1638, Peter Menuet built a fortress which he named Fort Christina, after the reigning queen of Sweden. The place, situated upon the west side of the river, was probably chosen so as to be out of the way of the Hollanders, who claimed the eastern side,—a measure of prudence, until the arrival of a greater force from Sweden. The fort was built upon an eligible site, not far from the mouth of the creek, so as to secure them in the navigable water of the the Maniquas, which was afterwards called Christina Kihl, or creek….

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.164

Thus Peter Menuet made a good beginning for the settlement of the Swedish colony in America. He guarded his little fort for over three years, and the Hollanders neither attempted nor were able to overthrow it. After some years of faithful service he died at Christina. In his place followed Peter Hollendare, a native Swede, who did not remain at the head of its affairs more than a year and a half. He returned home to Sweden, and was a major at Skepsholm, in Stockholm, in the year 1655.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.164

The second emigration took place under Lieutenant Colonel John Printz, who went out with the appointment of Governor of New Sweden. He had a grant of four hundred six dollars for his traveling expenses, and one thousand two hundred dollars silver as his annual salary. The Company was invested with the exclusive privilege of importing tobacco into Sweden, although that article was even then regarded as unnecessary and injurious….

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.165

THE voyage to New Sweden was at that time quite long. The watery way to the West was not yet well discovered, and, therefore, for fear of the sand-banks off Newfoundland, they kept their course to the east and south as far as to what were then called the Brazates. The ships which went under the command of Governor Printz sailed along the coast of Portugal, and down the coast of Africa, until they found the eastern passage, then directly over to America, leaving the Canaries high up to the north. They landed at Antigua, then continued their voyage northward, past Virginia and Maryland, to Cape Hinlopen. Yet, in view of the astonishingly long route which they took, the voyage was quick enough in six months' time,—from Stockholm on August 16, 1642, to the new fort of Christina, in New Sweden, on February 15, 1643.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.165–p.166

The Swedes who emigrated to America belonged partly to a trading company, provided with a charter, who, for their services, according to their condition or agreement, were to receive pay and monthly wages; a part of them also went at their own impulse to try their fortune. For these it was free to settle and live in the country as long as they pleased or to leave it, and they were therefore, by way of distinction from the others, called freemen. At first, also, malefactors and vicious people were sent over, who were used as slaves to labor upon the fortifications. They were kept in chains and not allowed to have intercourse with the other settlers; moreover, a separate place of abode was assigned to them. The neighboring people and country were dissatisfied that such wretches should come into the colony. It was also, in fact, very objectionable in regard to the heathen, who might be greatly offended by it. Whence it happened that, when such persons came over in Governor Printz's time, it was not permitted that one of them should set foot upon the shore, but they had all to be carried back again, whereupon a great part of them died during the voyage or perished in some other way. Afterwards it was forbidden at home in Sweden, under a penalty, to take for the American voyage any persons of bad fame; nor was there ever any lack of good people for the colony.

Acrelius, Founding of New Sweden, America, Vol.2, p.166

Governor Printz was now in a position to put the government upon a safe footing to maintain the rights of the Swedes and to put down the attempts of the Hollanders. They had lately, before his arrival, patched their little Fort Nassau. On this account he selected the island of Tenackong as his residence, which is sometimes also called Tutaeaenung and Tenicko, about three Swedish miles from Fort Christina. The convenient situation of the place suggested its selection, as also the location of Fort Nassau, which lay some miles over against it, to which he could thus command the passage by water. The new fort, which was erected and provided with considerable armament, was called New Gotheborg. His place of residence, which he adorned with orchards, gardens, a pleasure-house, etc., he named Printz Hall….

Arbitrary Government Described and the Government of the Massachusetts Vindicated from that Aspersion

Title: Arbitrary Government Described and the

Government of the Massachusetts Vindicated from that Aspersion

Author: John Winthrop

Date: 1644

Source: Harvard Classics, Vol.43, pp.90-112

In 1644, a dispute arose in Massachusetts between the magistrates and the deputies as to the respective powers of the two branches of the legislature, the deputies claiming judicial authority. Then Deputy-Governor of the Commonwealth, Winthrop's opposition to this claim brought upon him and other magistrates the charge of arbitrary government; and in order to clear up the situation he drew up the following document. It is important not only for its presentation of Winthrop's personal views, but for the light it throws upon the origins of the political institutions of the Commonwealth.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.90

ARBITRARY Government is where a people have men set over them, without their choice or allowance; who have power to govern them, and judge their causes without a rule.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.90

God only hath this prerogative; whose sovereignty is absolute, and whose will is a perfect rule, and reason itself; so as for man to usurp such authority, is tyranny, and impiety.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.90

Where the people have liberty to admit or reject their governors, and to require the rule by which they shall be governed and judged, this is not an arbitrary government.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.90

That the Government of the Massachusetts is such will appear (I) by the foundation of it; (2) by the positive laws thereof; (3) by the constant practice which proves a custom, than which (when it is for common good) there is no law of man more inviolable.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.91

1. The foundation of this Government is the King's Letters Patents: this gave them their form and being, in disposing a certain number of persons into a body politic; whereby they became then (in such a politic respect) as one single person, consisting of several members, and appoint to each its proper place: it regulates their power and motions as might best conduce to the preservation and good of the whole body.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.91

The parties or members of this body politic are reduced under two kinds, Governor and Company, or Freemen: to the Governor it adds a Deputy, and eighteen Assistants: in these is the power of authority placed, under the name of the Governor (not as a person, but as a State) and in the other (which is named the Company) is placed the power of liberty:—which is not a bare passive capacity of freedom, or immunity, but such a liberty as hath power to act upon the chiefest means of its own welfare (yet in a way of liberty, not of authority) and that under two general heads, election and counsel: (I) they have liberty to elect yearly (or oftener if occasion require) all their Governors and other their general officers, viz., such as should have influence (either judicial or ministerial) into all parts of the jurisdiction; (2) they have liberty of counsel in all the General Assemblies, so as without their counsel and consent no laws, decrees, or orders, of any public nature or concernment, not any taxes, impositions, impresses, or other burdens of what kind soever, can be imposed upon them, their families or estates, by any authority in the Government: which notwithstanding remains still a distinct member, even in those General Assemblies: otherwise our state should be a mere Democratie, if all were Governors or magistrates, and none left to be an object of government, which cannot fall out in any kind of Aristocratie.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.91

To make this clear, we will set down the very words of the Patent.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.91–p.92

"(1) The words of Constitution of this body politic are these, A, B, C, and all such others as shall hereafter be admitted and made free of the Company and society hereafter mentioned shall be, etc., one body politic and Corporate, in fact and name, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. And that from henceforth forever there shall be one Governor, one Deputy-Governor, and eighteen Assistants of the same Company, to be from time to time, constituted, elected, and chosen, out of the Freemen of the said Company for the time being; in such manner and form, as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which said officers shall apply themselves to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the great business and affairs of, for, and concerning, the said lands and premises hereby mentioned to be granted, and the plantation thereof, and the government of the people there."

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.92

(2) The distribution of power follows, in these words ensuing:—"That the Government of the said Company for the time being or, in his absence by occasion of sickness or otherwise, the Deputy-Governor for the time being, shall have authority from time to time, upon all occasions, to give order, for the assembling of the said Company, and calling them together, to consult and advise of the businesses and affairs of the said Company.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.92

"And that the said Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants of the said Company for the time being shall or may once every month or oftener at their pleasures, assemble and hold and keep a Court, or Assembly of themselves, for the better ordering and directing of their affairs:

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.92

"And that any seven, or more persons of the Assistants, together with the Governor or Deputy-Governor so assembled, shall be said, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shall be, a full and sufficient Court or Assembly of the said Company, for the handling, ordering, and dispatching of all such businesses and occurrents, as shall from time to time happen touching or concerning the said Company or plantation."

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.92

Then follows a clause, whereby liberty is granted to hold four general Courts in the year, wherein (with the advice and consent of the major part of the freemen) they may admit others to the freedom of the Company, they may make all subordinate officers, and make laws and constitutions, for their welfare and good government.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.92

Then followeth a clause for the annual election of all their officers in these words ensuing:—

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.93

"That yearly once in the year forever, namely on the last Wednesday in Easter Term yearly, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants of the said Company shall be in the General Court or Assembly, to be held for that day or time, newly chosen for the year ensuing, by such greater part of the said Company, for the time being, then and there present as is aforesaid."

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.93

Then follows another branch, whereby, in any of their General Courts, any insufficient, or delinquent Officer (of what sort soever) may be removed and another forthwith put in place.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.93

The last clause is for the governing of the inhabitants within the plantation. For it being the manner for such as procured patents for Virginia, Bermudas, and the West Indies, to keep the chief government in the hands of the Company residing in England (and so this was intended and with much difficulty we got it abscinded) this clause is inserted in this and all other patents whereby the Company in England might establish a Government and Officers here in any form used in England, as Governor and Council, Justices of the Peace, Mayor, Bailiffs, etc.; and accordingly Mr. Endicott and others with him, were established a Governor and Council here, before the Government was transferred hither: and that clause is expressed in these words:—

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.93

"It shall and may be lawful, to and for the Governor, etc., and such of the Freemen of the said Company for the time being, as shall be assembled in any of their General Courts aforesaid, or in any other Courts to be specially summoned and assembled for that purpose, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governor or Deputy-Governor, and six of the Assistants to be always seven; from time to time, to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes, and ordinances, directions, and instructions, not contrary to this our Realm of England: as well for settling of the forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for the said plantation, and inhabitants there, and for naming and styling of all sorts of officers, both superior and inferior, which they shall find needful for that Government and plantation; and the distinguishing and setting forth of the several duties, powers, and limits of every such office, etc., for disposing and ordering the election of such of the said officers as shall be annual, etc., and for setting down forms of oaths and for ministering of them, etc., and for the directing, ruling, and disposing of all matters and things, whereby our said people inhabitants there, may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, etc."

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.94

Thus it appears that this Government is not arbitrary in the foundation of it, but regulated in all the parts of it.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.94

(2) It will be yet further found by the positive laws thereof:

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.94

And first by that of (3) 14—1634; where it is declared, that the General Court only may make freemen; make laws; choose General Officers, as Governor, Deputy, Assistants, Treasurer, etc.; remove such; set out their power and duty; raise moneys; dispose of lands in proprieties; not to be dissolved but by consent of the major part. The freemen of the several towns may send their deputies to every General Court who may do all that the body of freemen might do, except in election of magistrates and officers.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.94

And in the sixty-seventh Liberty it is thus described, viz.—"It is the constant liberty of the freemen, to choose yearly, at the Court of Election, out of the freemen, all the general officers of this jurisdiction. If they please to discharge them at the Court of Elections, by vote, they may do it without showing cause; but if at any other General Court, we hold it due justice, that the reasons thereof be alleged and proved. By general officers, we mean our Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, General of our wars, and our Admiral at sea; and such as are, or may be hereafter, of like general nature.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.94

(3) According to these fundamental rules and positive laws, the course of government hath been carried on in the practice of public administrations to this very day, and where any considerable obliquity hath been discerned, it hath been soon brought to the rule and redressed; for it is not possible in the infancy of a plantation, subject to so many and variable occurrents to hold so exactly to rules, as when a state is once settled.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.95

By what hath been already manifested, this Government is freed from any semblance of arbitrariness either in the form of it, or the general officers in it, which is the first branch in the description of Arbitrary Government.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.95

The other branch, (wherein the main question lies) is concerning the rule so as if it shall appear also, that the Governor and other officers are prescribed such a rule, as may be required of them in all their administrations, then it must needs be granted, that this Government (even in the present state thereof) is, in no respect, arbitrary.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.94–p.95

I might show a clear rule out of the Patent itself, but seeing it is more particularly (and as it were membratim) delineated in later laws. I will begin there, (3) 25-1636. It was ordered, that until a body of fundamental laws (agreeable to the Word of God) were established, all causes should be heard and determined, according to the laws already in force; and where no law is, there as near the law of God as may be. To omit many particular laws enacted upon occasion, I will set down only the first authority in the Liberties: which is as here followeth:—"No man's life shall be taken away; no man's honor or good name shall be stained; no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, or any ways punished; no man shall be deprived of his wife or children; no man's goods or estate shall be taken away from him, or any way damaged, under colour of law or countenance of authority, unless it be by the virtue or equity of some express law of the country, warranting the same, established by a General Court and sufficiently published; or, in case of the defect of a law in any particular case, by the word of God, and in capital cases, or in cases concerning dismembering or banishment, according to that word, to be judged by the General Court."

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.95

By these it appears, that the officers of this body politic have a rule to walk by in all their administrations, which rule is the Word of God, and such conclusions and deductions as are, or shall be, regularly drawn from thence.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.95–p.96

All commonwealths have had some principles, or fundamentals, from which they have framed deductions to particular cases, as occasion hath required. And though no Commonwealth ever had, or can have, a particular positive rule to dispense power or justice by in every single case, yet where the fundamentals or general rule hold forth such direction as no great damage or injury can befall, either the whole, or any particular part, by any unjust sentence or disorderly proceeding, without manifest breach of such general rule, there the rule may be required, and so the Government is regular and not arbitrary.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.96

The fundamentals which God gave to the Commonwealth of Israel were a sufficient rule to them, to guide all their affairs; we having the same, with all the additions, explanations, and deductions, which have followed; it is not possible we should want a rule in any case, if God give wisdom to discern it.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.96–p.97

There are some few cases only (beside the capitals) wherein the penalty is prescribed; and the Lord could have done the like in others, if He had so pleased; but having appointed governments upon earth, to be His vicegerents, He hath given them those few as presidents to direct them and to exercise His gifts in them (Deut. xvii; 9, 10, 11). In the most difficult cases, the judges in supreme authority were to show the sentence of the law; whence three things may be observed: (1) this sentence was to be declared out of the law established, though not obvious to common understanding; (2) this was to be expected in that ordinance; therefore (v. 19,) the King was to have a copy of the law, and to read them all the days of his life; (3) such a sentence was not ordained to be provided before the case fell out, but pro re nata, when occasion required, God promised to be present in his own ordinance, to improve such gifts as he should please to confer upon such as he should call to place of government. In the Scripture there are some forms of prayers and of sermons set down; yet no man will infer from thence that ministers should have sermons and prayers prescribed them for every occasion; for that would destroy the ordinance of the ministry, i. e., a reading priest might serve in that office, without any learning or other gifts of the Spirit. So if all penalties were prescribed, the jury should state the case, and the book hold forth the sentence, and any schoolboy might pronounce it; then what need were there of any special wisdom, learning, courage, zeal or faithfulness in a judge?

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.97

This being so great a question now on foot, about prescript penalties it will be of use to search as deep into it as we may by the light of Scripture, approved patterns, and other rational arguments; not tying our discourse to method, but laying down things as they come to hand.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.97

England in the right constitution, is not an Arbitrary Government, nor is ours of the Massachusetts; yet juries, both there and here, give damages which (in vulgar sense) are arbitrary, in most cases: as in actions of slander, trespass, battery, breach of covenant, etc.; all which concern the people's liberties no less than fines and other penalties; And if twelve men, who have no calling to office, may (in expectation of God's assistance) be trusted with men's estates in a way of distributive justice without a prescript rule, etc., why may not those whose calling and office hath promise of assistance, have like trust reposed in them, in vindictive justice?

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.97

In the Liberties enacted here of purpose to prevent Arbitrary Government, there are near forty Laws, to the violation whereof no penalty is prescribed, nor was ever moved.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.97

God may pronounce sentence against an offender, before the offence be committed, both by his absolute sovereignty, and also because he foreseeth all facts, with all their circumstances; and besides the least degree of the same offence deserves more than that full punishment before his Justice, but man must proceed according to his Commission; by which he cannot sentence another before he hath offended; and the offence examined, proved, laid to the rule, and weighed by all considerable circumstances, and liberty given to the party to answer for himself: nor is there anything more prejudicial to a subject's liberty, than to be sentenced before his cause be heard.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.97–p.98

England is a state of long standing, yet we have had more positive and more wholesome laws enacted in our short time than they had in many hundred years. They have indeed some laws with prescribed penalties annexed, but they are for the most part so small as do undervalue the least degree of those offences; they have twelve pence for an Oath: five shillings for drunkenness, etc.; but for all great offences and misdemeanors, as perjury, forgery, conspiracies, cozenages, oppression, riot, batteries, and other breaches of the peace, etc., there is no penalty prescribed; how it is in other states in Europe, I cannot relate (because we know not their laws) otherwise than what appears in their histories, where we find some great offences punished by the discretion of their judges.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.92–p.98

Justice ought to render to every man according to his deservings, eye for eye, hand for hand, etc.; and (Luke xii. 47) the servant, who transgressed against knowledge was to be beaten with more stripes than he who transgressed of ignorance. If we had a law, that every lie should be punished forty shillings, and two offenders should be convict at the same time, the one a youth of honest conversation, never known to lie before; and now, suddenly surprised with fear of some discredit, had told a lie wherein was no danger of harm to any other; the other an old notorious liar, and his lie contrived of purpose for a pernicious end: it were not just to punish both these alike. As forty shillings were too little for the one, so it were too much for the other. Besides, penalties (we know) coming of paena, should cause pain or grief to the offenders. It must be an affliction, yet not a destruction except in capital or other heinous crimes: but in prescript penalties, authority shoots at adventure; if the same penalty hits a rich man, it pains him not, it is no affliction to him; but if it lights upon a poor man, it breaks his back.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.93–p.98–p.99

Every law must be just in every part of it, but if the penalty annexed be unjust, how can it be held forth as a just law? To prescribe a penalty must be by some rule, otherwise it is an usurpation of God's prerogative; but where the law-makers, or declarers, cannot find a rule for prescribing a penalty, if it come before the judges pro re nata, there it is determinable by a certain rule, viz., by an ordinance set up of God for that purpose, which hath a sure promise of Divine assistance (Exo. xxi. 22; Deut. xvi. 18). "Judges and Officers shalt thou make, etc., and they shall judge the people with just judgment." (Deut. xxv. 1, 2, and xvii. 9, 10, 11). If a Law were made that if any man were found drunken he should be punished by the judges according to the merit of his offence, this is a just law, because it is warranted by a rule; but if a certain penalty were prescribed, this would not be just, because it wants a rule, but when such a case is brought before the judges, and the quality of the person and other circumstances considered, they shall find a rule to judge by; as if Nabal, and Uriah, and one of the strong drunkards of Ephraim, were all three together accused before the judges for drunkenness, they could so proportion their several sentences, according to the several natures and degrees of their offences, as a just and divine sentence might appear in them all; for a divine sentence is in the lips of the King, his mouth transgresseth not in judgment (Prov. xvi.), but no such promise was ever made to a paper sentence of human authority or invention. He who hath promised His servants to teach them what to answer, even in that hour when they shall be brought before judgment seats, etc., will also teach his ministers, the judges, what sentence to pronounce, if they will also observe His word and trust in Him. "Care not for the morrow, etc." is a rule of general extent, to all cases where our providence may either cross with some rule or ordinance of His, or may occasion us to rely more upon our own strengths and means, than upon His grace and blessing. In the sentence which Solomon gave between the two harlots (1 Kings 111. 28), it is said that all Israel heard of the judgment which the King had judged; and they feared the King, for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment. See here, how the wisdom of God was glorified, and the authority of the judge strengthened by this sentence; whereas in men's prescript sentences neither of these can be attained; but if the sentence hit right, all is ascribed to the wisdom of our ancestors; if otherwise, it is endured as a necessary evil, since it may not be altered.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.99–p.100

Prescript penalties take away the use of admonition, which is also a divine sentence and an ordinance of God, warranted by Scripture, as appears in Solomon's admonition to Adonijah, and Nehemiah's to those that break the Sabbath (Eccl. xii. 11, 12); "The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies—by these (my son) be admonished." (Prov. xxix. I; Isa. xi. 4; Prov. xvii. 10). "A reproof entereth more into a wise man, than a hundred stripes into a fool."

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.100

Judges are Gods upon earth; therefore, in their administrations, they are to hold forth the wisdom and mercy of God, (which are His attributes) as well as His Justice, as occasion shall require either in respect of the quality of the person, or for a more general good, or evident repentance, in some cases of less public consequence, or avoiding imminent danger to the State, and such like prevalent considerations. (Exo. xxii. 8, 9). For theft and such like trespasses, double restitution was appointed by the Law; but (Lev. vi. 2, 5) in such cases, if the party confessed his sin and brought his offering, he should only restore the principal and add a fifth part thereto. Adultery and incest deserved death, by the Law, in Jacob's time (as appears by Judah his sentence, in the case of Tamar); yet Reuben was punished only with the loss of his birthright, because he was a patriarch. David his life was not taken away for his adultery and murder (but he was otherwise punished) in respect of public interest and advantage; he was valued at ten thousand common men. Bathsheba was not put to death for her adultery, because the King's desire had with her the force of a law. Abiathar was not put to death for his treason, because of his former good service and faithfulness. Shemei was reprieved for a time, and had his pardon in his own power, because of his profession of repentance in such a season. Those which broke the Sabbath in Nehemiah his time, were not put to death, but first admonished, because the state was not settled, etc. Joab was not put to death for his murders in David's time, for avoiding imminent public danger; the sons of Zeruiah had the advantage of David, by their interest in the men of war; and the commonwealth could not yet spare them. But if judges be tied to a prescript punishment, and no liberty left for dispensation or mitigation in any case, there is no place left for wisdom or mercy; whereas Solomon sayeth (Prov. xx. 28): "Mercy and truth preserve the King, and his throne is upholden by mercy."

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.100–p.101

I would know by what rule we may take upon us, to prescribe penalties, where God prescribes none. If it be answered, "From God's example," I might reply (1), God prescribes none except capital, but only in such cases as are between party and party, and that is rather in a way of satisfaction to the party wronged, than to justice and intention. (2), God's examples are not warrants for us to go against God's rules; our rule is to give a just sentence, which we cannot do (in most cases) before the offence is committed, etc. Five shillings now may be more than twenty shillings hereafter, and e contra. If examples in Scripture be warrant for us to proceed against rule, then we may pass by murders, adulteries, idolatries, etc., without capital punishments; then we might put the children to death for parents' offences, etc.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.101

If we should inquire also of the end of prescribing penalties, it can be no other but this, to prevent oppression of the people by unjust sentences; then I am again to seek of a rule to weaken the power and justice of an ordinance of God, through distrust of His providence, and promise of assistance in His own ordinance. Who must give the lawmakers wisdom, etc., to prescribe sentences? Must not God? And may we not then trust Him to give as much wisdom, etc., to such judges as He shall set up after us? It is said when they had judges by God's appointment, God was with the judge. So may we still believe that if our posterity all choose judges according to God, He will be with the judges in time to come, as well as with the present.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.95–p.101

It may be further demanded, what power we have over the property and estates of the succeeding generations? If we should now prescribe where our posterity should dwell, what quantities of land they should till, what places they should tend unto, what diet they should use, what clothes they should wear, etc., by what rule could we challenge this power? Yet we have example for some of these in Scripture, as of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, etc.; but no man will take these as warrants for us to lay such injunctions upon those which come after us, because they are to have the same interest and freedom in their estates and properties that we have in ours.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.101–p.102

And for preventing of oppression, etc., is there no way to help that but by breach of rule? Shall we run into manifest injustice for fear of I know not what future danger of it? Is there not a clear way of help in such cases, by appeal, or petition, to the highest authority? If this will not relieve in a particular case, we shall then be in a very ill case for all our prescript penalties. Besides, there may be such a general law made (as in Magna Charta) that may prevent the overthrowing of men's estates, or lands, etc., by fines, etc., (and I think it is needful, as any law of Liberty we have), whereby the judges may be restrained within certain limits, which, (if occasion should require to exceed,) may be referred to the General Court; and in capital punishments, a liberty in such and such cases, to redeem them at a certain rate. This would sufficiently assure the proper persons and estates from any great oppression, if, withal, our Courts of Judicature were kept but by three or five magistrates at most, which may well be ordered, without any deviation from our Patent. And so the greater number of magistrates should be free from engagement in any case which might come to a review upon appeal or Petition.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.102

It is an error so to conceit of laws as if they could not be perfect without penalties annexed, for they are as truly distinct as light and darkness. Law was created with and in man, and so is natural to him, but penalty is positive and accidental. Law is bonum simpliciter, but poena is simpliciter malum in subiecto; therefore laws may be declared and given without any penalties annexed.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.102

Isa. x, 1: Woe to them that decree unrighteous decrees: and write grievousness, which they have prescribed; so that where the penalty proves grievous by the unrighteousness of a prescript decree, it will draw a woe after it, as well as unrighteous sentences; (Deut. xxv, 15) "Thou shall have a perfect and just weight and measure." If God be so strict in commutative justice that every act therein must be by a just and perfect rule, what warrant have we to think that we may dispense distributive or vindictive justice to our brethren by guess, when we prescribe a certain measure to an uncertain merit?

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.102–p.103

But it will be objected, volenti non fit injuria; the people giving us power to make laws to bind them, they do implicitly give their consent to them. To this it may be answered that where they put themselves into our power to bind them to laws and penalties, they can intend no other but such as are just and righteous; and although their implicit consent may bind them to outward obedience, yet it neither ties them to satisfaction, nor frees such law-makers from unrighteousness, nor the law itself from injustice, nor will such a law be a sufficient warrant to the conscience of the judge, to pronounce such a sentence as he knows to be apparently disproportionable to the offence brought before him.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.103

Although my argument conclude against prescript penalties indefinitely, yet I do not deny but they may be lawful in some cases; for an universal affirmative position may be true, though it comprehend not every particular, as when we say, "All the country was rated to such a charge," no man will conceive that every person and every woman, etc., was rated; and when we say such an one was cast out by the whole church, this is a true speech (to common intendment) though every particular member did not consent. Where any penalty may be prescribed by a rule, so as the judge may pronounce a just sentence, I have formerly and shall still join in it.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.103

We will now answer such objections as are made against the liberty required to be left to judges in their sentences.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.103

I, ob. Judges are subject to temptations, if their sentences be not prescribed.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.103

Ans. 1. We may not transgress rules, to avoid temptations; for God will have His servants exercised with temptations, that the power of His grace may be made manifest in man's infirmity. A master will not send his servant about his business in a dark night, to avoid temptations of ill-company or the like which he may possibly meet with in the day time; nor will any Christian man take in his corn or hay before it be ready, for avoiding a temptation of taking it in upon the Sabbath. We do not forbid wine to be brought to us, though we know it is a great occasion of temptation to sin.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.103–p.104

2. Those who make laws and prescribe penalties are also men subject to temptations, and may also miscarry through ignorance, heedlessness, or sinister respects; and it is not hard to prove, that the lawmakers, in all states, have committed more, and more pernicious errors than the judges, and there is good reason for it: (1) they, supposing themselves tied to no rule, nor liable to any account, are in the more danger of being mislead; (2) he who prescribes a punishment in a case wherein no person stands before him to be judged, cannot be so wary of shedding innocent blood, or sparing a guilty person, or committing other injustice, as the judge who hath the person and cause before him. When Saul prescribed that capital sentence against such as should taste aught before night, if Jonathan's case had then been before him, he could have judged otherwise. (3) Lawmakers have not so clear a calling in prescribing penalties, as judges have in passing sentences, and therefore there cannot be expected the like blessing of assistance from God. Judges are necessarily tied to give sentence in a cause before them, but lawmakers are not so bound to prescribe sentences.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.104

3. If a judge should sometimes err in his sentence, through misprision or temptation, the error or fault is his own; and the injury or damage extends not far; but an error in the law resteth upon the ordinance itself, and the hurt of it may reach far, even to posterity. There is more righteousness and dishonor in one unjust law than in many unjust sentences.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.104

2. ob. God prescribed some certain penalties, and that in cases where offences do usually vary in their degree and merit.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.104

Ans. 1. We have showed before, how God might do it, in regard to His absolute sovereignty.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.104

2. It is no injustice to Him, because the least degree of the smallest offence (before His judgment seat) deserves the highest degree of punishment.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.104–p.105

3. In some of these (as in theft) He varieth the punishment according to the measure and nature of the offence. In others as death, perpetual solitude, etc., being the just reward of such offences in their simple nature, they have not a fit subject, for an increase of punishment to take place upon. He who is put to death for adultery cannot die again for incest concurring therewith, and he who is adjudged to perpetual servitude for stealing a hundred pounds cannot be capable of a further sentence for battery.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.105

4. In all or most of those offences, the penalty was in way of satisfaction to such as were damnified therewith, and in such cases justice will not allow a judge any liberty to alter or remit any thing, nor can any circumstance lead to qualification. A rich man hath the same right of satisfaction for his goods stolen from him as a poor man, and the poorest man's life is the life of man, as well as a prince's.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.105

5. These precedents were given to the judges not with direction to prescribe penalties to other laws that had none, but with commandment to give judgment in all cases, by the equity of these: (there are some forms of prayer and sermons in Scripture, but this doth not prove ergo all, etc.)

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.105

3. ob. If the determination of the law were left to the judges, that were Arbitrary Government; and is it not in reason the same, if the punishment of the transgression of the law be committed?

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.105

Ans. The reason is not alike in both cases.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.105

1. The determination of law belongs properly to God: He is the only lawgiver; but He hath given power and gifts to man to interpret His laws; and this belongs principally to the highest authority in a commonwealth, and subordinately to other magistrates and judges according to their several places.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.105

2. The law is always the same, and not changeable by any circumstances of aggravation or extenuation, as the penalty is, and therefore draws a certain guilt upon every transgressor, whether he sin of ignorance, or against knowledge, or presumptuously; and therefore laws or the interpretations of them, may be prescribed without any danger, because no event can alter the reason, or justice of them, as it may of punishments.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.105–p.106

3. The Law is more general, and lieth as a burden upon all persons and at all times; but the penalty reaches to none but transgressors, and to such, only when they are brought under sentence, and not before.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.106

4. It is needful that all men should know the laws, and their true meanings, because they are bound to them, and the safety and welfare of the commonwealth consists in the observation of them; therefore it is needful they should be stated and declared as soon as is possible; but there is not the like necessity or use of declaring their penalties beforehand, for they who are godly and virtuous, will observe them, for conscience and virtue's sake; and for such as must be held in by fear of punishment, it is better they should be kept in fear of a greater punishment than to take liberty to transgress through the contempt of a smaller.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.106

4. ob. It is safe for the commonwealth to have penalties prescribed, because we know not what magistrates or judges we may have hereafter.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.106

Ans. 1. God foresaw that there would be corrupt judges in Israel, yet He left most penalties to their determination.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.106

2. There is no wisdom of any state can so provide but that in many things of greatest concernment they must confide in some men; and so it is in all human affairs: the wisest merchants, and the most wary, are forced to repose great trust in the wisdom and faithfulness of their servants, factors, masters of their ships, etc. All states, in their generals of war, admirals, ambassadors, treasurers, etc., and these are causes of more public consequence than the sentence of a judge in matters of misdemeanor, or other smaller offences.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.106

3. When we have provided against all common and probable events, we may and ought to trust God for safety from such dangers as are only possible, but not likely, to come upon us; especially when our striving to prevent such possible dangers may hazard the deprivation or weakening of a present good, or may draw those or other evils nearer upon us.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.106–p.107

This discourse is run out to more length than was intended: the conclusion is this: The Government of the Massachusetts consists of Magistrates and Freemen: in the one is placed the authority, in the other, the liberty of the commonwealth. Either hath power to act, both alone, and both together, yet by a distinct power, the one of liberty, the other of authority. The Freemen act of themselves in electing their magistrates and officers; the magistrates act alone in all occurrences out of court; and both act together in the General Court; yet all limited by certain rules, both in the greater and smaller affairs, so as the Government is regular in a mixed aristocraty, and no ways arbitrary.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

The returns of the Committee of the House of Deputies concerning the Book about Arbitrary Government, in the examination the thereof; and the votes of the House passed upon each particular, viz.:

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

In the first part thereof:

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

1. Concerning the definition therein made, we conceive it is defective.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

2. Concerning the distinction therein made of the body politic, and the members thereof, in attributing authority to the one, and only liberty to the other, we find not any such distinction in the Patent.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

3. Concerning the clause recited therein (respecting the General Court) which gives only liberty to the freemen to advise and counsel, instead of power and authority (which the Patent allows), we conceive it a taking away of the power and privileges of the freemen.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

In the second part of the book, which concerns the rule by which a people should be governed, we find these dangerous positions:

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

1. That general rules are sufficient to clear a state from Arbitrary Government.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

2. That judges ought to have liberty to vary from such general rules when they see cause.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

In the following of the first of those two positions there are many dangerous passages, and bitter censuring of all penal laws: as:—

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

1. That they are paper sentences of human authority and invention.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

2. That men's prescript sentences do deny and exclude both the wisdom of God, and the authority of the judge.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.107

3. That to prescribe laws with certain penalties is an usurping of God's authority.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108

4. That a sentence ought not to be provided before the case fall out, but immediate assistance to be expected.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108

5. That particular laws including certain penalties are not just, wanting rule.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108

The introduction of particular instances which are brought to prove this second position, with the reasons and consequences, are pernicious and dangerous.

per Robert Bridges,

By order, etc.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108

Governor Winthrop's comments on this report, as indorsed by him on the same sheet on which he had carefully copied it, are as follows:—

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108

Answer: the Committee have been mistaken in most of their objections.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108

1. The Title shows that the author intended not any definition, but a description only, and to make it the more full and clear, he lays it down both affirmatively and negatively; yet a logician may frame it into a definition,—thus Arbitrary Government is a Government exercised without a rule, but the description is false by the cause and by the effects.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108

2. There is no such distinction as is observed between the body politic and the members thereof, for that were to distinguish between the whole and the parts; but the distinction between the members of that body, giving authority to the one and power and liberty to the other, is warranted by the Patent (as in other places so) particularly in that clause which sayeth that the Governor, etc., shall call the freemen to consult and advise, etc., which is an act of liberty and not of authority; and for the other part of their power, which is matter of election, the late Body of Liberties sayeth it is their constant liberty, not authority.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108

In the second part:

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.108–p.109

1. We find not any such position that general rules are sufficient to clear a State of arbitrary government, but we find that the word of God and the laws here established being appointed by order of Court as a rule for the present, are such a rule as may be required by the judges in all their administrations, because a rule may from thence be derived (if God give wisdom to discern it) in any particular case which may fall out; otherwise the Law of God were not perfect, and from what better grounds shall the lawmakers draw all future laws and prescribed penalties.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.102–p.109

But if the author had expressed himself in the very words of the position yet it will admit a safe construction, for all laws (not limited to particular parties or occasions) are general rules, and may be so called, though they have a certain penalty annexed.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.109

2. Nor will the book own the second position in the words expressed, but this the judges both from their offices (being God's vicegerents) and from diverse examples in Scripture, which seem to hold forth so much, that some liberty ought to be left to judges in some cases, upon special occasions to hold forth the mercy of God, as well as His justice; nor do we consider that either in the Commonwealth of Israel, or in any other, the judges have been wholly restrained of such liberty.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.109

In the following argument:—

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.109

If the Committee had found such dangerous passages as they intimate, they should have done well to have imparted their particular observations therein unto us, that we might have considered of them, for want whereof it cannot be expected we should deliver any opinion about them. The like we may say for such bitter censurings as they mention, only it is usual for men to call such things bitter which themselves disrelish, though they may be harmless and wholesome notwithstanding.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.109

For the five particulars mentioned, they are delivered as arguments or the consectaries thereof, so as the arguments must first be avoided before any judgment can be given about them.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.109–p.110

The examples which the author allegeth out of Scripture are only to show how God hath sometimes (in His wisdom and mercy) dispensed with the rigor of His own law; and that princes have sometimes done the like upon public or other prevalent considerations, which cannot be denied to be a truth; and for the warrant they had for it, being (at the most) disputable, it was as free for him to deliver them in his own and some other learned and godly men's apprehensions as it is for others who differ therein; and there can be no more danger in this than in other books and sermons, where the same or other passages of Scripture are truly reported, though not applied to the sense of every godly man, as if one should reason thus: David put the Amorites to torture, therefore, in some cases it is lawful so to do. This will not be judged a pernicious doctrine, though some godly men do question the warrantableness of the example. The like may be said of all such examples in Scripture as are controverted among godly and learned men; but it is otherwise in such places as are not questionable, as if a man should reason thus: David sentenced Mephibosheth before he heard him; therefore it is lawful for judge so to do. This might truly be said to be a pernicious doctrine; or if one should argue thus: Saul made a law with a prescript penalty of death to him that should transgress it; therefore it had been just that Jonathan should have been put to death for transgressing that law; or therefore it is lawful for princes, etc., to prescribe penalties at their own pleasures;—these might be judged to be pernicious doctrines, because the example is unquestionable, etc.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.110

THE AUTHOR'S REVIEW OF HIS WRITING

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.110–p.111

That which gave me occasion first to inquire after a rule for prescript penalties, was the inequality I saw in some prescribed sentences upon the breach of diverse moral laws; and proceeding in this inquiry, I kept my intention still upon that subject, without respect to such laws as are merely positive, having their authority only and wholly from human institutions: therefore you shall find that all my instances are of that kind, and all my arguments look that way, as in the instances I bring of the laws of England. If I intended the positive and statute laws, it had been a great mistake, for I know well that most of the later Statute Laws have their penalties prescribed, and it must needs be so, for such as are merely positive; for a judge can have no rule for his sentence upon the breach of such a law, except he have it from the law itself: as, for instance, if the law which forbids any man to kill an hare or partridge with a gun, had not also set down the penalty, the judge could not have found out any, which might have been just, because no law of God or nature makes such an act any offence or transgression. But for the Common Laws of England (which are the ancient laws, and of far more esteem for their wisdom and equity than the Statute Laws,) they had no penalties prescribed; and it may be conceived that for such of them as were grounded upon the Word of God, and the light of nature, there must needs be that in the same Word, and in the same light of nature (especially where the image of God in man is in part renewed by Christ) which may lead us to a just punishment for the transgressor of such a law. Nor do I oppose all prescript penalties in moral cases, but only such as do cross some clear rules in the Word of God, as will appear by all my arguments. And for avoiding all danger to the subject for want of prescript penalties in some cases, you may see that to require some such law to be made, as may limit judges within such bounds of moderation as may prevent such dangers, and [it] is one of my express conclusions in the first page, that judges ought to be tied to a rule, and such a rule as may be required of them in all their administrations, and therefore upon what ground I should be charged to assert Arbitrary Government, and that judges should have liberty to do what they may, I leave to your judgment.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.111–p.112

As for laws, you shall find also that I conclude the necessity of declaring and stating them, so as all the people may know them, for I ever held it unjust to require of men the obedience of any law which they may not (by common intendment) take notice of. Answerable thereunto hath been my practice. All the useful laws we have had my consent, and such poor help as the Lord enabled me to yield to them; some of which have prescribed penalties, and where I have withheld my consent to any such penalties I have given my reasons for it, which have been such as in some cases have satisfied the Court, and therein I have taken no more liberty than is allowed to every member of the Court. I will not justify every passage in my book: there are two or three words that offence hath been taken at, and although I can give a safe account of them, yet I must confess they do not now please me, but when the matter is good, and the intention of the writer honest, the Lord forbids us to make a man an offender in word.

Winthrop, Arbitrary Government Described…, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.112

Whatsoever is erroneous (I say as I did from the first) I shall leave it to its due censure; but for all that is of God, and of the Truth, or the sincerity of my intentions herein to the public weal, or the liberty I had by my place to propound such considerations to the Court, if these be questioned I must stand and fall with them.

JOHN WINTHROP.

Witchcraft in New England

Title: Witchcraft in New England

Author: John G. Palfrey

Date: 1647-1696

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.145-152

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.145

The people of Massachusetts in the seventeenth century, like all other Christian people at that time and later,—at least, with extremely rare individual exceptions,—believed in the reality of a hideous crime called witchcraft. They thought they had Scripture for that belief, and they knew they had law for it, explicit and abundant; and with them law and Scripture were absolute authorities for the regulation of opinion nad of conduct.

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.145

In a few instances, witches were believed to have appeared in the earlier years of New England. But the cases had been sporadic. The first instance of an execution for witchcraft is said to have occurred in Connecticut, soon after the settlement [1647, May 30th]; but the circumstances are not known, and the fact has been doubted. A year later, one Margaret Jones, of Charlestown in Massachusetts, and it has been said, two other women in Dorchester and Cambridge, were convicted and executed for the goblin crime. These cases appear to have excited no more attention than would have been given to the commission of any other felony, and no judicial record of them survives….

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.146

With three or four exceptions,—for the evidence respecting the asserted sufferers at Dorchester and Cambridge is imperfect,—no person appears to have been punished for witchcraft in Massachusetts, nor convicted of it, for more than sixty years after the settlement, though there had been three or four tirals of other persons suspected of the crime. At the time when the question respecting the colonial charter was rapidly approaching an issue, and the public mind was in feverish agitation, the ministers sent out a paper of proposals for collecting facts concerning witchcraft [1681]. This brought out a work from President Mather entitled "Illustrious Providences," in which that influntial person related numerous stories of the performances of persons leagued with the Devil [1684].

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.146

The imagination of his restless young son was stimulated, and circumstances fed the flame. In the last year of the government of Andros [1688], a daughter, thirteen years old, of John Goodwin,—a mason living at the South End of Boston,—had a quarrel with an Irish washerwoman about some missing clothes. The woman's mother took it up, and scolded provokingly. Thereupon the wicked child, profiting, as it seems, by what she had been hearing and reading on the mysterious subject, "cried out upon her," as the phrase was, as a witch, and proceeded to act the part understood to be fit for a bewitched person; in which behavior she was presently joined by three others of the circle, one of them only four or five years old. Now they would lose their hearing, now their sight, now their speech; and sometimes all three faculties at once. They mewed like kittens; they barked like dogs.

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.147

Cotton Mather prayed with one of them; but she lost her hearing, he says, when he began, and recovered it as soon as he finished. Four Boston ministers and one of Charlestown held a meeting, and passed a day in fasting and prayer, by which exorcism the youngest imp was "delivered." The poor woman, crazed with all this pother,—it in her right mind before,—and defending herself unskilfully in her foreign gibberish and with the volubility of her race, was interpreted as making some confession. A gossiping witness testified that six years before she had heard another woman say that she had seen the accused come down a chimney. She was required to repeat the Lord's Prayer in English,—an approved test; but being a Catholic, she had never learned it in that language. She could recite it, after a fashion, in Latin; but she was no scholar, nad made some mistakes. The helpless wretch was convicted and sent to the gallows.

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.147

Cotton Mather took the oldest "afflicted" girl to his house, where she dexterously played upon his self-conceit to stimulate his credulity. She satisfied him that Satan regarded him as his most terrible enemy, and avoided him with especial awe. When he prayed or read in the Bible, she was seized with convulsion fits. When he called to family devotion she would whistle, and sing, and scream, and pretend to try to strike and kick him; but her blows would be stopt before reachinghis body, indicating that he was unassailable by the Evil One. Mather published an account of these transactions, with a collection of other appropriate matter. The treatise circulated not only in Massachusetts, but widely also in England, where it obtained the warm commendation of Richard Baxter; and it may be supposed to have had an important effect in producing the more disastrous delusion which followed three years after. The Goodwin children soon got well: in other words, they were tired of their victim gave them a pretense for a return to decent behavior….

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.148

Martha Corey and Rebecca Nourse were cried out against. Both were church-members of excellent character; the latter seventy years of age. They were examined by the same magistrates, and sent to prison, and with them a child of Sarah Good, only four or five years old, also charged with diabolical practises. Mr. Parris preached upon the text, "Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is the devil?" Sarah Cloyse, understanding the allusion to be to Nourse, who was her sister, went out of church, and was accordingly cried out upon, examined, and committed. Elizabeth Procter was another person charged. The Deputy-Governor and five magistrates came to Salem for the examination of the two prisoneres last named. Procter appealed to one of the children who was accusing her. "Dear child," she said, "it is not so; there is another judgment, dear child:" and presently they denounced as a witch her husband, who stood by her side. A week afterward warrants were issued for the apprehension of four other suspected persons; and a few days later for three others, one of whom, Philip English, was the principal merchant of Salem. On the same day, on the information of one of the possessed girls, an order was sent to Maine for the arrest of George Burroughs, formerly a candidate for the ministry at Salem Village, and now minister of Wells. The witness said that Burroughs, besides being a wizard, had killed his first two wives, and other persons whose ghosts had appeared to her and denounced him….

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.149

Affairs were in this condition when the King's Governor arrived. About a hundred alleged witches were now in jail, awaiting trial. Their case was one of the first matters to which his attention was called. Without authority for so doing,—for by the charter which he represented, the establishment of judicial courts was a function of the General Court,—he proceeded to institute a special commission of Oyer nad Terminer, consisting of seven magistrates, first of whom was the hard, obstinate, narrow-minded Stoughton. The commissioners applied themselves to their office without delay. Their first act was to try Bridget Bishop, against whom an accusation twenty years old, and retracted by its author on his death-bed, had been revived. The court sentenced her to die by hanging, and she was accordingly hanged at the end of eight days. Cotton Mather, in his account of the proceedings, relates that as she passed along the street under guard, Bishop "had given a look toward the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem, and immediately a daemon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." It may beguessed that a plank or a partition had given way under the pressure of the crowd of lookers-on collected for so extraordinary a spectacle.

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.150

At the end of another four weeks the court sat again and sentenced five women, two of Salem, and one each of Amesbury, Ipswich, and Topsfield, all of whom were executed, protesting their innocence. In respect to one of them, Rebecca Nourse, a matron eminent for piety and goodness, a verdict of acquittal was first rendered. But Stoughton sent the jury out again, reminding them that in her examination, in reference to certain witnesses against her who had confest their own guilt, she had used the expression, "they came among us." Nourse was deaf, and did not catch what had been going on. When it was afterward repeated to her she said that by the coming among us she meant that they had been in prison together. But the jury adopted the court's interpretation of the word as signifying an acknowledgment that thye had met at a witch orgy. The Governor was disposed to grant her a pardon. But Parris, who had an ancient grudge aginst her, interfered and prevailed. On the last communion day before her execution she was taken into church, and formally excommunicated by Noyes, her minister….

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.150

In the course of the next month, in which the Governor left Boston for a short tour of inspection in the Eastern country, fifteen person—six women in one day, and on another eight women and one man—were tried, convicted, and sentenced. Eight of them were hanged. The brafve Giles Corey, eight years of age, being arraigned, refused to plead. He said that the whole thing was an imposture, and that it was of no use to puthimself on his trial, for every trial had ended in a conviction,—which was the fact. It is shocking to relate that, suffering the penalty of the English common law for a contumacious refusal to answer,—the peine forte et dure,—he was prest to death with heavy weights laid on his body. By not pleading he intended to protect the inheritance of his children, which, as he had been informed, would by a conviction of felony have been forfeit to the crown.

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.151

There had been twenty human victims, Corey included; besides two dogs, their accomplices in the mysterious crime. Fifty person had obtained a pardon by confessing; a hundred and fifty were in prison awaiting trial; and charges had been made aginst two hundred more. The accusers were not flying at high quarries. Hezekiah Usher, known to the reader as an ancient magistrate of fair consideration, was complained of; and Mrs. Thacher, mother-in-law of Corwin, the justice who had taken the earliest examinations. Zeal in pushing forward the prosecution began to seem dangerous; for what was to prevent an accused person from securing himself by confession, and then revenging himself on the accuser by arraigning him as a former ally? . . .

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.151

The drunken fever-fit was now over, and with returning sobriety came profound contrition and disgust. A few still held out agisnt the return of reason. There are som men who never own that they have been in the wrong, and a few men who are forever incapable of seeing it. Stoughton, with his bull-dog stubbornness, that might in other times have made him a St. Dominic, continued to insist that the business had been all right, andthat the only mistake was in putting a stop to it. Cotton Mather was always infallible in his own eyes. In the year after the executions he had the satisfaction of studying another remarkable case of possession in Boston; but when it and the treatise which he wrote upon it failed to excite much attention, and it was plain that the tide had set the other way, he soon got his consent to let it run at its own pleasure, and turned his excursive activity to other objects….

Palfrey, Witchcraft in New England, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.152

Members of some of the juries, in a written public declaration, acknowledged the fault of their wrongful; verdicts, entreated forgiveness, and protested that, "according to their present minds, they would none of them do such things again, on such grounds, for the whole world; praying that this act of theirs might be accepted in way of satisfaction for their offense." A day of General Fasting was proclaimed by authority, to be observed throughout the jurisdiction, in which the people were invited to pray that "whatever mistakes on either hand had been fallen into, either by the body of this people, or by any orders of men, referring to the late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments, through the awful judgment of God, he would humble them therefor, and pardon all the errors of his servants and people."

The Instrument of Government

Title: The Instrument of Government

Author: Cromwell and His Council of Officers

Date: 1653

Source: Harvard Classics, Vol.43, pp.113-124

The Instrument of Government is important in the history of written constitutions. It was adopted by Cromwell and his Council of Officers on December 16, 1653, and under it Cromwell assumed the office of Lord Protector. When the Parliament for which it provides met in September, 1654, it passed a constitution of which the Instrument was the basis.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.113

THE government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.113

I. That the supreme legislative authority of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, shall be and reside in one person, and the people assembled in Parliament; the style of which person shall be the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.113

II. That the exercise of the chief magistracy and the administration of the government over the said countries and dominions, and the people thereof, shall be in the Lord Protector, assisted with a council, the number whereof shall not exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.113–p.114

III. That all writs, processes, commissions, patents, grants, and other things, which now run in the name and style of the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of Parliament, shall run in the name and style of the Lord Protector, from whom, for the future, shall be derived all magistracy and honours in these three nations; and have the power of pardons (except in case of murders and treason) and benefit of all forfeitures for the public use; and shall govern the said countries and dominions in all things by the advice of the council, and according to these presents and the laws.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.114

IV. That the Lord Protector, the Parliament sitting, shall dispose and order the militia and forces, both by sea and land, for the peace and good of the three nations, by consent of Parliament; and that the Lord Protector, with the advice and consent of the major part of the council, shall dispose and order the militia for the ends aforesaid in the intervals of Parliament.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.114

V. That the Lord Protector, by the advice aforesaid, shall direct in all things concerning the keeping and holding of a good correspondency with foreign kings, princes, and states; and also, with the consent of the major part of the council, have the power of war and peace.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.114

VI. That the laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in Parliament, save only as is expressed in the thirtieth article.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.114

VII. That there shall be a Parliament summoned to meet at Westminster upon the third day of September, 1654, and that successively a Parliament shall be summoned once in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the present Parliament.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.114

VIII. That neither the Parliament to be next summoned, nor any successive Parliaments, shall, during the time of five months, to be accounted from the day of their first meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.114

IX. That as well the next as all other successive Parliaments, shall be summoned and elected in manner hereafter expressed; that is to say, the persons to be chosen within England, Wales, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the number of four hundred. The persons to be chosen within Scotland, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the number of thirty; and the persons to be chosen to sit in Parliament for Ireland shall be, and not exceed, the number of thirty.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.115

X. That the persons to be elected to sit in Parliament from time to time, for the several counties of England, Wales, the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and all places within the same respectively, shall be according to the proportions and numbers hereafter expressed: that is to say,

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.115

Bedfordshire, 5; Bedford Town, 1; Berkshire, 5; Abingdon, 1; Reading, 1; Buckinghamshire, 5; Buckingham Town, 1; Aylesbury, 1; Wycomb, 1; Cambridgeshire, 4; Cambridge Town, 1; Cambridge University, 1; Isle of Ely, 2; Cheshire, 4; Chester, 1; Cornwall, 8; Launceston, 1; Truro, 1; Penryn, 1; East Looe and West Looe, 1; Cumberland, 2; Carlisle, I; Derbyshire, 4; Derby Town, 1; Devonshire, 11; Exeter, 2; Plymouth, 2; Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness, 1; Totnes, 1; Barnstable, 1; Tiverton, 1; Honiton, 1; Dorsetshire, 6; Dorchester, 1; Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis, 1; Lyme-Regis, 1; Poole, 1; Durham, 2; City of Durham, 1; Essex, 13; Malden, 1; Colchester, 2; Gloucestershire, 5; Gloucester, 2; Tewkesbury, 1; Cirencester, 1; Herefordshire, 4; Hereford, 1; Leominster, 1; Hertfordshire, 5; St. Alban's, 1; Hertford, 1; Huntingdonshire, 3; Huntingdon, 1; Kent, 11; Canterbury, 2; Rochester, 1; Maidstone, 1; Dover, 1; Sandwich, 1; Queenborough, 1; Lancashire, 4; Preston, 1; Lancaster, 1; Liverpool, 1; Manchester, 1; Leicestershire, 4; Leicester, 2; Lincolnshire, 10; Lincoln, 2; Boston, 1; Grantham, 1; Stamford, 1; Great Grimsby, 1; Middlesex, 4; London, 6; Westminster, 2; Monmouthshire, 3; Norfolk, 10; Norwich, 2; Lynn-Regis, 2; Great Yarmouth, 2; Northamptonshire, 6; Peterborough, 1; Northampton, 1; Nottinghamshire, 4; Nottingham, 2; Northumberland, 3; Newcasine-upon-Tyne, 1; Berwick, 1; Oxfordshire, 5; Oxford City, 1; Oxford University, 1; Woodstock, 1; Rutlandshire, 2; Shropshire, 4; Shrewsbury, 2; Bridgnorth, 1; Ludlow, 1; Staffordshire, 3; Lichfreld, 1; Stafford, 1; Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1; Somersetshire, 11; Bristol, 2; Taunton, 2; Bath, 1; Wells, 1; Bridgwater, 1; Southamptonshire, 8; Winchester, 1; Southampton, 1; Portsmouth, 1; Isle of Wight, 2; Andover, 1; Suffolk, 10; Ipswich, 2; Bury St. Edmunds, 2; Dunwich, 1; Sudbury, 1; Surrey, 6; Southwark, 2; Guildford, 1; Reigate, 1; Sussex, 9; Chichester, 1; Lewes, 1; East Grinstead, 1; Arundel, 1; Rye, 1; Westmoreland, 2; Warwickshire, 4; Coventry, 2; Warwick, 1; Wiltshire, 10; New Sarum, 2; Marlborough, 1; Devizes, 1; Worcestershire, 5; Worcester, 2.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.115

YORKSHIRE.—West Riding, 6; East Riding, 4; North Riding, 4; City of York, 2; Kingston-upon-Hull, 1; Beverley, 1; Scarborough, 1; Richmond, 1; Leeds, 1; Halifax, 1.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.115

WALES.—Anglesey, 2; Brecknockshire, 2; Cardiganshire, 2; Carmarthenshire, 2; Carnarvonshire, 2; Denbighshire, 2; Flintshire, 2; Glamorganshire, 2; Cardiff, 1; Merionethshire, 1; Montgomeryshire, 2; Pembrokeshire, 2; Haverfordwest, 1; Radnorshire, 2.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.116

The distribution of the persons to be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, and the several counties, cities, and places therein, shall be according to such proportions and number as shall be agreed upon and declared by the Lord Protector and the major part of the council, before the sending forth writs of summons for the next Parliament.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.116–p.117

XI. That the summons to Parliament shall be by writ under the Great Seal of England, directed to the sheriffs of the several and respective counties, with such alteration as may suit with the present government, to be made by the Lord Protector and his council, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal shall seal, issue, and send abroad by warrant from the Lord Protector. If the Lord Protector shall not give warrant for issuing of writs of summons for the next Parliament, before the first of June, 1654, or for the Triennial Parliaments, before the first day of August in every third year, to be accounted as aforesaid; that then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being, shall, without any warrant or direction, within seven days after the said first day of June, 1654, seal, issue, and send abroad writs of summons (changing therein what is to be changed as aforesaid) to the several and respective sheriffs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for summoning the Parliament to meet at Westminster, the third day of September next; and shall likewise, within seven days after the said first day of August, in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the precedent Parliament, seal, issue, and send forth abroad several writs of summons (changing therein what is to be changed) as aforesaid, for summoning the Parliament to meet at Westminster the sixth of November in that third year. That the said several and respective sheriffs, shall, within ten days after the receipt of such writ as aforesaid, cause the same to be proclaimed and published in every market-town within his county upon the market-days thereof, between twelve and three of the clock; and shall then also publish and declare the certain day of the week and month, for choosing members to serve in Parliament for the body of the said county, according to the tenor of the said writ, which shall be upon Wednesday five weeks after the date of the writ; and shall likewise declare the place where the election shall be made: for which purpose he shall appoint the most convenient place for the whole county to meet in; and shall send precepts for elections to be made in all and every city, town, borough, or place within his county, where elections are to be made by virtue of these presents, to the Mayor, Sheriff, or other head officer of such city, town, borough, or place, within three days after the receipt of such writ and writs; which the said Mayors, Sheriffs, and officers respectively are to make publication of, and of the certain day for such elections to be made in the said city, town, or place aforesaid, and to cause elections to be made accordingly.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.117

XII. That at the day and place of elections, the Sheriff of each county, and the said Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other head officers within their cities, towns, boroughs, and places respectively, shall take view of the said elections, and shall make return into the chancery within twenty days after the said elections, of the persons elected by the greater number of electors, under their hands and seals, between him on the one part, and the electors on the other part; wherein shall be contained, that the persons elected shall not have power to alter the government as it is hereby settled in one single person and a Parliament.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.117

XIII. That the Sheriff, who shall wittingly and willingly make any false return, or neglect his duty, shall incur the penalty of 2000 marks of lawful English money; the one moiety to the Lord Protector, and the other moiety to such person as will sue for the same.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.117

XIV. That all and every person and persons, who have aided, advised, assisted, or abetted in any war against the Parliament, since the first day of January 5641 (unless they have been since in the service of the Parliament, and given signal testimony of their good affection thereunto) shall be disabled and incapable to be elected, or to give any vote in the election of any members to serve in the next Parliament, or in the three succeeding Triennial Parliaments.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.117–p.118

XV. That all such, who have advised, assisted, or abetted the rebellion of Ireland, shall be disabled and incapable for ever to be elected, or give any vote in the election of any member to serve in Parliament; as also all such who do or shall profess the Roman Catholic religion.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.118

XVI. That all votes and elections given or made contrary, or not according to these qualifications, shall be null and void; and if any person, who is hereby made incapable, shall give his vote for election of members to serve in Parliament, such person shall lose and forfeit one full year's value of his real estate, and one full third part of his personal estate; one moiety thereof to the Lord Protector, and the other moiety to him or them who shall sue for the same.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.118

XVII. That the persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament, shall be such (and no other than such) as are persons of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation, and being of the age of twenty-one years.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.118

XVIII. That all and every person and persons seised or possessed to his own use, of any estate, real or personal, to the value of £200, and not within the aforesaid exceptions, shall be capable to elect members to serve in Parliament for counties.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.118

XIX. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall be sworn before they enter into their offices, truly and faithfully to issue forth, and send abroad, writs of summons to Parliament, at the times and in the manner before expressed: and in case of neglect or failure to issue and send abroad writs accordingly, he or they shall for every such offence be guilty of high treason, and suffer the pains and penalties thereof.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.118–p.119

XX. That in case writs be not issued out, as is before expressed, but that there be a neglect therein, fifteen days after the time wherein the same ought to be issued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal; that then the Parliament shall, as often as such failure shall happen, assemble and be held at Westminster, in the usual place, at the times prefixed, in manner and by the means hereafter expressed; that is to say, that the sheriffs of the several and respective counties, sheriffdoms, cities, boroughs, and places aforesaid, within England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Mayor and Bailiffs of the borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed and other places aforesaid respectively, shall at the several courts and places to be appointed as aforesaid, within thirty days after the said fifteen days, cause such members to be chosen for their said several and respective counties, sheriffdoms, universities, cities, boroughs, and places aforesaid, by such persons, and in such manner as if several and respective writs of summons to Parliament under the Great Seal had issued and been awarded according to the tenor aforesaid: that if the sheriff, or other persons authorized, shall neglect his or their duty herein, that all and every such sheriff and person authorized as aforesaid, so neglecting his or their duty, shall, for every such offence, be guilty of high treason, and shall suffer the pains and penalties thereof.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.119

XXI. That the clerk, called the clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery for the time being, and all others, who shall afterwards execute that office, to whom the returns shall be made, shall for the next Parliament, and the two succeeding Triennial Parliaments, the next day after such return, certify the names of the several persons so returned, and of the places for which he and they were chosen respectively, unto the Council; who shall peruse the said returns, and examine whether the persons so elected and returned be such as is agreeable to the qualifications, and not disabled to be elected: and that every person and persons being so duly elected, and being approved of by the major part of the Council to be persons not disabled, but qualified as aforesaid, shall be esteemed a member of Parliament, and be admitted to sit in Parliament, and not otherwise.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.119

XXII. That the persons so chosen and assembled in manner aforesaid, or any sixty of them, shall be, and be deemed the Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the supreme legislative power to be and reside in the Lord Protector and such Parliament, in manner herein expressed.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.119–p.120

XXIII. That the Lord Protector, with the advice of the major part of the Council, shall at any other time than is before expressed, when the necessities of the State shall require it, summon Parliaments in manner before expressed, which shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved without their own consent, during the first three months of their sitting. And in case of future war with any foreign State, a Parliament shall be forthwith summoned for their advice concerning the same.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.120

XXIV. That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, shall be presented to the Lord Protector for his consent; and in case he shall not give his consent thereto within twenty days after they shall be presented to him, or give satisfaction to the Parliament within the time limited, that then, upon declaration of the Parliament that the Lord Protector hath not consented nor given satisfaction, such Bills shall pass into and become laws, although he shall not give his consent thereunto; provided such Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the matters contained in these presents.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.120–p.121

XXV. That Henry Lawrence, Esq., &c., or any seven of them, shall be a Council for the purposes expressed in this writing; and upon the death or other removal of any of them, the Parliament shall nominate six persons of ability, integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed; Out of which the major part of the Council shall elect two, and present them to the Lord Protector, of which he shall elect one; and in case the Parliament shall not nominate within twenty days after notice given unto them thereof, the major part of the Council shall nominate three as aforesaid to the Lord Protector, who out of them shall supply the vacancy; and until this choice be made, the remaining part of the Council shall execute as fully in all things, as if their number were full. And in case of corruption, or other miscarriage in any of the Council in their trust, the Parliament shall appoint seven of their number, and the Council six, who, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the time being, shall have power to hear and determine such corruption and miscarriage, and to award and inflict punishment, as the nature of the offence shall deserve, which punishment shall not be pardoned or remitted by the Lord Protector; and, in the interval of Parliaments, the major part of the Council, with the consent of the Lord Protector, may, for corruption or other miscarriage as aforesaid, suspend any of their number from the exercise of their trust, if they shall find it just, until the matter shall be heard and examined as aforesaid.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.121

XXVI. That the Lord Protector and the major part of the Council aforesaid may, at any time before the meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council such persons as they shall think fit, provided the number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed twenty-one, and the quorum to be proportioned accordingly by the Lord Protector and the major part of the Council.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.121

XXVII. That a constant yearly revenue shall be raised, settled, and established for maintaining of 10,000 horse and dragoons, and 20,000 foot, in England, Scotland and Ireland, for the defence and security thereof, and also for a convenient number of ships for guarding of the seas; besides £200,000 per annum for defraying the other necessary charges of administration of justice, and other expenses of the Government, which revenue shall be raised by the customs, and such other ways and means as shall be agreed upon by the Lord Protector and the Council, and shall not be taken away or diminished, nor the way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the consent of the Lord Protector and the Parliament.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.121

XXVIII. That the said yearly revenue shall be paid into the public treasury, and shall be issued out for the uses aforesaid.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.121

XXIX. That in case there shall not be cause hereafter to keep up so great a defence both at land or sea, but that there be an abatement made thereof, the money which will be saved thereby shall remain in bank for the public service, and not be employed to any other use but by consent of Parliament, or, in the intervals of Parliament, by the Lord Protector and major part of the Council.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.121–p.122

XXX. That the raising of money for defraying the charge of the present extraordinary forces, both at sea and land, in respect of the present wars, shall be by consent of Parliament, and not otherwise: save only that the Lord Protector, with the consent of the major part of the Council, for preventing the disorders and dangers which might otherwise fall out both by sea and land, shall have power, until the meeting of the first Parliament, to raise money for the purposes aforesaid; and also to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of these nations where it shall be necessary, which shall be, binding and in force, until order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.122

XXXI. That the lands, tenements, rents, royalties, jurisdictions and hereditaments which remain yet unsold or undisposed of, by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth (except the forests and chases, and the honours and manors belonging to the same; the lands of the rebels in Ireland, lying in the four counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow; the lands forfeited by the people of Scotland in the late wars, and also the lands of Papists and delinquents in England who have not yet compounded), shall be vested in the Lord Protector, to hold, to him and his successors, Lords Protectors of these nations, and shall not be alienated but by consent in Parliament. And all debts, fines, issues, amercements, penalties and profits, certain and casual, due to the Keepers of the liberties of England by authority of Parliament, shall be due to the Lord Protector, and be payable into his public receipt, and shall be recovered and prosecuted in his name.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.122–p.123

XXXII. That the office of Lord Protector over these nations shall be elective and not hereditary; and upon the death of the Lord Protector, another fit person shall be forthwith elected to succeed him in the Government; which election shall be by the Council, who, immediately upon the death of the Lord Protector, shall assemble in the Chamber where they usually sit in Council; and, having given notice to all their members of the cause of their assembling, shall, being thirteen at least present, proceed to the election; and, before they depart the said Chamber, shall elect a fit person to succeed in the Government, and forthwith cause proclamation thereof to be made in all the three nations as shall be requisite; and the person that they, or the major part of them, shall elect as aforesaid, shall be, and shall be taken to be, Lord Protector over these nations of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging. Provided that none of the children of the late King, nor any of his line or family, be elected to be Lord Protector or other Chief Magistrate over these nations, or any of the dominions thereto belonging. And until the aforesaid election be past, the Council shall take care of the Government, and administer in all things as fully as the Lord Protector, or the Lord Protector and Council are enabled to do.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.123

XXXIII. That Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the forces of England, Scotland and Ireland, shall be, and is hereby declared to be, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, for his life.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.123

XXXIV. That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the approbation of Parliament; and, in the intervals of Parliament, by the approbation of the major part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.123

XXXV. That the Christian religion, as contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; and that, as soon as may be, a provision, less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, for the instructing the people, and for discovery and confutation of error, hereby, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine; and until such provision be made, the present maintenance shall not be taken away or impeached.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.123

XXXVI. That to the public profession held forth none shall be compelled by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine and the example of a good conversation.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.123–p.124

XXXVII. That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion; so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts: provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practice licentiousness.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.124

XXXVIII. That all laws, statutes and ordinances, and clauses in any law, statute or ordinance to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.124

XXXIX. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament made for the sale or other disposition of the lands, rents and hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince, of Archbishops and Bishops, &c., Deans and Chapters, the lands of delinquents and forest-lands, or any of them, or of any other lands, tenements, rents and hereditaments belonging to the Commonwealth, shall nowise be impeached or made invalid, but shall remain good and firm; and that the securities given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament for any sum or sums of money, by any of the said lands, the excise, or any other public revenue; and also the securities given by the public faith of the nation, and the engagement of the public faith for satisfaction of debts and damages, shall remain firm and good, and not be made void and invalid upon any pretence whatsoever.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.124

XL. That the Articles given to or made with the enemy, and afterwards confirmed by parliament, shall be performed and made good to the persons concerned therein; and that such appeals as were depending in the last Parliament for relief concerning bills of sale of delinquent's estates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, any thing in this writing or otherwise to the contrary notwithstanding.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.124

XLI. That every successive Lord Protector over these nations shall take and subscribe a solemn oath, in the presence of the Council, and such others as they shall call to them, that he will seek the peace, quiet and welfare of these nations, cause law and justice to be equally administered; and that he will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained in this writing, and in all other things will, to his power and to the best of his understanding, govern these nations according to the laws, statutes and customs thereof.

Instrument of Government, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.124–p.125

XLII. That each person of the Council shall, before they enter upon their trust, take and subscribe an oath, that they will be true and faithful in their trust, according to the best of their knowledge; and that in the election of every successive Lord Protector they shall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any promise, fear, favour or reward.

A Healing Question

Title: A Healing Question

Author: Sir Henry Vane

Date: 1656

Source: Harvard Classics, Vol.43, pp.126-146

In 1656, Cromwell issued a proclamation for a general fast to consider the cause of the continued distracted condition of Britain. In response, Sir Henry Vane, previously Governor of Massachusetts, and one of the most high-minded statesmen of the period of the Commonwealth in England, published the following tract, expounding the principles of civil and religious liberty, and proposing that method of forming a constitution, through a convention called for the purpose, which was actually followed in America after the Revolution.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.126

A HEALING QUESTION PROPOUNDED AND RESOLVED, UPON OCCASION OF THE LATE PUBLIC AND SEASONABLE CALL TO HUMILIATION, IN ORDER TO LOVE AND UNION AMONG THE HONEST PARTY, AND WITH A DESIRE TO APPLY BALM TO THE WOUND BEFORE IT BECOME INCURABLE.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.126

THE question propounded is, What possibility doth yet remain (all things considered) of reconciling and uniting the dissenting judgments of honest men within the three nations, who still pretend to agree in the spirit, justice, and reason of the same good cause, and what is the means to effect this?

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.126

Answ. If it be taken for granted (as, on the magistrate's part, from the ground inviting the people of England and Wales to a solemn day of fasting and humiliation, may not be despaired of) that all the dissenting parties agree still in the spirit and reason of the same righteous cause, the resolution seems very clear in the affirmative; arguing not only for a possibility, but a great probability hereof; nay, a necessity daily approaching nearer and nearer to compel it, if any or all of the dissenting parties intend or desire to be safe from the danger of the common enemy, who is not out of work, though at present much out of sight and observation.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.127

The grounds of this are briefly these: First, the cause hath still the same goodness in it as ever, and is, or ought to be, as much in the hearts of all good people that have adhered to it: it is not less to be valued now, than when neither blood nor treasure were thought too dear to carry it on, and hold it up from sinking; and hath the same omnipotent God, whose great name is concerned in it, as well as his people's outward safety and welfare; who knows, also, how to give a revival to it when secondary instruments and visible means fail or prove deceitful.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.127

Secondly, The persons concerned and engaged in this cause are still the same as before, with the advantage of being more tried, more inured to danger and hardship, and more endeared to one another, by their various and great experiences, as well of their own hearts as their fellow-brethren. These are the same still in heart and desire after the same thing, which is, that, being freed out of the hands of their enemies, they may serve the Lord without fear, in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.127–p.128

As they have had this great good finally in their aims (if declarations to men and appeals to God signify anything), so, as a requisite to attain this, they did with great cheerfulness and unanimity draw out themselves to the utmost in the maintenance of a war, when all other means, first essayed, proved ineffectual. In the management of this war, it pleased God, the righteous Judge (who was appealed to in the controversy), so to bless the counsel and forces of the persons concerned and engaged in this cause, as in the end to make them absolute and complete conquerors over their common enemy; and by this means they had added unto the natural right which was in them before (and so declared by their representatives in Parliament assembled), the right of conquest, for the strengthening of their just claim to be governed by national councils, and successive representatives of their own election and setting up. This they once thought they had been in possession of, when it was ratified, as it were, in the blood of the last king. But of late a great interruption having happened unto them in their former expectations, and, instead thereof, something rising up that seems rather accommodated to the private and selfish interest of a particular part (in comparison) than truly adequate to the common good and concern of the whole body engaged in this cause: hence it is that this compacted body is now falling asunder into many dissenting parts (a thing not unforeseen nor unhoped for by the common enemy all along as their last relief); and if these breaches be not timely healed, and the offences (before they take too deep root) removed, they will certainly work more to the advantage of the common enemy than any of their own unwearied endeavours and dangerous contrivances in foreign parts put all together.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.128

A serious discussion and sober enlarging upon these grounds will quickly give an insight into the state of the question, and naturally tend to a plain and familiar resolution thereof.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.128

That which is first to be opened is the nature and goodness of the cause; which, had it not carried in it its own evidence, would scarce have found so many of the people of God adherers to it within the three nations, contributing either their counsels, their purses, their bodily pains, or their affections and prayers, as a combined strength; without which, the military force alone would have been little available to subdue the common enemy, and restore to this whole body their just natural rights in civil things, and true freedom in matters of conscience.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.128

The two last-mentioned particulars, rightly stated, will evidence sufficiently the nature and goodness of this cause.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.128

For the first of these, that is to say, the natural right, which the whole party of honest men adhering to this cause are by success of their arms restored unto, fortified in, and may claim as their undeniable privilege, that righteously cannot be taken from them, nor they debarred from bringing into exercise, it lies in this:

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.128–p.129

They are to have and enjoy the freedom (by way of dutiful compliance and condescension from all the parts and members of this society) to set up meet persons in the place of supreme judicature and authority among them, whereby they may have the use and benefit of the choicest light and wisdom of the nation that they are capable to call forth, for the rule and government under which they will live; and through the orderly exercise of such measure of wisdom and counsel as the Lord in this way shall please to give unto them, to shape and form all subordinate actings and administrations of rule and government so as shall best answer the public welfare and safety of the whole.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.129

This, in substance, is the right and freedom contained in the nature and goodness of the cause wherein the honest party have been engaged; for in this all the particulars of our civil right and freedom are comprehended, conserved in, and derived from their proper root; in which, while they grow, they will ever thrive, flourish, and increase; whereas, on the contrary, if there be never so many fair branches of liberty planted on the root of a private and selfish interest, they will not long prosper, but must, within a little time, wither and degenerate into the nature of that whereinto they are planted; and hence, indeed, sprung the evil of that government which rose in and with the Norman Conquest.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.129–p.130

The root and bottom upon which it stood was not public interest, but the private lust and will of the conqueror, who by force of arms did at first detain the right and freedom which was and is due to the whole body of the people; for whose safety and good, government itself is ordained by God, not for the particular benefit of the rulers, as a distinct and private interest of their own; which yet, for the most part, is not only preferred before the common good, but upheld in opposition thereunto. And as at first the conqueror did, by violence and force, deny this freedom to the people, which was their natural right and privilege, so he and his successors all along lay as bars and impediments to the true national interest and public good, in the very national councils and assemblies themselves, which were constituted in such a manner as most served for the upholding of the private interest of their families; and this being challenged by them as their prerogative, was found by the people assembled in Parliament most unrighteous, burdensome, and destructive to their liberty. And when they once perceived that by this engine all their just rights were like to be destroyed especially (being backed, as it was, with the power of the militia, which the late king, for that purpose, had assumed into his hands, and would not, upon the people's application to him in Parliament, part with into the hands of that great council, who were best to be intrusted with the nation's safety), this was the ground of the quarrel, upon a civil account between the king and his party, and the whole body of adherents to the cause of the people's true liberty; whereof this short touch hath been given, and shall suffice for the opening of the first branch of this clause.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.130

The second branch which remains briefly to be handled is that which also upon the grounds of natural right is to be laid claim unto, but distinguishes itself from the former as it respects a more heavenly and excellent object wherein the freedom is to be exercised and enjoyed, that is to say, matters of religion, or that concern the service and worship of God.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.130

Unto this freedom the nations of the world have right and title by the purchase of Christ's blood, who, by virtue of his death and resurrection, is become the sole Lord and Ruler in and over the conscience; for to this end Christ died, rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living, and that every one might give an account of himself, in all matters of God's worship unto God and Christ alone, as their own Master, unto whom they stand or fall in judgment, and are not in these things to be oppressed, or brought before the judgment-seats of men. For why shouldst thou set at naught thy brother in matters of his faith and conscience, and herein intrude into the proper office of Christ, since we are all to stand at the judgment-seat of Christ, whether governors or governed, and by his decision only are capable of being declared with certainty to be in the right or in the wrong?

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.130–p.131

By virtue, then, of this supreme law, sealed and confirmed in the blood of Christ unto all men (whose souls he challenges a propriety in, to bring under his inward rule in the service and worship of God), it is that all magistrates are to fear and forbear intermeddling with giving rule or imposing in those matters. They are to content themselves with what is plain in their commission, as ordained of God to be his minister unto men for good, while they approve themselves the doers of that which is good in the sight of men, and whereof earthly and worldly judicatures are capable to make a clear and perfect judgment: in which case the magistrate is to be for praise and protection to them. In like manner, he is to be a minister of terror and revenge to those that do evil in matters of outward practice, converse, and dealings in the things of this life between man and man, for the cause whereof the judicatures of men are appointed and set up. But to exceed these limits, as it is not safe or warrantable for the magistrate (in that he who is higher than the highest, regards, and will show himself displeased at it), so neither is it good for the people, who hereby are nourished up in a biting, devouring, wrathful spirit one against another, and are found transgressors of that royal law which forbids us to do that unto another which we would not have them do unto us, were we in their condition.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.131

This freedom, then, is of high concern to be had and enjoyed, as well for the magistrate's sake as for the people's common good; and it consists, as hath been said, in the magistrate forbearing to put forth the power of rule and coercion in things that God hath exempted out of his commission: so that all care requisite for the people's obtaining this may be exercised with great ease, if it be taken in its proper season, and that this restraint be laid upon the supreme power before it be erected, as a fundamental constitution, among others, upon which the free consent of the people is given, to have the persons brought into the exercise of supreme authority over them and on their behalf; and if, besides, as a further confirmation hereunto, it be acknowledged the voluntary act of the ruling power, when once brought into a capacity of acting legislatively, that herein they are bound up, and judge it their duty so to be (both in reference to God, the institutor of magistracy, and in reference to the whole body by whom they are intrusted), this great blessing will hereby be so well provided for that we shall have no cause to fear, as it may be ordered.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.131–p.132

By this means a great part of the outward exercise of anti-Christian tyranny and bondage will be plucked up by the very roots, which, till some such course be held in it, will be always apt to renew and sprout out afresh, under some new form or refined appearances, as by late years' experience we have been taught: for, since the fall of the bishops and persecuting presbyteries, the same spirit is apt to arise in the next sort of clergy that can get the ear of the magistrate, and pretend to the keeping and ruling the conscience of the governors, although this spirit and practice hath been all along decried by the faithful adherents to this cause as a most sore oppression and insufferable yoke of bondage, most unrighteously kept up over the consciences of the people, and therefore judged by them most needful to be taken out of the way; and in this matter the present governors have been willing very eminently to give their testimony in their public declarations, however in practice there is much of grievance yet found among us, though more, in probability, from the officiousness of subordinate ministers than any clear purpose or design of the chief in power.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.132

Having thus showed what the true freedom is, in both the branches of it, that shines forth in the righteous cause, wherein the good people of these nations have so deeply engaged, it will not be improper, in the next place, to consider two particulars more that give still farther light into the matter in question, as, first, the qualifications of the persons that have adhered to this cause; secondly, the capacity wherein they have been found from time to time carrying it on.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.132–p.133

As to their qualification, they have, in the general, distinguished themselves and been made known by a forwardness to assist and own the public welfare and good of the nation, for the attaining and preserving the just rights and liberties thereof, asserted and witnessed unto in the true stating of this cause, according to the two branches thereof already spoken to. They have showed themselves, upon all occasions, desirers and lovers of true freedom, either in civils or in spirituals, or in both. To express their value thereof, and faithfulness to the same, they have largely contributed, in one kind or other, what was proper to each in his place to do; which actions of theirs proceeding from hearts sincerely affected to the cause, created in them a right to be of an incorporation and society by themselves, under the name of the good party, having been from the beginning unto this day publicly and commonly so acknowledged, by way of distinction from all neuters, close and open enemies, and deceitful friends or apostates. These, in order to the maintaining of this cause, have stood by the army, in defence and support thereof, against all opposition whatever, as those that, by the growing light of these times, have been taught and led forth in their experiences to look above and beyond the letter, form, and outward circumstances of government, into the inward reason and spirit thereof, herein only to fix and terminate, to the leaving behind all empty shadows that would obtrude themselves in the place of true freedom.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.133

Secondly, as to the capacity wherein these persons, thus qualified, have acted, it hath been very variable, and subject to great changes: sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, and very seldom, if ever at all, so exactly and in all points consonant to the rule of former laws and constitutions of government as to be clearly and fully justified by them any longer than the law of success and conquest did uphold them who had the inward warrant of justice and righteousness to encourage them in such their actings.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.133–p.134

The utmost and last reserve, therefore, which they have had, in case all other failed, hath been their military capacity, not only strictly taken for the standing army, but in the largest sense, wherein the whole party may (with the army, and under that military constitution and conduct which, by the providence of God, they shall then be found in) associate themselves in the best order they can for the common defence and safety of the whole; as not ignorant that when once embodied in this their military posture, in such manner as by common consent shall be found requisite for the safety of the body, they are most irresistible, absolute, and comprehensive in their power, having that wherein the substance of all government is contained, and under the protection whereof, and safety that may be maintained thereby, they can contrive and determine in what manner this irresistible, absolute, and boundless power, unto which they are now arrived in this their military capacity, shall have just and due limits set unto it, and be drawn out in a meet and orderly way of exercise for the commonweal and safety of the whole body, under the rule and oversight of a supreme judicature, unto the wisdom of whose laws and orders the sword is to become most entirely subject and subservient; and this without the least cause of jealousy or unsafety, either to the standing army, or any member thereof, or unto the good people adhering to this cause, or any of them, since the interest of both, by this mutual action of either, will be so combined together in one (even in that wherein before they were distinct), that all just cause of difference, fear, animosity, emulation, jealousy, or the like, will be wholly abolished and removed.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.134

For when once the whole body of the good people find that the military interest and capacity is their own, and that into which necessity at the last may bring the whole party (whereof, of right, a place is to be reserved for them), and that herein they are so far from being in subjection or slavery, that in this posture they are most properly sovereign, and possess their right of natural sovereignty, they will presently see a necessity of continuing ever one with their army, raised and maintained by them for the promoting this cause against the common enemy, who in his next attempt will put for all with greater desperateness and rage than ever.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.134–p.135

Again, when once the standing army and their governors shall also find that, by setting and keeping up themselves in a divided interest from the rest of the body of honest men, they withhold from themselves those contributions in all voluntary and cheerful assistances, by the affections and prayers, by the persons and purses of the good party, to the weakening themselves thereby, as to any vigorous support from them, in the times of most imminent danger (whereof the late king had an experience, that will not suddenly be out of memory, when he undertook the war, in the beginning of these troubles, against the Scots, and was, in a manner, therein deserted by all the good parry in England), they will then find (if they stay not till it be too late) that, by espousing the interest of the people, in submitting themselves with their fellow-adherents to the cause, under the rule and authority of their own supreme judicature, they lose not their power or sovereignty, but, becoming one civil or politic incorporation with the whole party of honest men, they do therein keep the sovereignty, as originally seated in themselves, and part with it only but as by deputation and representation of themselves, when it is brought into an orderly way of exercise, by being put into the hands of persons chosen and intrusted by themselves to that purpose.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.135

By this mutual and happy transition, which may be made between the party of honest men in the three nations virtually in arms, and those actually so now in power at the head of the army; how suddenly would the union of the whole body be consolidated, and made so firm as it will not need to fear all the designs and attempts of the common enemy, especially if herein they unite themselves in the first place to the Lord, as willing to follow his providence, and observe his will in the way and manner of bringing this to pass! in which case we shall not need to fear what all the gates of hell are able to do in opposition thereunto.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.135

It is not, then, the standing and being of the present army and military forces in the three nations that is liable to exception of offence from any dissenting judgments at this time among the honest, well-affected party. In and with them, under God, stand the welfare and outward safety of the whole body; and to be enemies to them, or wish them hurt, were to do it to themselves; and, by trying such conclusions, to play the game of the common enemy, to the utter ruin and destruction, not only of the true freedom aimed at and contended for in the late wars, but of the very persons themselves that have been in any sort active or eminent promoters thereof.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.135–p.136

The army, considered as it is in the hands of an honest and wise general, and sober, faithful officers, embodied with the rest of the party of honest men, and espousing still the same cause, and acting in their primitive simplicity, humility, and trust, in reference to the welfare and safety of the whole body, is the only justifiable and most advantageous posture and capacity that the good party at present can find themselves in, in order to the obtaining that true freedom they have fought for, and possessing of it in the establishment thereof upon the true basis and foundation, as hath been showed, of right government.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.136

That wherein the offence lies, and which causes such great thoughts of heart among the honest party (if it may be freely expressed, as sure it may, when the magistrate himself professes he doth but desire and wait for conviction therein), is, in short, this:

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.136

That when the right and privilege is returned, nay, is restored by conquest unto the whole body (that forfeited not their interest therein), of freely disposing themselves in such a constitution of righteous government as may best answer the ends held forth in this cause; that, nevertheless, either through delay they should be withheld as they are, or through design they should come at last to be utterly denied the exercise of this their right, upon pretence that they are not in capacity as yet to use it, which, indeed, hath some truth in it, if those that are now in power, and have the command of the arms, do not prepare all things requisite thereunto, as they may, and, like faithful guardians to the Commonwealth, admitted to be in its nonage, they ought.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.136

But if the bringing of true freedom into exercise among men, yea, so refined a party of men, be impossible, why hath this been concealed all this while? and why was it not thought on before so much blood was spilt, and treasure spent? Surely such a thing as this was judged real and practicable, not imaginary and notional.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.136

Besides, why may it not suffice to have been thus long delayed and withheld from the whole body, at least as to its being brought by them into exercise now at last? Surely the longer it is withheld, the stronger jealousies do increase, that it is intended to be assumed and engrossed by a part only, to the leaving the rest of the body (who, in all reason and justice, ought to be equally participants with the other in the right and benefit of the conquest, for as much as the war was managed at the expense and for the safety of the whole) in a condition almost as much exposed, and subject to be imposed upon, as if they bad been enemies and conquered, not in any sense conquerors.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.136–p.137

If ever such an unrighteous, unkind, and deceitful dealing with brethren should happen, although it might continue above the reach of question from human judicature, yet can we think it possible it should escape and go unpunished by the immediate hand of the righteous Judge of the whole world, when he ariseth out of his place to do right to the oppressed.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.137–p.138

Nay, if, instead of favouring and promoting the peoples common good and welfare, self-interest and private gain should evidently appear to be the things we have aimed at all along; if those very tyrannical principles and anti-Christian relics, which God by us hath punished in our predecessors, should again revive, spring up afresh, and show themselves lodged also and retained in our bosoms, rendering us of the number of those that have forgot they were purged from their old sins, and declaring us to be such as, to please a covetous mind, do withhold from destruction that which God hath designed to the curse of his vengeance: if all those great advantages of serving the Lord's will and design in procuring and advancing his people's true welfare and outward safety, which (as the fruit of his blessing upon our armies) have so miraculously fallen into our hands, shall at last be wrested and misimproved to the enriching and greatening of ourselves—if these things should ever be found among us (which the Lord in mercy forbid!), shall we need to look any farther for the accursed thing? will not our consciences show us, from the light of the Word and Spirit of God, how near a conformity these actions would hold therewith? which sin (Josh., vii.) became a curse to the camp, and withheld the Lord from being any more among them, or going out with their forces. And did the action of Achan import any more than these two things: First, he saved and kept from destruction the goodly Babylonish garment, which was devoted by God thereunto; secondly, he brought not in the fruit and gain of the conquest into the Lord's treasury, but covetously went about to convert it to his own proper use? To do this is to take of the accursed thing, which (Josh., vii.) all Israel was said to do in the sin of Achan, and to have stolen and dissembled likewise, and put it among their own stuff. This caused the anger of the Lord to kindle against Israel, and made them unable to stand before their enemies, but their hearts melted as water. And thus far the Lord is concerned, if such an evil as this shall lie hid in the midst of us. But to return to what we were upon before.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.138

The matter which is in question among the dissenting parts of the whole body of honest men is not so trivial and of such small consequence as some would make it. 'Tis, in effect, the main and whole of the cause; without which all the freedom which the people have or can have is in comparison but shadow and in name only, and therefore can never give that peace and satisfaction to the body which is requisite unto a durable and solid settlement. This is that which makes all sound and safe at the root, and gives the right balance necessary to be held up between sovereignty and subjection in the exercise of all righteous government; applying the use of the sword to the promoting and upholding the public safety and welfare of the whole body, in preference, and, if need be, in opposition unto any of the parts; while yet, by its equal and impartial administration in reference unto each, it doth withal maintain the whole body in a most delightful harmony, welfare, and correspondency. The sword never can, nor is it to be expected ever will do this, while the sovereignty is admitted and placed anywhere else than in the whole body of the people that have adhered to the cause, and by them be derived unto their successive representatives, as the most equal and impartial judicature for the effecting hereof.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.138

Where there is, then, a righteous and good constitution of government, there is first, an orderly union of many understandings together, as the public and common supreme judicature or visible sovereignty, set in a way of free and orderly exercise, for the directing and applying the use of the ruling power or the sword, to promote the interest and common welfare of the whole, without any disturbance or annoyance from within or from without; and then, secondly, there is a like union and readiness of will in all the individuals, in their private capacities, to execute and obey (by all the power requisite, and that they are able to put forth) those sovereign laws and orders issued out by their own deputies and trustees.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.138–p.139

A supreme judicature, thus made the representative of the whole, is that which, we say, will most naturally care, and most equally provide for the common good and safety. Though by this it is not denied but that the supreme power, when by free consent 'tis placed in a single person or in some few persons, may be capable also to administer righteous government; at least, the body that gives this liberty, when they need not, are to thank themselves if it prove otherwise. But when this free and natural access unto government is interrupted and declined, so as a liberty is taken by any particular member, or number of them, that are to be reputed but a part in comparison of the whole, to assume and engross the office of sovereign rule and power, and to impose themselves as the competent public judge of the safety and good of the whole, without their free and due consent, and to lay claim unto this, as those that find themselves possessed of the sword (and that so advantageously as it cannot be recovered again out of their hands without more apparent danger and damage to the whole body than such attempts are worth), this is that anarchy that is the first rise and step to tyranny, and lays grounds of manifest confusion and disorder, exposing the ruling power to the next hand that on the next opportunity can lay hold on the sword, and so, by a kind of necessity, introduces the highest imposition and bondage upon the whole body, in compelling all the parts, though never so much against the true public interest, to serve and obey, as their sovereign rule and supreme authority, the arbitrary will and judgment of those that bring themselves into rule by the power of the sword, in the right only of a part that sets up itself in preference before, or at least in competition with, the welfare of the whole.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.139–p.140

And if this, which is so essential to the well-being and right constitution of government, were once obtained, the disputes about the form would not prove so difficult, nor find such opposition, as to keeping the bone of contention and disunion, with much danger to the whole; for if, as the foundation of all, the sovereignty be acknowledged to reside originally in the whole body of adherents to this cause (whose natural and inherent right thereunto is of a far ancienter date than what is obtained by success of their arms, and so cannot be abrogated even by conquest itself, if that were the case), and then if, in consequence hereof, a supreme judicature be set up and orderly constituted, as naturally arising and resulting from the free choice and consent of the whole body taken out from among themselves, as flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, of the same public spirit and nature with themselves, and the main be by this means secured, what could be propounded afterward as to the form of administration that would much stick?

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.140

Would a standing council of state, settled for life, in reference to the safety of the Commonwealth, and for the maintaining intercourse and commerce with foreign states, under the inspection and oversight of the supreme judicature, but of the same fundamental constitution with themselves—would this be disliked? admitting their orders were binding, in the intervals of supreme national assemblies, so far only as consonant to the settled laws of the Commonwealth, the vacancy of any of which, by death or otherwise, might be supplied by the vote of the major part of themselves: nay, would there be any just exception to be taken if (besides both these) it should be agreed (as another part of the fundamental constitution of the government) to place that branch of sovereignty which chiefly respects the execution of laws in a distinct office from that of the legislative power (and yet subordinate to them and to the laws), capable to be intrusted into the hands of one single person, if need require, or in a greater number, as the legislative power should think fit; and, for the greater strength and honour unto this office, that the execution of all laws and orders (that are binding) may go forth in his or their name, and all disobedience thereunto, or contempt thereof, be taken as done to the people's sovereignty, whereof he or they bear the image or representation, subordinate to the legislative power, and at their will to be kept up and continued in the hands of a single person or more, as the experience of the future good or evil of it shall require?

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.140–p.141

Would such an office as this, thus stated, carry in it any inconsistency with a free state? Nay, if it be well considered, would it not rather be found of excellent use to the well-being of magistracy, founded upon this righteous bottom, that such a lieutenancy of the people's sovereignty in these three nations may always reside in some one or more person, in whose administration that which is reward and punishment may shine forth?

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.141

And if now it shall be objected that (notwithstanding all these cautions), should once this sovereignty be acknowledged to be in the diffused body of the people (though the adherents to this cause, not only as their natural, but as their acquired right by conquest), they would suddenly put the use and exercise of the legislative power into such hands as would, through their ill qualifiedness to the work, spoil all by mal-administration thereof, and hereby lose the cause instead of upholding and maintaining it.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.141–p.142

The answer unto this is, first, that God, by his providence, hath eased our minds much in this solicitude by the course he hath already taken to fit and prepare a choice and selected number of the people unto this work, that are tried and refined by their inward and outward experiences in this great quarrel, and the many changes they have passed through; in respect whereof well qualified persons are to be found, if due care be but taken in the choice of them. And if herein this people of the Lord shall be waiting upon him for his guidance and presence with them, we may have grounds and hope that God (whose name hath all along been called upon in the maintaining of this cause) will pour out so abundantly of his spirit upon his people attending on him in righteous ways, and will also move their hearts to choose persons bearing his image into the magistracy, that a more glorious product may spring up out of this than at first we can expect, to the setting up of the Lord himself as chief judge and lawgiver among us. And unto this the wisdom and honesty of the persons now in power may have an opportunity eminently to come into discovery; for in this case, and upon the grounds already laid, the very persons now in power are they unto whose lot it would fall to set about this preparatory work, and by their orders and directions to dispose the whole body, and bring them into the meetest capacity to effect the same, the most natural way for which would seem to be by a general council, or convention of faithful, honest, and discerning men, chosen for that purpose by the free consent of the whole body of adherents to this cause in the several parts of the nations, and observing the time and place of meeting appointed to them (with other circumstances concerning their election) by order from the present ruling power, but considered as general of the army:

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.142

Which convention is not properly to exercise the legislative power, but only to debate freely, and agree upon the particulars that by way of fundamental constitutions shall be laid and inviolably observed as the conditions upon which the whole body so represented doth consent to cast itself into a civil and politic incorporation, and under the visible form and administration of government therein declared, and to be by each individual member of the body subscribed in testimony of his or their particular consent given thereunto: which conditions so agreed (and among them an Act of Oblivion for one) will be without danger of being broken or departed from, considering of what it is they are the conditions, and the nature of the convention wherein they are made, which is of the people represented in their highest state of sovereignty, as they have the sword in their hands unsubjected unto the rules of civil government, but what themselves orderly assembled for that purpose do think fit to make. And the sword, upon these conditions, subjecting itself to the supreme judicature thus to be set up, how suddenly might harmony, righteousness, love, peace, and safety unto the whole body follow hereupon, as the happy fruit of such a settlement, if the Lord have any delight to be among us!

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.142

And this once put in a way, and declared for by the general and army (as that which they are clearly convinced, in the sight of God, is their duty to bring about, and which they engage accordingly to see done) how firmly and freely would this oblige the hearts and persons, the counsels and purses, the affections and prayers, with all that is in the power of this whole parry to do, in way assistance and strengthening the hands of those now in power, whatever straits and difficulties they may meet with in the maintenance of the public safety and peace!

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.142–p.143

This, then, being the state of our present affairs and different let it be acknowledged on all hands, and let all be convinced this; are concerned, that there is not only a possibility, but a probability, yea, a compelling necessity, of a firm union in this great body, the setting of which in joint and tune again, by a spirit of meekness and fear of the Lord, is the work of the present day, and will prove the only remedy under God to uphold and carry on this blessed cause and work of the Lord in the three nations, that is already come thus far onward in its progress to its desired and expected end of bringing in Christ, the desire of all nations, as the chief Ruler among us.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.143

Now unto this reuniting work let there be a readiness in all the dissenting parts from the highest to the lowest, by cheerfully coming forth to one another in a spirit of self-denial and love instead of war and wrath, and to cast down themselves before the Lord, who in the father of all their spirits, in self-abasement and humiliation, for the mutual offence they have been in, for some time past, one unto another, and great provocation unto God, and reproach unto his most glorious name, who expected to have been served by them with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a consuming fire.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.143–p.144

And, as an inducement unto this, let us assure ourselves the means of effecting it will not prove so difficult as other things that have been brought about in the late war, if the minds and spirits of all concerned were once well and duly prepared hereunto by a kindly work of self-denial and self-abasement, set home by the spirit of the Lord upon their consciences, which, if he please, he may do we know not how soon: nay, we shall behold with a discerning eye the inside of that work which God hath been doing among us the three years last past: it would seem chiefly to have been his aim to bring his people into such a frame as this; for in this tract of time there hath been (as we may say) a great silence in heaven, as if God were pleased to stand still and be as a looker on, to see what his people would be in their latter end, and what work they would make of it, if left to their own wisdom and politic contrivances. And as God hath had the silent part, so men, and that good men too, have had the active and busy part, and have, like themselves, made a great sound and noise, like the shout of a king a mighty host; which, while it hath been a sound only and no more, hath not done much hurt as yet; but the fear and jealousy thereby caused, hath put the whole body out of frame, and made them apt to fall into great confusions and disorder.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.144

And if there be thus arisen a general dissent and disagreement of parts (which is not, nor ought to be, accounted the less considerable because it lies hid and kept in under a patient silence), why should there not be as general a confession and acknowledgment of what each may find themselves overtaken in, and cannot but judge themselves faulty for? this kind of vent being much better than to have it break out in flames of a forward and untimely wrathful spirit, which never works the righteousness of God, especially since what hath been done among us may probably have been more the effect of temptation than the product of any malicious design; and this sort of temptation is very common and incident to men in power (how good soever they may be) to be overtaken in, and thereupon do sudden unadvised actions, which the Lord pardons and overrules for the best, evidently making appear that it is the work of the weak and fleshly part, which his own people carry about with them too much unsubdued; and therefore the Lord thinks fit, by this means, to show them the need of being beholden to their spiritual part to restore them again, and bring them into their right temper and healthful constitution.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.144–p.145

And thus, while each dissenting part is aggravating upon it self-faultiness and blame, and none excusing, but all confessing they deserve, in one sort or other, reproof, if not before men, yet in God's sight, who knows how soon it may please God to come into this broken, contrite, and self-denying frame of spirit in the good people within the three nations, and own them, thus truly humbled and abased, for his temple and the place of his habitation and rest, wherein he shall abide forever? of whom it may be said, God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved; God shall help her, and that right early, or with his morning appearance; at which time he will sit silent no longer, but Heaven will speak again, and become active and powerful in the spirits and hearts of honest men, and in the works of his providences, when either they go out to fight by sea or by land, or remain in council and debates at home for the public weal, and again hear the prayers of his people, and visibly own them as a flock of holy men, as Jerusalem in her solemn feasts: "I will yet for this be inquired of by the house of Israel, saith the Lord, to do it for them: and then they shall know that I the Lord their God am with them, and that they are my people, and that ye my flock, the flock of my pasture, are men that have showed yourselves weak, sinful men, and I am your God, that have declared myself an all-wise and powerful God, saith the Lord God."

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.145

POSTSCRIPT

READER,—Upon the perusal of this discourse, thou wilt quickly perceive that these two things are principally aimed at in it by the author: First, to answer in some measure that which is called for by those in power, when they publicly profess they desire nothing more than conviction, and to find out the hidden provocations which either have or yet may bring forth the Lord against these nations, in the way which at present they are in.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.145

Secondly, to remove out of the minds and spirits of the honest party, that still agree in the reason and justice of the good old cause, all things of a private nature and selfish concern (the tendency whereof serves but to foment and strengthen wrath and divisions among them), and in place thereof to set before them that common and public interest, which, if with sincerity embraced, may be the means of not only procuring a firm union among them, but also of conserving them herein.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.145–p.146

In order to do this, the author hath not been willing so much to declare his own opinion, or deliver any positive conclusions, as to discuss the business by way of question and answer, and thereby make as near a conjecture as he can of that wherein the several dissenting parts may with better satisfaction meet together, and agree upon a safe and righteous bottom, than to remain at the distance they do, to the apparent advantage of the common enemy, the approaching ruin of themselves, and needless hazard, if not loss, of the cause they have been so deeply engaged in; especially considering that, when once they shall be found beginning to come forth to one another in such a condescending, self-denying spirit, cleansed from the stain of hypocrisy and deceit, they may be well assured that light will spring up among them more and more unto a perfect day; and then those things which at present we have next in view, will prove as shadows ready to flee away before the morning brightness of Christ's heavenly appearance and second coming, through which they will be heightened and improved to their full maturity, to the bringing in that kingdom of his that shall never be moved.

Vane, A Healing Question, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.146

And because an essay hath been already made in a private way to obtain the first thing, that is to say, conviction, which chiefly is in the hand of the Lord to give, the same obligation lies upon the author, with respect to the second, for the exposing of it as now it is unto public view, and therein leaving it also with the Lord for his blessing thereunto.

The Persecution of the Quakers

Title: The Persecution of the Quakers

Author: James Cudworth

Date: 1658

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.175-180

From the first imprisonment of George Fox, founder of the religious denomination known as Quakers, in 1649, its members were objects of continuous persecution. At the time Cudworth, a magistrate of Scituate, Mass., wrote this letter (1658) there were seldom less than 1000 Quakers in English and colonial prisons.

Between 1661 and 1697 over 13,000 of them were jailed in England, 198 were transported as slaves and 338 died in prison. These persecutions were upon such pretexts as refusing to pay tithes, to swear or to remove the hat; for preaching in public places or traveling on the Sabbath. In New England stringent exclusion laws were passed, but the Quakers seemed to thrive on persecution. Numerous women were "stripped naked from the waist, tied to a cart's tail and whipped through the streets. Four Quakers—one a woman, Mary Dyer—were hanged on Boston Common.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.175

AS for the state and condition of things among us, it is sad, and like so to continue; the antichristian persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the powers of this world. He that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench, nor sustain any office in the commonwealth.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.175–p.176

Last election, Mr. Hatherly and myself left off the bench, and myself discharged of my captainship, because I had entertained some of the Quakers at my house (thereby that I might be the better acquainted with their principles). I thought it better so to do, than with the blind world to censure, condemn, rail at, and revile them, when they neither saw their persons, nor knew any of their principles. But the Quakers and myself cannot close in divers things; and so I signified to the court I was no Quaker, but must bear my testimony against sundry things that they held, as I had occasion and opportunity. But withal, I told them, that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no persecutor. This spirit did work those two years that I was of the magistracy; during which time I was on sundry occasions forced to declare my dissent in sundry actings of that nature; which, although done with all moderation of expression, together with due respect unto the rest, yet it wrought great disaffection and prejudice in them, against me; so that if I should say some of themselves set others on work to frame a petition against me, that so they might have a seeming ground from others (though first moved and acted by themselves, to lay me what they could under reproach) I should do no wrong. The petition was with nineteen hands; it will be too long to make rehearsal. It wrought such a disturbance in our town, and in our military company, that when the act of court was read in the head of the company, had not I been present and made a speech to them, I fear there had been such actings as would have been of a sad consequence.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.176–p.177

The court was again followed with another petition of fifty-four hands, and the court returned the petitioners an answer with much plausibleness of speech, carrying with it great show of respect to them, readily acknowledging, with the petitioners, my parts and gifts, and how useful I had been in my place; professing they had nothing at all against me, only in that thing of giving entertainment to the Quakers; when as I broke no law in giving them a night's lodging or two and some victuals. For, our law then was,—If any entertain a Quaker, and keep him after he is warned by a magistrate to depart, the party so entertaining shall pay twenty shillings a week, for entertaining them. Since hath been made a law,—If any entertain a Quaker, if but a quarter of an hour, he is to forfeit five pounds. Another,—That if any see a Quaker, he is bound, if he live six miles or more from the constable, yet he must presently go and give notice to the constable, or else is subject to the censure of the court (which may be hang him). Another,—That if the constable know or hear of any Quaker in his precincts, he is presently to apprehend him; and if he will not presently depart the town, the constable is to whip them, and send them away. And divers have been whipped with us in our patent; and truly, to tell you plainly, that the whipping of them with that cruelty, as some have been whipped, and their patience under it, hath sometimes been the occasion of gaining more adherence to them, than if they had suffered them openly to have preached a sermon.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.177–p.178

Also another law,—That if there be a Quaker meeting anywhere in this colony, the party in whose house, or on whose ground, is to pay forty shillings; the preaching Quaker forty shillings; every hearer forty shillings. Yea, and if they have meetings, though nothing be spoken when they so meet, which they say, so it falls out sometimes—our last law,—That now they are to be apprehended, and carried before a magistrate, and by him committed to be kept close prisoner, until he will promise to depart and never come again; and will also pay his fees (which I perceive they will do neither the one nor the other); and they must be kept only with the country's allowance, which is but small (namely, coarse bread and water). No friend may bring them anything; none may be permitted to speak with them; nay, if they have money of their own, they may not make use of that to relieve themselves.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.178

In the Massachusetts (namely, Boston colony) after they have whipped them, and cut their ears, have now, at last, gone the furthest step they can: they banish them upon pain of death, if ever they come there again. We expect that we must do the like; we must dance after their pipe. Now Plymouth saddle is on the Bay horse (viz., Boston), we shall follow them on the career; for, it is well if in some there be not a desire to be their apes and imitators in all their proceedings in things of this nature.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.178

All these carnal and antichristian ways, being not of God's appointment, effect nothing as to the obstructing or hindering of them in their way or course. It is only the Word and Spirit of the Lord that is able to convince gainsayers: they are the mighty weapons of a Christian's warfare, by which great and mighty things are done and accomplished.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.179

They have many meetings and many adherents, almost the whole town of Sandwich is adhering towards them; and give me leave a little to acquaint you with their sufferings, which is grievous unto and saddens the hearts of most of the precious saints of God. It lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds, to see and hear of poor families deprived of their comforts and brought into penury and want (you may say, by what means, and to what end?). As far as lam able to judge of the end, it is to force them from their homes and lawful habitations, and to drive them out of their coasts.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.179

The Massachusetts have banished six of their own inhabitants, to be gone upon pain of death; and I wish that blood be not shed. But our poor people are pillaged and plundered of their goods; and haply, when they have no more to satisfy their unsatiable desire, at last may be forced to flee, and glad they have their lives for a prey.

Cudworth, Persecution of the Quakers, America, Vol.2, p.179–p.180

As for the means by which they are impoverished: these in the first place were scrupulous of an oath; why then we must put in force an old law,—that all must take the oath of fidelity. This being tendered, they will not take it; and then we must add more force to the law, and that is, if any man refuse, or neglect to take it by such a time, shall pay five pounds or depart the colony. When the time is come, they are the same as they were; then goes out the marshal, and fetcheth away their cows and other cattle. Well, another court comes, they are required to take the oath again, they cannot—then five pounds more. On this account thirty-five head of cattle, as I have been credibly informed, hath been by the authority of our court taken from them the latter part of this summer; and these people say,—If they have more right to them, than themselves, Let them take them. Some that had a cow only, some two cows, some three cows, and many small children in their families, to whom in summer time a cow or two was the greatest outward comfort they had for their subsistence. A poor weaver that hath seven or eight small children (I know not which), he himself lame in his body, had but two cows, and both taken from him. The marshal asked him, What he would do? He must have his cows. The man said, That God that gave him them, he doubted not, but would still provide for him….

The Penalty for Not Going to Church

Title: The Penalty for Not Going to Church

Author: The County Court of Middlesex

Date: 1666

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.195-197

New England in its early days was governed by a theocracy; that is to say, by its clergymen. Even the magistrates were virtually appointed by the stern and godly pastors who, having won freedom of worship for themselves, were determined that no one else should have any other sort of freedom than they prescribed. When any persons had the temerity to stay away from the Puritan services they were likely to be haled before the magistrates and punished both for non-attendance and for "schismatical" tendencies.

This account gives the proceedings against three who stayed away from the Puritan church and were tried by the county court sitting at Cambridge on April 17, 1666. In 1691, William III reorganized the country, abolished the religious qualification for voting, and established toleration (except with regard to Papists), thus overthrowing the temporal power of the clergy.

Penalty for Not Going to Church, America, Vol.2, p.195

THOMAS GOOLD, Thomas Osburne and John George being presented by the grand jury of this county for absenting themselves from the public worship of God on the Lord's day for one whole year now past, alleged respectively as followeth, viz.:

Penalty for Not Going to Church, America, Vol.2, p.195

Thomas Osburne answered, that the reason of his non-attendance was, that the Lord hath discovered unto him from his word and spirit of truth that the society, wherewith he is now in communion, is more agreeable to the will of God, asserted that they were a church and attended the worship of God together, and do judge themselves bound so to do, the ground whereof he said he gave in the general court.

Penalty for Not Going to Church, America, Vol.2, p.196

Thomas Goold answered, that as for coming to public worship they did meet in public worship according to the rule of Christ, the grounds whereof they had given to the court of assistants, asserted that they were a public meeting, according to the order of Christ Jesus gathered together.

Penalty for Not Going to Church, America, Vol.2, p.196

John George answered, that he did attend the public meetings on the Lord's day where he was a member; asserted that they were a church according to the order of Christ in the gospel, and with them he walked and held communion in the public worship of God on the Lord's day.

Penalty for Not Going to Church, America, Vol.2, p.196

Whereas at the general court in October last, and at the court of assistants in September last endeavors were used for their conviction. The order of the general court declaring the said Goold and company to be no orderly church assembly and that they stand convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments was openly read to them and is on file with the records of this court.

Penalty for Not Going to Church, America, Vol.2, p.196–p.197

The court sentenced the said Thomas Goold, Thomas Osburne and John George, for their absenting themselves from the public worship of God on the Lord's days, to pay four pounds fine, each of them, to the county order. And whereas by their own confessions they stand convicted of persisting in their schismatical assembling themselves together, to the great dishonor of God and our profession of his holy name, contrary to the act of the general court of October last prohibiting them therein on penalty of imprisonment, this court doth order their giving bond respectively in 20 pounds each of them, for their appearance to answer their contempt at the next court of assistants.

Penalty for Not Going to Church, America, Vol.2, p.197

The above named Thomas Goold, John George, and Thomas Osburne made their appeal to the next court of assistants, and refusing to put in security according to law were committed to prison.

John Locke and the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina

Title: John Locke and the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina

Author: H. R. Fox Bourne

Date: 1669

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.181-186

The Lord Ashley mentioned in this extract from H. R. Fox Bourne's "Life of John Locke," afterwards was the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Chancellor of England, and for many years was a patron of Locke's. It was while he was living with Lord Ashley as his family physician that Locke was employed to draw up a form of constitution for the Carolina colony, and during the same period he wrote his famous philosophical "Essay on Human Understanding."

Neither Locke nor his noble patron appears ever to have visited America in person. Locke is said to have received £100 for writing the Carolina Constitutions, providing for three orders of nobility and four houses of Parliament, which were never adopted; as compared with £30 paid him for the copyright of the first edition of his great essay.

Bourne, Locke and Constitutions of Carolina, America, Vol.2, p.181

IN 1663, all earlier patents being revoked, this district, now known as Carolina, was given by Charles the Second to eight "lords proprietors," Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton. Of these patentees Ashley was the most active and influential; and thus it happened that Locke, being Ashley's principal adviser and assistant, became in some sort of irregular way the chief secretary or manager of the whole company of lords proprietors of Carolina. His conduct in this new position shows something more than the versatility of his talents and the superabundance of his energy.

Bourne, Locke and Constitutions of Carolina, America, Vol.2, p.181–p.182

A little had been done, without much prudence, before Locke became interested in the matter; but the real work began in April, 1669, when the proprietors undertook to contribute £500 apiece towards the fitting out of an expedition, and steps were immediately taken for putting the money to good use. All was ready by the 10th of August, when the good ship Carolina, with eighty-six men and six women on board, including officers, crew, and passengers, started for the new colony, along with a smaller craft, the Port Royal, and a little sloop, the Albemarle, as to the number of whose officers, crews, and passengers we are not informed. The Carolina cost £930 17s. 11d., the Port Royal £199 5s. 8d., and the Albemarle £82 1s. 10d.; and the entire charges for fitting out these vessels, including the wages of the seamen, made a total of £3200 16s. 6d. for the whole preliminary expense of this first English expedition in aid of the stragglers and small groups of emigrants from other colonies who had begun to take irregular possession of some corners of the province. The expedition seems small when compared with the exploits of more recent times. But it was a great one for that day, and no little labor and good management were required in buying and fitting out the ships, and in getting them afloat, between the end of April and the middle of August. Those were busy months for all who had the management of the enterprise; and, Exeter House being its headquarters, and Locke its principal superintendent, there can be no doubt that he had plenty of work on his hands that summer.

Bourne, Locke and Constitutions of Carolina, America, Vol.2, p.183–p.184

To him, moreover, was specially assigned a much more delicate, and doubtless a much more congenial, task than the superintendence of this business. No young colony can thrive without adequate supplies of food, clothing, and the like; and many hopeful ventures failed in old times for lack of these. But quite as frequent a cause of failure was bad government, amid a profusion of material resources; and good government is a harder thing to provide than money and provisions. Wonderful pains were taken to provide good government for Carolina, and perhaps no colony was ever started with a more elaborate scheme of political, social, and religious organization. Locke had a large share in this work, though there can hardly be any doubt that it was initiated by Lord Ashley, and modified by his fellow-proprietors. The scheme that was produced agrees entirely with all we know of Lord Ashley's theoretical opinions, and his notion of the ways in which they should be put into practice, while some of those opinions are distinctly at variance with the views which Locke had already expressed in his "Essay concerning Toleration" and his "Reflections upon the Roman Commonwealth," and which he long afterwards expressed in almost identical terms in his published writings. There is such close resemblance, however, between some of its provisions and some of the views which Locke had set on record before his acquaintance with Lord Ashley began that he must certainly have had a share, not only in its detailed working out, but also in its original concoction. We may safely assume, accordingly, that it grew out of conferences in which Locke took part in his undefined capacity of secretary, and that to him was intrusted the task of setting forth the results of those conferences in orderly and intelligible shape, without power of altering the conditions that had already been agreed upon.

Bourne, Locke and Constitutions of Carolina, America, Vol.2, p.184

The scheme was set forth in "The Fundamental Constitutions for the Government of Carolina," of which there is extant a draft in Locke's handwriting, dated the 21st of June, 1669, and which, with some alterations, were issued by the proprietors on the 1st of March, 1669-70. It attempted to adapt to the circumstances and exigencies of the new colony a comprehensive and overwhelming system of feudal government, tempered, however, by a remarkable liberality in religious affairs. It is in the latter respect only that we have any means of estimating the extent of Locke's share in the projecting of these "Constitutions," apart from his proper business as a draughtsman; and therefore it will suffice to call attention to the clauses by which a large measure of religious liberty was secured for Carolina.

Bourne, Locke and Constitutions of Carolina, America, Vol.2, p.184–p.185

"No man," it is stipulated in the first of these clauses, "shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God, and that God is publicly to be worshiped." Whether Locke initiated that rule, we have no means of knowing; but his views expressed elsewhere clearly show that he agreed with it. The next clause, however, we are told, "was not drawn up by Mr. Locke, but inserted by some of the chief of the proprietors, against his judgment, as Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends." "As the country comes to be sufficiently planted and distributed into fit divisions," it was there appointed, "it shall belong to the Parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion according to the Church of England, which, being the only true and orthodox and the national religion of the King's dominions, is also of Carolina, and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of Parliament." By comparing that clause with those that follow, we shall be able to measure their liberality, such liberality as few men besides Locke, in his day, would have been likely to advocate….

Bourne, Locke and Constitutions of Carolina, America, Vol.2, p.185–p.186

Whether Locke originated those generous arrangements or not, he was certainly responsible for the wording of them, in which the generosity was clearly expressed; and it is strange that either he or Lord Ashley, who agreed with him in this matter, should have been able to persuade the other proprietors of Carolina to accede to such provisions. You must believe in God and consent to worship him, and you must make no secret of your belief, or your form of worship, if you want to settle in Carolina, they said in effect to all would-be emigrants; but that is all we require of you. Any seven or more of you may adopt any sort of notion about God, and any plan for worshiping him, that commend themselves to your judgments, provided of course that the freedom claimed by you does not interfere with the freedom of other persons; and not only shall you be allowed to hold your beliefs and opinions without any restraint, but you shall also be protected by the state from all sorts of interference with you in doing so.

Bourne, Locke and Constitutions of Carolina, America, Vol.2, p.186

No other colony, English or foreign, was ever started with such guarantees for "liberty of conscience," and it is well to remember that, long after the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina" had been formally abrogated, the moral authority of these guarantees remained in force, and that, in consequence of them, Carolina became a much freer asylum for religious outcasts from Europe than either Massachusetts or Pennsylvania.

Bourne, Locke and Constitutions of Carolina, America, Vol.2, p.186

The political and territorial arrangements of the "Constitutions" never actually came into operation. Issued first in 1670, they were reissued, with some modifications, in 1682, and again, with more important modifications, in 1698. But the real institutions of the colony were home-grown and developed out of experience, and the supremacy of the lords proprietors was virtually repudiated long before Carolina, by this time divided into two prosperous communities, became part of the United States.

The English Conquest of New York

Title: The English Conquest of New York

Author: John R. Brodhead

Date: Not Given

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.187-194

No American historian has been so well equipped to write the history of New York from its Indian and Dutch settlement days as John Romeyn Brodhead. He was for several years connected with the American legation in Holland, and while there was appointed, in 1841, pursuant to an act of the New York Legislature, to procure and transcribe documents in European archives relating to the history of the State.

He succeeded in collecting more than 5000 documents, many of which had been previously unknown to historians. "The ship in which he came back," says Bancroft, "was more richly freighted with new material for American history than any that ever crossed the Atlantic."

His history of the State of New York is distinguished for its candor and painstaking accuracy, and which, though left incomplete, remains the standard work for the period covered—1609 to 1691.

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.187

ENGLAND now determined boldly to rob Holland of her American province. King Charles II accordingly sealed a patent granting to the Duke of York and Albany a large territory in America, comprehending Long Island and the islands in its neighborhood—his title to which Lord Stirling had released—and all the lands and rivers from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay. This sweeping grant included the whole of New Netherlands and a part of the territory of Connecticut, which, two ears before, Charles had confirmed to Winthrop and his associates. The Duke of York lost no time in giving effect to his patent. As lord high admiral he directed the fleet. Four ships, the Guinea, of thirty-six guns; the Elias, of thirty; the Martin, of sixteen; and the William and Nicholas, of ten, were detached for service against New Netherlands, and about four hundred fifty regular soldiers, with their officers, were embarked. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Colonel Richard Nicolls, a faithful Royalist, who had served under Turenne with James, and had been made one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. Nicolls was also appointed to be the Duke's deputy governor, after the Dutch possessions should have been reduced.

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.188

With Nicolls were associated Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, as royal commissioners to visit the several colonies in New England….

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.188–p.189

Intelligence from Boston that an English expedition against New Netherlands had sailed from Portsmouth was soon communicated to Stuyvesant by Captain Thomas Willet; and the burgomasters and "schepens" of New Amsterdam were summoned to assist the council with their advice. The capital was ordered to be put in a state of defense, guards to be maintained, and "schippers" to be warned. As there was very little powder at Fort Amsterdam a supply was demanded from New Amstel, and a loan of five or six thousand guilders was asked from Rensselaerswyck. The ships about to sail for Curacao were stopped; agents were sent to purchase provisions at New Haven; and as the enemy was expected to approach through Long Island Sound, spies were sent to obtain intelligence at West Chester and Milford….

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.189

When the truth of Willett's intelligence became confirmed, the council sent an express to recall Stuyvesant from Fort Orange. Hurrying back to the capital, the anxious director endeavored to redeem the time which had been lost. The municipal authorities ordered one-third of the inhabitants, without exception, to labor every third day at the fortifications; organized a permanent guard; forbade the brewers to malt any grain; and called on the provincial government for artillery and ammunition. Six pieces, besides the fourteen previously allotted, and a thousand pounds of powder were accordingly granted to the city. The colonists around Fort Orange, pleading their own danger from the savages, could afford no help; but the soldiers of Esopus were ordered to come down, after leaving a small garrison at Ronduit.

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.189–p.190

In the meantime the English squadron had anchored just below the Narrows, in Nyack Bay, between New Utrecht and Coney Island. The mouth of the river was shut up; communication between Long Island and Manhattan, Bergen and Achter Cul, interrupted; several yachts on their way to the South River captured; and the blockhouse on the opposite shore of Staten Island seized. Stuyvesant now dispatched Counsellor de Decker, Burgomaster Van der Grist, and the two domines Megapolensis with a letter to the English commanders inquiring why they had come, and why they continued at Nyack without giving notice. The next morning, which was Saturday, Nicolls sent Colonel Cartwright, Captain Needham, Captain Groves, and Mr. Thomas Delavall up to Fort Amsterdam with a summons for the surrender of "the town situate on the island and commonly known by the name of Manhatoes, with all the forts thereunto belonging….

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.190

Nicolls addressed a letter to Winthrop, who with other commissioners from New England had joined the squadron, authorizing him to assure Stuyvesant that, if Manhattan should be delivered up to the King, any people from the Netherlands may freely come and plant there or thereabouts; and such vessels of their own country may freely come thither, and any of them may as freely return home in vessels of their own country." Visiting the city under a flag of truce Winthrop delivered this to Stuyvesant outside the fort and urged him to surrender. The director declined; and, returning to the fort, he opened Nicolls' letter before the council and the burgomasters, who desired that it should be communicated, as "all which regarded the public welfare ought to be made public." Against this Stuyvesant earnestly remonstrated, and, finding that the burgomasters continued firm, in a fit of passion he "tore the letter in pieces." The citizens suddenly ceasing their work at the palisades, hurried to the Stadt-Huys, and sent three of their number to the fort to demand the letter.

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.190–p.191

In vain the director hastened to pacify the burghers and urge them to go on with the fortifications. "Complaints and curses" were uttered on all sides against the company's misgovernment; resistance was declared to be idle; "The letter! the letter!" was the general cry. To avoid a mutiny Stuyvesant yielded, and a copy, made out from the collected fragments, was handed to the burgomasters. In answer, however, to Nicolls' summons he submitted a long justification of the Dutch title; yet while protesting against any breach of the peace between the King and the States General, "for the hinderance and prevention of all differences and the spilling of innocent blood, not only in these parts, but also in Europe," he offered to treat. "Long Island is gone and lost"; the capital "cannot hold out long," was the last dispatch to the "Lord Majors" of New Netherlands, which its director sent off that night "in silence through Hell Gate."

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.191–p.192

Observing Stuyvesant's reluctance to surrender, Nicolls directed Captain Hyde, who commanded the squadron, to reduce the fort. Two of the ships accordingly landed their troops just below Breuckelen (Brooklyn), where volunteers from New England and the Long Island villages had already encamped. The other two, coming up with full sail, passed in front of Fort Amsterdam and anchored between it and Nutten Island. Standing on one of the angles of the fortress—an artilleryman with a lighted match at his side—the director watched their approach. At this moment the two domines Megapolensis, imploring him not to begin hostilities, led Stuyvesant from the rampart, who then, with a hundred of the garrison, went into the city to resist the landing of the English. Hoping on against hope, the director now sent Counselor de Decker, Secretary Van Ruypen, Burgomaster Steenwyck, and "Schepen" Cousseau with a letter to Nicolls stating that, as he felt bound "to stand the storm," he desired if possible to arrange an accommodation. But the English commander merely declared, "To-morrow I will speak with you at Manhattan."

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.192

"Friends," was the answer, "will be welcome if they come in a friendly manner."

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.192

"I shall come with ships and soldiers," replied Nicolls; "raise the white flag of peace at the fort, and then something may be considered."

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.192

When this imperious message became known, men, women, and children flocked to the director, beseeching him to submit. His only answer was, "I would rather be carried out dead." The next day the city authorities, the clergymen, and the officers of the burgher guard, assembling at the Stadt-Huys, at the suggestion of Domine Megapolensis, adopted a remonstrance to the director, exhibiting the hopeless situation of New Amsterdam, on all sides "encompassed and hemmed in by enemies," and protesting against any further opposition to the will of God. Besides the schout, burgomasters, and schepens, the remonstrance was signed by Wilmerdonck and eighty-five of the principal inhabitants, among whom was Stuyvesant's own son, Balthazar.

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.193

At last the director was obliged to yield…. There were scarcely six hundred pounds of serviceable powder in store. A council of war had reported Fort Amsterdam untenable; for though it mounted twenty-four guns, its single wall of earth, not more than ten feet high and four thick, was almost touched by the private dwellings clustered around, and was commanded, within a pistol-shot, by hills on the north, over which ran the "Heereweg" or Broadway.

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.193

Upon the faith of Nicolls' promise to deliver back the city and fort "in case the difference of the limits of this province be agreed upon betwixt his majesty of England and the high and mighty States-General," Stuyvesant now commissioned…. to agree upon articles with the English commander or his representatives.

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.193–p.194

At eight o'clock the next morning, which was Saturday, the commissioners on both sides met at Stuyvesant's "bouwery" and arranged the terms of capitulation. The only difference which arose was respecting the Dutch soldiers, whom the English refused to convey back to Holland. The articles of capitulation promised the Dutch security in their property, customs of inheritance, liberty of conscience and church discipline. The municipal officers of Manhattan were to continue for the present unchanged, and the town was to be allowed to choose deputies, with "free voices in all public affairs." Owners of property in Fort Orange might, if they pleased, "slight the fortifications there," and enjoy their houses "as people do where there is no fort."

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.194

For six months there was to be free intercourse with Holland. Public records were to be respected. The articles, consented to by Nicolls, were to be ratified by Stuyvesant the next Monday morning at eight o'clock, and within two hours afterward, the "fort and town called New Amsterdam, upon the Isle of Manhatoes," were to be delivered up, and the military officers and soldiers were to "march out with their arms, drums beating, and colors flying, and lighted matches."

Brodhead, English Conquest of New York, America, Vol.2, p.194

On the following Monday morning at eight o'clock Stuyvesant, at the head of the garrison, marched out of Fort Amsterdam with all the honors of war, and led his soldiers down the Beaver Lane to the water-side, whence they were embarked for Holland. An English corporal's guard at the same time took possession of the fort; and Nicolls and Carr, with their two companies, about a hundred seventy strong, entered the city, while Cartwright took possession of the gates and the Stadt-Huys. The New England and Long Island volunteers, however, were prudently kept at the Breuckelen ferry, as the citizens dreaded most being plundered by them. The English flag was hoisted on Fort Amsterdam, the name of which was immediately changed to "Fort James." Nicolls was now proclaimed by the burgomasters deputy-governor for the Duke of York, in compliment to whom he directed that the city of New Amsterdam should thenceforth be known as "New York."

Eliot's Brief Narrative

Title: Eliot's Brief Narrative

Author: John Eliot

Date: 1670

Source: Harvard Classics, Vol.43, pp.147-156

John Eliot (1604-1690), "The Apostle to the Indians," came to New England in 1631, and began his ministrations to the Indians in their own language in 1646. His great work, the translation of the Bible into the tongue of the Massachusetts Indians, was finished in 1658 and published 1661-63. He wrote a number of reports on the progress of Christianity among the Indians, of which the Brief Narrative was the last. This pamphlet gives an interesting picture of the conditions of evangelisation among the natives at the end of the first generation of intercourse with the colonists. The movement which was so vigorously started by Eliot was checked before his death by King Philip's war, 1675-6.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.147

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE COMMISSIONERS UNDER HIS MAJESTIES' GREAT-SEAL, FOR PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AMONGST THE POOR BLIND INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.147

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND CHRISTIAN GENTLEMEN:

THAT brief Tract of the present state of the Indian-Work in my hand, which I did the last year on the sudden present you with when you call'd for such a thing; That falling short of its end, and you calling for a renewal thereof, with opportunity of more time, I shall begin with our last great motion in that Work done this Summer, because that will lead me to begin with the state of the Indians under the hands of my Brethren Mr. Mahew and Mr. Bourn.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.147–p.148

Upon the 17th day of the 6th month, 1670, there was a Meeting at Maktapog near Sandwich in Plimouth-Pattent, to gather a Church among the Indians: There were present six of the Magistrates, and many Elders, (all of them Messengers of the Churches within that Jurisdiction) in whose presence, in a day of Fasting and Prayer, they making confession of the Truth and Grace of Jesus Christ, did in that solemn Assembly enter into Covenant, to walk together in the Faith and Order of the Gospel; and were accepted and declared to be a Church of Jesus Christ. These Indians being of kin to our Massachuset-Indians who first prayed unto God, conversed with them, and received amongst them the light and love of the Truth; they desired me to write to Mr. Leveredge to teach them: He accepted the Motion: and performed the Work with good success; but afterwards he left that place, and went to Long-Island, and there a godly Brother, named Richard Bourne (who purposed to remove with Mr. Leveredge, but hindered by Divine Providence) undertook the teaching of those Indians, and hath continued in the work with good success to this day; him we ordained Pastor: and one of the Indians, named Jude, should have been ordained Ruling-Elder, but being sick at that time, advice was given that he should be ordained with the first opportunity, as also a Deacon to manage the present Sabbath-day Collections, and other [4] parts of that Office in their season. The same day also were they, and such of their Children as were present, baptized.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.148–p.149

From them we passed over to the Vineyard, where many were added to the Church both men and women, and were baptized all of them, and their Children also with them; we had the Sacrament of the Lords Supper celebrated in the Indian-Church, and many of the English-Church gladly joyned with them; for which cause it was celebrated in both languages. On a day of Fasting and Prayer, Elders were ordained, two Teaching-Elders, the one to be a Preacher of the Gospel, to do the Office of a Pastor and Teacher; the other to be a Preacher of the Gospel, to do the Office of a Teacher and Pastor, as the Lord should give them ability and opportunity; Also two Ruling-Elders, with advice to ordain Deacons also, for the Service of Christ in the Church. Things were so ordered by the Lord's guidance, that a Foundation is laid for two Churches more; for first, these of the Vineyard dwelling at too great a distance to enjoy with comfort their Sabbath-communion in one place, Advice was given them, that after some experience of walking together in the Order and Ordinances of the Gospel, they should issue forth into another Church; and the Officers are so chosen, that when they shall do so, both Places are furnished with a Teaching and Ruling-Elder.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.149

Also the Teacher of the Praying Indians of Nantucket, with a Brother of his were received here, who made good Confessions of Jesus Christ; and being asked, did make report unto us that there be about ninety Families who pray unto God in that Island, so effectual is the Light of the Gospel among them. Advice was given, that some of the chief Godly People should join to this Church, (for they frequently converse together, though the Islands be seven leagues asunder) and after some experience of walking in the Order of the Gospel, they should issue forth into Church-estate among themselves, and have Officers ordained amongst them.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.149

The Church of the Vineyard were desirous to have chosen Mr. Mahew to be their Pastor: but he declined it, conceiving that in his present capacity he lieth under greater advantages to stand their Friend, and do them good, to save them from the hands of such as would bereave them of their Lands, &c., but they shall alwayes have his counsel, instruction and management in all their Church-affairs, as hitherto they have had; he will die in this service of Jesus Christ. The Praying-Indians of both these islands depend on him, as God's Instrument for their good. [5] Advice also was given for the setling of Schools; every Child capable of learning, equally paying, whether he make use of it or no: Yet if any should sinfully neglect Schooling their Youth, it is a transgression liable to censure under both Orders, Civil and Ecclesiastical, the offence being against both. So we walk at Natick.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.149–p.150

In as much as now we have ordained Indian Officers unto the Ministry of the Gospel, it is needful to add a word or two of Apology: I find it hopeless to expect English Officers in our Indian Churches; the work is full of hardship, hard labour, and chargeable also, and the Indians not yet capable to give considerable support and maintenance; and Men have bodies, and must live of the Gospel: And what comes from England is liable to hazard and uncertainties. On such grounds as these partly, but especially from the secret wise governance of Jesus Christ, the Lord of the Harvest, there is no apearance of hope for their souls feeding in that way: they must be trained up to be able to live of themselves in the ways of the Gospel of Christ; and through the riches of God's Grace and Love, sundry of themselves who are expert in the Scriptures, are able to teach each other: An English young man raw in that language, coming to teach among our Christian-Indians, would be much to their loss; there be of themselves such as be more able, especially being advantaged that he speaketh his own language, and knoweth their manners. Such English as shall hereafter teach them, must begin with a People that begin to pray unto God, (and such opportunities we have many) and then as they grow in knowledge, he will grow (if he be diligent) in ability of speech to communicate the knowledge of Christ unto them. And seeing they must have Teachers amongst themselves, they must also be taught to be Teachers: for which cause I have begun to teach them the Art of Teaching, and I find some of them very capable. And while I live, my purpose is, (by the grace of Christ assisting) to make it one of my chief cares and labours to teach them some of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the way how to analize, and lay out into particulars both the Works and Word of God; and how to communicate knowledge to others methodically and skilfully, and especially the method of Divinity. There be sundry Ministers who live in an opportunity of beginning with a People, and for time to come I shall cease my importuning of others, and onely fall to perswade such unto this service of Jesus Christ, it being one part of our Ministerial Charge to preach to the World in the Name of Jesus, and from amongst them to gather Subjects to his holy Kingdom. The Bible, and the Catechism drawn [6] out of the Bible, are general helps to all parts and places about us, and are the ground-work of Community amongst all our Indian-Churches and Christians.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.150–p.151

I find a blessing, when our Church of Natick doth send forth fit Persons unto some remoter places, to teach them the fear of the Lord. But we want maintenance for that Service; it is a chargeable matter to send a Man from his Family: The Labourer is worthy of his Hire: And when they go only to the High-wayes and Hedges, it is not to be expected that they should reward them: If they believe and obey their Message, it is enough. We are determined to send forth some (if the Lord will, and that we live) this Autumn, sundry ways. I see the best way is, up and be doing: In all labour there is profit; Seek and ye shall find. We have Christ's Example his Promise, his Presence, his Spirit to assist; and I trust that the Lord will find a way for your encouragement.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.151

Natick is our chief Town, where most and chief of our Rulers, and most of the Church dwells; here most of our chief Courts are kept; and the Sacraments in the Church are for the most part here administred: It is (by the Divine Providence) seated well near in the center of all our praying Indians, though Westward the Cords of Christ's Tents are more enlarged. Here we began Civil Government in the year 1650. And here usually are kept the General-Trainings, which seven years ago looked so big that we never had one since till this year, and it was at this time but a small appearance. Here we have two Teachers, John Speen and Anthony; we have betwixt forty and fifty Communicants at the Lord's Table, when they all appear, but now, some are dead, and some decriped with age; and one under Censure, yet making towards a recovery; one died here the last Winter of the Stone, a temperate, sober, godly man, the first Indian that ever was known to have that disease; but now another hath the same disease: Sundry more are proposed, and in way of preparation to joyn unto the Church.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.151–p.152

Ponkipog, or Pakeunit, is our second Town, where the Sachems of the Bloud (as they term their Chief Royal-Line) had their Residence and Rights, which are mostly Alienated to the English Towns: The last Chief Man, of that Line, was last year slain by the Mauquzogs, against whom he rashly (without due Attendants and Assistance, and against Counsel) went; yet all, yea, his Enemies say, He died valiantly; they were more afraid to kill him, than he was to die; yet being deserted by all (some knowingly say through Treason) he stood long, and at last fell alone: Had he had but 10 Men, yea 5 in good order with him, he would have driven all his Enemies before him. His Brother was resident with us in this Town, but he is fallen into sin, and from praying to God. Our Chief Ruler is Ahauton, an old stedfast and trusty friend to the English, and loveth his Country. He is more loved than feared; the reins of his bridle are too long. Wakan is sometimes necessarily called to keep Courts here, to add life and zeal in the punishment of Sinners. Their late Teacher, William, is deceased; He was a man of eminent parts, all the English acknowledge him, and he was known to many: He was of a ready wit, sound judgment, and affable; he is gone unto the Lord; And William, the Son of Ahauton, is called to be Teacher in his stead. He is a promising young-man, a single and upright heart, a good judgment, he Prayeth and Preacheth well, he is studious and industrious, and well accounted of among the English.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.152–p.153

Hassunnimesut is the next Town in order, dignity, and antiquity; sundry of our chief Friends in the great work of Praying to God, came from them, and there lived their Progenitors, and there lieth their Inheritance, and that is the place of their desires. It lieth upon Nichmuke River; the people were well known to the English so long as Connecticot Road lay that way, and their Religion was judged to be real by all that travelled that journey, and had occasion to lodge, especially to keep a Sabbath among them. The Ruler of Town is Anuweekin, and his brother Tuppukkoowillin is Teacher, both sound and godly Men. This Ruler, last Winter, was overtaken with a Passion, which was so observable, that I had occasion to speak with him about it; he was very penitent; I told him, That as to man, I, and all men were ready to forgive him. Ah! said he, I find it the greatest difficulty to forgive myself. For the encouragement of this place, and for the cherishing of a new Plantation of Praying Indians beyond them, they called Monatunkanet to be a Teacher also in that Town, and both of them to take care of the new Praying-Town beyond them. And for the like encouragement, Captain Gookins joyned Petahheg with Anuweekin. The aged Father of this Ruler and Teacher, was last year Baptized, who hath many Children that fear God. In this place we meditate ere long (if the Lord will, and that we live) to gather a Church, that so the Sabbath-Communion of our Christian Indians may be the more agreeable to the Divine Institution, which make too bold with while we live at such distance.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.153

Ogquonikongquamesut is the next Town; where, how we have been afflicted, I may not say. The English Town called Marlborough doth border upon them, as did the lines of the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin; the English Meeting-house standeth within the line of the Indian Town, although the contiguity and co-inhabitation is not barren in producing matters of interfering; yet our godly Indians do obtain a good report of the godly English, which is an argument that bringeth light and evidence to my heart, that our Indians are really godly. I was very lately among them; they desired me to settle a stated Lecture amongst them, as it is in sundry other Praying Towns, which I did with so much the more gladness and hope of blessing in it, because through Grace the Motion did first spring from themselves. Solomon is their Teacher, whom we judge to be a serious and sound Christian; their Ruler is Owannamug, whose grave, faithful, and discreet Conversation hath procured him real respect from the English. One that was a Teacher in this place, is the man that is now under Censure in the Church; his sin was that adventitious sin which we have brought unto them, Drunkenness, which was never known to them before they knew us English. But I account it our duty, and it is much in my desire, as well to teach them Wisdom to Rule such heady Creatures, as skill to get them to be able to bridle their own appetites, when they have means and opportunity of high-spirited enticements. The Wisdom and Power of Grace is not so much seen in the beggarly want of these things, as in the bridling of our selves in the use of them. It is true Dominion, to be able to use them, and not to abuse ourselves by them.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.153–p.154

Nashope is our next Praying Town, a place of much Affliction; it was the chief place of Residence, where Tahattawans lived, a Sachem of the Blood, a faithful and zealous Christian, a strict yet gentle Ruler; he was a Ruler of 50 in our Civil Order; and when God took him, a chief man in our Israel was taken away from us. His only Son was a while vain, but proved good, expert in the Scripture, was Elected to rule in his Father's place, but soon died, insomuch that this place is now destitute of a Ruler. The Teacher of the place is John Thomas, a godly understanding Christian, well esteemed of by the English: his Father was killed by the Mauquaogs, shot to death as he was in [9] the River doing his Eele-wyers. This place lying in the Road-way which the Mauquaogs haunted, was much molested by them, and was one year wholly deserted; but this year the People have taken courage and dwell upon it again.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.154

In this place after the great Earthquake, there was some eruption out of the Earth, which left a great Hiatus or Cleft a great way together, and out of some Cavities under great Rocks, by a great Pond in that place, there was a great while after often heard an humming noise, as if there were frequent eruptions out of the Ground at that place: yet for Healthfulness the place is much as other places be. For Religion, there be amongst them some Godly Christians, who are received into the Church, and baptized, and others looking that way.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.154

Wamesut is our next Praying-Town; it lyeth at the bottom of the great Falls, on the great River Merymak, and at the falling-in of Concord River; the Sachem of this Place is named Nomphon, said to be a Prince of the Bloud, a Man of a real Noble Spirit: A Brother of his was slain by the Mauquaogs as he was upon a Rock fishing in the great River. In revenge whereof he went in the forementioned rash Expedition, but had such about him, and was so circumspect, that he came well off, though he lost one principal Man. This place is very much annoyed by the Mauquaogs, and have much ado to stand their ground.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.154

In this Place Captain Gookins ordered a Garrison to be kept the last year, which Order while they attended they were safe; but when the Northern Sachems and Souldiers came, who stirred up ours to go with them on their unsuccessful Expedition, the Town was for the most part scatter'd and their Corn spoyled.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.154–p.155

The Teacher of this Place is named George: they have not much esteem for Religion, but I am hopefully perswaded of sundry of them; I can go unto them but once in a year.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.155

Panatuket is the upper part of Merimak-Falls; so called, because of the noise which the Waters make. Thither the Penagwog-Indians are come, and have built a great Fort; Their Sachems refused to pray to God, so signally and sinfully, that Captain Gookins and my self were very sensible of it, and were not without some expectation of some interposure of a Divine-Hand, which did eminently come to pass; for in the forenamed expedition they joyned with the Northern Sachems, [10] and were all of them cut off; even all that had so signally refused to pray unto God were now as signally rejected by God, and cut off. I hear not that it was ever known, that so many Sachems and Men of Note were killed in one imprudent Expedition, and that by a few scattered people; for the Mauquaogs were not imbodied to receive them, nor prepared, and few at home, which did much greaten the Overthrow of so many great Men, and shews a divine over-ruling hand of God. But now, since the Penaguog-Sachems are cut off, the People (sundry of them) dwelling at Panatuket-Fort do bow the ear to hear, and submit to pray unto God; to whom Jethro, after he had confest Christ and was baptized, was sent to preach Christ to them.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.155

Magunkukquok is another of our Praying-Towns at the remotest Westerly borders of Natick; these are gathering together of some Nipmuk Indians who left their own places, and sit together in this place, and have given up themselves to pray unto God. They have called Pomham to be their Ruler, and Simon to be their Teacher. This latter is accounted a good and lively Christian; he is the second man among the Indians that doth experience that afflicting disease of the Stone. The Ruler hath made his Preparatory Confession of Christ, and is approved of, and at the next opportunity is to be received and baptized.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.155

I obtained of the General-Court a Grant of a Tract of Land, for the settlement and encouragement of this People; which though as yet it be by some obstructed, yet I hope we shall find some way to accomplish the same.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.155–p.156

Quanatusset is the last of our Praying-Towns, whose beginnings have received too much discouragement; but yet the Seed is alive: they are frequently with me; the work is at the birth, there doth only want strength to bring forth. The care of this People is committed joyntly to Monatunkanit, and Tuppunkoowillin, the Teachers of Hassunemesut, as is abovesaid; and I hope if the Lord continue my life, I shall have a good account to give of that People.

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.156

Thus I have briefly touched some of the chiefest of our present Affairs, and commit them to your Prudence, to do [II] with them what you please; committing your Selves, and all your weighty Affairs unto the Guidance and Blessing of the Lord, I rest,

Eliot's Brief Narrative, Harvard Classics, Vol.43, p.156

Your Worships to serve you in the Service of our Lord Jesus.

JOHN ELLIOT.

Roxbury, this 20th of the 7th month, 1670.

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi

Title: Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi

Author: James Marquette

Date: 1673

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.198-204

De Soto discovered the Mississippi River more than a hundred years before Marquette, but nothing came of his discovery. Marquette, accompanied by Joliet, prepared excellent maps and wrote descriptions of the new country, and as a result of their explorations, others followed who developed the Mississippi Valley.

They were four months on their expedition, during which time they paddled their canoes over 2500 miles. Marquette kept a daily record of their explorations, but his papers were lost on the return voyage up the Mississippi. He afterwards prepared from memory an account of their expedition, published under the title, "Travels and Discoveries in North America," from which this account is taken.

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.198

I EMBARKED with M. Joliet, who had been chosen to conduct this enterprise, on the 13th May, 1673, with five other Frenchmen, in two bark canoes. We laid in some Indian corn and smoked beef for our voyage. We first took care, however, to draw from the Indians all the information we could, concerning the countries through which we designed to travel, and drew up a map, on which we marked down the rivers, nations, and points of the compass to guide us in our journey. The first nation we came to was called the Folles-Avoines, or the nation of wild oats. I entered their river to visit them, as I had preached among them some years before. The wild oats, from which they derive their name, grow spontaneously in their country….

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.198–p.199

I acquainted them with my design of discovering other nations, to preach to them the mysteries of our holy religion, at which they were much surprised, and said all they could to dissuade me from it. They told me I would meet Indians who spare no strangers, and whom they kill without any provocation or mercy; that the war they have one with the other would expose me to be taken by their warriors, as they are constantly on the look-out to surprise their enemies. That the Great River was exceedingly dangerous, and full of frightful monsters who devoured men and canoes together, and that the heat was so great that it would positively cause our death. I thanked them for their kind advice, but told them I would not follow it, as the salvation of a great many souls was concerned in our undertaking, for whom I should be glad to lose my life. I added that I defied their monsters, and their information would oblige us to keep more upon our guard to avoid a surprise. And having prayed with them, and given them some instructions, we set out for the Bay of Puan, where our missionaries had been successful in converting them…. The next day, being the 10th of June, the two guides [Miamies] embarked with us in sight of all the village, who were astonished at our attempting so dangerous an expedition. We were informed that at three leagues from the Maskoutens, we should find a river which runs into the Mississippi, and that we were to go to the west-south-west to find it, but there were so many marshes and lakes, that if it had not been for our guides we could not have found it….

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.200

Before embarking we all offered up prayers to the Holy Virgin, which we continued to do every morning, placing ourselves and the events of the journey under her protection, and after having encouraged each other, we got into our canoes. The river upon which we embarked is called Mesconsin [Wisconsin]; the river is very wide, but the sand bars make it very difficult to navigate, which is increased by numerous islands covered with grape-vines. The country through which it flows is beautiful; the groves are so dispersed in the prairies that it makes a noble prospect; and the fruit of the trees shows a fertile soil. These groves are full of walnut, oak, and other trees unknown to us in Europe. We saw neither game nor fish, but roebuck and buffaloes in great numbers. After having navigated thirty leagues we discovered some iron mines, and one of our company who had seen such mines before, said these were very rich in ore. They are covered with about three feet of soil, and situate near a chain of rocks, whose base is covered with fine timber. After having rowed ten leagues farther, making forty leagues from the place where we had embarked we came into the Mississippi on the 17th of June [1673].

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.200–p.201

The mouth of the Mesconsin [Wisconsin] is in about 42 1/2° N. lat. Behold us, then, upon this celebrated river, whose singularities I have attentively studied. The Mississippi takes its rise in several lakes in the North. Its channel is very narrow at the mouth of the Mesconsin, and runs south until it is affected by very high hills. Its current is slow, because of its depth. In sounding we found nineteen fathoms of water. A little further on it widens nearly three quarters of a league, and the width continues to be more equal. We slowly followed its course to the south and southeast to the 42° N. lat. Here we perceived the country change its appearance. There were scarcely any more woods or mountains. The islands are covered with fine trees, but we could not see any more roebucks, buffaloes, bustards, and swans. We met from time to time monstrous fish, which struck so violently against our canoes, that at first we took them to be large trees, which threatened to upset us. We saw also a hideous monster; his head was like that of a tiger, his nose was sharp, and somewhat resembled a wildcat; his beard was long; his ears stood upright; the color of his head was gray; and his neck black. He looked upon us for some time, but as we came near him our oars frightened him away. When we threw our nets into the water we caught an abundance of sturgeons, and another kind of fish like our trout, except that the eyes and nose are much smaller, and they have near the nose a bone like a woman's busk, three inches broad and a foot and a half long, the end of which is flat and broad, and when it leaps out of the water the weight of it throws it on its back.

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.201–p.202

Having descended the river as far as 41° 28', we found that turkeys took the place of game, and the Pisikious that of other animals. We called the Pisikious wild buffaloes, because they very much resemble our domestic oxen; they are not so long, but twice as large. We shot one of them, and it was as much as thirteen men could do to drag him from the place where he fell….

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.202

We continued to descend the river, not knowing where we were going, and having made an hundred leagues without seeing anything but wild beasts and birds, and being on our guard we landed at night to make our fire and prepare our repast, and then left the shore to anchor in the river, while one of us watched by turns to prevent a surprise. We went south and southwest until we found ourselves in about the latitude of 40° and some minutes, having rowed more than sixty leagues since we entered the river.

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.202

We took leave of our guides about the end of June, and embarked in presence of all the village, who admired our birch canoes, as they had never before seen anything like them. We descended the river, looking for another called Pekitanoni [Missouri], which runs from the northwest into the Mississippi….

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.202–p.203

As we were descending the river we saw high rocks with hideous monsters painted on them, and upon which the bravest Indians dare not look. They are as large as a calf, with head and horns like a goat; their eyes red; beard like a tiger's; and a face like a man's. Their tails are so long that they pass over their heads and between their fore legs, under their belly, and ending like a fish's tail. They are painted red, green, and black. They are so well drawn that I cannot believe they were drawn by the Indians. And for what purpose they were made seems to me a great mystery. As we fell down the river, and while we were discoursing upon these monsters, we heard a great rushing and bubbling of waters, and small islands of floating trees coming from the mouth of the Pekitanoni [Missouri], with such rapidity that we could not trust ourselves to go near it. The water of this river is so muddy that we could not drink it. It so discolors the Mississippi as to make the navigation of it dangerous. This river comes from the northwest, and empties into the Mississippi, and on its banks are situated a number of Indian villages. We judged by the compass, that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico. It would, however, have been more agreeable if it had discharged itself into the South Sea or Gulf of California….

Marquette's Discovery of the Mississippi, America, Vol.2, p.203–p.204

Having satisfied ourselves that the Gulf of Mexico was in latitude 31° 40', and that we could reach it in three or four days' journey from the Akansea [Arkansas River], and that the Mississippi discharged itself into it, and not to the eastward of the Cape of Florida, nor into the California Sea, we resolved to return home. We considered that the advantage of our travels would be altogether lost to our nation if we fell into the hands of the Spaniards, from whom we could expect no other treatment than death or slavery; besides, we saw that we were not prepared to resist the Indians, the allies of the Europeans, who continually infested the lower part of this river; wetherefore came to the conclusion to return, and make a report to those who had sent us. So that having rested another day, we left the village of the Akansea, on the seventeenth of July, 1673, having followed the Mississippi from the latitude 42° to 34°, and preached the Gospel to the utmost of my power, to the nations we visited. We then ascended the Mississippi with great difficulty against the current, and left it in the latitude of 38° north, to enter another river [Illinois], which took us to the lake of the Illinois [Michigan], which is a much shorter way than through the River Mesconsin [Wisconsin], by which we entered the Mississippi….

The Outbreak of King Philip's War

Title: The Outbreak of King Philip's War

Author: William Hubbard

Date: 1674

Source: America, Vol.2, p.213-218

King Philip, as the colonists nick-named him because of his haughty spirit, was a son of the famous Massasoit, who, in alliance with the Narragansetts, waged the first war between the Indians and Plymouth Colony. The Indians never met the colonists in battle, but abandoned themselves to fire and massacre.

Governor Winslow, in 1675 led a force of 1000 men against the allies, slew 500 warriors and about twice as many women and children. In retaliation the Indians massacred by wholesale. Rewards were paid for every In dian killed in battle, and manysquaws and papooses were captured and sold into slavery. During the war 600 colonists were killed and 13 towns destroyed. Of the two once powerful tribes, less than 200 individuals survived.

Reverend William Hubbard, the writer of this article, was one of the first class to graduate from Harvard College. He had no superior as a writer among his contemporaries.

Hubbard, Outbreak of King Philip's War, America, Vol.2, p.213

THE occasion of Philips so sudden taking up arms was this: There was one John Sausaman a very cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English language, and bred up in the Christian religion, employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, the Indian town, who upon some misdemeanor fled from his place to Philip, whose Secretary and Chief Counselor he became. But afterwards, whether upon the sting of his own conscience, or by the frequent solicitations of Mr. Eliot, that had known him from a child, and instructed him in the principles of our religion, who was often laying before him the heinous sin of his apostacy, and returning back to his old vomit, he was at last prevailed with to forsake Philip, and return to the Christian Indians at Natick where he was baptized, manifested public repentance for all his former offenses, and made a serious profession of the Christian religion: and did apply himself to preach to the Indians, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian Nation; so as he was observed to conform more to the English manners than any other Indian.

Hubbard, Outbreak of King Philip's War, America, Vol.2, p.214–p.215

Yet having occasion to go up with some others of his countrymen to Namasket, whether for the advantage of fishing or some such occasion, it matters not; being there not far from Philip's country, he had occasion to be much in the company of Philip's Indians, and of Philip himself: by which means he discerned by several circumstances that the Indians were plotting anew against us; the which out of faithfulness to the English the said Sausaman informed the Governor of; adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent testimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was certain truth in the information; some inquiry was made into the business, by examining Philip himself, several of his Indians, who although they could do nothing, yet could not free themselves from just suspicion; Philip therefore soon after contrived the said Sausaman's death, which was strangely discovered; notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that murdered him, met him upon the ice on a great pond, and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the ice, yet leaving his gun and his hat upon the ice, that it might be thought he fell accidentally through the ice and was drowned: but being missed by his friend, who finding his hat and gun, they were thereby led to the place where his body was found under the ice. When they took it up to bury him, some of his friends, especially one David, observed some bruises about his head, which made them suspect he was knocked down before he was put into the water. However, they buried him near about the place where he was found, without making any further inquiry at present: nevertheless David, his friend, reported these things to some English at Taunton (a town not far from Namasket), occasioned the Governor to inquire further into the business, wisely considering, that as Sausaman had told him, if it were known that he had revealed any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains.

Hubbard, Outbreak of King Philip's War, America, Vol.2, p.215–p.216

Wherefore by special warrant the body of Sausaman being digged again out of his grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed, and not drowned. And by a strange Providence an Indian was found, that by accident was standing unseen upon a hill, had seen them murder the said Sausaman, but durst never reveal it for fear of losing his own life likewise, until he was called to the Court at Plymouth, or before the Governor, where he plainly confessed what he had seen. The murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable testimony, and other remarkable circumstances, and so were all put to death, being three in number; the last of them confessed immediately before his death, that his father (one of the counsellors and special friends of Philip) was one of the two that murdered Sausaman, himself only looking on.

Hubbard, Outbreak of King Philip's War, America, Vol.2, p.216

This was done at Plymouth Court, held in June 1674. Insomuch that Philip apprehending the danger his own head was in next, never used any further means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting against the English, nor yet about Sausaman's death: but by keeping his men continually about him in arms, and gathering what strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down constantly in arms, both all the while the Court sat, as well as afterwards.

Hubbard, Outbreak of King Philip's War, America, Vol.2, p.216–p.217

The English of Plymouth hearing of all this, yet took no further notice than only to order a militia watch in all the adjacent towns, hoping that Philip finding himself not likely to be arraigned by order of the said Court, the present cloud might blow over, as some others of like nature had done before; but in conclusion, the matter proved otherwise; for Philip finding his strength daily increasing, by the flocking of neighbor Indians unto him, and sending over their wives and children to the Narragansetts for security (as they use to do when they intend war with any of their enemies,) immediately they began to alarm the English at Swanzy (the next town to Philip's country,) as it were daring the English to begin; at last their insolencies grew to such a height that they began not only to use threatening words to the English, but also to kill their cattle and rifle their houses; whereat an Englishman was so provoked that he let fly a gun at an Indian, but did only wound, not kill him; whereupon the Indians immediately began to kill all the English they could, so as on the 24th of June, 1675, was the alarm of war first sounded in Plymouth Colony, when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about Swanzy, they first making a shot at a company of English as they returned from the Assembly where they were met in way of humiliation that day, whereby they killed one and wounded others. At the same time, they slew two men on the highway sent to call a surgeon, and barbarously the same day murdered six men in and about a dwelling-house in another part of the town: all which outrages were committed so suddenly that the English had no time to make any resistance….

Hubbard, Outbreak of King Philip's War, America, Vol.2, p.217–p.218

However the Governor and Council of Plymouth, understanding that Philip continued in his revolution, and manifested no inclination to peace, immediately sent us what forces they could to secure the towns thereabouts, and make resistance as occasion might be: and also dispatched away messengers to the Massachusetts Governor and Council, letting them know the state of things about Mount Hope; and desiring their speedy assistance, upon which, care was immediately taken with all expedition to send such supplies as were desired…. At Woodcok's House, thirty miles from Boston, where they arrived next morning, they retarded their motion till the afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a company of volunteers under Captain Samuel Mosely, which accordingly came to pass; so as on June 28 they all arrived at Swanzy, within a quarter of a mile of the bridge leading into Philip's Lands. Some little time before night, twelve of the troopers, unwilling to lose time, passed over the bridge for discovery into the enemies territories, where they found the rude welcome of eight or ten Indians firing upon them out of the bushes, killing one William Hammond, wounding Corporal Belcher, his horse also being shot down under him; the rest of the said troopers having discharged upon those Indians that ran away after their first shot carried off their dead and wounded companions….

Hubbard, Outbreak of King Philip's War, America, Vol.2, p.218

The enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold assault or two at the first; but their hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces both engaged against them…. and a resolute charge of the English forces upon the enemy made them quit their place on Mount Hope that very night, where Philip was never seen after, till the next year, when he was by a divine mandate sent back, there to receive the reward of his wickedness where he first began his mischief.

The Death of King Philip

Title: The Death of King Philip

Author: Benjamin Church

Date: 1676

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.219-222

Captain Benjamin Church was the General Custer, or rather Nelson A. Miles, of his day, and particularly was the nemesis of the Indian sachem Metacomet, opprobriously known to the early New England colonists as King Philip. His "Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War—as also of Expeditions more lately made against the Common Enemy in the Eastern Parts of New England," written in the third person and described as a soldier's bluff narrative of his own dangerous and enticing adventures," was widely read during the colonial period.

In his account of the death of King Philip, Captain Church neglects to say that Philip's body was quartered, on a Thanksgiving Day especially appointed, and his head, at first given to the Indian who shot him, was gibbeted in Plymouth.

Church, Death of King Philip, America, Vol.2, p.219

HAVING located Philip's headquarters on a spot of upland at the south end of a miry swamp, Captain Church [who used the third person in writing this account] went down to the swamp, and gave Captain Williams of Scituate command of the right wing of the ambush, and placed an Englishman and an Indian together behind such shelters of trees, etc., as he could find, and took care to place them at such distance that none might pass undiscovered between them; charged them to be careful of themselves, and of hurting their friends, and to fire at any that should come silently through the swamp. But it being somewhat farther through the swamp than he was aware of, he wanted men to make up his ambuscade.

Church, Death of King Philip, America, Vol.2, p.220

Having placed what men he had, he took Major Sanford by the hand, and said, "Sir, I have so placed them that it is scarce possible Philip should escape them." The same moment a shot whistled over their heads, and then the noise of a gun towards Philip's camp. Captain Church, at first, thought it might be some gun fired by accident; but, before he could speak, a whole volley followed, which was earlier than he expected. One of Philip's gang going forth to ease himself, when he had done, looked round him, and Captain Golding thought that the Indian looked right at him, (though probably it was but his conceit); so fired at him; and upon his firing, the whole company that were with him fired upon the enemy's shelter, before the Indians had time to rise from their sleep, and so over-shot them. But their shelter was open on that side next the swamp, built so on purpose for the convenience of flight on occasion. They were soon in the swamp, and Philip the foremost, who, starting at the first gun, threw his petunk and powderhorn over his head, caught up his gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings; and ran directly upon two of Captain Church's ambush. They let him come fair within shot, and the Englishman's gun missing fire, he bid the Indian fire away, and he did so to the purpose; sent one musket bullet through his heart, and another not above two inches from it. He fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him.

Church, Death of King Philip, America, Vol.2, p.221

By this time the enemy perceived they were waylaid on the east side of the swamp, and tacked short about. One of the enemy, who seemed to be a great, surly old fellow, hallooed with a loud voice, and often called out, "Iootash, Iootash." Captain Church called to his Indian, Peter, and asked him, who that was that called so? He answered, it was old Annawon, Philip's great captain; calling on his soldiers to stand to it, and fight stoutly. Now the enemy finding that place of the swamp which was not ambushed, many of them made their escape in the English tracks.

Church, Death of King Philip, America, Vol.2, p.221

The man that had shot down Philip ran with all speed to Captain Church, and informed him of his exploit, who commanded him to be silent about it and let no man more know it, until they had driven the swamp clean. But when they had driven the swamp through, and found the enemy had escaped, or, at least, the most of them, and the sun now up, and so the dew gone, that they could not easily track them, the whole company met together at the place where the enemy's night shelter was, and then Captain Church gave them the news of Philip's death. Upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas.

Church, Death of King Philip, America, Vol.2, p.221–p.222

Captain Church ordered his body to be pulled out of the mire on to the upland. So some of Captain Church's Indians took hold of him by his stockings, and some by his small breeches (being otherwise naked) and drew him through the mud to the upland; and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like. Captain Church then said that, forasmuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to lie unburied, and rot above ground, not one of his bones should be buried. And, calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him. Accordingly he came with his hatchet and stood over him, but before he struck he made a small speech directing it to Philip, and said, "he had been a very great man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but so big as he was, he would now chop him to pieces." And so went to work and did as he was ordered.

Church, Death of King Philip, America, Vol.2, p.222

Philip, having one very remarkable hand, being much scarred, occasioned by the splitting of a pistol in it formerly, Captain Church gave the head and that hand to Alderman, the Indian who shot him, to show to such gentlemen as would bestow gratuities upon him; and accordingly he got many a penny by it.

Church, Death of King Philip, America, Vol.2, p.222

This being on the last day of the week, the Captain with his company, returned to the island, tarried there until Tuesday; and then went off and ranged through all the woods to Plymouth, and received their premium, which was thirty shillings per head, for the enemies which they had killed or taken, instead of all wages; and Philip's head went at the same price. Methinks it is scanty reward, and poor encouragement; though it was better than what had been some time before. For this march they received four shillings and sixpence a man, which was all the reward they had, except the honor of killing Philip. This was in the latter end of August, 1676.

Bacon's Rebellion

Title: Bacon's Rebellion

Author: Unknown

Date: 1676

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.223-230

The anonymous but well-informed author of this account of the Virginia rebellion published his defense of Bacon in London within a year after the events described. He speaks as well as he dares of the Virginia "rebel," but the passions involved had not yet cooled sufficiently for real candor.

The facts were that Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, temporized with the Indian uprising of 1675, and the indignant Virginian colonists elected Bacon to lead them against the redskins. The Governor refused to commission him, and declared him a rebel. But Bacon marched on Jamestown and obtained his commission at the point of his sword.

He also obtained the dissolution of the Royal Assembly. "Bacon's Assembly," following, levied taxes, extended the suffrage to freemen, and grew so defiant that the Governor dissolved it. Meanwhile Bacon had died in his bed. This rebellion is one of the earliest of the revolts against the Crown and its Officers which paved the way for the American Revolution.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.223

THERE is no nation this day under the copes of Heaven can so experimentally speak the sad effects of men of great parts being reduced to necessity, as England; but not to rake up the notorious misdemeanors of the dead, I shall endeavor to prevent the sad effects of so deplorable a cause, by giving you an account of the remarkable life and death of this gentleman of whom I am about to discourse. And because when a man has once engaged himself in an ill action, all men are ready to heap innumerable aspersions upon him, of which he is no ways guilty, I shall be so just in the history of his life as not to rob him of those commendations which his birth and acquisitions claim as due, and so kind both to loyalty and the wholesome constituted laws of our kingdom, as not to smother anything which would render him to blame.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.224

This gentleman who has of late beckoned the attention of all men of understanding who are any ways desirous of novelty, [or] care what becomes of any part of the world besides that themselves live in, had the honor to be descended of an ancient and honorable family, his name Nathaniel Bacon, to whom to the long known title of gentleman, by his long study [at] the Inns of Court he has since added that of Esquire. He was the son of Mr. Thomas Bacon of an ancient seat known by the denomination of Freestone-Hall, in the County of Suffolk, a gentleman of known loyalty and ability. His father as he was able so he was willing to allow this his son a very gentle competency to subsist upon, but he as it proved having a soul too large for that allowance, could not contain himself within bounds; which his careful father perceiving, and also that he had a mind to travel (having seen divers parts of the world before) consented to his inclination of going to Virginia, and accommodated him with a stock for that purpose, to the value of 1,800 pounds sterling, as I am credibly informed by a merchant of very good wealth, who is now in this city, and had the fortune to carry him thither.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.224–p.225

He began his voyage thitherwards about three years since, and lived for about a year's space in that continent in very good repute, his extraordinary parts like a letter of recommendation rendering him acceptable in all men's company, while his considerable concerns in that place were able to bear him out in the best of society. These accomplishments of mind and fortune rendered him so remarkable, that the worthy Governor of that continent thought it requisite to take him into his Privy Council.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.225

That plantation which he chose to settle in is generally known by the name of Curles, situate in the upper part of James river and the time of his revolt was not till the beginning of March, 1675-6. At which time the Susquehannock Indians (a known enemy to that country) having made an insurrection, and killed divers of the English, among whom it was his misfortune to have a servant slain; in revenge of whose death, and other damage(s) he received from those turbulent Susquehannocks, without the Governor's consent he furiously took up arms against them, and was so fortunate as to put them to flight, but not content therewith; the aforesaid Governor hearing of his eager pursuit after the vanquished Indians, sent out a select company of soldiers to command him to desist; but he instead of listening thereunto, persisted in his revenge, and sent to the Governor to entreat his commission, that he might more cheerfully prosecute his design; which being denied him by the messenger he sent for that purpose, he notwithstanding continued to make head with his own servants, and other English then resident in Curles against them.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.225–p.226–p.227

In this interim the people of Henrica had returned him Burgess of their county; and he in order there—unto took his own sloop and came down towards James Town, conducted by thirty odd Soldiers, with part of which he came ashore to Mr. Laurence's house, to understand whether he might come in with safety or not, but being discovered by one Parson Clough, and also it being perceived that he had lined the bushes of the said town with soldiers, the Governor thereupon ordered an alarm to be beaten through the whole town, which took so hot, that Bacon thinking himself not secure while he remained there within reach of their fort, immediately commanded his men aboard, and towed his sloop up the river; which the Governor perceiving, ordered the ships which lay at Sandy-point to pursue and take him; and they by the industry of their commanders succeeded so well in the attempt, that they presently stopped his passage; so that Mr. Bacon finding himself pursued both before and behind, after some capitulations, quietly surrendered himself prisoner to the Governor's commissioners, to the great satisfaction of all his friends; which action of his was so obliging to the Governor, that he granted him his liberty immediately upon parol, without confining him either to prison or chamber, and the next day, after some private discourse passed betwixt the Governor, the Privy Council and himself, he was amply restored to all his former honors and dignities, and a commission partly promised him to be General against the Indian army; but upon further inquiry into his affairs it was not thought fit to be granted him; whereat his ambitious mind seemed mightily to be displeased; insomuch that he gave out, that it was his intention to sell his whole concerns in Virginia, and to go with his whole family to live either in Maryland or the south, because he would avoid (as he said) the scandal of being accounted a factious person there.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.227–p.228

But his resolution it seems was but a pretense, for afterwards he headed the same runnagado English that he formerly found ready to undertake and go sharers with him in any of his rebellions, and adding to them the assistance of his own slaves and servants, headed them so far till they touched at the Occonegie's town, where he was treated very civilly, and by the inhabitants informed where some of the Susquehannock's were inforted, whom presently he assails, and after he had vanquished them, slew about seventy of them in their Fort: But as he returned back to the Occoneges, he found they had fortified themselves with divers more Indians than they had at his first arrival; wherefore he desired hostages of them for their good behavior, while he and his followers lay within command of their fort. But those treacherous Indians grown confident by reason of their late recruit, returned him this answer, that their guns were the only hostages he was like to have of them, and if he would have them he must fetch them. Which was no sooner spoken, but the Indians sallied out of the fort and shot one of his sentinels, whereupon he charged them so fiercely, that the fight continued not only all that day, but the next also, till the approach of the evening, at which time finding his men grow faint for want of provision, he laid hold of the opportunity, being befriended by a gloomy night, and so made an honorable retreat homewards. Howbeit we may judge what respect he had gained in James Town by this subsequent transaction.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.228

When he was first brought hither it was frequently reported among the commonalty that he was kept close prisoner, which report caused the people of that town, those of Charles city, Henrico, and New-Kent Countries, being in all about the number of eight hundred, or a thousand, to rise and march thitherwards in order to his rescue; whereupon the Governor was forced to desire Mr. Bacon to go himself in person, and by his open appearance quiet the people.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.228–p.229

This being past, Mr. Bacon, about the 25th of June last, dissatisfied that he could not have a commission granted him to go against the Indians, in the night time departed the town unknown to anybody, and about a week after got together between four and five hundred men of New-Kent County, with whom he marched to James Town, and drew up in order before the House of State; and there peremptorily demanded of the Governor, Council and Burgesses (there then collected) a commission to go against the Indians, which if they should refuse to grant him, he told them that neither he nor e'er a man in his company would depart from their doors till he had obtained his request; whereupon to prevent farther danger in so great an exigence, the Council and Burgesses by much entreaty obtained him a commission signed by the Governor, an act for one thousand men to be listed under his command to go against the Indians, to whom the same pay was to be granted as was allowed to them who went against the fort. But Bacon was not satisfied with this, but afterwards earnestly importuned, and at length obtained of the house, to pass an act of indemnity to all persons who had sided with him, and also letters of recommendations from the Governor to his Majesty in his behalf; and moreover caused Colonel Claybourne and his son, Captain Claybourne, Lieutenant Colonel West, and Lieutenant Colonel Hill, and many others, to be degraded for ever bearing any office, whether it were military or civil.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.229

Having obtained these large civilities of the Governor, etc., one would have thought that if the principles of honesty would not have obliged him to peace and loyalty, those of gratitude should. But, alas, when men have been once flushed or entered with vice, how hard is it for them to leave it, especially it tends towards ambition or greatness, which is the general lust of a large soul, and the common error of vast parts, which fix their eyes so upon the lure of greatness, that they have no time left them to consider by what indirect and unlawful means they must (if ever) attain it.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.229–p.230

This certainly was Mr. Bacon's crime, who, after he had once launched into rebellion, nay, and upon submission had been pardoned for it, and also restored, as if he had committed no such heinous offense, to his former honor and dignities (which were considerable enough to content any reasonable mind) yet for all this he could not forbear wading into his former misdemeanors, and continued his opposition against that prudent and established government, ordered by his Majesty of Great Britain to be duly observed in that continent.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.230

In fine, he continued (I cannot say properly in the fields, but) in the woods with a considerable army all last summer, and maintained several brushes with the Governor's party: sometime routing them, and burning all before him, to the great damage of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects there resident; sometimes he and his rebels were beaten by the Governor, etc., and forced to run for shelter among the woods and swamps. In which lamentable condition that unhappy continent has remained for the space of almost a twelve-month, every one therein that were able being forced to take up arms for security of their own lives, and no one reckoning their goods, wives, or children to be their own, since they were so dangerously exposed to the doubtful accidents of an uncertain war.

Bacon's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.230

But the indulgent Heavens, who are alone able to compute what measure of punishments are adequate or fit for the sins or transgressions of a nation, has in its great mercy thought fit to put a stop, at least, if not a total period and conclusion to these Virginian troubles, by the death of this Nathaniel Bacon, the great molester of the quiet of that miserable nation.

The Death of Marquette

Title: The Death of Marquette

Author: Claude Dablon

Date: 1678

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.205-212

Father Marquette's narrative of his voyages and discoveries in the valley of the Mississippi was prepared for publication in 1678 by Father Claude Dablon, Superior of the Missions of the Society of Jesus in Canada. To this Father Dablon added the account given here of Marquette's death and burial.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.205

FATHER JAMES MARQUETTE, having promised the Illinois, called Kaskaskia, to return among them to teach them our mysteries, had great difficulty in keeping his word. The great hardships of his first voyage had brought on a dysentery, and had so enfeebled him that he lost all hope of undertaking a second voyage. Yet, his malady having given way and almost ceased toward the close of summer in the following year, he obtained permission of his superiors to return to the Illinois to found that noble mission.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.205–p.206

He set out for this purpose in the month of November, 1674, from the Bay of the Fetid, with two men, one of whom had already made that voyage with him. During a month's navigation on the Illinois Lake he was pretty well; but, as soon as the snow began to fall, he was again seized with the dysentery, which forced him to stop in the river which leads to the Illinois. There they raised a cabin, and spent the winter in such want of every comfort that his illness constantly increased. He felt that God had granted him the grace he had so often asked, and he even plainly told his companions so, assuring them that he would die of that illness and on that voyage. To prepare his soul for its departure, he began that rude wintering by the exercises of Saint Ignatius, which, in spite of his great bodily weakness, he performed with deep sentiments of devotion and great heavenly consolation; and then spent the rest of his time in colloquies with all heaven, having no more intercourse with earth amid these deserts, except with his two companions, whom he confessed and communicated twice a week, and exhorted as much as his strength allowed.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.206

Some time after Christmas, in order to obtain the grace not to die without having taken possession of his beloved mission, he invited his companions to make a novena in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Contrary to all human expectation, he was heard, and, recovering, found himself able to proceed to the Illinois town as soon as navigation was free. This he accomplished in great joy, setting out on the 29th of March. He was eleven days on the way, where he had ample matter for suffering, both from his still sickly state and from the severity and inclemency of the weather.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.206–p.207

Having at last reached the town on the 8th of April, he was received there as an angel from heaven; and after having several times assembled the chiefs of the nation with all the old men (anciens), to sow in their minds the first seed of the gospel, after carrying his instructions into the cabins, which were always filled with crowds of people, he resolved to speak to all publicly in general assembly, which he convoked in the open fields, the cabins being too small for the meeting. A beautiful prairie near the town was chosen for the great council. It was adorned in the fashion of the country, being spread with mats and bear-skins; and the father, having hung on cords some pieces of India taffety, attached to them four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, which were thus visible on all sides. The auditory was composed of five hundred chiefs and old men, seated in a circle around the father, while the youth stood without to the number of fifteen hundred, not counting women and children who are very numerous, the town being composed of five or six hundred fires.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.207

The father spoke to all this gathering, and addressed them ten words by ten presents which he made them; he explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the end for which he had come to their country; and especially he preached to them Christ crucified, for it was the very eve of the great day on which he died on the cross for them, as well as for the rest of men. He then said mass.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.207

Three days after, on Easter Sunday, things being arranged in the same manner as on Thursday, he celebrated the holy mysteries for the second time; and by these two sacrifices, the first ever offered there to God, he took possession of that land in the name of Jesus Christ, and gave this mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.208

He was listened to with universal joy and approbation by all this people, who earnestly besought him to return as soon as possible among them, since his malady obliged him to leave them. The father, on his part, showed them the affection he bore them, his satisfaction at their conduct, and gave his word that he or some other of our fathers would return to continue this mission so happily begun. This promise he repeated again and again, on parting with them to begin his journey. He set out amid such marks of friendship from these good people that they escorted him with pomp more than thirty leagues of the way, contending with one another for the honor of carrying his little baggage.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.208

AFTER the Illinois had taken leave of the father, filled with a great idea of the gospel, he continued his voyage, and soon after reached the Illinois Lake, on which he had nearly a hundred leagues to make by an unknown route, because he was obliged to take the southern [eastern] side of the lake, having gone thither by the northern [western]. His strength, however, failed so much that his men despaired of being able to carry him alive to their journey's end; for, in fact, he became so weak and exhausted that he could no longer help himself, nor even stir, and had to be handled and carried like a child.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.208–p.209

He nevertheless maintained in this state an admirable equanimity, joy, and gentleness, consoling his beloved companions and encouraging them to suffer courageously all the hardships of the way, assuring them that our Lord would not forsake them when he was gone. During this navigation he began to prepare more particularly for death, passing his time in colloquies with our Lord, with His holy mother, with his angel-guardian, or with all heaven. He was often heard pronouncing these words: "I believe that my Redeemer liveth," or "Mary, mother of grace, mother of God, remember me. Besides a spiritual reading made for him every day, he toward the close asked them to read him his meditation on the preparation of death, which he carried about him. He recited his breviary every day; and, although he was so low that both sight and strength had greatly failed, he did not omit it till the last day of his life, when his companions induced him to cease, as it was shortening his days.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.209

A week before his death he had the precaution to bless some holy water, to serve him during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial; and he instructed his companions how to use it.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.209–p.210

The eve of his death, which was a Friday, he told them, all radiant with joy, that it would take place on the morrow. During the whole day he conversed with them about the manner of his burial, the way in which he should be laid out, the place to be selected for his interment; he told them how to arrange his hands, feet, and face, and directed them to raise a cross over his grave. He even went so far as to enjoin them, only three hours before he expired, to take his chapel-bell, as soon as he was dead, and ring it while they carried him to the grave. Of all this he spoke so calmly and collectedly that you would have thought that he spoke of the death and burial of another, and not of his own.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.210

Thus did he speak with them as they sailed along the lake, till, perceiving the mouth of a river with an eminence on the bank which he thought suited for his burial, he told them that it was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to pass on, as the weather permitted it and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind which obliged them to return and enter the river pointed out by Father Marquette.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.210

They then carried him ashore, kindled a little fire, and raised for him a wretched bark cabin, where they laid him as little uncomfortably as they could; but they were so overcome by sadness that, as they afterward said, they did not know what they were doing.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.210

The father being thus stretched on the shore, like Saint Francis Xavier, as he had always so ardently desired, and felt alone amid those forests,—for his companions were engaged in unloading,—he had leisure to repeat all the acts in which he had employed himself during the preceding days.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.210–p.211

When his dear companions afterward came up all dejected, he consoled them, and gave them hopes that would take care of them after his death in those new and unknown countries. He gave them his last instructions, thanked them for all the charity they had shown him during the voyage, begged their pardon for the trouble he had given them, and directed them also to ask pardon in his name of all our fathers and brothers in the Ottawa country, and then disposed them to receive the sacrament of penance, which he administered to them for the last time. He also gave them a paper on which he had written all his faults since his last confession, to be given to his superior to oblige him to pray more earnestly for him. In fine, he promised not to forget them in heaven; and, as he was very kind-hearted and knew them to be worn out with the toil of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little rest, assuring them that his hour was not yet so near but that he would wake them when it was time, as in fact he did two or three hours after calling them when about to enter his agony.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.211–p.212

When they came near, he embraced them for the last time, while they melted in tears at his feet. He then asked for the holy water and his reliquary, and, taking off his crucifix, which he wore around his neck, he placed it in the hands of one, asking him to hold it constantly opposite him, raised before his eyes. Then, feeling that he had but a little time to live, he made a last effort, clasped his hands; and, with his eyes fixed sweetly on his crucifix, he pronounced aloud his profession of faith, and thanked the Divine Majesty for the immense grace he did him in allowing him to die in the society of Jesus,—to die in it as a missionary of Jesus Christ, and above all, to die in it, as he had always asked, in a wretched cabin amid the forests, destitute of all human aid.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.212

On this he became silent, conversing inwardly with God; yet from time to time words escaped him: "Sustinuit anima mea in verba ejus," or "Mater Dei, memento mei," which were the last words he uttered before entering on his agony, which was very calm and gentle.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.212

He had prayed his companions to remind him, when they saw him about to expire, to pronounce frequently the names of Jesus and Mary. When he could not do it himself, they did it for him; and, when they thought him about to pass, one cried aloud, "Jesus Maria," which he several times repeated distinctly, and then, as if at those sacred names something had appeared to him, he suddenly raised his eyes above his crucifix, fixing them apparently on some object which he seemed to regard with pleasure, and thus with a countenance all radiant with smiles he expired without a struggle, as gently as if he had sunk into a quiet sleep.

Dablon, Death of Marquette, America, Vol.2, p.212

His two poor companions, after shedding many tears over his body, and having laid it out as he had directed, carried it devoutly to the grave, ringing the bell according to his injunction, and raised a large cross near it to serve as a mark for passers-by.

Discovery of Niagara Falls

Title: Discovery of Niagara Falls

Author: Louis Hennepin

Date: [Not given]

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.231-233

Father Hennepin may not have been the first white man to view Niagara Falls but he wrote the first description of it that has come down to us.

Louis Hennepin was born in Belgium in 1040, and came to America in 1678, three years after the death of Marquette. He joined La Salle's famous expedition on his arrival in Quebec and was sent in advance by La Salle to Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario to smooth the way with the Indians for La Salle and his party. From Fort Frontenac, Hennepin proceeded with his small company to Niagara and it was then that he discovered Niagara Falls.

Hennepin's accounts of his travels and adventures in America must be taken with reservations. His description given here is an example of his proneness to exaggerate. He estimates the height of the falls as "above 600 feet" when as a matter of fact they are only 167 feet high.

Hennepin, Discovery of Niagara Falls, America, Vol.2, p.231–p.232

BETWIXT the Lakes Ontario and Erie, there is a vast and prodigious cadence of water which falls down after a surprising and astonishing manner, insomuch that the universe does not afford its parallel. 'Tis true, Italy and Suedeland boast of some such things; but we may well say they are but sorry patterns, when compared to this of which we now speak. At the foot of this horrible precipice, we meet with the river Niagara, which is not above half a quarter of a league broad, but is wonderfully deep in some places. It is so rapid above this descent, that it violently hurries down the wild beasts while endeavoring to pass it to feed on the other side, they not being able to with stand the force of its current, which inevitably casts them down headlong above six hundred foot.

Hennepin, Discovery of Niagara Falls, America, Vol.2, p.232

This wonderful downfall is compounded of two great cross-streams of water, and two falls, with an isle sloping along the middle of it. The waters which fall from this vast height, do foam and boil after the most hideous manner imaginable, making an outrageous noise, more terrible than that of thunder; for when the wind blows from off the south, their dismal roaring may be heard above fifteen leagues off.

Hennepin, Discovery of Niagara Falls, America, Vol.2, p.232

The river Niagara having thrown itself down this incredible precipice, continues its impetuous course for two leagues together—to the great rock above mentioned, with an inexpressible rapidity: But having passed that, its impetuosity relents, gliding along more gently for two leagues, till it arrives at the Lake Ontario, or Frontenac.

Hennepin, Discovery of Niagara Falls, America, Vol.2, p.232

Any bark or greater vessel may pass from the fort to the foot of this huge rock above mentioned. This rock lies to the westward, and is cut off from the land by the river Niagara, about two leagues farther down than the great fall; for which two leagues the people are obliged to carry their goods overland; but the way is very good, and the trees are but few, and they chiefly firs and oaks.

Hennepin, Discovery of Niagara Falls, America, Vol.2, p.232–p.233

From the great fall unto this rock, which is to the west of the river, the two brinks of it are so prodigious high, that it would make one tremble to look steadily upon the water, rolling along with a rapidity not to be imagined. Were it not for this vast cataract, which interrupts navigation, they might sail with barks or greater vessels, above four hundred and fifty leagues further, cross the Lake of Hurons, and up to the farther end of the Lake Illinois (Michigan); which two lakes we may well say are little seas of fresh water.

La Salle's Voyage to the Mouth of the Mississippi

Title: La Salle's Voyage to the Mouth of the Mississippi

Author: Francis Parkman

Date: 1682

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.1, pp.199-206

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.199

La Salle chose eighteen of his Indian allies, whom he added to the twenty-three Frenchmen who remained with him, some of the rest having deserted, and others lagged behind. The Indians insisted on taking their squaws with them. These were ten in number, besides three children; and thus the expedition included fifty-four persons, of whom some were useless, and others a burden.

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.199

On the 21st of December, Tonty and Membre set out from Fort Miami with some of the party in six canoes, and crossed to the little river Chicago. La Salle, with the rest of the men, joined them a few days later. It was the dead of winter, and the streams were frozen. They made sledges, placed on them the canoes, the baggage, and a disabled Frenchman; crossed from the Chicago to the northern branch of the Illinois, and filed in a long procession down its frozen course. They reached the site of the great Illinois village, found it tenantless, and continued their journey, still dragging their canoes, till at length they reached open water below Lake Peoria.

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.200

La Salle had abandoned for a time his original plan of building a vessel for the navigation of the Mississippi. Bitter experience had taught him the difficulty of the attempt, and he resolved to trust to his canoes alone. They embarked again, floating prosperously down between the leafless forests that flanked the tranquil river; till, on the sixth of February, they issued upon the majestic bosom of the Mississippi. Here, for the time, their progress was stopt; for the river was full of floating ice. La Salle's Indians, too, had lagged behind; but, within a week, all had arrived, the navigation was once more free, and they resumed their course. Toward evening, they saw on their right the mouth of a great river; and the clear current was invaded by the headlong torrent of the Missouri, opaque with mud. They built their camp-fires in the neighboring forests; and at daylight, embarking anew on the dark and mighty stream, drifted swiftly down toward unknown destinies. They passed a deserted town of the Tamaroas; saw, three days after, the mouth of the Ohio; and, gliding by the wastes of bordering swamp, landed on the twenty-fourth of February near the Third Chickasaw Bluffs. They encamped, and the hunters went out for game. All returned, excepting Pierre Prudhomme; and, as the others had seen fresh tracks of Indians, La Salle feared that he was killed. While some of his followers built a small stockade fort on a high bluff by the river, others ranged the woods in pursuit of the missing hunter. After six days of ceaseless and fruitless search, they met two Chickasaw Indians in the forest; and, through them, La Salle sent presents and peace-messages to that warlike people, whose villages were a few days' journey distant. Several days later, Prudhomme was found, and brought in to the camp, half-dead. He had lost his way while hunting; and, to console him for his woes, La Salle christened the newly-built fort with his name, and left him, with a few others, in charge of it.

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.201

Again they embarked; and, with every stage of their adventurous progress, the mystery of this vast New World was more and more unveiled. More and more they entered the realms of spring. The hazy sunlight, the warm and drowsy air, the tender foliage, the opening flowers, betokened the reviving life of Nature. For several days more they followed the writhings of the great river, on its tortuous course through wastes of swamp and canebrake, till on the thirteenth of March they found themselves wrapt in a thick fog. Neithershore was visible; but they heard on the right the booming of an Indian drum and the shrill outcries of the war-dance. La Salle at once crossed to the opposite side, where, in less than an hour, his men threw up a rude fort of felled trees. Meanwhile, the fog cleared; and, from the farther bank, the astonished Indians saw the strange visitors at their work. Some of the French advanced to the edge of the water, and beckoned them to come over. Several of them approached, in a wooden canoe, to within the distance of a gun-shot. La Salle displayed the calumet, and sent a Frenchman to meet them. He was well received; and, the friendly mood of the Indians being now apparent, the whole party crossed the river.

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.202

On landing, they found themselves at a town of the Kappa band of the Arkansas, a people dwelling near the mouth of the river which bears their name. "The whole village," writes Membre to his superior, "came down to the shore to meet us, except the women, who had run off. I cannot tell you the civility and kindness we received from these barbarians, who brought us poles to make huts, supplied us with firewood during the three days we were among them, and took turns in feasting us. We did not lose the value of a pin while we were among them." . . .

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.202

After touching at several other towns of this people, the voyagers resumed their course, guided by two of the Arkansas; passed the sites, since become historic, of Vicksburg and Grand Gulf; and, about three hundred miles below the Arkansas, stopt by the edge of a swamp on the western side of the river. Here, as their two guides told them, was the path to the great town of the Taensas. Tonty and Membre were sent to visit it. They and their men shouldered their birch canoe through the swamp, and launched it on a lake which had once formed a portion of the channel of the river.

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.203

In two hours they reached the town; and Tonty gazed at it with astonishment. He had seen nothing like it in America; large square dwellings, built of sun-baked mud mixed with straw, arched over with a dome-shaped roof of canes, and placed in regular order around an open area. Two of them were larger and better than the rest. One was the lodge of the chief; the other was the temple, or house of the sun. They entered the former, and found a single room, forty feet square, where, in the dim light,—for there was no opening but the door,—the chief sat awaiting them on a sort of bedstead, three of his wives at his side, while sixty old men, wrapt in white cloaks woven of mulberry-bark, formed his divan. When he spoke, his wives howled to do him honor; and the assembled councilors listened with the reverence due to a potentate for whom, at his death, a hundred victims were to be sacrificed. He received the visitors graciously, and joyfully accepted the gifts which Tonty laid before him. This interview over, the Frenchmen repaired to the temple, wherein were kept the bones of the departed chiefs. In construction, it was much like the royal dwelling. Over it were rude wooden figures, representing three eagles turned toward the east. A strong mud wall surrounded it, planted with stakes, on which were stuck the skulls of enemies sacrificed to the Sun; while before the door was a block of wood, on which lay a large shell sur-rounded with the braided hair of the victims. The interior was rude as a barn, dimly lighted from the doorway, and full of smoke. There was a structure in the middle which Membre thinks was a kind of altar; and before it burned a perpetual fire, fed with three logs laid end to end, and watched by two old men devoted to this sacred office. There was a mysterious recess, too, which the strangers were forbidden to explore, but which, as Tonty was told, contained the riches of the nation, consisting of pearls from the Gulf, and trinkets obtained, probably through other tribes, from the Spaniards and other Europeans….

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.204

On the next morning, as they descended the river, they saw a wooden canoe full of Indians; and Tonty gave chase. He had nearly overtaken it, when more than a hundred men appeared suddenly on the shore, with bows bent to defend their countrymen. La Salle called out to Tonty to withdraw. He obeyed; and the whole party encamped on the opposite bank. Tonty offered to cross the river with a peace-pipe, and set out accordingly with a small party of men. When he landed, the Indians made signs of friendship by joining their hands,—a proceeding by which Tonty, having but one hand, was somewhat embarrassed; but he directed his men to respond in his stead.

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.204

The Indians of this village were the Natchez; and their chief was brother of the great chief, or Sun, of the whole nation. His town was several leagues distant, near the site of the city of Natchez; and thither the French repaired to visit him. They saw what they had already seen among the Taensas,—a religious and political despotism, a privileged caste descended from the sun, a temple, and a sacred fire. La Salle planted a large cross, with the arms of France attached, in the midst of the town; while the inhabitants looked on with a satisfaction which they would hardly have displayed, had they understood the meaning of the act….

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.205

And now they neared their journey's end. On the sixth of April, the river divided itself into three broad channels. La Salle followed that of the west, and D'Autray that of the east; while Tonty took the middle passage. As he drifted down the turbid current, between the low and marshy shores, the brackish water changed to brine, and the breeze grew fresh with the salt breath of the sea. Then the broad bosom of the great Gulf opened on his sight, tossing its restless billows, limitless, voiceless, lonely as when born of chaos, without a sail, without a sign of life.

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.205

La Salle, in a canoe, coasted the marshy borders of the sea; and then the reunited parties assembled on a spot of dry ground, a short distance above the mouth of the river. Here a column was made ready, bearing the arms of France, and inscribed with the words,—"LOUIS LE GRAND, ROY DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REGNE; LE NEUVIEME 1682." . . .

Parkman, La Salle's Voyage to the Mississippi, Great Epochs, Vol.1, p.205

On that day, the realm of France received on parchment a stupendous accession. The fertile plains of Texas; the vast basin of the Mississippi, from its frozen northern springs to the sultry borders of the Gulf; from the woody ridges of the Alleghanies to the bare peaks of the Rocky Moun-tains,—a region of savannas and forests, sun-cracked deserts, and grassy prairies, watered by a thousand rivers, ranged by a thousand warlike tribes, passed beneath the scepter of the Sultan of Versailles; and all by virtue of a feeble human voice, inaudible at half a mile.

Letter from Eliot to Hon. Robert Boyle

Title: Letter from Eliot to Hon. Robert Boyle

Author: John Eliot

Date: 1684

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.260-265

The first Bible ever to be printed in America was printed in the Indian language by its translator, John Eliot, the "Indian Apostle," and a little group of his friends, with funds furnished as will be seen from the letter reprinted here, by charitably disposed persons in England. The letter is dated from Roxbury, April 22, 1684, with the following salutation: "Right Honorable and Indefatigable Benefactor."

John Eliot was one Puritan minister—he came to America in 1631—who was not tainted by bigotry. He was the true saintly type, without fanaticism, without spiritual pride, without ambition. He was remarkable for his meekness, mildness and generosity, so forgetful of himself in his devotion to his parishioners and the Indians, that his household affairs would have gone badly but for the good wife who cared for him. He was the first man to carry the gospel to the Indian, and probably the first champion of the negro in this country.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.260

THIS last gift of four hundred pounds for the reimpression of the Indian bible doth set a diadem of beauty upon all your former acts of pious charity, and commandeth us to return unto your honors all thankful acknowledgments, according to our abilities. It pleased the worshipful Mr. Stoughton to give me an intimation, that your honors desired to know the particular present estate of the praying Indians; and also, when Moses's Pentateuch is printed, to have some copies sent over, to evidence the real and good progress of the work.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.260–p.261

Your honor's intimation hath the force of a command upon me, and therefore I shall briefly relate the religious walking and ways of the praying Indians. They do diligently observe and keep the sabbath, in all the places of their public meetings to worship God. The example of the English churches, and the authority of the English laws, which Major Gookin doth declare unto them, together with such mulcts, as are inflicted upon transgressors; as also and especially, the clear and express command of God, which they and their children learn and rehearse daily in their catechisms; these all together have fully possessed and convinced them of their duty, to keep holy the sabbath day. So that the sanctifying of the sabbath is a great and eminent part of their religion. And though some of the vain and carnal sort among them are not so girt to it, as were to be desired, yet the grave and religious sort do constantly worship God, every sabbath day, both morning and evening, as the English do.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.261

The acts of worship, which they perform in their public meetings, are as followeth.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.261–p.262

The officer beginneth with prayer, and prayeth for all men, rulers, ministers, people, young, old, sick, well, English or Indians, etc., according to that word, Tim. ii. 12. I will that first of all prayers be made, etc. I say, the officer beginneth with prayer, viz. where they have an officer ordained, as it is almost in all the churches. But we have more public assemblies, that meet every Lord's day, to worship God, than we have churches. There is not yet a church gathered in every place, where they meet to worship God and keep the sabbath; but where it is so, they choose some able godly man (the best they can) to manage the worship among them: him they call their teacher, and he beginneth with prayer, etc. When prayer is ended, they call forth such as are to answer the catechism; and though this is sometimes omitted in some places, yet that is the way they walk in, and it is often practiced. When catechism is ended, a chapter is read, sometimes in the old testament, and sometimes in the new; and sundry of the young men are trained up, and called forth to this service, sometimes one, sometimes another.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.262

When the chapter is read, a psalm is sung, which service sundry are able to manage well.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.262

That finished, the preacher first prayeth, then preacheth, and then prayeth again. If it be the day for the Lord's supper to be celebrated, the church address themselves unto it, and the minister doth exactly perform it, according to the scriptures. When that service is done, they sing a psalm, according to the pattern of Christ; then he blesseth the church, and so finisheth the morning service.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.262–p.263

In the afternoon they meet again, and perform all the parts of worship, as they did in the morning; which done, if there be any infant to be baptized, they perform that service according to the scriptures; which done, the deacon calleth for contributions; which done, if there be any act of public discipline (as divers times there is, there being many failures among us) then the offender is called forth (being with care and diligence prepared) and is exhorted to give glory to God, and confess his sin; which being penitent, they gladly accept him, forgive him, and receive him. If it be not a satisfactory confession, they show him his defect, they admonish and exhort him to a more full confession; and so he is left to some other time. This finished, he blesseth the church, and so dismisseth the assembly.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.263–p.264

Moreover, Major Gookin hath dedicated his eldest son, Mr. Daniel Gookin, unto this service of Christ; he is a pious and learned young man, about thirty-three years old, hath been eight years a fellow of the college; he hath taught and trained up two classes of our young scholars unto their commencement; he is a man, whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father, with his inclination, advised him to Sherburne, a small village near Natick, whose meeting-house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting-house. Mr. Gookin holdeth a lecture in Natick meeting-house once a month; which lecture, many English, especially of Sherburne, do frequent. He first preacheth in English, to the English audience, and then the same matter is delivered to the Indians, by an interpreter, whom, with much pains, Mr. Gookin hath fore-prepared. We apprehend, that this will (by God's blessing) be a means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr. Gookin in learning the Indian tongue. Likewise Major Gookin holdeth and manageth his courts in the English tongue; which doth greatly further the Indians in learning law and government in the English tongue; which is a point of wisdom in civilizing them, that your honors have manifested your desires, that it might be attended.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.264

The places, where the Indians meet to worship God, and sanctify the sabbath, are many; the most are stated places, others are occasional. The stated places, in the Massachusetts, since the wars, are contracted into four, Natick, Ponkipog, Wameset, and Chachaubunkkakowok. The occasional meetings are at places of fishing, hunting, gathering chestnuts, in their seasons. Also since the wars, the Mauquaoys, making incursions upon the praying Indians, did cause them to make divers forts, to live safely in, and then they did there meet to worship God, and keep the sabbath.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.264

In Plymouth Patent, there are about ten places, where they meet to worship God.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.264

An intelligent person, of Martyn's Vineyard, reckoned up unto me ten places, where God is worshiped every Lord's day in that island.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.264

At Nantucket there be about five places of prayer and keeping sabbaths.

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.264–p.265

The reason of this dispersion of places of public meeting to worship God, is this; there is but here and there a spot of good land, fit for planting corn, with accommodation of fishing; these spots of good land lie at a great distance from each other; some four or five miles, some eight or nine miles: some ten or twelve miles, so that it is impossible for them, especially with women and children, to meet at one place; therefore all, that live together at one place, meet to worship God on the sabbath day….

Letter from Eliot to Boyle, America, Vol.2, p.265

As for the sending any numbers of Moses's Pentateuch, I beseech your honors to spare us in that; because so many as we send, so many bibles are maimed, and made incomplete, because they want the five books of Moses. We present your honors with one book, so far as we have gone in the work, and humbly beseech, that it may be acceptable, until the whole be finished; and then the whole impression (which is two thousand) is at your honor's command. Our slow progress needeth an apology. We have been much hindered by the sickness this year. Our workmen have been all sick, and we have but few hands, one Englishman, and a boy, and one Indian; and many interruptions and diversions do befall us; and we could do but little this very hard winter. But I shall give your honors no further trouble at this time, only requesting the continuance of your prayers and protection. So I remain,

Your honor's to serve you in our Lord Jesus.

The Famous Charter Oak Affair

Title: The Famous Charter Oak Affair

Author: Alexander Johnston

Date: 1686

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.234-238

After the charters of the New England provinces had been declared forfeited by the English courts in 1686, steps were taken to consolidate them into one province, with Sir Edmund Andros, former colonial Governor of New York, as Governor-General with large powers. He was to admit religious toleration, but could suppress all printing, name and change his council at will, and, with their consent, levy taxes and control the militia.

Connecticut was the first colony that refused to recognize his authority, and it was this defiance that brought about the charter oak episode of tradition. Later all the colonies under his jurisdiction revolted concurrently, and Andros was imprisoned in Boston in 1689.

This account is reprinted from "The History of Connecticut" by Alexander Johnston, Connecticut Historian, with permission of and by special arrangement with the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Company.

Johnston, Charter Oak Affair, America, Vol.2, p.234

IN DECEMBER, 1686, the Hartford authorities were called upon to measure their strength again with their old antagonist, Sir Edmund Andros. Andros had landed at Boston, commissioned as governor of all New England, and bent on abrogating the charters. Following Joseph Dudley's [a colonial Governor of Massachusetts] lead, he wrote to Robert Treat [a colonial Governor of Connecticut, whose term of office was interrupted by Andros], suggesting that by this time the trial of the writs had certainly gone against the colony; and that the authorities would do much to commend the colony to his majesty's good pleasure by entering a formal surrender of the charter. The colony authorities were possibly as well versed in the law of the case as Andros, and they took good care to do nothing of the sort; and, as the event showed, they thus saved the charter.

Johnston, Charter Oak Affair, America, Vol.2, p.235

The assembly met as usual in October, 1687; but their records show that they were in profound doubt and distress. Andros was with them, accompanied by some sixty regular soldiers, to enforce his demand for the charter. It is certain that he did not get it, though the records, as usual, are cautious enough to give no reason why. Tradition is responsible for the story of the charter oak. The assembly had met the royal governor in the meeting-house; the demand for the charter had been made; and the assembly had exhausted the resources of language to show to Andros how dear it was to them, and how impossible it was to give it up. Andros was immovable; he had watched that charter with longing eyes from the banks of the Hudson, and he had no intention of giving up his object now that the king had put him in power on the banks of the Connecticut.

Johnston, Charter Oak Affair, America, Vol.2, p.235–p.236

Toward evening the case had become desperate. The little democracy was at last driven into a corner, where its old policy seemed no longer available; it must resist openly, or make a formal surrender of its charter. Just as the lights were lighted, the legal authorities yielded so far as to order the precious document to be brought in and laid on the table before the eyes of Andros. Then came a little more debate. Suddenly the lights were blown out; Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, carried off the charter, and hid it in a hollow oak-tree on the estate of the Wyllyses, just across the "riveret"; and when the lights were relighted the colony was no longer able to comply with Andros's demand for a surrender.

Johnston, Charter Oak Affair, America, Vol.2, p.236

Although the account of the affair is traditional, it is difficult to see any good grounds for impeaching it on that account. It supplies, in the simplest and most natural manner, a\_blank in the Hartford proceedings of Andros which would otherwise be quite unaccountable. His plain purpose was to force Connecticut into a position where she must either surrender the charter or resist openly. He failed: the charter never was in his possession; and the official records assign no reason for his failure. The colony was too prudent, and Andros too proud to put the true reason on record. Tradition supplies the gap with an exactness which proves itself.

Johnston, Charter Oak Affair, America, Vol.2, p.237

"At a General Court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687, his excellency, Sir Edmund Andross, knight and Captain General and Governor of His Majesty's territories and dominions in New England, by order of His Majesty James the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 3lst of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being by His Majesty annexed to Massachusetts and other colonies under his excellency's government.

"Finis."

Johnston, Charter Oak Affair, America, Vol.2, p.237

The government was destined to last far longer than either the governor or his government. But, while it lasted, Andros's government was bitterly hated, and with good reason. The reasons are more peculiarly appropriate to the history of Massachusetts, where they were felt more keenly than in Connecticut; but even in Connecticut, poor as was the field for plunder, and distant as it was from the "ring" which surrounded Andros, the exactions of the new system were well-nigh intolerable to a people whose annual expense of government had been carefully kept down to the lowest limits, so that, says Bancroft, they "did not exceed four thousand dollars; and the wages of the chief justice were ten shillings a day while on service….

Johnston, Charter Oak Affair, America, Vol.2, p.237–p.238

April, 1689, came at last. The people of Boston, at the first news of the English Revolution, clapped Andros into custody. May 9, the old Connecticut authorities quietly resumed their functions, and called the assembly together for the following month. William and Mary were proclaimed with great favor. Not a word was said about the disappearance or reappearance of the charter; but the charter government was put into full effect again, as if Andros had never interrupted it. An address was sent to the king, asking that the charter be no further interfered with; but operations under it went on as before. No decided action was taken by the home government for some years, except that its appointment of the New York governor, Fletcher, to the command of the Connecticut militia, implied a decision that the Connecticut charter had been superseded.

Johnston, Charter Oak Affair, America, Vol.2, p.238

Late in 1693 Fitz-John Winthrop was sent to England as agent to obtain a confirmation of the charter. He secured an emphatic legal opinion from Attorney General Somers, backed by those of Treby and Ward, that the charter was entirely valid…. It had escaped its enemies at last and its escape is a monument of one of the advantages of a real democracy.

Description of Pennsylvania

Title: Description of Pennsylvania

Author: William Penn

Date: [Not given]

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.239-244

William Penn was the son of the English Admiral who added Jamaica to the British Empire. He became a fighting Quaker at Christ's Church, Oxford, and was expelled from college for tearing off a "papistical" surplice worn by a fellow student.

Sent by his father to the Continent to travel and broaden his mind, he became a frequent visitor at the court of Louis XIV. He became more tolerant but his Quakerism lost none of its fire, and he was frequently thrown into the Tower for his religious writings. In each case, his release was quickly procured.

He paid several visits to the vast property in the New World which he obtained from the Crown in discharge of a debt of £16,000 owed to his father's estate, and his wise direction of provincial affairs deserves the highest praise. The description of Pennsylvania given here was a sort of prospectus, intended to attract new settlers.

Penn, Description of Pennsylvania, America, Vol.2, p.239

THE first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them some years, the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Stuyvesant, governor for the states of Holland, anno 1655.

Penn, Description of Pennsylvania, America, Vol.2, p.239–p.240

The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near to the bay; and the Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. But, I presume, the Indians made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum, and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few, before the people concerned with me came among them: I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behavior to the English; they do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper, and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons: and I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

Penn, Description of Pennsylvania, America, Vol.2, p.240

The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes, three, one at Christina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

Penn, Description of Pennsylvania, America, Vol.2, p.240–p.241

There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made, in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tired your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east by the river and bay of Delaware, and eastern sea; it hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay; some navigable for great ships, some for small craft: those of most eminency are Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Schuylkill; any one of which have room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

Penn, Description of Pennsylvania, America, Vol.2, p.241–p.242

The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burden, are Lewis, Mespilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below, and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pemmapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenck and Pennbery in the freshes, many lesser that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our gear: however, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who by their own private expenses so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported: which after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it. And for the well-government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, etc., which courts are held every two months: but to prevent lawsuits, there are three peace-makers chosen by every county-court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man; and spring and fall there is an orphan's court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

Penn, Description of Pennsylvania, America, Vol.2, p.242–p.243–p.244

Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those there, that are any ways interested therein: the situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river, but the Schuylkill being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquahannah (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shown you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests: but this I will say for the good providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less thana year to about fourscore houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can, while the countrymen are close at their farms: some of them got a little winter-corn in the ground last season, and the generality have had an handsome summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter-corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter-season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them; the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends, or the scare-crows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered, hath been salt meat, which by fowl in winter, and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I get in it; for I find that particular content which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business, and as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work; but the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an earlier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plow, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap; so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it….

Penn's Treaty with the Indians

Title: Penn's Treaty with the Indians

Author: William Penn

Date: [Not given]

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.245-255

One of the finest pictures that comes down to us from Colonial days is the benign figure of William Penn standing under the great elm tree at Shackamaxon, arranging a treaty with the Indians which, as Voltaire said, was never sworn to and never broken."

The "Great Treaty" of neighborliness and friendship to which Penn seems to refer in this account, was one of a series of treaties, most of which dealt with the purchase of land or the regulation of the trade between Whites and Indians. Each side pledged itself to deal with the other "so long as the creeks and rivers shall run, and the sun, moon and stars shall endure."

It is interesting to note that while the Whites kept minutes of their meetings with the Indians, and recorded the proceedings in their archives, the Indians, as usual, kept only oral records, which were exactly remembered and handed down intact without the loss of a syllable.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.245

EVERY king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people; nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land or traffic, without advising with them; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider, how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.245–p.246

Their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, "He was ordered by his king to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he should say, was the king's mind." He first prayed me, "To excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolve; and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay."

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.246

Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have brought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old grave, the young reverent in their deportment: they speak little, but fervently, and with elegance: I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.246–p.247

When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of "kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light." Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the sachamakers or kings; first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them "To love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government: that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.247

The justice they have is pecuniary: in case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offense or person injured, or of the sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they can render, is, "That she breedeth children, which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, "It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them."

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.247–p.248

We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter: do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them: the worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as glorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation: what good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.248

For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean, of the stock of the Ten Tribes, and that for the following reasons; first, they were to go to a 'land not planted or known," which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the eastermost parts of Asia, to the westermost of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively a resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Bury Street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in rites, they reckon by moons; they offer their first-fruits, they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year, customs of women, with many things that do not now occur….

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.249

THE natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin: of complexion, black, but by design, as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bears' fat clarified; and using no defense against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looked Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.249–p.250

Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in signification full; like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion: and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent or emphasis, than theirs: for instance, Octocockon, Rancocas, Oricton, Shak, Marian, Poquesien; all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, anna, is mother; issimus, a brother, netcap, friend, usque oret, very good, pane, bread, metsa, eat, matta, no, batta, to have, payo, to come; Sepassen, Passijon, the names of places; Tamane, Secane, Menanse, Secatereus, are the names of persons. If one ask them for anything they have not, they will answer, Matta ne batta, which to translate is, Not I have, instead of, I have not.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.250

Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said; I will begin with children: so soon as they are born, they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapped them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads: and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; they wear only a small clout round their waist, till they are big; if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; then they hunt, and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.251

When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please: the age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.251

Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass. In travel, they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapped about them, and a few boughs stuck round about them.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.251

Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call hominy; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat: they have likewise several sorts of beans and peas, that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.251–p.252

If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house, or wigwam, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an itah, which is as much as to say, "Good be to you"; and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages: if you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.252

They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practiced among them: in either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country: a king's daughter thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and eat it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred, for atonement, and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death: for till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaste: when with child they know their husbands no more, till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.252–p.253–p.254

But in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend: give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land: the pay, or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighboring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little, and the reason is, a little contents them: in this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery—suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live: their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere: they eat twice a day, morning and evening, their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, "Some more, and I will go to sleep"; but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.254

In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural: they drink at those times a teran, or decoction of some roots in spring-water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year: they are choice of the graves of their dead; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.254–p.255

These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it; yet they believe a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for they say, "There is a great king that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again." Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico: their sacrifice is their first-fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvelous fervency, and labor of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing, and drumming on a board, direct the chorus: their postures in the dance are very antic, and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another: there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money, it may be six-pence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white, silver; they call it all wampum.

Penn's Treaty with the Indians, America, Vol.2, p.255

Their government is by kings, which they call Sachama, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side: for instance, the children of him that is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits: the reason they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious.

M. Robert Cavelier De La Salle

Title: M. Robert Cavelier De La Salle

Author: Father Louis Hennepin

Date: 1687

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.256-259

Hennepin, La Salle, America, Vol.2, p.256

M. R. C. DE LA SALLE was a person qualified for the greatest undertakings, and may be justly ranked amongst the most famous travelers that ever were. This will appear to whomsoever will consider that he spent his own estate about (in carrying out) the greatest, most important, and most perilous discovery that has been yet made. His design was to find out a passage from the northern to the south sea…. The river Mississippi does not indeed run that way, but he was in hopes by means of that river to discover some other river running into the south sea. In order whereunto he endeavored to find by sea the mouth of the Mississippi, which discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico, to settle there a colony, and build a good fort to be as his magazine, and serve as a retreat both by sea and by land, in case of any mishap.

Hennepin, La Salle, America, Vol.2, p.256–p.257

He made his proposals to the French king's council, who, approving the design, his most Christian Majesty gave him all necessary authority and supplied him with ships, men, and money…. They sailed from Rochelle, August the 5th, 1684, and passing by Martenico and Guadaloupe, took in fresh provisions and water, with divers volunteers. The ketch being separated by storm, was taken by the Spaniards, the other three ships arrived about the middle of February, in the bay of Spiritosanto, and about tenleagues off found a large bay, which M. de la Salle took for the right arm of the Mississippi, and called it St. Louis….

Hennepin, La Salle, America, Vol.2, p.257

M. de la Salle…. resolved to travel along the coast to find out the mouth of the Mississippi, and, leaving the inhabitants and soldiers who were to remain in the fort, set out with twenty men and M. Cavelier his brother. The continual rains made the ways very bad, and swelled several small rivulets, which gave him a world of trouble. At last, on the 13th of February, 1686, he thought to have found his so much wished for river; and having fortified a post on its banks, and left part of his men for its security, he returned to his fort the 31st of March, charmed with his discovery. But this joy was overbalanced by grief for the loss of his frigate. This was the only ship left unto him, with which he intended to sail in a few days for St. Domingo, to bring a new supply of men and goods to carry on his design;…

Hennepin, La Salle, America, Vol.2, p.257–p.258

M. de la Salle seeing all his affairs ruined by the loss of his ship, and having no way to return into Europe but by Canada, resolved upon so dangerous a journey, and took twenty men along with him, with one savage called Nicana, who had followed him into France, and had given such proofs of his affection to his Master, that he relied more upon him than upon any European…. Having assisted at the divine service in the chapel of the fort, to implore God's mercy and protection, he set out the 22nd of April, 1686, directing his march to the northeast. . . They tarried two whole months, being reduced to the greatest extremities. Their powder was almost spent, though they were not advanced above one hundred and fifty leagues in a direct line. Some of his men had deserted; others began to be irresolute, and all these things being carefully considered, M. de la Salle resolved to return to Fort Louis….

Hennepin, La Salle, America, Vol.2, p.258

He remained two months and a half at Fort Louis, during which time he forgot not to comfort his small colony, which began to multiply, several children being born since their arrival…. Then taking twenty men with him, with his brother, his two nephews, Father Anastasius, and the Sieur Joutel, after public prayer, he set out a second time from Fort Louis and resolved not to return till he had found the Illinois.

Hennepin, La Salle, America, Vol.2, p.258

M. de la Salle set out from the fort the 7th of January, 1687; and having crossed the river Salbonniere and Hiens, with divers others which were mightily swollen by the rains, they came into a fine country for hunting, where his people refreshed themselves after their tiresome travel, with excellent good cheer for several days together….

Hennepin, La Salle, America, Vol.2, p.258–p.259

With all his prudence, he could not discover the conspiracy of some of his people to kill his nephew: for they resolved upon it, and put it in execution, all of a sudden, on the 17th of March, wounding him in the head with a hatchet…. But these wretches, not content with this bloody deed, resolved to kill their Master too, for they feared he would justly punish them for their crime….

Hennepin, La Salle, America, Vol.2, p.259

M. de la Salle was two leagues from the place where Moranger was killed, and being concerned at his nephews' tarrying so long (for they had been gone two or three days), was afraid they were surprised by the savages; whereupon he desired Father Anastasius to accompany him in looking after his nephews, and took two savages along with him…. He went to them and inquired for his nephew; they made little answer, but pointed to the place where he lay. Father Anastasius and he kept going on by the riverside, till at last they came to the fatal place, where two of the villains lay hid in the grass; one on one side, and one on the other, with their pieces cocked. The first presented at him but missed fire; the other fired at the same time, and shot him in the head, of which he died, an hour after, March 19th, 1687….

Leisler's Rebellion

Title: Leisler's Rebellion

Author: "A Gentleman of the City of New York"

Date: 1689

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.266-271

Leisler, a fur-trader and merchant, rose to prominence in the three years following the English Revolution of 1688. The New York militia, inspired by the example of Massachusetts, rose up against James II's Royal Governor, and put Leisler at the head of a Committee of Safety, in the name of King William and Queen Mary.

He took the title of Lieutenant-Governor, ousted the former officials, fought a battle with the French and Indians at Schenectady, fortified New York against the possibility of bombardment by a French fleet, and in May, 1690, assembled the first intercolonial congress to plan an expedition against Canada.

Though his enemies overcame him and secured his execution, Leisler's son appealed the case to England, and in 1695 obtained the restoration of his father's confiscated estates, and a reversal of the bill of attainder.

This account written by a contemporary and evidently an enemy does scant justice to the character of Jacob Leisler.

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.266

I CANNOT but admire to hear that some gentlemen still have a good opinion of the late disorders committed by Captain Jacob Leisler, and his accomplices, in New York, as if they had been for his Majesty's service, and the security of that province; and that such monstrous falsehoods do find credit….

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.266

It was about the beginning of April, 1689, when the first reports arrived at New York, that the Prince of Orange, now his present Majesty, was arrived in England with considerable forces, and that the late King James was fled into France, and that it was expected war would be soon proclaimed between England and France.

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.266–p.267

The Lieutenant Governor, Francis Nicholson, and the Council, being Protestants, resolved thereupon to suspend all Roman Catholics from command and places of trust in the government….

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.267

And because but three members of the council were residing in New York,. . . It was resolved by the said Lieutenant Governor and Council, to call and convene to their assistance all the Justices of the Peace, and other civil magistrates, and the Commission Officers in the province, for to consult and advise with them what might be proper for the preservation of the peace, and the safety of said province in that conjuncture, till orders should arrive from England.

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.267

Whereupon the said justices, magistrates and officers were accordingly convened, and styled by the name of The General Convention for the Province of New York; and all matters of government were carried on and managed by the major vote of that convention.

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.267

And in the first place it was by them agreed and ordered, forthwith to fortify the city of New York….

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.267–p.268

But against expectation, it soon happened, that on the last day of said month of May, Captain Leisler having a vessel with some wines in the road, for which he refused to pay the duty, did in a seditious manner stir up the meanest sort of the inhabitants (affirming that King James being fled the kingdom, all manner of government was fallen in this province) to rise in arms, and forcibly possess themselves of the fort and stores, which accordingly was effected while the Lieutenant Governor and Council, with the convention, were met at the city hall to consult what might be proper for the common good and safety; where a party of armed men came from the fort, and forced the Lieutenant Governor to deliver them the keys; and seized also in his chamber a chest with seven hundred seventy-three pounds, twelve shillings in money of the government. And though Colonel Bayard, with some others appointed by the convention, used all endeavors to prevent those disorders, all proved vain; for most of those that appeared in arms were drunk, and cried out, they disowned all manner of government. Whereupon, by Captain Leisler's persuasion, they proclaimed him to be their commander, there being then no other commission officer among them.

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.268

Captain Leisler being in this manner possessed of the fort, took some persons to his assistance, which he called the committee of safety. And the Lieutenant Governor, Francis Nicholson being in this manner forced out of his command, for the safety of his person, which was daily threatened, withdrew out of the province….

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.268–p.269

The said Captain Leisler finding almost every man of sense, reputation or estate in the place to oppose and discourage his irregularities, caused frequent false alarms to be made, and sent several parties of his armed men out of the fort, dragged into nasty jails within said fort several of the principal magistrates, officers and gentlemen, and others, that would not own his power to be lawful, which he kept in close prison during will and pleasure, without any process, or allowing them to bail. And he further published several times, by beat of drums, that all those who would not come into the fort and sign their hands, and so thereby to own his power to be lawful, should be deemed and esteemed as enemies to his Majesty and the country, and be by him treated accordingly. By which means many of the inhabitants, though they abhored his actions, only to escape a nasty jail, and to secure their estates, were by fear and compulsion drove to comply, submit and sign to whatever he commanded.

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.269

Upon the 10th of December following returned the said Mr. John Riggs from England, with letters from his Majesty and the Lords, in answer to the letters sent by the Lieutenant Governor and Council above recited, directed to our trusty and well-beloved Francis Nicholson, Esq; our Lieutenant Governor and commander in chief of our province of New York in America, and in his absence to such as for the time being, take care for the preservation of the peace, and administering the laws in our said province….

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.269–p.270

Soon after the receipt of said letters said Captain Leisler styled himself Lieutenant Governor, appointed a council, and presumed further to call a select number of his own party, who called themselves the general assembly of the province, and by their advice and assistance raised several taxes and great sums of money from their Majesty's good subjects within this province. Which taxes, together with that 7731. 12s. in money, which he had seized from the Government, and the whole revenue, he applied to his own use, and to maintain said disorders, allowing his private men 18d. per day, and to others proportionably.

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.270

On the 20th of January following Colonel Bayard and Mr. Nicolls had the ill fortune to fall into his hands, and were in a barbarous manner, by a party in arms, dragged into the fort, and there put into a nasty place, without any manner of process, or being allowed to bail….

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.270

None in the province, but those of his faction, had any safety in their estates; for said Captain Leisler, at will and pleasure, sent to those who disapproved of his actions, to furnish him with money, provisions, and what else he wanted, and upon denial, sent armed men out of the fort, and forcibly broke open several houses, shops, cellars, vessels, and other places, where they expected to be supplied, and without any the least payment or satisfaction, carried their plunder to the fort….

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.270–p.271

In this calamity, misery and confusion was this province, by those disorders, enthralled near the space of two years, until the arrival of his Majesty's forces, under the command of Major Ingoldsby, who, with several gentlemen of the council, arrived about the last day of January, 1690, which said gentlemen of the council, for the preservation of the peace, sent and offered to said Leisler, that he might stay and continue his command in the fort, only desiring for themselves and the King's forces quietly to quarter and refresh themselves in the city, till Governor Slaughter should arrive; but…. the said Leisler proceeded to make war against them and the King's forces, and fired a vast number of great and small shot in the city, whereby several of his Majesty's subjects were killed and wounded as they passed in the streets upon their lawful occasions, though no opposition was made on the other side.

Leisler's Rebellion, America, Vol.2, p.271

At this height of extremity was it when Governor Slaughter arrived on the 19th of March, 1691, who having published his commission from the city hall, with great signs of joy, by firing all the artillery within and round the city, sent thrice to demand the surrender of the fort from Captain Leisler and his accomplices, which was thrice denied, but upon great threatenings, the following day surrendered to Governor Slaughter, who forthwith caused the said Captain Leisler, with some of the chief malefactors to be bound over to answer their crimes at the next Supreme Court of Judicature, where the said Leisler and his pretended Secretary Miliborn did appear, but refused to plead to the indictment of the grand jury, or to own the jurisdiction of that court; and so after several hearings, as mutes, were found guilty of high treason and murder, and executed accordingly….

Witchcraft in New England

Title: Witchcraft In New England

Author: Robert Calef

Date: 1691

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.280-285

Salem and witchcraft have so long been associated in the general mind that some surprise attends the statement that women were stoned as witches in ancient Rome. During the Middle Ages the usual punishment of witches was burning.

For two centuries the destruction wrought by the witch superstition was terrible. In France alone the number of victims has been estimated at 300,000. An English law against witchcraft was rigorously enforced throughout the seventeenth century. At the same time prosecutions for witchcraft occurred in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia and elsewhere in the colonies, though the only extensive panic was the one at Salem, in 1692, inflamed by the extravagant opinions of Cotton Mather.

Robert Calef was a Boston merchant of fair education, who lived through the Salem frenzy and wrote a book in defiance of the Mathers that gave the final blow to the witchcraft delusion in New England.

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.280

MR. PARRIS had been some years a minister in Salem Village, when this sad calamity, as a deluge, overflowed them, spreading itself far and near. He was a gentleman of liberal education; and, not meeting with any great encouragement, or advantage, in merchandising, to which for some time he applied himself, betook himself to the work of the ministry; this village being then vacant, he met with so much encouragement, as to settle in that capacity among them.

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.280–p.281

After he had been there about two years, he obtained a grant from a part of the town, that the house and land he occupied, and which had been allotted by the whole people to the ministry, should be and remain to him, etc., as his own estate in fee simple. This occasioned great divisions both between the inhabitants themselves, and between a considerable part of them and their said minister; which divisions were but as a beginning, or proeludium, to what immediately followed.

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.281–p.282

It was the latter end of February, 1691, when divers young persons belonging to Mr. Parris's family, and one or more of the neighborhood, began to act after a strange and unusual manner, viz., as by getting into holes, and creeping under chairs and stools, and to use sundry odd postures and antic gestures, uttering foolish, ridiculous speeches, which neither they themselves nor any others could make sense of. The physicians that were called could assign no reason for this; but it seems one of them, having recourse to the old shift, told them he was afraid they were bewitched. Upon such suggestions, they that were concerned applied themselves to fasting and prayer, which was attended not only in their own private families, but with calling in the help of others. March the 11th, Mr. Parris invited several neighboring ministers to join with him in keeping a solemn day of prayer at his own house. 'The time of the exercise, those persons were for the most part silent; but after any one prayer was ended, they would act and speak strangely and ridiculously; yet were such as had been well educated, and of good behavior; the one, a girl of 11 or 12 years old, would sometimes seem to be in a convulsion fit, her limbs being twisted several ways, and very stiff, but presently her fit would be over….

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.282

Those ill affected or afflicted persons named several that they said they saw, when in their fits, afflicting them.

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.282

The first complained of was the said Indian woman, named Tituba: she confessed that the devil urged her to sign a book, which he presented to her, and also to work mischief to the children, etc. She was afterwards committed to prison, and lay there till sold for her fees. The account she since gives of it is, that her master did beat her, and otherways abuse her, to make her confess and accuse (such as he called) her sister-witches; and that whatsoever she said by way of confessing, or accusing others, was the effect of such usage: her master refused to pay her fees, unless she would stand to what she had said.

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.282–p.283

The children complained likewise of two other women, to be the authors of their hurt, viz., Sarah Good, who had long been counted a melancholy or distracted woman; and one Osborn, an old bed-ridden woman; which two were persons so ill thought of, that the accusation was the more readily believed; and, after examination before two Salem magistrates, were committed. March the 19th, Mr. Lawson (who had been formerly a preacher at the said village) came thither, and hath since set forth, in print, an account of what then passed; about which time, as he saith, they complained of goodwife Cory, and goodwife Nurse, members of churches at the Village and at Salem, many others being by that time accused….

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.283

August 5. The court again sitting, six more were tried on the same account, viz., Mr. George Burroughs, some time minister of Wells, John Proctor, and Elizabeth Proctor his wife, with John Willard, of Salem Village, George Jacobs, Sr., of Salem, and Martha Carrier, of Andover; these were all brought in guilty, and condemned; and were all executed, August 19, except Proctor's wife, who pleaded pregnancy.

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.283

Mr. Burroughs was carried in a cart with the others, through the streets of Salem to execution. When he was upon the ladder, he made a speech for the clearing of his innocency, with such solemn and serious expressions, as were to the admiration of all present: his prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's prayer) was so well worded, and uttered with such composedness, and such (at least seeming) fervency of spirit, as was very affecting and drew tears from many, so that it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution. The accusers said the black man stood and dictated to him.

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.283–p.284

As soon as he was turned off, Mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a horse, addressed himself to the people, partly to declare that he [Burroughs] was no ordained minister, and partly to possess the people of his guilt, saying that the devil has often been transformed into an angel of light; and this did somewhat appease the people and the executions went on. When he was cut down, he was dragged by the halter to a hole, or grave, between the rocks, about two foot deep, his shirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trousers of one executed put on his lower parts; he was so put in, together with Willard and Carrier, that one of his hands and his chin, and a foot of one of them, were left uncovered….

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.284

And now nineteen persons having been hanged, and one pressed to death, and eight more condemned, in all twenty-eight, of which above a third part were members of some of the churches in New England, and more than half of them of a good conversation in general, and not one cleared; about fifty having confessed themselves to be witches, of which not one executed; above an hundred and fifty in prison, and above two hundred more accused; the special commission of oyer and terminer comes to a period, which has no other foundation than the governor's commission; and had proceeded in the manner of swearing witnesses, viz., by holding up the hand (and by receiving evidences in writing), according to the ancient usage of this country; as also having their indictments in English.

Calef, Witchcraft in New England, America, Vol.2, p.284–p.285

In the trials, when any were indicted for afflicting, pining and wasting the bodies of particular persons by witchcraft, it was usual to hear evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps twenty or thirty years standing, about oversetting carts, the death of cattle, unkindness to relations, or unexpected accidents befalling after some quarrel. Whether this was admitted by the law of England, or by what other law, wants to be determined; the executions seemed mixed, in pressing to death for not pleading, which most agrees with the laws of England, and sentencing women to be hanged for witchcraft, according to the former practice of this country, and not by burning, as is said to have been the law of England. And though the confessing witches were many, yet not one of them that confessed their own guilt, and abode by their confession, was put to death….

The Founding of William and Mary College

Title: The Founding of William and Mary College

Author: Unknown

Date: 1691

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.286-290

Grants of land for a college near Richmond, Virginia, were obtained back in 1619, and a collegiate school was established at Charles City as early as 1621, but Indian massacres in 1622 smothered the undertaking. The grants were renewed in 1660, and in 1693 King William and Queen Mary set their seals to a charter, and James Blair became first president of William and Mary College, the second oldest college in the United States, presently built in Williamsburg, then capital of Virginia.

During the Revolution the college was used as a troop barracks. It recovered and was in session until the Civil War, when it was occupied by Federal troops and much of its property destroyed. Not until 1888 did it secure State assistance and begin to grow again. Among its distinguished list of graduates are Presidents Jefferson, Monroe, Tyler, and Harrison, Chief Justice John Marshall, and General Winfield Scott.

Founding of William and Mary College, America, Vol.2, p.286

IN THE year 1691, Colonel Nicholson being Lieutenant Governor, the General Assembly considering the bad circumstances of the country for want of education for their youth, went upon a proposition of a college, to which they gave the name of William and Mary.

Founding of William and Mary College, America, Vol.2, p.286–p.287

They proposed that in this college there should be three schools, viz. a Grammar School, for teaching the Latin and Greek tongues: a Philosophical School for philosophy and mathematics: and a Divinity School, for the oriental tongues and divinity; for it was one part of their design that this college should be a seminary for the breeding of good ministers, with which they were but very indifferently supplied from abroad: They appointed what masters should be in each of these schools, and what salaries they should have.

Founding of William and Mary College, America, Vol.2, p.287

For the government and visitation of this college, they appointed a college-senate, which should consist of 18, or any other number not exceeding 20, who were then the Lieutenant-Governor, four gentlemen of the council, four of the clergy, and the rest named out of the House of Burgesses, with power to them to continue themselves by election of a successor in the room of any one that should die, or remove out of the country.

Founding of William and Mary College, America, Vol.2, p.287–p.288

They petitioned the King that he would make these men trustees for founding and building this college, and governing it by such rules and statutes, as they, or the major part of them, should from time to time appoint. Accordingly, the King passed his charter under the great seal of England for such a college, and contributed very bountifully, both to the building and endowment of it. Toward the building he gave near 2000 pounds in ready cash, out of the bank of quitrents, in which Governor Nicholson left at that time about 4500 pounds. And towards the endowment the King gave the neat produce of the penny per pound in Virginia and Maryland, worth 200 pounds per annum, and the surveyor general's place, worth about 50 pounds per annum, and the choice of 10,000 acres of land in Panmuckey Neck, and 10,000 more on the south side of the Blackwater swamp, which were tracts of land till that time prohibited to be taken up. The General Assembly also gave the college a duty on skins and furs, worth better than 100 pounds a year, and they got subscriptions in Virginia in Governor Nicholson's time for about 2500 pounds towards the building.

Founding of William and Mary College, America, Vol.2, p.288

With these beginnings the trustees of the college went to work, but their good Governor, who had been the greatest encourager in that country of this design, (on which he has laid out 350 pounds of his own money) being at that time removed from them, and another put in his place that was of a quite different spirit and temper, they found their business go on very heavily, and such difficulties in everything, that presently upon change of the governor they had as many enemies as ever they had had friends; such an universal influence and sway has a person of that character in all affairs of that country. The gentlemen of the council, who had been the forwardest to subscribe, were the backwardest to pay; then every one was for finding shifts to evade and elude their subscriptions; and the meaner people were so influenced by their countenance and example, (men being easily persuaded to keep their money) that there was not one penny got of new subscriptions, nor paid of the old 2500 pounds but about 500 pounds. Nor durst they put the matter to the hazard of a lawsuit, where this new Governor and his favorites were to be their judges.

Founding of William and Mary College, America, Vol.2, p.288–p.289

Thus it was with the funds for building: And they fared little better with the funds for endowments; for notwithstanding the first choice they are to have of the land by the charter, patents were granted to others for vast tracts of land, and every one was ready to oppose the college in taking up the land; their survey was violently stopped, their chain broke, and to this day they can never get to the possession of the land. But the trustees of the college being encouraged with a gracious letter the King wrote to the Governor to encourage the college, and to remove all the obstructions of it, went to work, and carried up one half of the designed quadrangle of the building, advancing money out of their own pockets, where the donations fell short. They founded their Grammar School, which is in a very thriving way; and having the clear right and title to the land, would not be baffled in that point, but have struggled with the greatest man in the government, next the Governor, i.e. Mr. Secretary Wormley, who pretends to have a grant in futuro for no less than 13,000 acres of the best land in Panmuckey Neek.

Founding of William and Mary College, America, Vol.2, p.289–p.290

The cause is not yet decided, only Mr. Secretary has again stopped the chain, which it is not likely he would do, if he did not know that he should be supported in it. The collectors of the penny per pound likewise are very remiss in laying their accounts before the Governors of the college, according to the instructions of the commissioners of the customs, so that illegal trade is carried on, and some of these gentlemen refuse to give any account upon oath. This is the present state of the college. It is honestly and zealously carried on by the trustees, but is in danger of being ruined by the backwardness of the government….

The Settlement of Louisiana

Title: The Settlement of Louisiana

Author: Benard de la Harpe

Date: 1698

Source: America, Vol.2, pp.291-300

The manuscript, from which this account of the settlement of Louisiana is taken, came into Thomas Jefferson's possession more than 100 years ago. In a letter to James Monroe, dated from Monticello, February 4th, 1816, Jefferson writes: "On our acquisition of that country (Louisiana), there was found in the possession of the family of the late Governor Messier, a most valuable and original MS. history of the settlement of Louisiana by the French, written by Benard De La Harpe, a principal agent through the whole of it.… The history bears such marks of authenticity as place it beyond question. Governor Claiborne obtained the MS. for us, and thinking it too hazardous to risk its loss by the way, unless a copy were retained, he had a copy taken. The original having arrived safe at Washington, he sent me the copy, which I now have.… It is my wish to deposit the copy for safekeeping with the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.291–p.292

IN THE 24th of September, 1698, two frigates, Le Badine, of thirty guns and two hundred men, commanded by M. d'Iberville; and Le Marin, of thirty guns, commanded by M. la Comte de Surgere, with two store-ships, were fitted out by order of the King, and sailed from Rochefort to plant a colony on the Mississippi. On the 4th of December, they arrived at Cape Francois, St. Domingo, where they found M. le Marquis de Chateaumorant, who commanded the frigate Le Francais, of fifty guns, to whom M. d'Iberville delivered instructions for him to join in the expedition to the Mississippi River,. . . On the 6th of February, M. d'Iberville anchored off the pass, between Horn and Ship Island, which he named, and finding it difficult to enter this channel, he sailed four leagues further to the west, where he discovered the Chandeleur Islands….

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.292

On the 27th M. d'Iberville and Bienville embarked in two feluccas, with Father Anatase and thirty men each, to explore the mouths of the Mississippi River. On the 2nd of March they entered a large river, which Father Anatase, who had accompanied M. de la Salle, recognized as the Mississippi from the appearance of its turbid waters. On the 7th, having advanced forty leagues up the river, they perceived at some distance three canoes filled with Indians, who all fled except one man, to whom they gave some presents, and learned from him that they belonged to the Bayagoula nation. They met several canoes of Indians belonging to the Ouacha nation, living near the fork of the Mississippi, who told them that they did not live far from the Chitimachas nation.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.292–p.293

On the 14th they arrived at the Bayagoula and Mongaulacha nations, numbering about eight hundred warriors. They found here several cloaks, which had been given them by M. de la Salle…. It was here, while looking for Father Anatase's breviary, they found several prayer books in an Indian basket, in which were written the names of several Canadians who had accompanied the late M. de la Salle down the river; together with a letter addressed to him by Chevalier de Tonty, informing him "that having learned of his departure from France to form a settlement on this river, he had descended it as far as the sea with twenty Canadians and thirty Chaounans," from the neighborhood of the Ouabache. This discovery now relieved them from all doubts of the river they were in, and they ascertained the mouth of the Mississippi to be in about twenty-nine degrees north latitude….

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.293

On the 12th of April M. d'Iberville set out to visit a bay about nine leagues from Ship Island, to which he gave the name of St. Louis. On finding the water very shallow there, he concluded to fix his settlement at Biloxi. Here he built a fort with four bastions, which he mounted with twelve cannons, and gave the command of it to his brothers Sauvolle and Bienville; and having manned it with a force of thirty-five men, he set sail for France on the 4th of May….

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.293

On the 7th of December, a salute was fired at the fort, announcing the arrival of M. d'Iberville and La Surgere, in the ships Renomme of fifty, and the Gironde of forty-six guns, with many officers and passengers…. M. Le Sueur also came as a passenger in the Gironde. He had acquired celebrity by his travels in Canada; and was now sent on the part of M. L'Huillier, Farmer General, to make a settlement on the Mississippi, and to work some mines there which he had discovered some years before.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.293–p.294

M. d'Iberville was informed of the attempt of the English to find the Mississippi, and he resolved to make a settlement on its banks. He accordingly set sail on two shallops, with fifty men, and arrived in the river on the 15th of January, 1700. He had previously sent in M. de Bienville to the Bayagoulas to procure guides, and to select a place above inundation. They conducted him to a ridge, of high land, at a distance of about eighteen leagues from the sea. Four days after, M. d'Iberville arrived there and commenced building a fort. . .

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.294

On the 28th of May, 1700, M. d'Iberville set sail for France, and on the same day M. de Bienville took command of the fort on the Mississippi. On the 29th he dispatched M. de Saint Denis to explore the country in the Red River, and to watch the Spaniards. On the 30th of May, 1701, the Enflammee of twenty-six guns, commanded by M. de la Ronde, arrived at Ship Island. Among the passengers was M. Sagan, a traveler from Canada, who had presented a memoir to the minister, M. de Pontchartrain, assuring him that he had traveled all over the Mississippi, and had found mines of gold on its banks; and that the Indians had worked them. The minister, putting faith in his statements, granted to M. Sagan some privileges, and ordered M. de Sauvolle to supply him with twenty-four pirogues and one hundred Canadians, to accompany him to the Missouri.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.294

On the 22d of August, M. de Sauvolle died at Biloxi, and M. de Bienville was left sole commander of the colony.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.294–p.295

On the 16th of September, a party of Chactas arrived at Biloxi to demand of the French some troops to assist them to fight the Chicachas. The Chactas nation contained forty villages, and over five thousand warriors. On the 25th of October, twenty Mobileans arrived at Fort Biloxi. This nation was situated about one hundred and forty leagues up that river, and contained about four hundred men. On the 18th of December, a shallop arrived from Pensacola with the news that M. d'Iberville and Serigny had arrived there with the King's ships, the Renommee of fifty guns, and the Palmier of forty-four guns. This news spread joy in the garrison, as it had then been living on corn for more than three months. It had lost by sickness upwards of sixty men, leaving only one hundred and fifty persons in the colony.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.295

M. de Bienville received orders by the shallop to evacuate Biloxi, and remove to Mobile River. On the 5th of January, 1701, M. de Bienville took up his march for the Mobile River, leaving but twenty men under the command of M. de Boisbriant to man the fort. At Dauphin Island, M. de Bienville had an interview with M. de Serigny and Chateaugue, who had arrived there with a detachment of sailors and workmen, to build a magazine for the reception of the goods and provisions which had been brought from France. On the 16th M. de Bienville commenced a settlement on the Mobile River, about eighteen leagues from the sea. On the 10th M. le Sueur returned from his expedition to the Scioux, with two hundred thousand pounds weight of copper ore.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.296

The following is an extract taken from his journal:

"Having arrived in the colony in December, 1699, with thirty workmen, he set out for the Tamarois in June, 1700. He stopped at the mouth of the Missouri River, and from thence proceeded to the Illinois River, where he was joined by three Canadian travelers, who brought him a letter from Father Marest, a Jesuit from the mission house of 'L'Immaculee Conception de la Sainte Vierge aux Illinois."

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.296

"At twenty-two leagues above the Illinois, he passed a small river, which he named the Buffalo: and on going nine leagues further he met a party of Canadians descending the Mississippi, returning to the Illinois. On the 30th July, he met seventeen Scioux in seven canoes, going to avenge the death of three Scioux by the Illinois, one of whom had been burnt, and the other two killed at Tamarois, a few days before his arrival at this village. He promised the Chief of the Illinois to pacify the Scioux if they should come to make war on him. He presented to the chief of the party some merchandise to induce him to return to his nation. He told him that the King of France did not wish them to make war, and if he would desist he should be supplied with everything necessary. The chief accepted the presents, and promised to obey the King….

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.296–p.297

"On the 1st September, he passed the Wisconsin river, which is about half a league wide at its mouth. On ascending this river about forty-five leagues, he found a portage of more than a mile in length, consisting in part of marshy ground, from which a little stream took its rise and flowed into the Puan bay, inhabited by a great number of Indian tribes, who trade in furs to Canada….

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.297

"From the 10th to the 14th, M. de Sueur traveled seventeen leagues and a half, passed the river Raisin, and also on the same day a great river coming from the North called the Bon-Secours, on account of the great number of buffalo, deer, bears and roebucks found there. Three leagues from the banks of this river is a lead mine, and at seven leagues above, on the same side, he passed another river, in the neighborhood of which he discovered a copper mine, from which he took sixty pounds of ore in a former voyage: but to make it of any value, a peace must first be made between the Scioux and the Outagamis. At a league and a half further to the North-West is a lake, six leagues long and more than a league in width, called Lake Pepin….

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.297–p.298

On the 15th he passed a small river, and saw several canoes descending, filled with Indians. He heard them make a noise similar to that just before they are going to fall upon their enemy; and, having placed his men behind some trees, he ordered them not to fire until the word of command was given. The chief of the party, after making some observations, advanced with the calumet, (which is a sign of peace among the Indians,) and said that, not having seen before any Frenchmen navigating the Mississippi in boats like theirs, they took them to be English, and raised the war-cry.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.298

"M. le Sueur told them that the King of France, of whom they had heard so much in Canada, had sent him to settle in the country, and he wished all the nations who inhabited it, as well as those under his protection, to live in peace….

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.298

He then entered Blue River [Minnesota], so called from some mines of blue earth which he found on its banks. At this place he met nine Scioux, who told him that this river came from the country of the Scioux of the West. He built a post here, but finding that his establishment did not please the Scioux of the East as well as the neighboring tribes, he had to tell them that his intentions were only to trade in beaver skins, although his real purpose was to explore the mines in this country, which he had discovered some years before.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.298

"He then presented them with some powder, balls, knives and tobacco, and invited them to come to his fort, as soon as it was constructed, and he would tell them the intentions of the King his master. The Scioux of the West have, according to the accounts of those of the East, more than a thousand huts.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.298

"They do not use canoes or cultivate the land, but wander in the prairies between the upper Mississippi and the Missouri, and live by hunting.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.298–p.299

"All the Scioux say they have three souls, and that after death the good one goes to a warm country, the bad one to a cold country, and the third watches the body. They are very expert with their bows. Polygamy is very common among them. They are extremely jealous, and sometimes fight duels for their wives. They make their huts out of buffalo skins, sewed together, and carry them with them. Two or three families generally live together. They are great smokers. They swallow the smoke, but some time after they force it up from their stomach through their nose….

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.299

"On the 1st of December, they invited M. Ie Sueur to a great feast which they had prepared for him. They made a speech, and presented him with a slave and a sack of oats…. . .

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.299–p.300

On the 18th of March, 1702, M. d'Iberville arrived at Dauphin Island, in the frigate Palmier, which he brought into port without any difficulty, there being twenty-one feet or more of water at the pass. On the 19th, M. de la Salle arrived with his family at For[t] Mobile, which had just been finished, and the headquarters of the colony about to be removed there from Dauphin [Massacre] Island. On the 25th, M. de Tonty, who had been sent by M. d'Iberville on a mission to the Chactas and Chicachas, arrived at Mobile, bringing with him some of the principal chiefs of those nations, to make a treaty of peace. By presents and entreaties M. d'Iberville made them agree to live in peace together. On the 27th, M. d'Iberville returned to Dauphin Island, and from thence he went to Pensacola. On the 13th of April, M. Dugue arrived with a transport ladened with provisions. On the 31st, M. d'Iberville and de Serigny departed for France. On the 12th of May, eight Alibamon Chiefs arrived at Mobile to consult with M. de Bienvillle whether they should continue to war with the Chicachas, Tomes, and Mobilians. He advised them to make a peace, and gave them some presents for this purpose. On the 24th of June, a Spanish shallop arrived from Pensacola, on board of which was Don Jose de Roblas, Captain of Infantry, and a son of the nurse of Count de Montezuma, bringing a letter from Francisco Martin, Governor of Pensacola, asking to be supplied with some provisions, which M. de Bienville granted.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.300

On the 10th of August, M. de Bienville was informed that M. St. Denis and some Canadians had invaded the territory of our allies to capture slaves, which he ordered to be restored.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.300

On the 1st of October, M. Davion, missionary, and Father Limoge, a Jesuit, arrived from the Mississippi, to give notice that one of their brethren and three Frenchmen had been murdered on the Yasous River, by two young Courois, who had acted as their guides.

De la Harpe, Settlement of Louisiana, America, Vol.2, p.300

On the 11th of November, Don Francisco Martin arrived from Pensacola, with the news that France and Spain were at war with England, and asked for a supply of arms and powder, which was given him.

The Colonization of Louisiana

Title: The Colonization of Louisiana

Author: Charles E. T. Gayarre

Date: 1699

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, pp.196-203

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.196

On February 27, 1699, Iberville and Bienville reached the Mississippi. When they approached its mouth they were struck with the gloomy magnificence of the sight. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be seen but reeds which rose five or six feet above the waters in which they bathed their roots. They waved mournfully under the blast of the sharp wind of the north, shivering in its icy grasp, as it tumbled, rolled, and gambolled on the pliant surface. Multitudes of birds of strange appearance, with their elongated shapes so lean that they looked like metamorphosed ghosts, clothed in plumage, screamed in the air, as if they were scared of one another. There was something agonizing in their shrieks that was in harmony with the desolation of the place. On every side of the vessel, monsters of the deep and huge alligators heaved themselves up heavily from their native or favorite element, and, floating lazily on the turbid waters, seemed to gaze at the intruders….

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.197

It was a relief for the adventurers when, after having toiled up the river for ten days, they at last arrived at the village of the Bayagoulas. There they found a letter of Tonty to La Salle, dated in 1685. The letter, or rather that "speaking bark" as the Indians called it, had been preserved with great reverence. Tonty, having been informed that La Salle was coming with a fleet from France to settle a colony on the banks of the Mississippi, had not hesitated to set off from the northern lakes, with twenty Canadians and thirty Indians, and to come down to the Balize to meet his friend, who had failed to make out the mouth of the Mississippi, and had been landed by Beaujeu on the shores of Texas. After having waited for some time, and ignorant of what had happened, Tonty, with the same indifference to fatigues and dangers of an appalling nature, retraced his way back, leaving a letter to La Salle to inform him of his disappointment. Is there not something extremely romantic in the characters of the men of that epoch? Here is Tonty undertaking, with the most heroic unconcern, a journey of nearly three thousand miles, through such difficulties as it is easy for us to imagine, and leaving a letter to La Salle, as a proof of his visit, in the same way that one would, in these degenerate days of effeminacy, leave a card at a neighbor's house.

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.198

The French extended their explorations up to the mouth of the Red River. On their return the two brothers separated when they arrived at Bayou Manchac. Bienville was ordered to go down the river to the French fleet, to give information of what they had seen and heard. Iberville went through Bayou Manchac to those lakes which are known under the names of Pontchartrain and Maurepas. Louisiana had been named from a king: was it not in keeping that those lakes should be called after ministers?

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.198

From the Bay of St. Louis, Iberville returned to his fleet, where, after consultation, he determined to make a settlement at the Bay of Biloxi. On the east side, at the mouth of the bay, as it were, there is a slight swelling of the shore, about four acres square, sloping gently to the woods in the background, and on the bay. Thus this position was fortified by nature, and the French skilfully availed themselves of these advantages. The weakest point, which was on the side of the forest, they strengthened with more care than the rest, by connecting with the strong intrenchment the two ravines, which ran to the bay in a parallel line to each other. The fort was constructed with four bastions, and was armed with twelve pieces of artillery….

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.198

A few huts having been erected round the fort, the settlers began to clear the land, in order to bring it into cultivation. Iberville having furnished them will all the necessary provisions, utensils, and other supplies, prepared to sail for France…. As the country had been ordered to be explored, Sauvolle availed himself of that circumstance to refresh the minds of his men bythe excitement of an expedition into the interior of the continent. He therefore hastened to dispatch most of them with Bienville, who, with a chief of the Bayagoulas for his guide, went to visit the Colapissas. They inhabited the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain, and their domains embraced the sites now occupied by Lewisburg, Mandeville, and Fontainebleau….

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.199

Iberville had been gone for several months, and the year was drawing to a close without any tidings of him. A deeper gloom had settled over the little colony at Biloxi, when, on December 7th, some signal-guns were heard at sea, and the grateful sound came booming over the waters, spreading joy in every breast…. It was Iberville returning with the news that, on his representations, Sauvolle had been appointed by the King governor of Louisiana; Bienville, lieutenant-governor; and Boisbriant, commander of the fort at Biloxi, with the grade of major. Iberville, having been informed by Bienville of the attempt of the English to make a settlement on the banks of the Mississippi, and of the manner in which it had been foiled, resolved to take precautionary measures against the repetition of any similar attempt. Without loss of time he departed with Bienville, on January 16, 1700, and running up the river, he constructed a small fort, on the first solid ground which he met, and which is said to have been at a distance of fifty-four miles from its mouth.

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.199

When so engaged the two brothers one day saw a canoe rapidly sweeping down the river and approaching the spot where they stood. It was occupied by eight men, six of whom were rowers, the seventh was the steersman, and the eighth, from his appearance, was evidently of a superior order to that of his companions, and the commander of the party. Well may it be imagined what greeting the stranger received, when leaping on shore he made himself known as the Chevalier de Tonty, who had again heard of the establishment of a colony in Louisiana, and who, for the second time, had come to see if there was any truth in the report. With what emotion did Iberville and Bienville fold in their arms the faithful companion and friend of La Salle, of whom they had heard so many wonderful tales from the Indians, to whom he was so well known under the name of "Iron Hand!" With what admiration they looked at his person, and with what increasing interest they listened to his long recitals of what he had done and had seen on that broad continent, the threshold of which they had hardly passed!

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.200

After having rested three days at the fort, the indefatigable Tonty reascended the Mississippi, with Iberville and Bienville, and finally parted with them at Natchez. Iberville was so much pleased with that part of the bank of the river where now exists the city of Natchez that he marked it down as a most eligible spot for a town, of which he drew the plan, and which he called Rosalie, after the maiden name of the Countess Pontchartrain, the wife of the chancellor. He then returned to the new fort he was erecting on the Mississippi, and Bienville went to explore the country of the Yatasses, of the Natchitoches, and of the Ouachitas. What romance can be more agreeable to the imagination than to accompany Iberville and Bienville in their wild explorations, and to compare the state of the country in their time with what it is in our days! . . .

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.201

After these explorations Iberville departed again for France, to solicit additional assistance from the government, and left Bienville in command of the new fort on the Mississippi. It was very hard for the two brothers, Sauvolle and Bienville, to be thus separated, when they stood so much in need of each other's countenance, to breast the difficulties that sprung up around them with a luxuriance which they seemed to borrow from the vegetation of the country. The distance between the Mississippi and Biloxi was not so easily overcome in those days as in ours, and the means which the two brothers had of communing together were very scanty and uncertain.

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.201

Sauvolle died August 22, 1701, and Louisiana remained under the sole charge of Bienville, who, the very young, was fully equal to meet that emergency, by the maturity of his mind and by his other qualifications. He had hardly consigned his brother to the tomb when Iberville returned with two ships of the line and a brig laden with troops and provisions.

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.201

According to Iberville's orders, and in conformity with the King's instructions, Bienville left Boisbriant, his cousin, with twenty men, at the old fort of Biloxi, and transported the principal seat of the colony to the western side of the river Mobile, not far from the spot where now stands the city of Mobile. Near the mouth of that river there is an island, which the French had called Massacre Island from the great quantity of human bones which they found bleaching on its shores. It was evident that there are some awful tragedy had beenacted; but Tradition, when interrogated, laid her choppy fingers upon her skinny lips, and answered not….

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.202

The year 1703 slowly rolled by and gave way to 1704. Still, nothing was heard from the parent country. There seemed to be an impassable barrier between the old and the new continent. The milk which flowed from the motherly breast of France could no longer reach the parched lips of her new-born infant; and famine began to pinch the colonists, who scattered themselves all along the coast, to live by fishing. They were reduced to the veriest extremity of misery, and despair had settled in every bosom, in spite of the encouragements of Bienville, who displayed the most manly fortitude amid all the trials to which he was subjected….

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.202

Iberville had not been able to redeem his pledge to the poor colonists, but he sent his brother Chateaugue in his place, at the imminent risk of being captured by the English, who occupied, at that time, most of the avenues of the Gulf of Mexico. He was not the man to spare either himself or his family in cases of emergency, and his heroic soul was inured to such sacrifices. Grateful the colonists were for this act of devotedness, and they resumed the occupation of their tenements which they had abandoned in search of food. The aspect of things was suddenly changed; abundance and hope reappeared in the land, whose population was increased by the arrival of seventeen persons, who came, under the guidance of Chateaugue, with the intention of making a permanent settlement, and who had provided themselves with all the implements of husbandry. This excitement had hardly subsided when it was revived by the appearance of another ship, and it became intense when the inhabitants saw a procession of twenty females, with veiled faces, proceeding arm in arm, and two by two, to the house of the Governor, who received them in state and provided them with suitable lodgings. What did it mean? The next morning, which was Sunday, the mystery was cleared by the officiating priest reading from the pulpit, after mass, and for the general information, the following communication from the minister to Bienville:

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.203

"His majesty sends twenty girls to be married to the Canadians and to the other inhabitants of Mobile, in order to consolidate the colony. All these girls are industrious and have received a pious and virtuous education. You will take care to settle them in life as well as may be in your power, and to marry them to such men as are capable of providing them with a commodious home." . . .

Gayarre, The Colonization of Louisiana, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.203

Many were the gibes and high was the glee on that occasion; pointed were the jokes aimed at young Bienville on his being thus transformed into a matrimonial agent and apter familiae. The intentions of the King, however, were faithfully executed, and more than one rough but honest Canadian boatman of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi closed his adventurous and erratic career and became a domestic and useful member of that little commonwealth, under the watchful influence of the dark-eyed maid of the Loire or of the Seine.

Phipps, The First of Our Self-Made Men

Title: Phipps, The First of Our Self-Made Men

Author: The Reverend Cotton Mather

Date: 1702

Source: America, Vol.2, p.272

Sir William Phipps, first royal Governor of Massachusetts and high sheriff of New England, has the distinction of being the prototype of the American self-made man. Also he was the first American-born colonist to receive the honor of knighthood.

This biography of Phipps, by Cotton Mather, for many years pastor of the North Church in Boston, is taken from his Magnalia, (London, 1702), regarded as the most important book of American authorship in colonial times. Phipps and the author were close friends; in fact, it was through the influence of Cotton Mather's father, Increase Mather, the agent of the colony in England, that Phipps was appointed Governor of Massachusetts, under the new charter.

Phipps was a man of great energy and determination; and he appears to have been strictly honest in his private dealings, though he deemed it no sin to steal from Frenchmen.

Mather, Phipps, The First of Self-Made Men, America, Vol.2, p.272

WILLIAM PHIPPS was born Feb. 2, 1650, at a despicable plantation on the river of Kennebeck, and almost the furthest village of the Eastern Settlement of New-England. And as the father of that man, which was as great a blessing as England had in the age of that man, was a Smith, so a gunsmith, namely, James Phipps, once of Bristol, had the honor of being the father to him, whom we shall presently see, made by the God of Heaven as great a blessing to New England, as that county could have had, if they themselves had pleased. His fruitful mother, yet living, had no less than twenty-six children, whereof twenty-one were sons; but equivalent to them all was William, one of the youngest, whom his father dying, left young with his mother, and with her he lived, keeping of sheep in the wilderness, until he was eighteen years old; at which time he began to feel some further dispositions of mind from that providence of God which took him from the sheepfolds, from following the ewes great with young, and brought him to feed his people….

Mather, Phipps, The First of Self-Made Men, America, Vol.2, p.273

His friends earnestly solicited him to settle among them in a plantation of the east; but he had an unaccountable impulse upon his mind, persuading him, as he would privately hint unto some of them, that he was born to greater matters. To come at those greater matters, his first contrivance was to bind himself an apprentice unto a ship-carpenter for four years in which time he became a master of the trade, that once in a vessel of more than forty thousand tons, repaired the ruins of the earth; Noah's, I mean; he then betook himself an hundred and fifty miles further afield, even to Boston, the chief town of New England; which being a place of the most business and resort in those parts of the world, he expected there more commodiously to pursue the spes majorum et meliorum, Hopes which had inspired him.

Mather, Phipps, The First of Self-Made Men, America, Vol.2, p.273–p.274

At Boston, where it was that he now learned, first of all, to read and write, he followed his trade for about a year; and by a laudable deportment, so recommended himself, that he married a young gentlewoman of good repute, who was the widow of one Mr. John Hull, a well-bred merchant, but the daughter of one Captain Roger Spencer, a person of good fashion, who having suffered much damage in his estate, by some unkind and unjust actions, which he bore with such patience, that for fear of thereby injuring the public, he would not seek satisfaction, posterity might afterward see the reward of his patience, in what Providence hath now done for one of his own posterity. Within a little while after his marriage, he indented with several persons in Boston, to build them a ship at Sheeps-coat River, two or three leagues eastward of Kennebeck; where having launched the ship, he also provided a lading of lumber to bring with him, which would have been to the advantage of all concerned. But just as the ship was hardly finished, the barbarous Indians on that river, broke forth into an open and cruel war upon the English; and the miserable people, surprised by so sudden a storm of blood, had no refuge from the infidels, but the ship now finishing in the harbor. Whereupon he left his intended lading behind him, and instead thereof, carried with him his old neighbors and their families, free of all charges, to Boston; so the first action that he did, after he was his own man, was to save his father's house, with the rest of the neighborhood, from ruin; but the disappointment which befell him from the loss of his other lading, plunged his affairs into greater embarrassments with such as had employed him.

Mather, Phipps, The First of Self-Made Men, America, Vol.2, p.274–p.275–p.276

But he was hitherto no more than beginning to make scaffolds for further and higher actions! He would frequently tell the gentlewoman his wife, that he should yet be captain of a king's ship; that he should come to have the command of better men than he was now accounted himself; and, that he should be owner of a fair brick-house in the green-lane of North-Boston; and, that, it may be, this would not be all that the Providence of God would bring him to. She entertained these passages with a sufficient incredulity; but he had so serious and positive an expectation of them, that it is not easy to say, what was the original thereof. He was of an enterprising genius, and naturally disdained littleness: But his disposition for business was of the Dutch mould, where, with a little show of wit, there is as much wisdom demonstrated, as can be shown by any nation. His talent lay not in the airs that serve chiefly for the pleasant and sudden turns of conversation; but he might say, as Themistocles, though he could not play upon a fiddle, yet he know how to make a little city become a great one. He would prudently contrive a weighty undertaking, and then patiently pursue it unto the end. He was of an inclination, cutting rather like a hatchet, than like a razor; he would propose very considerable matters to himself, and then so cut through them, that no difficulties could put by the edge of his resolutions. Being thus of the true temper, for doing of great things, he betakes himself to the sea, the right scene for such things; and upon advice of a Spanish wreck about the Bahama's, he took a voyage thither; but with little more success, than what just served him a little to furnish him tor a voyage to England; whither he went in a vessel, not much unlike that which the Dutchmen stamped on their first coin, with these words about it, Incertum quo Fata ferant. Having first informed himself that there was another Spanish wreck, wherein was lost a mighty treasure, hitherto undiscovered, he had a strong impression upon his mind that he must be the discoverer; and he made such representations of his design at White-Hall, that by the year 1683 he became the captain of a King's ship, and arrived at New England commander of the Algier-Rose, a frigate of eighteen guns, and ninety-five men….

Mather, Phipps, The First of Self-Made Men, America, Vol.2, p.276–p.277

Now with a small company of other men he sailed from thence to Hispaniola, where by the policy of his address, he fished out of a very old Spaniard, (or Portuguese) a little advice about the true spot where lay the wreck which he had been hitherto seeking, as unprosperously, as the Chemists have their Aurisick Stone: That it was upon a reef of shoals, a few leagues to the northward of Port de la Plata, upon Hispaniola, a port so called, it seems, from the landing of some of the shipwrecked company, with a boat full of plate, saved out of their sinking frigate. Nevertheless, when he had searched very narrowly the spot, whereof the old Spaniard had advised him, he had not hitherto exactly lit upon it. Such thorns did vex his affairs while he was in the Rose-frigate; but none of all these things could retund the edge of his expectations to find the wreck; with such expectations he returned then into England, that he might there better furnish himself to prosecute a new discovery….

Mather, Phipps, The First of Self-Made Men, America, Vol.2, p.277–p.278

So proper was his behavior, that the best noblemen in the kingdom now admitted him into their conversation; but yet he was opposed by powerful enemies, that clogged his affairs with such demurrages and such disappointments, as would have wholly discouraged his designs, if his patience had not been invincible. He who can wait, hath what he desireth. This his indefatigable patience, with a proportionable diligence, at length overcame the difficulties that had been thrown in his way; and prevailing with the Duke of Albemarle, and some other persons of quality, to fit him out, he set sail for the fishing-ground, which had been so well baited half a hundred years before…. Nevertheless, as they were upon the return, one of the men looking over the side of the Periaga, into the calm water, he spied a sea feather, growing, as he judged, out of a rock; whereupon they bade one of their Indians to dive and fetch this feather, that they might however carry home something with them, and make, at least, as fair a triumph as Caligula's. The diver bringing up the feather, brought therewithal a surprising story, that he perceived a number of great guns in the watery world where he had found his feather; the report of which great guns exceedingly astonished the whole company; and at once turned their despondencies for their ill success into assurances, that they had now lit upon the true spot of ground which they had been looking for; and they were further confirmed in these assurances, when upon further diving, the Indian fetched up a sow, as they styled it, or a lump of silver, worth perhaps two or three hundred pounds…. and they so prospered in this new fishery, that in a little while they had, without the loss of any man's life, brought up thirty-two tons of silver; for it was now come to measuring of silver by tons….

Mather, Phipps, The First of Self-Made Men, America, Vol.2, p.278–p.279

But there was one extraordinary distress which Captain Phipps now found himself plunged into: For his men were come out with him upon seamen's wages, at so much per month; and when they saw such vast litters of silver sows and pigs, as they call them, come on board them at the captain's call, they knew not how to bear it, that they should not share all among themselves, and be gone to lead a short life and a merry, in a climate where the arrest of those that had hired them should not reach them…. Captain Phipps now coming up to London in the year 1687, with near three hundred thousand pounds sterling aboard him, did acquit himself with such an exemplary honesty, that partly by his fulfilling his assurances to the seamen, and partly by his exact and punctual care to have his employers defrauded of nothing that might conscientiously belong unto them, he had less than sixteen thousand pounds left unto himself: As an acknowledgment of which honesty in him, the Duke of Albemarle made unto his wife, whom he never saw, a present of a golden cup, near a thousand pounds in value. The character of an honest man he had so merited in the whole course of his life, and especially in this last act of it, that this, in conjunction with his other serviceable qualities, procured him the favors of the greatest persons in the nation; and he that had been so diligent in his business, must now stand before kings, and not stand before mean men…. Accordingly the king, in consideration of the service done by him, in bringing such a treasure into the nation, conferred upon him the honor of knighthood; and if we now reckon him, A Knight of the Golden Fleece, the style might pretend unto some circumstances that would justify it. Or call him, if you please, The Knight of Honesty; for it was honesty with industry that raised him….

Mather, Phipps, The First of Self-Made Men, America, Vol.2, p.279

Indeed, when King James offered, as he did, unto Sir William Phipps an opportunity to ask what he pleased of him, Sir William generously prayed for nothing but this, That New England might have its lost privileges restored. The king then replied, Anything but that! Whereupon he set himself to consider what was the next thing that he might ask for the service, not of himself, but of his country. The result of his consideration was, that by petition to the king, he obtained, with expense of some hundreds of guineas, a patent, which constituted him the high sheriff of that country; hoping, by his deputies in that office, to supply the country still with conscientious juries, which was the only method that the New Englanders had left them to secure anything that was dear unto them….

Establishing the Colony of Georgia

Title: Establishing the Colony of Georgia

Author: General James Edward Oglethorpe

Date: 1732

Source: America, Vol.2, p.301

Fortunately for what is now the State of Georgia, the unhappy death of a friend of James Edward Oglethorpe's in an English debtor's Prison drew his attention to the horrible abuses of that institution and inspired him to found the colony, named after King George II, which was planned to be an asylum for insolvent British subjects. In 1732 Oglethorpe and others obtained a charter granting them a large territory between the Altamaha and Savannah Rivers.

Oglethorpe, as Governor, sailed with 120 colonists and founded the town of Savannah, remaining nine years. Aside from his administrative activity, his claim to distinction in colonial history lies in his determined efforts to stem the Spanish tide of colonization and conquest in the South. In 1742 forces led by General Oglethorpe dealt a crushing blow to an invading Spanish host, thereby assuring the colony immunity from further attack. Its defense cost Oglethorpe his fortune.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.301–p.302

IN America there are fertile lands sufficient to subsist all the useless poor in England, and distressed Protestants in Europe; yet thousands starve for want of mere sustenance. The distance makes it difficult to get thither. The same want that renders men useless here, prevents their paying their passage; and if others pay it for them, they become servants, or rather slaves for years to those who have defrayed the expense. Therefore, money for passage is necessary, but is not the only want; for if people were set down in America, and the land before them, they must cut down trees, build houses, fortify towns, dig and sow the land before they can get in a harvest; and till then they must be provided with food, and kept together, that they may be assistant to each other for their natural support and protection.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.302

The Romans esteemed the sending forth of colonies, among their noblest works; they observed that Rome, as she increased in power and empire, drew together such a conflux of people from all parts that she found herself over-burdened with their number, and the government brought under an incapacity to provide for them, or keep them in order. Necessity, the mother of invention, suggested to them an expedient, which at once gave ease to the capital, and increased the wealth and number of industrious citizens, by lessening the useless and unruly multitude; and by planting them in colonies on the frontiers of their empire, gave a new strength to the whole; and this they looked upon to be so considerable a service to the commonwealth, that they created peculiar officers for the establishment of such colonies, and the expense was defrayed out of the public treasury.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.302–p.303

From the Charter.—His Majesty having taken into his consideration, the miserable circumstances of many of his own poor subjects, ready to perish for want: as likewise the distresses of many poor foreigners, who would take refuge here from persecution; and having a princely regard to the great danger the southern frontiers of South Carolina are exposed to, by reason of the small number of white inhabitants there, has, out of his fatherly compassion towards his subjects, been graciously pleased to grant a charter for incorporating a number of gentlemen by the name of "The trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America." They are empowered to collect benefactions; and lay them out in clothing, arming, sending over, and supporting colonies of the poor, whether subjects or foreigners, in Georgia. And his Majesty farther grants all his lands between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, which he erects into a province by the name of Georgia, unto the trustees, in trust for the poor, and for the better support of the colony.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.303

At the desire of the gentlemen, there are clauses in the charter, restraining them and their successors from receiving any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit, whatsoever, by or from this undertaking; and also from receiving any grant of lands within the said district, to themselves, or in trust for them. There are farther clauses granting to the trustees proper powers for establishing and governing the colony, and liberty of conscience to all who shall settle there.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.303–p.304

The trustees intend to relieve such unfortunate persons as cannot subsist here, and establish them in an orderly manner, so as to form a well regulated town. As far as their fund goes, they will defray the charge of their passage to Georgia; give them necessaries, cattle, land, and subsistence, till such time as they can build their houses and clear some of their land. They rely for success, first on the goodness of providence, next on the compassionate disposition of the people of England; and, they doubt not, that much will be spared from luxury, and superfluous expenses, by generous tempers, when such an opportunity is offered them by the giving of £20 to provide for a man or woman, or £10 to a child forever.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.304

In order to prevent the benefaction given to this purpose, from ever being misapplied; and to keep up, as far as human precaution can, a spirit of disinterestedness, the trustees have established the following method: that, each benefactor may know what he has contributed is safely lodged, and justly accounted for, all money given will be deposited in the Bank of England; and entries made of every benefaction, in a book to be kept for that purpose by the trustees; or, if concealed, the names of those, by whose hands they sent their money. There are to be annual accounts of all the money received, and how the same has been disposed of, laid before the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or two of them, will be transmitted to every considerable benefactor.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.304–p.305

By such a colony, many families, who would otherwise starve, will be provided for, and made masters of houses and lands; the people in Great Britain to whom these necessitous families were a burden, will be relieved; numbers of manufacturers will be here employed, for supplying them with clothes, working tools, and other necessaries; and by giving refuge to the distressed Saltzburghers, and other persecuted Protestants, the power of Britain, as a reward for its hospitality, will be increased by the addition of so many religious and industrious subjects.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.305

The colony of Georgia lying about the same latitude with part of China, Persia, Palestine, and the Madeiras, it is highly probable that when hereafter it shall be well-peopled and rightly cultivated, England may be supplied from thence with raw silk, wine, oil, dyes, drugs, and many other materials for manufactures, which she is obliged to purchase from southern countries. As towns are established and grow populous along the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, they will make such a barrier as will render the southern frontier of the British colonies on the continent of America, safe from Indian and other enemies.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.305–p.306

All human affairs are so subject to chance, that there in [is] no answering for events; yet from reason and the nature of things, it may be concluded, that the riches and also the number of the inhabitants in Great Britain will be increased, by importing at a cheap rate from this new colony, the materials requisite for carrying on in Britain several manufactures. For our manufacturers will be encouraged to marry and multiply, when hey find themselves in circumstances to provide for their families, which must necessarily be the happy effect of the increase and cheapness of our materials of those manufactures, which at present we purchase with our money from foreign countries, at dear rates; and also many people will find employment here, on account [of] such farther demands by the people of this colony, for those manufactures which are made for the produce of our own country; and, as has been justly observed, the people will always abound where there is full employment for them.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.306

Christianity will be extended by the execution of this design; since, the good discipline established by the society, will reform the manners of those miserable objects, who shall be by them subsisted; and the example of a whole colony, who shall behave in a just, moral, and religious manner, will contribute greatly towards the conversion of the Indians, and taking off the prejudices received from the profligate lives of such who have scarce anything of Christianity but the name.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.306

The trustees in their general meetings, will consider of the most prudent methods for effectually establishing a regular colony; and that it may be done, is demonstrable. Under what difficulties, was Virginia planted?—the coast and climate then unknown; the Indians numerous, and at enmity with the first planters, who were forced to fetch all provisions from England; yet it is grown a mighty province, and the revenue receives £100,000 for duties upon the goods that they send yearly home. Within this 50 years, Pennsylvania was as much a forest as Georgia is now; and in these few years, by the wise economy of William Penn, and those who assisted him, it now gives food to 80,000 inhabitants, and can boast of as fine a city as most in Europe.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.307

This new colony is more likely to succeed than either of the former were, since Carolina abounds with provisions, the climate is known, and there are men to instruct in the seasons and nature of cultivating the soil. There are but few Indian families within 400 miles; and those, in perfect amity with the English—Port Royal (the station of his Majesty's ships) is within 30, and Charlestown (a great mart) is within 120 miles. If the colony is attacked, it may be relieved by sea, from Port Royal, or the Bahamas; and the militia of South Carolina is ready to support it, by land.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.307

For the continuing the relief which is now given, there will be lands reserved in the colony; and the benefit arising from them is to go to the carrying on of the trust. So that, at the same time, the money by being laid out preserves the lives of the poor, and makes a comfortable provision for those whose expenses are by it defrayed; their labor in improving their own lands will make the adjoining reserved lands valuable; and the rents of those reserved lands will be a perpetual fund for the relieving more poor people. So that instead of laying out the money upon lands, with the income thereof to support the poor, this is laying out money upon the poor; and by relieving those who are now unfortunate, raises a fund for the perpetual relief of those who shall be so hereafter.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.307–p.308

There is an occasion now offered for every one, to help forward this design; the smallest benefaction will be received, and applied with the utmost care: every little will do something; and a great number of small benefactions will amount to a sum capable of doing a great deal of good.

Oglethorpe, Establishing The Colony of Georgia, America, Vol.2, p.308

If any person, moved with the calamities of the unfortunate, shall be inclined to contribute towards their relief, they are desired to pay their benefactions into the Bank of England, on account of the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America; or else, to any of the trustees, who are, &c.

Oglethorpe in Georgia

Title: Oglethorpe in Georgia

Author: Joel Chandler Harris

Date: 1733

Source: Great Epochs in American History, Vol.2, p.204-208

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.204

General James Edward Oglethorpe, the founder of the Colony of Georgia, was among the few really good and great men that history tells us of. We need to keep a close eye on the antics of history. She places the laurels of fame in the hands of butchers, plunderers, and adventurers, and even assassins share her favors; so that, if we are going to enjoy the feast that history offers us, we must not inquire too closely into the characters of the men whom she makes heroes of. We find, when we come to look into the matter, that but few of those who figured as the great men of the world have been entirely unselfish; and unselfishness is the test of a man who is really good and great. Judged by this test, General Oglethorpe stands among the greatest men known to history….

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.204

Born in 1689, Oglethorpe entered the English army when twenty-one years of age. In 1714 he became captain-lieutenant of the first troop of the Queen's life guards. He shortly afterward joined Eugene on the continent, and remained with that soldier until the peace of 1718. On the death of his brother he succeeded to the family estate in England. In 1722 he was elected to Parliament from Haslemere, County of Surrey, and this borough he represented continuously for thirty-two years. His parliamentary career was marked by wise prudence and consistency; and his sympathies were warmly enlisted for the relief of unfortunate soldiers, and in securing reform in the conduct of prisons. In this way Oglethorpe became a philanthropist, and, without intending it, attracted the attention of all England. Pope, the poet, eulogizes his "strong benevolence of soul."

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.205

In that day and time men were imprisoned for debt in England. The law was brutal, and those who executed it were cruel. There was no discrimination between fraud and misfortune. The man who was unable to pay his debts was judged to be as criminal as the man who, though able, refused to pay….

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.205

This condition of affairs Oglethorpe set himself to reform; and while thus engaged he became imprest with the idea that many of the unfortunates, guilty of no crime, and of respectable connections, might benefit themselves, relieve England of the shame of their imprisonment, and confirm and extend the dominion of the mother country in the New World, by being freed from the claims of those to whom they owed money, on condition that they would consent to become colonists in America. To this class were to be added recruits from those who, through lack of work and of means, were likely to be imprisoned on account of their misfortunes. Oglethorpe was also of the opinion that men of means, enterprise, and ambition could be enlisted in the cause; and in this he was not mistaken.

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.206

He had no hope whatever of personal gain or private benefit. The plan that he had conceived was entirely for the benefit of the unfortunate, based on broad and high ideas of benevolence; and so thoroughly was this understood that Oglethorpe had no difficulty whatever in securing the aid of men of wealth and influence. A charter or grant from the government was applied for, in order that the scheme might have the sanction and authority of the government. Accordingly a charter was granted, and the men most prominent in the scheme of benevolence were incorporated under the name of "The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America." Georgia in America was, under the terms of the charter, a pretty large slice of America. It embraced all that part of the continent lying between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, and extending westly from the heads of these rivers in direct lines to the South Seas; so that the original territory of Georgia extended from ocean to ocean.

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.206

In aid of this enterprise, Oglethorpe not only contributed largely from his private means, and solicited contributions from his wealthy friends, but wrote a tract in which he used arguments that were practical as well as ingenious.

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.206

On the 17th of November, 1732, all arrangements having been completed, the Anne set sail for the Colony of Georgia, accompanied by Oglethorpe, who furnished his own cabin, and laid in provisions not only for himself, but for his fellow-passengers. On the 13th of January, 1733, the Anne anchored in Charleston harbor. From Charleston the vessel sailed to Port Royal; and the colonists were soon quartered in the barracksof Beaufort-town, which had been prepared for their reception. Oglethorpe left the colonists at Beaufort and, in company with Colonel William Bull, proceeded to the Savannah River. He went up this stream as far as Yamacraw Bluff, which he selected as the site of the settlement he was about to make. He marked out the town, and named it Savannah. The site was a beautiful one in Oglethorpe's day, and it is still more beautiful now. The little settlement that the founder of the colony marked out has grown into a flourishing city, and art has added its advantages to those of nature to make Savannah one of the most beautiful cities in the United States….

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.207

On the 30th of January, 1733, the immigrants set sail from Beaufort, and on the afternoon of the next day they arrived at Yamacraw Bluff. On the site of the town that had already been marked off they pitched four tents large enough to accommodate all the people. Oglethorpe, after posting his sentinels, slept on the ground under the shelter of the tall pines, near the central watch fire. As a soldier should, he slept soundly. He had planted the new colony, and thus far all had gone well with him and with those whose interests he had charge of.

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.207

To bring these colonists across the ocean and place them in a position where they might begin life anew was not a very difficult undertaking; but to plant a colony amongst savages already suspicious of the whites, and to succeed in obtaining their respect, friendship, and aid, was something that required wisdom, courage, prudence, and large experience. This Oglethorpe did; and it is to his credit that, during the time he had charge of the colony, he never, in any shape or form, took advantage of the ignorance of the Indians. His method of dealing with them was very simple. He conciliated them by showing them that the whites could be just, fair, and honorable in their dealings; and thus, in the very beginning, he won the friendship of those whose enmity to the little colony would have proved ruinous.

Harris, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Great Epochs, Vol.2, p.208

Providence favored Oglethorpe in this matter. He had to deal with an Indian chief full of years, wisdom, and experience. This was Tomochichi, who was at the head of the Yamacraws. From this kindly Indian the Georgia Colony received untold benefits. He remained the steadfast friend of the settlers, and used his influence in their behalf in every possible way, and on all occasions. Altho he was a very old man, he was strong and active, and of commanding presence. He possessed remarkable intelligence; and this, added to his experience, made him one of the most remarkable of the Indians whose names have been preserved in history…. Thus, with Oglethorpe to direct it, and with Tomochichi as its friend, the little Georgia Colony was founded, thrived and flourished.

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