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BRYANT'S
POPULAR HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES.



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A POPULAR HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE

FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
BY THE NORTHMEN, TO THE END OF THE
FIRST CENTURY OF THE UNION
OF THE STATES

PRECEDED BY A SKETCH OF THE PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD AND THE
AGE OF THE MOUND BUILDERS

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
AND
SYDNEY HOWARD GAY

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION

FULLY ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME II

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PREFACE.

IF, as is quite possible, there has been some impatience on the part of subscribers to this work to see the second volume; we have not permitted the suspicion of its existence to hurry us in the least. The writing of history is one of the things that is not necessarily well done, because it is done quickly. Rather the converse of that proposition is true, and our readers should thank us that we have not been tempted into haste.

It was not meant by the use of the term "Popular" in the title of this work to imply — as is so often the case — that this was to be a merely superficial work, — a compilation of other general histories. Its purpose is to commend it, by its method, its treatment, the historical aspects to be presented, to the popular reader, — that large class in this country who seek repose and recreation in general literary culture, but with whom literature is not the business of life. But by no means is it intended to sacrifice to that purpose either accuracy or comprehensiveness; nor to disregard the approbation of the few, who are learned in history and whose judgment upon a work of this sort is the test of real value, in the attempt to write an entertaining narrative.

There is no short or royal road that leads to such an end. The sources of knowledge are hidden away, in part, in the archives of States: in the publications of Historical Societies, and the MSS. they have treasured; in old, scarce, and almost unknown books; in the results of the researches of diligent scholars, both here and in Europe, and in other tongues than

our own. True, it is in these mines that all previous historians have delved and toiled, availing themselves of the labors of others, or making for themselves new discoveries. But it is in later years that these discoveries have been the most valuable and the most interesting; that the accumulation of material has been the most abundant, and the more out of the reach of the general reader. The time had come for an attempt at a fresh history of this country which should garner those treasures scattered over so wide a field.

To this task we have brought, at least, conscientious diligence: we try to gather together the product of all this laborious research and precious knowledge, guarding ourselves at the same time with an equal care against accepting mere novelties because they are new, and may be sensational.

For the rest, we aim not to make a dry record of mere annals, but rather to preserve, wherever it is found, that flavor of romance and adventure, — hitherto so neglected, — which belongs to the earlier voyages and settlements; to give a narrative of events that had results, and of the character and institutions of the people who made the events. Many apologies are due to our readers for many shortcomings, — how many none can know so well as we, — but an apology for delay is not one of them. There is an implied promise of thoroughness and care on our part which we do not mean to break by undue haste.

Meanwhile, that there shall be no undue delay, we call to our aid the help of others wherever it can be used. Of the present volume it is proper and pleasant to say that the portion contained in the last four chapters, — relating to the early history of the extreme South and West, which, from its want of connection with the rest of the country at that period, admitted of independent treatment, — is written by the Rev. E. E. Hale. His long and careful study of French and Spanish colonization on this continent is an assurance of how well and faithfully he has continued here in a graver tone those labors of which he has produced some fruit in other books. We have received also most valuable assistance in laborious research, and in the gathering together of much

material, from the Rev. John Weiss and Mr. Edward L. Burlingame; and still further and constant aid from the latter gentleman in help in the selection and arrangement of illustrations, in the preparation of indexes, and much other work, which upon volumes of the size of these is more important than conspicuous.

To the first volume of this History, as well as to this, it is due to say that the oldest living and most distinguished American scholar, whose name it bears, has given to every line — read in proof before printing — the benefit of his careful criticism, his ripe judgment, and his candid discrimination. The title of the work implies that it has passed already a far more rigid censorship, both for its matter and its manner, than any other reader is ever likely to exercise.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

WEST BRIGHTON, STATEN ISLAND, *May*, 1878.

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ERRATA IN FIRST EDITION OF VOLUME I.

In the first edition of Volume I. there were some errors so obviously typographical that the reader, we assume, will correct them for himself. We note the few that seem to need other correction :—

Page 46, sixth line from bottom, for *Greenland* read *Iceland*.

Page 350, first line, for *August* read *September*.

Page 351, thirty-second line, for *August* read *September*.

Page 534, the portrait of Roger Williams proves not authentic, and will be omitted in future editions.

Page 553, sixth line from bottom, for *second* read *third*.

Page 556, twelfth line, for *Connecticut* read *Rhode Island*.

SUMMARY OF NUMBER OF PAGES AND OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF BRYANT'S POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING FRONT MATTER AND FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS		652
NUMBER OF ILLUSTRATIONS.		
Steel Plates	4	4
Full-page Wood-cuts	14	14
Maps	11	11
Illustrations in Text	310	310
Total		339



THE MURDER OF LA SALLE.



Site of the Great Pequot Fort.

CHAPTER I.

THE PEQUOT WAR.

HOSTILITIES BEFORE THE WAR.—ENDICOTT'S EXPEDITION TO BLOCK ISLAND.—ITS SUCCESS.—INDIANS OF THE MAIN LAND ATTACKED.—RETALIATION ON THE ENGLISH PLANTATIONS.—A GENERAL WAR RESOLVED ON.—MASON'S EXPEDITION.—REDUCTION OF THE PEQUOT FORT.—RESULTS OF THE SUMMER'S WORK.—EXTINCTION OF THE PEQUOT TRIBE.—CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS.—RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES.—INFLUENCE OF THE PEQUOT WAR UPON THE GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

THE murder of Captain Oldham by the Indians of Block Island aroused the most serious alarm throughout the feeble colonies of New England. It seemed to be, in the light of other acts of similar atrocity, the final and conclusive evidence of the impossibility of any peace with these savages. They meant, it seemed, utterly to destroy the English. There was in the minds of most of them hardly the glimmer of a reason for this deadly enmity against the white men; but instead of reason was the love of blood; the love of revenging some real or fancied wrong; the love of plunder; the love of the clash of war with the maddening music of the groans of tortured men, the shrieks of women, and the cries of children. The war-whoop, as it rang through the woods, found this quick responsive chord in every savage bosom. But the more thoughtful

Origin of
the Pe-
quot War.

among them believed their race stood in the presence of a terrible dilemma: either the intruders must be destroyed or driven to the ships that brought them, or they must themselves turn their backs upon the beloved land where the bones of their ancestors were buried, where to every hill and rock and river clung the most cherished memories, tender with romantic legend, reverent with superstition, or fierce with inherited hate. Their deepest religious sense was in the love of the land where from generation to generation the tribes had lived and died, where the children never forgot to add day by day a stone to the simple monuments that marked the graves or the deeds of the fathers. Who were these pale-faced strangers that they should give up their country to them? should look their last upon that glorious sea out of which the sun came to light up and warm their hunting-grounds? should hide themselves in the deep shadows of those western forests that had no end?

Colonial statesmen were compelled to meet face to face, with such wisdom and such strength as they could, this plain and well defined Indian question — not yet settled after the lapse of more than two centuries — could these people be subjugated, and the tribal distinctions, which made them distinct nationalities, be obliterated? Affairs wore too stern an aspect for that lamentation to be remembered which the good Robinson, twelve years before, had addressed to his Plymouth flock: "Oh! how happy a thing had it been if you had converted some before you had killed any." The problem was simplified, for a time at least, to how these heathen could be most easily and most effectually killed.

But milder measures were first exhausted. The murderers of Stone and of Oldham were demanded of the Pequots with remuneration for property destroyed. The demands were met with evasions, or with promises made only to be broken. Savage cunning was more than a match for the diplomatic arts of the civilized and wiser white men. There was no solution left but force.

In August, 1636, five small vessels, carrying about a hundred men, sailed from Boston to Block Island; for it was the Indians of that island who had murdered Oldham and taken his vessel. John Endicott of Salem was in command of the expedition, and his orders from the magistrates of Boston were that he should kill all the men, but should spare the women and children. The hundred men had four captains beside the commander-in-chief. "I would not," writes one of them — John Underhill, — "have the world wonder at the great number of commanders to so few men, but know that the Indians' fight far differs from the Christian practice." And he explains that as the savages divided themselves into small

Endicott's
expedition
to Block
Island.

bodies, so it was necessary to meet them with like detachments, the honor of command remaining the same whether given to captains of tens or captains of thousands. This Underhill, who showed himself at other times a braggart, a bigot, a libertine, little given to shame or scruple of any other sort, was sensitive on a point of rank and soldierly reputation.

The wind blew hard, and the surf rolled in heavily on the rocky shores of Block Island as the expedition approached it. A landing was made in spite of a shower of arrows with which ^{The attack.} the Indians attempted to repel the invaders—a futile defence, for



Gov. Endicott landing on Block Island.

only one Englishman was wounded. Another arrow recoiled harmless from the helmet of Underhill, and would, he writes, have slain him, "if God in his Providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me, which I was unwilling to do." Whereupon he improves the occasion, after the fashion of the time, by these pious and timely reflections: "First, when the hour of death is not yet come, you see God useth weak means to keep his purpose unviolated; secondly, let no man despise advice and counsel of his wife, though she be a woman." Not that there was anything remarkable in this evidence of how precious the life of John Underhill was in the sight of God, and how important to the success of the expedition; but it was marvellous that God should condescend to

an instrument to do his will so humble and usually so useless as a woman. Another inference the captain drew even more distinctly. It was the "clamor," he asserts, that New England men "usurped over their wives;" but John Underhill had been saved from death because a woman's voice had not been unheeded; and that should make an end of this public calumny.¹ The calumny, perhaps, was of Underhill's own invention to minister to his own vanity, for there is no evidence of the existence of any peculiar hardship in the condition of the wives of the Puritans.

The Indians fled into the interior of the island and were followed by the English. Two villages were found containing about Success of the expedition. sixty wigwams, some of which seem to have been of the best class of Indian habitations. Two hundred acres of land were under cultivation, and the maize, already partly harvested, was piled in heaps to be stored away for winter use. For two days the invaders sought for the natives without success; but the still standing corn, the stacks, the wigwams with their simple furniture of mats and baskets, the canoes, they burned to the last fragment.² The desolation was complete; the Indians whom they could not find to kill they left to starve.

The Block Islanders were severely if not wisely punished for the murder of Oldham. The Pequots of the mainland were next Its results. to be dealt with for the earlier murder of Stone. A band of three hundred of this tribe Endicott found at the mouth of the Pequot River — now the Thames. He asked that Sassacus, the Pequot chief, should be brought to him. Either the chief would not, or could not come, and Endicott, believing that the Indians were trying to put him off with excuses, landed his men. From behind rocks and trees the savages shot harmless arrows to hinder their advance; bullets on the other side did better service, for a few of the Indians were killed and wounded as they slowly retired before the English. The villages of wigwams, which stood probably about where New London now stands, were soon reached and burned, but the maize was here too green to take fire.

The expedition was finished by coasting along the Narragansett shores, burning wigwams and destroying crops wherever they could be found. In less than a month the vessels were at anchor again in Boston harbor. "They came all safe," writes Winthrop, "which was

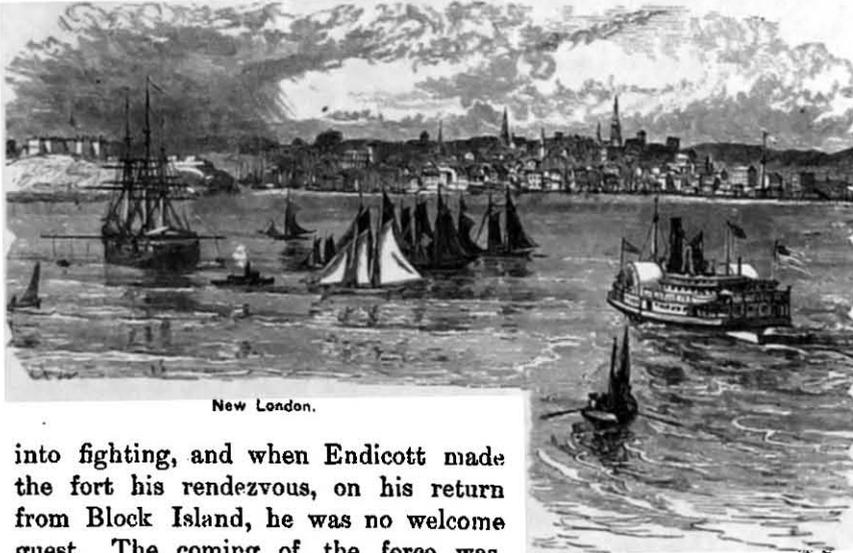
¹ *News From America; or A New And Experimental Discoverie of New England, &c. &c.* By Captaine John Underhill, a Commander in the Warres there. Reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi., Third Series.

² Winthrop's *History of New England*, Savage's edition, vol. i., p. 231. Underhill's *News from America*, p. 7.

a marvellous providence of God, that not a hair fell from the head of any of them, nor any sick or feeble persons among them." What the providence of God did for the two or three hundred Indians left on Block Island without shelter, or food, or canoes in which to escape a lingering death from cold and hunger, he does not tell us; but these were not members of Mr. Cotton's church. That God, however, did not permit them all to perish miserably we are assured by later references in contemporaneous narratives to the Indians of Block Island.

At the mouth of the Connecticut a fort had recently been built, — at that point since known as Saybrook, in honor of the Lords Say and Brook, — and the younger Winthrop had put in it a garrison of twenty men, under the command of Captain Lion Gardiner. Gardiner was too good a soldier to rush rashly

Perils of the
fort at Say-
brook.



New London.

into fighting, and when Endicott made the fort his rendezvous, on his return from Block Island, he was no welcome guest. The coming of the force was, writes Gardiner,¹ "to my great grief, for, said I, you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away." He had all along counselled a conciliatory policy; he and his little garrison of probably less than a hundred persons, including the women and children, had all they could do, he said, to fight "Captain Hunger," and the loss of their corn-field, two miles from the fort, might be fatal. "You will keep yourselves safe, as you think, in the Bay," he wrote, "but myself with these few, you will leave at the stake to be roasted, or for hunger to be starved."

He was right. Winthrop hailed Endicott's return as "a marvellous Providence of God," but it was, said Gardiner, the beginning of war

¹ Gardiner's *Pequot Warres*, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. iii.

to the isolated garrison at his fort, and the feeble colonies on the Connecticut. The Block Islanders, perhaps, were incapable of further mischief for a time, but on the mainland the natives were aroused to exasperation and revenge, not reduced to submission. They watched for opportunities to waylay the English, to come upon them at unexpected times and places, resorting to all the stratagems and cunning so well understood at a later period as the peculiar characteristic of the North American Indian. A portion of Gardiner's corn only was saved, and that at the expense of the lives of some of his men; to cut and bring in the hay from the neighboring meadows cost him still more. The fort was beleaguered by a foe always present, and always unseen, till he made himself known and felt by some sudden attack; to go beyond the defences for work or for sport, to bring in timber or to seek for game, could be done only at peril of life or limb. Hostilities extended to all the settlements. "We are Pequits," said the Indians, in their usual boastful spirit, "and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes, and we will go to Conectecott and kill men, women, and children, and we will take away the horses, cows and hogs."¹ They were as good as their word.

Agawam (Springfield), where William Pynchon had planted his colony, was threatened, and thought, at one time, to be de-
The distress of the plant-ers. stroyed. Hartford and Windsor were in constant fear of at-
 tack. Cattle were killed or stolen; each settlement was a camp; to wander far from home was at the risk of immediate death, or captivity and death by torture; labor on week-days was, for the most part, suspended, and on Sundays the men sat with arms in their hands, their attention divided between the expounding of the Word by the preacher and listening for the war-whoop of an approaching enemy.

Wethersfield attacked. At Wethersfield a band suddenly fell upon a party of work-
 men in the fields, killed nine of them, men, women, and children, and carried away two girls as captives. On their way down the river, as they passed the fort at Saybrook, the Indians raised a mast upon the canoe which carried the prisoners, hoisting in derision as sails the shirts and petticoats of the men and women they had murdered. A chance shot from the fort struck the canoe, where the captives lay weeping in the bottom of the boat, but fortunately with little damage. The girls themselves seem not to have been badly treated by the savages; and they were afterwards redeemed by the Dutch, who enticed some Pequots on board their vessel and holding them as hostages threatened to drop them into the open sea unless their demand for the surrender of the prisoners was instantly complied with. But it was a case of special mercy; other prisoners were tortured and mutilated in the most cruel manner.

¹ Gardiner's *Pequot Warres*.

The very existence of the Colonies was, no doubt, seriously threatened. The different Indian tribes which surrounded them could, if they would act in harmony, bring into the field many more warriors than there were English in the country, and it was by no means impossible that they might, by a concerted movement, exterminate the strangers. Roger Williams was quick to discern this danger, and did more than any other one man to avert it. He was so well known to, and in such friendly relations with the Indians, that he exercised much influence over them. They may

Roger
Williams's
services.



The Captive Maidens.

even have understood that one cause of his banishment from the Bay of Massachusetts was that he had maintained their rightful title to the country as against all comers, to keep or to sell it as they pleased, and this would specially secure for him their love and reverence. Writing many years afterwards of this time, he said, "I had my share of service to the whole land in that Pequod business, . . . the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself, all alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the sachim's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequod ambassadors

whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also."¹

Of the progress of these negotiations Governor Winthrop and his associates were kept carefully advised; nor did they disdain to accept aid from the man they had not long before driven out from among them because of some possibly extravagant, but certainly harmless, abstract opinions. But amid the din of arms, or even the fear of it, bigotry as well as law is silent. The early Puritans were never



Roger Williams going to the Sachem's House.

lacking in the soundest common sense when common sense best served their purpose. They could accept in time of danger welcome and invaluable aid from one whose sentence of banishment from Massachusetts they never, through his long and useful life, had the magnanimity to revoke.

It was these efforts of Mr. Williams that, more than anything else, secured those friendly relations with the Narragansetts which at this period were of the utmost importance to the colonies. This tribe and the Pequots were already enemies, but there was good reason for apprehending that a common peril might unite them against a common enemy. The true policy of the English was to widen the breach

¹ Letter to Major Mason, 1670. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, First Series, vol. i. *Publications of The Narragansett Club*, vol. ii.

between them if peace could not be secured with both. The Pequots were implacable after Endicott's expedition to Block Island and along the Narragansett coast, but Williams persuaded the Narragansett chiefs, Canonicus, an old man equally morose and savage, he says — *morosus æque ac barbarus senex*, — and Miantonomo, who "kept his barbarous court lately at my house," to join their forces with the English in a war upon their rivals. Of a preliminary expedition, proposed by Miantonomo to destroy the crops of the Pequots, Williams wrote to Winthrop: "If they speed it will weaken the enemy and distress them, being put by their hopes: as also much enrage the Pequots forever against them, a thing much desirable."¹

The Massachusetts General Court, at their meeting in May, decided to come to the aid of the sorely distressed and harassed plantations of Connecticut, as well as to avert a danger that threatened all alike. It was a common peril, and the Bay called upon Plymouth for aid. But Plymouth held back. She had her grievances against the Massachusetts government, who had refused to help her against the French when, two years before, they had captured the Plymouth trading-house on the Penobscot; who had encouraged these marauding Frenchmen, on the Kennebeck, by selling them guns and provisions; and who had upheld the Dorchester people in taking possession of the lands at Windsor which Plymouth claimed as hers by right of first settlement.²

Massachusetts and Plymouth could take time for debate; no enemy lay concealed in the long grass about their doorways, or watched in the edges of the forest for the scalps of fathers and sons who should venture out to labor in the fields. But the plantations on the Connecticut stood face to face with the constant terror of sudden death. In May a force of ninety men, forty-two from Hartford, thirty from Windsor, and eighteen from Wethersfield, commanded by Captain John Mason, an experienced and able soldier, sailed from Hartford for Saybrook Fort.³

A body of Indians, under the Mobergan chief, Uncas, joined them at this point, but the English were not quite sure that they would not prove treacherous. The Rev. Mr. Stone of Hartford was chaplain of the expedition, and he spent the night of their arrival at Gardiner's fort in prayer for their success, and especially that God would vouch-

¹ Letter to Vane or Winthrop, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. vi. *Narragansett Club Publications*, vol. vi.

² Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 260. *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 352 et seq.

³ *Colonial Records of Connecticut. Mason's Brief History of the Pequot War, Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. viii.

safe to give them some token of the fidelity of these Indian allies. But their fidelity was already proved in a fight with a band of Pequots which Gardiner had ordered them to attack. Underhill had overheard the pious supplication of the chaplain, and "immediately," he says, "myself stepping up, told him that God had answered his desire, and that I had brought him this news, that those Indians had brought in five Pequots' heads, one prisoner, and wounded one mortally; which did much encourage the hearts of all and replenished them exceedingly, and gave them all occasion to rejoice and be thankful to God." And, indeed, if that kind of answer was looked



Site of the Narragansett Fort at Fort Neck.

for, five such bloody tokens were significant enough. Nor is it much to be wondered at that the prisoner, whose head unfortunately was left upon his shoulders, was lashed to a post and torn limb from limb with ropes, by the mere brute force of twenty Englishmen.¹ It was a deed as unwise as it was cruel, if only meant as a retaliation of the torture of English prisoners, but defensible as the punishment of those whom God had declared his enemies. Some of the wisest and best among the New England Puritans held that as certainly as they were the special care of Heaven, so, as unquestionably, the Indians were the children of the devil. And this particular Indian, God had

¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 266. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, says that this Indian suffered torture and death from Uncas and his men. Vincent, *History of the Pequot War*, agrees with Winthrop.

delivered alive into their hands in answer to prayer. Was it not that he might be tortured?

The General Court at Hartford had ordered Mason to land at the mouth of Pequot (the Thames) River, and invade the Pequot country at the nearest point from the sea. But Mason was too good a soldier to attack in front, where he knew he was expected and watched for, an enemy much superior in numbers to his own ^{Mason's strategy.} command. Other officers hesitated to disobey positive orders, and this question also was left to be decided by an answer to Mr. Stone's prayers. The Lord, Mr. Stone believed, approved of the plan proposed by Mason, as decidedly as He had pronounced on the point of the faithfulness of the Mohegans and Narragansetts. Embarking his force again, taking twenty Massachusetts men led by Underhill in place of a like number of the least efficient he had brought from Hartford, Mason left the river and bore away for Narragansett Bay. It looked like a retreat. The anxious Pequots along the coast watched the receding vessels, and, when they were no longer in sight, re-



Porter's Rocks.

retired, relieved from a sense of danger, to their villages, to exult at the cowardice of the enemy and their own bravery and good fortune.

But Mason came to anchor toward evening of the next day somewhere at the entrance, probably, of Narragansett Bay.¹ For two days

¹ Precisely where he came to anchor is mere conjecture. Mason and Underhill both say in their narratives that they sailed for and landed in Narragansett Bay. A heavy sea, con-

safe to give them some token of the fidelity of these Indian allies. But their fidelity was already proved in a fight with a band of Pequots which Gardiner had ordered them to attack. Underhill had overheard the pious supplication of the chaplain, and "immediately," he says, "myself stepping up, told him that God had answered his desire, and that I had brought him this news, that those Indians had brought in five Pequots' heads, one prisoner, and wounded one mortally; which did much encourage the hearts of all and replenished them exceedingly, and gave them all occasion to rejoice and be thankful to God." And, indeed, if that kind of answer was looked



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¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 266. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, says that this Indian suffered torture and death from Uncas and his men. Vincent, *History of the Pequot War*, agrees with Winthrop.

delivered alive into their hands in answer to prayer. Was it not that he might be tortured?

The General Court at Hartford had ordered Mason to land at the mouth of Pequot (the Thames) River, and invade the Pequot country at the nearest point from the sea. But Mason was too good a soldier to attack in front, where he knew he was expected and watched for, an enemy much superior in numbers to his own ^{Mason's} strategy. Other officers hesitated to disobey positive orders, and this question also was left to be decided by an answer to Mr. Stone's prayers. The Lord, Mr. Stone believed, approved of the plan proposed by Mason, as decidedly as He had pronounced on the point of the faithfulness of the Mohegans and Narragansetts. Embarking his force again, taking twenty Massachusetts men led by Underhill in place of a like number of the least efficient he had brought from Hartford, Mason left the river and bore away for Narragansett Bay. It looked like a retreat. The anxious Pequots along the coast watched the receding vessels, and, when they were no longer in sight, re-



Porter's Rocks.

tired, relieved from a sense of danger, to their villages, to exult at the cowardice of the enemy and their own bravery and good fortune.

But Mason came to anchor toward evening of the next day somewhere at the entrance, probably, of Narragansett Bay.¹ For two days

¹ Precisely where he came to anchor is mere conjecture. Mason and Underhill both say in their narratives that they sailed for and landed in Narragansett Bay. A heavy sea, con-

a heavy surf prevented a landing, but on the second evening the whole force went ashore and, the next day, marched to a fort of the Narragansetts, about eighteen or twenty miles distant on the Pequot frontier.¹

He lands at the entrance of Narragansett Bay.

Here an interview was had with Canonicus and Miantonomo, who, while they renewed their promises to be faithful allies to the English, were cold and distrustful, doubting if so small a body seriously intended, or were able, to cope successfully with the formidable Pequots. Mason, on the other hand, had so little faith in the word of the savages that he surrounded their fort with a guard during the night, lest they should betray his approach to the enemy.

The next day the little army, followed by several hundred of the Indians, who still held back in fear and doubt, made a painful march through the woods, exhausted by fatigue and thirst and heat,—it was the 25th of May,—forded the Pawcatuck River, and encamped at night at a spot now known as Porter's Rocks, at the head of the Mystic River, in the present town of Stonington. The principal Pequot fort, which was rather a large Indian village surrounded with palisades than a fort, was two miles beyond upon a hill. It was crowded with men, women, and children; and till late into the night the sentinels could hear the sound of song and laughter, as, unconscious of the peril that lurked so near, they boasted that the English had fled without daring to strike a blow even to revenge the death of thirty of their people whose scalps hung in Pequot wigwams.

At break of day, when deep sleep had covered the Indian camp, Mason aroused his men. Guided by Uncas, the Mohegan chief, and Wequash, a petty Pequot sachem who had deserted his tribe, they were led within a rod of the palisaded village. Silently and cautiously they completely surrounded it, the Indian allies forming another circle in the rear. So profound was the sleep of the garrison that the first warning was given by the bark of a dog, when a Pequot, springing to his feet, shouted "Owanux! Owanux!" — "Englishmen! Englishmen!"

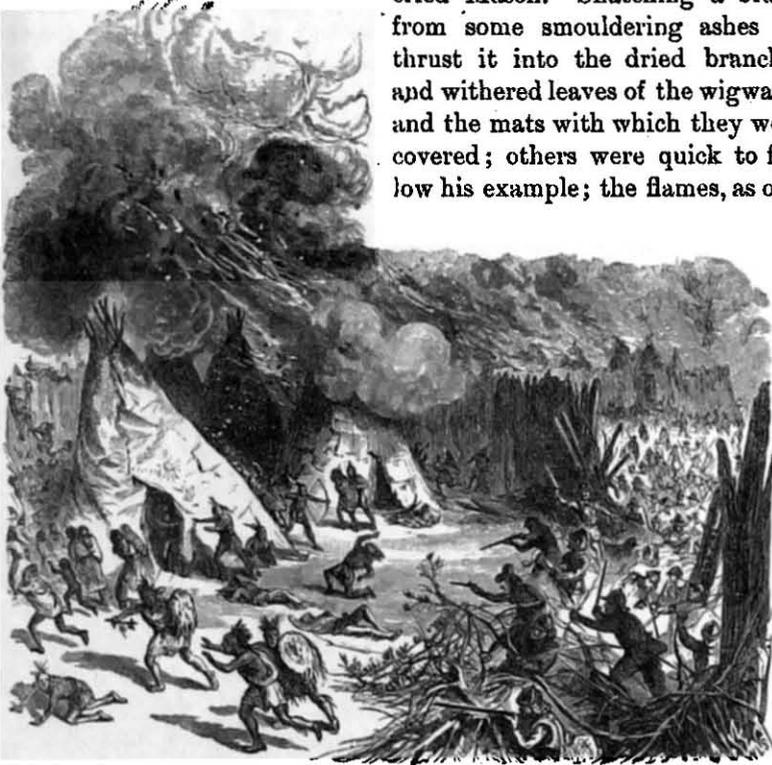
There were two entrances to the village, at opposite sides; Mason, followed by his men, sprang in at one over a barricade of brush heaps; Underhill made his way in at the other. The assault was irresistible; the possession complete. Women and children, in the

tinuing two days, indicates that the place must have been along the open coast outside the bay.

¹ This fort is supposed to have been at a place now called Fort Neck. (*Rhode Island Hist. Coll.* vol. iii., p. 24.) Mason says in his narrative that it was twelve miles from Pawcatuck River. A fort was afterward built on this hill, the ruins of which still remain.

extremity of terror, sought either to hide themselves, like frightened wild creatures, beneath anything that would cover them, or to fly to the woods; the men could only make some feeble show of fight. In the dim morning twilight, in the confusion of a sudden awakening, in the din of the terrible onslaught, there was little chance of either escape or resistance.

But even guns and swords could not do the work fast enough for the impatient and merciless assailants. "We must burn them!" cried Mason. Snatching a brand from some smouldering ashes he thrust it into the dried branches and withered leaves of the wigwams and the mats with which they were covered; others were quick to follow his example; the flames, as of a



Attack on the Pequot Fort.

huge bonfire, sprung into the air and lit up the glow of the coming morning. "The Indians ran, as Men most dreadfully Amazed," says Mason. "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." That the weaker,—the very young, the very old, and the women—should escape, was impossible; the stronger, if not driven back to suffocation and torture in the smoke and flames of their own homes, could only throw themselves desperately upon the swords of the unyielding circle of steady Eng-

lishmen, or meet beyond a still more impenetrable circle of their own countrymen inexorable as death and more cruel than fire.

In a little more than an hour from the first moment of alarm the rising sun shone upon the smouldering remnants of seventy wigwams and the charred and bleeding bodies of six or seven hundred Indians. Of the whole village only seven escaped and seven were taken captive.¹ "Thus," exclaims the exultant captain, "did the Lord judge among the Heathen!" Of the English two only were killed and about twenty wounded.

Mason and his men were worn out with the fatigue of a long march and the loss of sleep, and their provision and ammunition were well-nigh spent. The mouth of Pequot River was the appointed rendezvous of the vessels, and the men had yet before them a further march of several miles. At no great distance was another Indian village, whence a hundred and fifty of the men had been sent the day before to reinforce the garrison that now lay dead upon the hill-side—the hundred and fifty dead with the rest. In this village, however, there were still three hundred and fifty warriors, and thither the few who had escaped from the Mystic fort had carried the news of the massacre of the larger portion of their tribe.

Howling with rage and grief these were soon upon the trail of the English, whom the treacherous Narragansetts, fearing this very result,

had already deserted. Uncas and the Mohegans still remained faithful, and were so far of use that they were induced to render service in carrying the wounded. At least a third of Mason's men were, from wounds and exhaustion, a mere burden upon the rest; but the pursuit was successfully repulsed, with a good deal of loss to the Indians.² The vessels arrived at the river's mouth in the course of the day, with a reinforcement of forty men from Boston, and Mason and his force, before the night closed in, were safe from further attack on board.

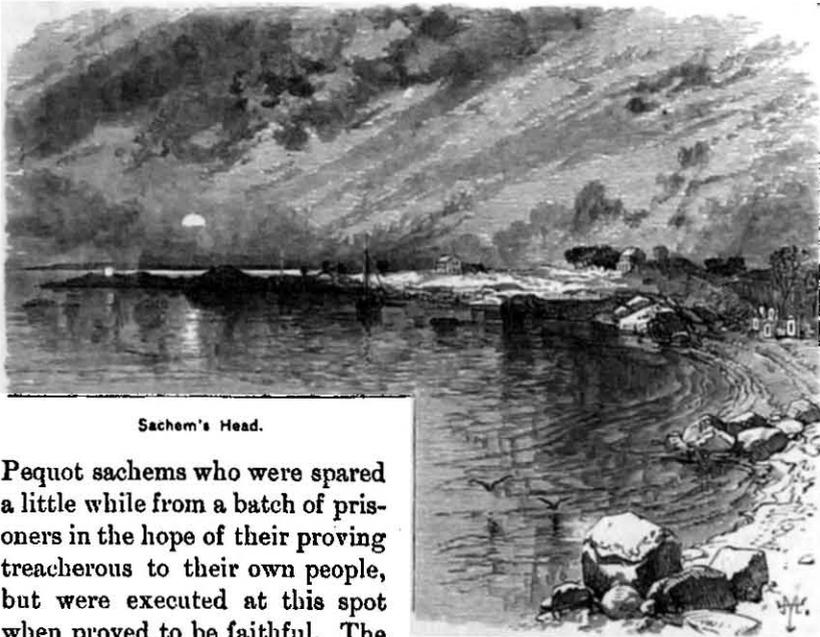
The war, however, was not yet quite finished, even by a slaughter so disastrous as this. The enmity between the Pequots and the other tribes of Massachusetts and Connecticut had grown now to a deadly hatred, and there could be no peace between them. While hostilities continued among the natives, there was little safety for the English; and they had, perhaps, no alternative but to join with one party in the subjugation of the other. At any rate, to hesitate at such a crisis would be ruin to the infant settlements, and

¹ This is Mason's account. Underhill says there were about four hundred in the fort and only five escaped.

² Underhill says that he, with thirty men, killed and wounded above a hundred of the enemy.

Mason, his force doubled by recruits from the Bay and from Plymouth, under Captain Stoughton, joined with the Narragansetts and Mohegans in an active pursuit of the common enemy.

The summer was spent in skirmishes and ambushes as the Pequots were driven through the forests from one hiding-place to another. It was the Indians, not the English, who now gave the war its character, and it was as savage and merciless as Indian wars have always been. There was little mercy shown, however, to prisoners, whether the Pequots fell into the hands of the English or of their own countrymen. To this day the point on Long Island Sound, known as Sachem's Head in Guilford, commemorates the beheading of two



Sachem's Head.

Pequot sachems who were spared a little while from a batch of prisoners in the hope of their proving treacherous to their own people, but were executed at this spot when proved to be faithful. The

women and children indeed were not killed, but they were, for the most part, while the hostilities continued, sent to the West India Islands and sold as slaves.

In July the miserable remnant of the tribe was surrounded in a swamp in the present town of Fairfield. The men fought with the courage of despair, and sixty or seventy succeeded in forcing their way through the ranks of their assailants; but about two hundred were captured. Henceforth those who were free were hunted like wild beasts by the other Indians, and their heads were brought almost daily into Windsor and Hartford, till in their extremity they prayed to the English for protection to

Extermination of the Pequots.

their miserable lives. They were ready for the last humiliation, which, next to absolute extinction, is the most terrible misfortune that can befall an Indian. The very name they bore was to be obliterated; they were never more to be known as Pequots, but were to be thankful if permitted to live as a part of those tribes which they had so lately reproached as cowards and derided as women.

It was the fate of war. In accordance with that polity universal among the North American savages, by which prisoners, whether individuals or tribes, were adopted into the families and nationalities of their conquerors, rather than condemned to torture and death, the surviving Pequots were permitted to become Mohegans or Narragansetts. Upon the English devolved the duty of umpire in this division of new subjects; and they assigned, beside the women and children, eighty to Uncas, the same number to Miantonomo, and twenty to Ninigret, a petty sachem of the Narragansetts. To the savages this last act in the destruction of their tribal existence could not but be humiliating and distressing; even to the most careless consideration it is not wanting in dignity and pathos, notwithstanding we are told that Ninigret and his men having killed Edward Pomeroye's mare, were allowed their share of Pequots only on condition that they should give satisfaction for the death of that animal.

There were still to be accounted for about thirty of the most dreaded Pequot warriors, who had escaped both death and captivity, and fled to the Mohawks in the valley of the Hudson. They were treacherously murdered by those among whom they sought refuge, and the scalps of Sassacus, his brother, and five other sachems, were sent to Governor Winthrop, in token of Mohawk fidelity and friendship.

Within five months the Pequot war was begun and ended. The English army had at no time, probably, numbered more than two hundred men, or not one fourth of a modern regiment.

The fate of Sassacus the Pequot sachem.

To these were added, perhaps, three times as many Indians, all active, courageous, and cruel when the enemy was no longer to be dreaded; but most of them treacherous and cowardly, lurking in the rear and leaving their allies to bear the brunt of the battle so long as success was doubtful. To the sturdy handful of Puritans was due the conquest of a tribe which sent to the field more than five times their number of warriors to fight for freedom and for life. But the character of the war is to be measured rather by its results than its dimensions, and those were of the last importance to the settlement and growth of New England.

Whether the native population and the intruders upon the soil could not have lived long together in peace and harmony, is not so much the

End of the war and its results.

question as that they did not. The wisest among the Indians looked from the first with the gravest apprehensions upon the coming of the white men, and doubted if there was room in the same land for their own and another race which lived by the cultivation of the soil and the arts of peace. The forest, which it was the first business of the white man to destroy, was the Indian's home and his most precious possession. Here only could the wild animals on which he subsisted live and flourish, and in its dark recesses and fastnesses only could he lie in ambush for the enemy, whose bleeding scalp he longed to hang at his girdle.

He was a beast of prey with some powers of reflection—a tiger with the gift of speech,—and a wilderness was necessary to his existence. War was his pastime; the chase his only serious Character of the Indian. occupation. He cultivated to the highest degree the sense of sight and of hearing; he aimed to surpass all other creatures in swiftness of foot; the instinct of the most timid animal was no match for the cunning with which the savage could steal silently through the woods, leaving no footsteps behind him, or track a beast to his lair, or an enemy to his hiding-place, if either had left the most trifling or the dimmest evidence of the path he had followed. To acquire these qualities he would spare no pains or labor; for these, with a power of endurance that shrunk at no extremity of fatigue, of hunger, or of suffering, were his virtues and his pride. All work that required only mere manual force, and called for the exercise of neither moral nor mental power, was beneath him. That he left to his women. They raised his maize, cooked his food, carried his burdens, and bore the sons who were to grow up into warriors and hunters. He was literally the lord of the creation about him; women and all other animals were made to be the victims and the slaves of his wants and his passions. To call himself a man was his proudest boast; no sarcasm was so keen, no reproach so humiliating as to tell his enemy or the coward who had disgraced his tribe that he was only a woman.

The divinest law he knew was the survival of the fittest; the fittest was he who was the most swift of foot, the keenest of sight and hearing, the most cruel and unwearied in the pursuit of his enemy, who could hang up the most scalps in his wigwam, and if such should be the fortune of war, could laugh at torture. The God he most worshipped was the devil, who he believed, was a bigger Indian than himself, and whose only trail was the thunder and the lightning, the tempest and the pestilence, and who was never visible. Of a God of love, of mercy, and of peace he had little conception, for he recognized material force as the highest attribute, and the purpose His religious convictions. of such force, as he understood and used it, was evil and not good.

Nature, indeed, was beneficent, for it gave him the forest and the streams, the summer's heat and rains to grow maize and tobacco, the deer, the beaver, the women, and other useful and pleasant creatures. But nature, if not independent of a cause, if it was not simply a growth — and on this point his ideas were vague and mythical, — was not necessarily under the beneficent government of a supreme being, all-wise and all-good ; while a power evil, omnipotent, and omnipresent, waged a perpetual war with all the kindly forces of nature, perverting and thwarting them, withholding and destroying the fruits of the earth, visiting the poor Indian with starvation and pestilence, sorrow and death. This terrible being he continually tried to propitiate by voluntary sacrifice of whatever was most precious in his own sight ; for he hoped that there might be, at least, some pity if the devil was saved the trouble of helping himself. But he knew he could never escape from the dreadful presence that ever surrounded and threatened him though he should fly to the uttermost parts of the earth. Release could only come when after death he should be welcomed, according to his deserts in taking scalps and killing game in this world, to a happier land, where perpetual summer reigned, where the hunting was always good, where the maize and the tobacco crops never failed, and where the devil could never enter with flood, or fire, or pestilence, to make him afraid.

Not that the Indian was altogether wanting in qualities which are supposed to belong more to civilized than savage life. Indeed in some of these he rather excelled than otherwise, till the vices of civilization crowded them out without planting in their stead any of its virtues. As he was a child in knowledge and in judgment, in all things save His moral
qualities. war and hunting, so also he had the simplicity and truthfulness which naturally belong to childhood. Lying, whether in word or action, was a stratagem he might lawfully use to deceive an enemy, but never to mislead a friend or one really entitled to his friendship. If he gave his word, implicit trust might be placed in it, as he made no real pretensions to a friendliness he did not feel. To his foe only he was merciless, and he scorned to conceal his hatred except the more certainly to bring about its gratification. Hypocrisy was not among his vices, and he was never anything but what he professed to be. When he circumvented an enemy, which he would do if he could, it was as an enemy and not as a friend. He respected the rights of others as he maintained his own ; the person and the property of his neighbor were sacred. His love for his wife and children was tender and considerate, though the relation between the sexes was almost as loose as that of animals. In the endurance of pain he was impassable, and one from whom the extremest torture could extort a

sigh or a tremor was mourned for, not because he was dead, but that he had ever been born.

Feeble as the Indians generally were in intellect, there were among them men of exceeding shrewdness, of a common sense that was almost genius, of powers of imagination, expression, and pathos that make the poet and the orator; and though such men were the exceptions, they were voluntarily accepted by their fellows as their fitting and natural chiefs. The higher qualities of mind and of character were more potent among them than even the arts of their priests and the influence of superstition. They were inclined to revere and confide in those whom they recognized as superiors; and as a childish vacancy of mind and simplicity of character peculiarly belonged to them, so much the more easily could they be led to a higher moral and intellectual culture. They had little to unlearn, and they received instruction implicitly from the strangers whom at first they looked upon as superior beings; but they were much more susceptible to example than to precept.

In such a people there seems to have been good soil on which to sow pure Christian seed. It was sowed, or what was meant for it, diligently and devotedly, but with small success. Eliot, Gookin, Williams, Mayhew, and many others, both clergymen and laymen, were glad to devote their lives to the salvation of these heathen. To save them was held up as one of the most potent motives for colonization. Pious people in England early formed themselves into a society for the conversion of so benighted a race, and neither prayers nor money were spared in so good a cause. But Christian propagandism was never successful among them. The simplicity of the gospel, the beauty of a virtuous life, forgiveness of injuries, returning good for evil, the duty and wisdom of a cheerful submission to the divine will, were doubtless impressed upon them by some of those who strove to lead them out of a darkened and savage life. They saw, however, the young settlements distracted with questions, a clear understanding of which they were also taught was vital to the Christian faith. Their untutored minds, trained rather to the observation of things than the consideration of ideas, could not easily comprehend the mystery of the personal union with the Holy Ghost, or enter into the subtleties of the question, — over which all Massachusetts Bay went mad, — whether justification came from a covenant of works or a covenant of grace.

But they could measure the morality of the white men with their own; and if the religion of the white men made them no better, why, the Indians asked, should we accept it? It is not strange that they should fail to make a distinction between theology and religion, which the Puritans themselves either would not

Intellectual
character.

Influence of
Christian
teaching.

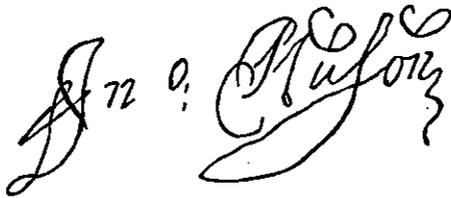
or could not always recognize. The white men were far wiser than they, and sanctification and justification might be to them matters of vast moment; but for themselves they could not see what such questions had to do with their being more truthful in speech or more just and sober in action than they were already. They may, perhaps, have even doubted whether it was worth while to understand these nice distinctions which led to the cruel persecution of men, however truthful or good, who conscientiously maintained opinions which the majority held to be erroneous. They killed their enemies, and so did the English — killed them, indeed, in much greater numbers than they could do; but they never betrayed their friends, never stole from them, never cheated them, never punished them except for actual crime against the common weal. They had small aptitude for polemics; they could not even conceive that, if theological controversy was the best part of Christianity, its blessings were poured upon New England in overflowing abundance. But they never could get beyond the narrow application of the doctrine of the sanctification of works, that they did as well as they knew how; and they could not understand the teaching which was so intent upon what men believed, so comparatively careless as to how they lived.

Whether the fault was in the method by which the Puritans sought to bring the Indians to a knowledge of the true faith, or whether these people are by nature incapable of being anything but savages, all attempts at their Christianization and civilization were, in the main, futile. They had undoubtedly fewer vices and more virtues when the country was first occupied by Europeans than they have ever had since; but after fifty years of labor with them under these most favorable circumstances, of all the thousands of the New England tribes, less than fifteen hundred, with their wives and children, were numbered among the "Praying Indians."¹ Many more than that number had meanwhile been destroyed in two Indian wars. The work of killing was far more successful than that of converting, and their utter extinction, though gradual, was certain.

But there was an interval of forty years between those wars. That with the Pequots was so sharp and decisive a lesson that a generation passed away, and there were none left to bear the Pequot totem, ere the jealousy of the English overcame the memory of their prowess, and led the Indians to venture upon another attempt at extermination. That interval of repose was of the last importance to the colonists. Without it, the history of the permanent settlement of New England might have dated some scores of years

¹ *Letters of Governor Hinckley* (1685), *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. v., p. 132. *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 349.

later. Whether Endicott's expedition to Block Island, reckless and inconsiderate, as most of the acts of that precipitate and hot-headed Puritan usually were, was justifiable or not, when considered in the light of its possible, and even probable, immediate consequences, it had only a happy result. It provoked a war at a time when the Indians, foolishly divided among themselves, were easily subdued by the destruction of the most powerful and dangerous tribe among them, while the weaker, who had blindly helped in that destruction, could never again muster the courage or the strength to attempt, till it was too late, to drive the invaders back to the sea whence they came. That the result should be recognized as a signal evidence of the goodness of God was only in accordance with the Puritan faith that they were peculiarly under the divine protection. "The Lord was pleased," exclaims Captain Mason, with more force than elegance, at the close of his narrative — "the Lord was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. Mason". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed caption.

Signature of John Mason.

CHAPTER II.

SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND.

THE TOWNS ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER. — PREPARATORY GOVERNMENT. — THE FIRST CONSTITUTION AND THE EARLIEST GOVERNORS. — CIVIL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE FIRST SETTLERS. — NECESSITY OF STRINGENT RULE. — CHARACTER OF EARLY LEGISLATION. — ANOTHER EMIGRATION FROM BOSTON. — NEW HAVEN AND ITS CHURCH OF SEVEN PILLARS. — ESTABLISHMENT OF OTHER TOWNS AND CHURCHES. — DUTCH AND ENGLISH BOUNDARIES. — DIFFERENCE OF PURPOSE IN THE TWO CLASSES OF SETTLERS. — ENGLISH DIPLOMACY AT HOME. — ENGLISH INTRUSIONS UPON LONG ISLAND. — CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE OF CONNECTICUT. — SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND. — ROGER WILLIAMS'S COLONY AND ITS GOVERNMENT. — HEATED CONTROVERSY IN MASSACHUSETTS. — SEVERITY OF THE RULING PARTY. — TREATMENT OF THE ANTINOMIANS. — SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND AT ACQUIDNECK (PORTSMOUTH). — CODDINGTON CHOSEN CHIEF JUDGE. — DISCORDS IN THE NEW COLONY. — THE HUTCHINSONS AT ACQUIDNECK. — HOSTILITY OF MASSACHUSETTS TO ACQUIDNECK. — CODDINGTON'S PROPOSED ALLIANCE OF THE COLONIES. — THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY. — AGAMENTICUS AND ACQUIDNECK EXCLUDED.

THE colonies on the Connecticut River, though that region was not within the bounds of the Massachusetts charter, were for the first year under the government of commissioners selected from among their own people, but appointed by the Massachusetts General Court.¹ The burden of the war had fallen upon them, and with the necessity of self-reliance came also, no doubt, the sense of independence. When on the first day of May, 1637, it "was ordered that there shall be an offensive war against the Pequot," it was done by a General Court, convened at Hartford, containing not only the commissioners appointed by Massachusetts, whose term of office had just expired, but nine delegates — committees they were called — from the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield.² The war brought its responsibilities as well as its advantages. The colony was oppressed with debt; so many of its effective men had been called to military service that agriculture had been neglected; there was want of food and want of sufficient shelter for many families. It would be easy to go to ruin if there were any lack of vigorous measures.

¹ These were Roger Ludlow, William Pincheon, John Steele, William Swaine, Henry Smith, William Phelps, William Westwood, and Andrew Ward.

² *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, etc., etc.*, edited by J. Hammond Trumbull.

Connecticut
made an in-
dependent
Colony.

The General Court was equal to the occasion. The debt was provided for by a special tax of six hundred and twenty pounds; though corn and cattle had risen largely in price, they were gathered from wherever they could be found, and the people were fed without any serious distress till the season of another harvest. To guard against further trouble from the Indians a thorough military organization of all the towns was established, at the head of which Captain Mason was placed as commander-in-chief. The young colony had already grown too large to depend longer upon its older sister of the Bay; the war had thrown it upon its own resources; within eighteen months from the end of it the new government took a more positive form and adopted a constitution.

"Well knowing," its preamble recited, "where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to mayntayne the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Gouverment 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 conioyne our selues to be as one Publike State or Commonwealth." It recognized no allegiance to any other power, not even that of England; it instituted a popular government in which all the freemen of the three towns were equal before the law, entering "into Combination & Confederation together to mayntayne & presearue the liberty & 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 among us; As also in our Ciuell Affaires to be guided & gouerned according to such Lawes, Rules, Orders & decrees as shall be made, ordered, & decreed."

The colony thus founded a Christian Commonwealth and a purely democratic republic upon the first written constitution of any State in America, if not indeed, in the world. And this, with such slight changes in its practical provisions as the increase of population demanded, was the fundamental law of Connecticut for nearly two centuries. Its first governor, chosen in April, 1639, was John Haynes, who had already been a governor of Massachusetts Bay; its second, elected the next year, was Edward Hopkins.¹ The constitution provided that the chief magistrate should



Signature of John Haynes.

¹ Edward Hopkins came to Boston with the New Haven company, in the spring of 1637, and was the son-in-law of Governor Eaton, of that colony. He returned to England after

be chosen for a single year only, and was ineligible for the year next ensuing. The letter of the law was observed while its spirit was not lost. The people of Connecticut knew when they had a good governor, and for many years, with two or three exceptions at the outset, Haynes and Hopkins were alternately elected to that office.

Signature of Edward Hopkins.

The rule of the magistrate in the young Commonwealth was rigid. The common welfare demanded implicit submission to a compact for mutual protection. The virtuous and the orderly might be, as they usually are, a law unto themselves; but there was special need of watchfulness and restraint of the idle, the vicious, and the violent, who, relieved from the accustomed rule of a long organized society, would riot in the license of relaxed law. All the old bonds that hold society together, and kept anarchy at arms-length, were loosened. The habit of obedience to constituted authority needed to be reëstablished by fresh subjection and enforced discipline. In this respect the colonies were all alike. Each had to work out for itself with such wisdom and such vigor as it could command, the problem of self-government; and each addressed itself, first of all, to the question of self-preservation. Large considerations of the science of government concerned them less at this early stage of their existence than the daily conduct of each individual citizen. There was nothing in morals or in manners, as to what men should eat and drink, and wherewithal they should be clothed; how they should dispose of their time and their industry; what their relations should be to each other, to the state, to their wives, to their children; — in all the affairs of life, whether small or great, there was nothing of which the law did not take cognizance. It was needful to the preservation and good order of society so newly organized that it should do so; and if sometimes — indeed very often — the true and sole function of perfected government, protection of person and property, was overstepped, and intellectual freedom encroached upon in the attempt to regulate religious belief and coerce the conscience, such exercise of power is to be pardoned to the exigencies of the times.

There were not probably more than a thousand people in the three Connecticut towns when the Pequot war was finished; the first English child¹ born on the banks of that river was at that time only eighteen

a residence of about fourteen years in Connecticut, and became a member of Cromwell's Parliament of 1657, and a commissioner of the army and navy. (See note in *Savage's Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 273.)

¹ David, son of Captain Lion Gardiner, born at Saybrook Fort, April, 1636. *Life of Gardiner*, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. x., p. 177.

months old. It was not difficult for the watchful eyes of the magistrates to scan carefully the life and conversation of each man and woman. Nor could it be doubted that a community made up, in some degree, of mere adventurers, should have its vicious element, though each settlement was at first a church led in a body by its pastor from three Massachusetts towns — Newton, Watertown, and Dorchester. Even the godly people of the Dorchester church were led, Governor Brad-

Lion Gardiner 7/36

Signature of Lion Gardiner.

ford said, by a "hankering mind" to the pleasant Connecticut meadows on which Holmes's colony from Plymouth had already settled; and by sheer weight of numbers and the influence of the stronger government behind them, they dispossessed the first comers. When such were the saints what might not be looked for from the sinners? The devil lurked even among the churches of the Puritans, and if he could not be got rid of altogether at least he could be watched with unceasing vigilance.

And the vigilance was unceasing. The records of the proceedings of the General Court that chose the first chief magistrate of the new Commonwealth, also show that by the decree of that fountain of law one Edmunds was to be whip-



Supposed First Church in Hartford.

ped at a cart's tail on a lecture day at Hartford; that one Williams was to stand upon the pillory from the ringing of the first bell to the end of the lecture, and to be whipped at the cart's tail, both in Hartford and Windsor; and that one Starke was to be punished in the same way, to pay a heavy fine, and to have besides the letter R branded upon his cheek. The crime of each and all was wrong done one Mary Holt, — such wrong that Starke was also

Severity of
the laws.

condemned to marry her ; which, however, he probably never did. At the next General Court, four months afterwards, it was ordered that Mary Holt herself be whipped for misconduct with a fourth paramour, and be banished from the jurisdiction ; not that she was good enough for Boston, but that Boston, perhaps, could better manage her.

But offences of this kind — of the frequency and often most revolting character of which, notwithstanding the severity of the laws of the Puritans, there is abundant evidence in the early records of all the colonies — were by no means the only ones which the magistrates undertook at once to expose and to punish. Unseasonable and immoderate drinking, or even the suspicion of it ; any violence of language or of conduct ; reflections upon the actions of the General Court ; “the sin of lying which,” says the record (1640), “begins to be practised by many persons in this Commonwealth ;” extravagance in the fashion of apparel, “that divers persons of several ranks are observed to exceed in ;” the selling of goods beyond reasonable prices ; “a stubborn or rebellious carriage against parents or governors ;” — these and other offences of a like character, which in older societies are usually left to the control of private conscience, or judgment, or influence, were subjects of legislation, and brought upon the perpetrators prompt and severe penalties.¹

In other respects, however, the welfare of the community was as carefully looked after as it was in these guarded against real or fancied injuries. The rate of wages and the length of a working-day — eleven hours in summer-time and nine in winter of actual labor — were soon regulated by law, that no advantage should be taken of the necessities of new settlers or of the scarcity of laborers. Any possible want of food was provided for by making it the duty of magistrates to ascertain the probable demand and to meet it with a sufficient supply. Idleness was made inexcusable, and agriculture encouraged by allotments of lands and their compulsory cultivation ; and titles were made unquestionable by a register which the law required should be kept in every town. That timber should not be wasted, none could be cut or exported except by special license from the Court, and no trees were permitted to be felled except after the fall of the leaf. In 1640 it was enacted that each family should sow at least one spoonful of English hempseed and cultivate it “in husbandly manner” for a supply of seed the next year. The importation of cotton, which they could not raise, was provided for at the public expense to find its way to the domestic spinning-wheels ; but the cultivation of tobacco, which it was soon found would grow so well in the rich bottom-lands of the Connecticut, was encouraged by a decree

Beneficent
legislation.

¹ *Colonial Records of Connecticut.*

that whoever should after September, 1641, "drinke [smoke] any other tobacco but such as is, or shall be, planted within these liberties," should suffer the heavy penalty of a fine of five shillings for every pound. Such laws foreshadowed some of the important industries and future wealth of the State of Connecticut.

The supremacy obtained over the Indians by arms was confirmed by law over those who survived the Pequot war. It was a penal act to sell them arms, or even to mend those of which they were already in possession. Theft, and intimidation for the sake of theft, the crimes to which the savages were most inclined, were severely punished. If they could not be made good citizens,—and that was hardly attempted,—it was hoped, at least, that as vagabonds they might be rendered harmless. The dealings of the colonists with them were so far just that they paid for the lands they wanted, and permitted the Indians to retain those the English did not want, provided they were peaceful and kept within their own bounds. When these conditions were not observed a raid upon their cornfields and wigwams renewed the lesson of the war. Whoever recognized the higher duty of attempting to lead them to a knowledge of Christianity was quite free to do so without interference from the State; but their most efficient teachers were the lives the Christians led, and the examples they followed were naturally those which were most evil.

While the Pequot war was in progress a fresh colony from England arrived in Boston and was looking for a place of settlement. Edward Hopkins, who soon after went to Hartford, was in this company; John Davenport, a clergyman of some note from London, was their pastor, and the leading man among them was Theophilus Eaton, a merchant of reputation and of affluence. It was a company of wealth and respectability, and the magistrates of Massachusetts would have gladly retained them within their jurisdiction.

Settlement
of New
Haven.

But there were two reasons, imperative with the new-comers, for seeking a place for their future home without the bounds of Massachusetts: there was too much theological controversy and not sufficient harbor accommodation about the Bay. The banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson was not the extirpation of heresy, and Mr. Davenport, it is said, was fearful lest his flock should be led astray by the fatal doctrines of the Antinomians. Whatever other dangers might lurk in the wilderness, the Indians would not, at least, unsettle men's minds as to sanctification and justification. The other point was equally clear: the farming lands near all the good harbors about the Bay were already occupied. Agriculture must, of course, be their immediate reliance; but they hoped to found a commercial colony, and

therefore sought for a commodious port where trade would grow, while lands not too far off to be conveniently cultivated should yield



John Davenport.

them a subsistence. Another reason given was that they wished to put themselves beyond the reach of a general governor, should one be appointed for all New England; but as this had ceased to be probable, the alleged fear of it could only have been a thin disguise for a more substantial purpose—a wish to escape the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and have an independent government of their own.

In the spring of 1638, the whole company sailed from

Boston for Quinnipiack,¹ now New Haven, purchased the preceding autumn from Momanguin, the Indian sachem, for twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchemy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen knives, twelve porringers and four cases of French knives and scissórs.² Several of their number had held possession through the winter, but the first solemn and formal act of occupation was on the 18th of April, the Sunday after their arrival. Then this new band of Pilgrim Fathers assembled beneath the spreading branches of a giant oak, and the pastor, Davenport, preached to them from the

The first
Sunday at
New Haven.

text, — Matthew iv. 1: "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil."

"He had a good day," he said afterwards; and doubtless his hearers, who all looked up to him with great reverence, were as much edified with his expounding of the temptations that were to beset them in the wilderness, as he was satisfied with his own performance.



Momanguin's Signature.

Their undertaking was sanctified not long after by a day of fasting and prayer, when they entered into a covenant that in all things, whether in Church or in State, they would be guided by the rules

¹ "Quinnepaca or Quinnepange rather," Niles's *History of Indian and French Wars*. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third series, vol. vi.

² New Haven Records in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.



THE FIRST SUNDAY AT NEW HAVEN.

“ which the Scripture held forth to them.” The temptations of the wilderness could not have been many or great to a community which could live for more than a year without other government than this simple compact.

But in June of the next year preliminary measures were taken for a permanent political organization. These were of a remarkable character, whether looked upon as an instance of the intense earnestness of the religious convictions of the Puritans, or of the submissive deference they were accustomed to yield to their spiritual guides. The whole community gathered together in a barn,¹ — for want of any other building large enough to hold them — and the first business of the assembly was to listen to a sermon of instruction



Site of Newman's Barn.

and exhortation from Mr. Davenport. His text was from Proverbs ix. 1: “ Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars.” Herein he found warrant and direction for the gathering of a Church and the formation of a State.

The Church was to rest upon seven pillars and the foundation of the State was the Church. The right and the duty to gather the one and create the other were inherent, not derivative. There was no recognition of either hierarch or king. The assembled people were to choose from among themselves twelve men the most esteemed for their virtue and their wisdom, and these twelve were to elect seven others who were to be the seven pillars. On the pillars the Church was to be built; the seven men, that is, were to call about them such persons as they deemed fit to be members of the Church, and these members were to form the state. For in the Scriptures was to be found a perfect rule for the guidance and government of men in all human affairs, in the family, in the commonwealth, in the church. Church-membership was citizenship; he who was not fit for that, was unfit for this, for the state must be “ according to God.”

The Church
of seven pil-
lars.

¹ The tradition is that the barn belonged to Robert Newman, and it is supposed to have stood at the corner of Grove and Temple Streets, on land afterwards occupied by the house of Noah Webster, the lexicographer, New Haven. — *Bacon's Historical Discourses*.

Such was the drift of Mr. Davenport's sermon, and it was acceptable to his hearers saving one only, and he it is supposed was a brother clergyman. The assembly elected twelve men to whom should be entrusted the important duty of raising the seven pillars on which was to rest a temple dedicated to the worship of God, but to be also a house for the protection of man. What else could the twelve do but act in conformity with the judgment of the whole community? Among these twelve most worthy the most worthy seven must surely be found. From their own number, therefore, they selected the seven pillars.¹ Around these the church was gathered, the question of fitness for membership resting, in the first instance, with them.

Two months later the people were again assembled; again they were exhorted and counselled by Davenport, with the Bible between his hands. He was now, however, more than leader by weight of character and respect for his learning; the church had chosen him as the pastor, content to accept him as consecrated to the duties of his sacred office by the simple laying on of hands of two of their own number, indifferent to apostolic succession and the authority of bishops. He spoke, therefore, now with greater authority than ever; and under his guidance the popular church proceeded to the organization of a popular government.

Formation
of the State.

Theophilus Eaton was chosen its first governor. In its general provisions — as to the holding of General Courts, the number and choice of magistrates, the exercise of legislative and judicial power, the rights of the citizen, and his responsibility to the law —

Signature of Theophilus Eaton.

it was essentially the same as that of Connecticut in all outward form, as in its purely democratic spirit. But after all it was democracy with a proviso; the right of self government in holding or in choosing to office was restricted to those who were members of that church. Others, who also assumed to call themselves Christians, were as completely shut out from any share in the government as a hundred and fifty years later the Constitution of the United States excluded "Indians not taxed" and "persons held to service or labor."

On this model established at New Haven other churches were soon gathered in other places, and each church was a town. Some were within the boundaries of Connecticut, and sent their representatives

¹ These were Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon.

to the General Court at Hartford; others were for some years entirely independent, recognizing no civil rule outside of their own organization. Among these last was Saybrook, to which a colony under George Fenwick was sent by lords Say and Brook, and which was already known by their combined names. Places like Guilford, Milford, Stratford, perpetuating in their names the tender memories of old English homes, were planted on commodious havens, or at the mouths of navigable streams, along the inner coast of Long Island Sound. Thither fresh emigrants flocked from Connecticut, from Massachusetts Bay, sometimes directly from England. The country, as it was



Old House in Guilford, 1639.

gradually occupied, was fairly purchased from the natives — purchased at insignificant prices, indeed, but large enough to create a title in fee-simple, while they were satisfactory to the original owners, who set small value upon limited tracts of that wide wilderness which they claimed as their own. It was the avowed policy of the State to deal justly with the savages, that offences might be avoided; and, on the whole, the rule was no doubt carefully observed, from choice as well as from necessity. On the other hand, if the savages were sometimes insensible to kindness, and incapable of understanding principles of justice incompatible with their wild notions of individual right, the lesson of the late war was not lost upon them. If not always peaceable, and if often annoying, they were rarely at this period dangerous neighbors. So these English villages were left to take root and grow in strength and thrift when the storm of savage warfare swept over and almost desolated the settlements of their jealous rivals, the Dutch, throughout the boundaries of New Netherland.

Nor could the claim of the Dutch West India Company to the Fresh River — the Connecticut — by right of prior discovery and occupation, though so pertinaciously urged, seriously hinder the steady

progress of the English along the shores of the Sound toward the valley of the Hudson. From the time of the first settlement at Hartford the advanced guard of the more energetic race had pushed on, in spite of the protests and threats, the rage — furious but harmless — of the Dutch. The quiet energy and determination of the English were stronger than the loudest and most indignant complaints; for success lay naturally with the party that acted rather than with the one that, for the most part, only talked.

The two peoples were moved, moreover, by totally different motives. The Fresh River, and all the region it watered, the Dutch looked upon only as a back country, rich in beaver skins, to be made tributary to the great trading station at New Amsterdam. It best served their purposes while it remained a hunting-ground for the Indians, with here and there a half-military, half-trad-

Encroach-
ments on the
Dutch.

The Dutch
in New
England.



Mouth of the Connecticut.

ing post, to regulate the traffic in the peltries which the Indians gathered. When the Dutch wanted to colonize, if they went out of the valley of the Hudson, or beyond the immediate vicinity of their chief colony, it was to dispute with the Swedes the possession of the beautiful shores that extended on the South River from the Capes of the Delaware a hundred miles into the interior to the mouth of the Schuylkill. They had no such designs of settlement along the coast of New England, however much they coveted the possession of the country for the sake of its trade.

But the English were moved by quite another spirit; they wanted homes. They laid the axe at the root of the forests which sheltered and hid the Indian and his game. They cleared the ground for their seed corn; built their log-houses and barns; gathered together in churches, and founded commonwealths. The rude forts and mere trading-posts of the Dutch were powerless against circumvallations made with English ploughs; and the New Netherland garrisons re-

luctantly, but inevitably, retired before a host armed with spades and hoes, musical with the hum of women's spinning wheels and the voices of happy children, led by Puritan generals in gown and bands, whose orderly-book was the Bible, and whose word of command was a prayer and an exhortation — a host seeking to make the wilderness blossom into homes, which laughed at threats of armed resistance, and scouted claims of discovery not backed up by more permanent signs of possession than a flag-staff and a sentinel.

There could be little doubt as to the result of such a conflict between assumed title and actual possession; nor was it possible to change that result by appeals to the governments in England and at the Hague to adjust the boundaries between the rival claimants. The representations of the case were listened to with impatience or indifference; on the one side was want of will, on the other want of power, for any efficient interference. Sir William Boswell, the English ambassador at the Hague, discloses in his official correspondence the policy of his government.

English diplomacy on colonial boundaries. 1642.

It would be well enough, he thought, that an act or declaration of some kind should be passed either by both Houses of Parliament, or by the Lower House, or, failing that, by a Committee of that House, to show that "these businesses" relating to the American Colonies were not altogether ignored or forgotten. Such act, or declaration, or memorial, with its official sanction of some sort, it mattered very little what, could then be sent to him with a letter from the Lords of Council with some vague instructions. Provided with such a document, he would present it when and how it should seem to him most expedient — when, he no doubt means, it was no longer possible to escape a pretence of doing something — either to the States General, or to the West India Company, or to some other body political or commercial, as should seem to him best, and should best serve his purpose of doing nothing. And when these methods of diplomatic procrastination were thoroughly exhausted, there was still another crowning act of dilatoriness in reserve to be resorted to — his excellency could, when further delay was no longer possible, make a report, which would refer the question back again to his government for further consideration, to be ground over again in the slow mill of parliamentary debate and subsequent reference to a parliamentary committee.

A little intimidation also, Sir William thought, could be brought to the aid of this skilful diplomacy. The Dutch ambassador in London, who was supposed, meanwhile, not to be idle, but to be pressing the question of colonial boundaries and encroachments, should, he advised, be quietly approached by some persons of authority and persuaded of the certain injury and inconvenience that would befall the

Dutch West India Company if these dissensions and difficulties between the distant and quarrelsome colonists should involve their respective governments at home.

There was little likelihood of any adjudication of boundaries, whether just or unjust, while the English government carefully guarded against any approach to its serious consideration. It was meant that it should be otherwise settled. The conclusion of Boswell's counsel is: "That in the mean tyme, th' English there doe not forbear to put forward their plantacons, and crowd on, crowding the Dutch out of those places where they have [occupied] but without hostility or any act of violence."¹

Not only was the "crowding" pushed along the shores of the mainland, but it crossed the Sound. In 1639, Lion Gardiner purchased of the Indians the island Manchonack — since known as Gardiner's Island — near Montauk Point. Shelter Island, still further up the bay, was taken possession of by

English
settlements
on and near
Long Island.



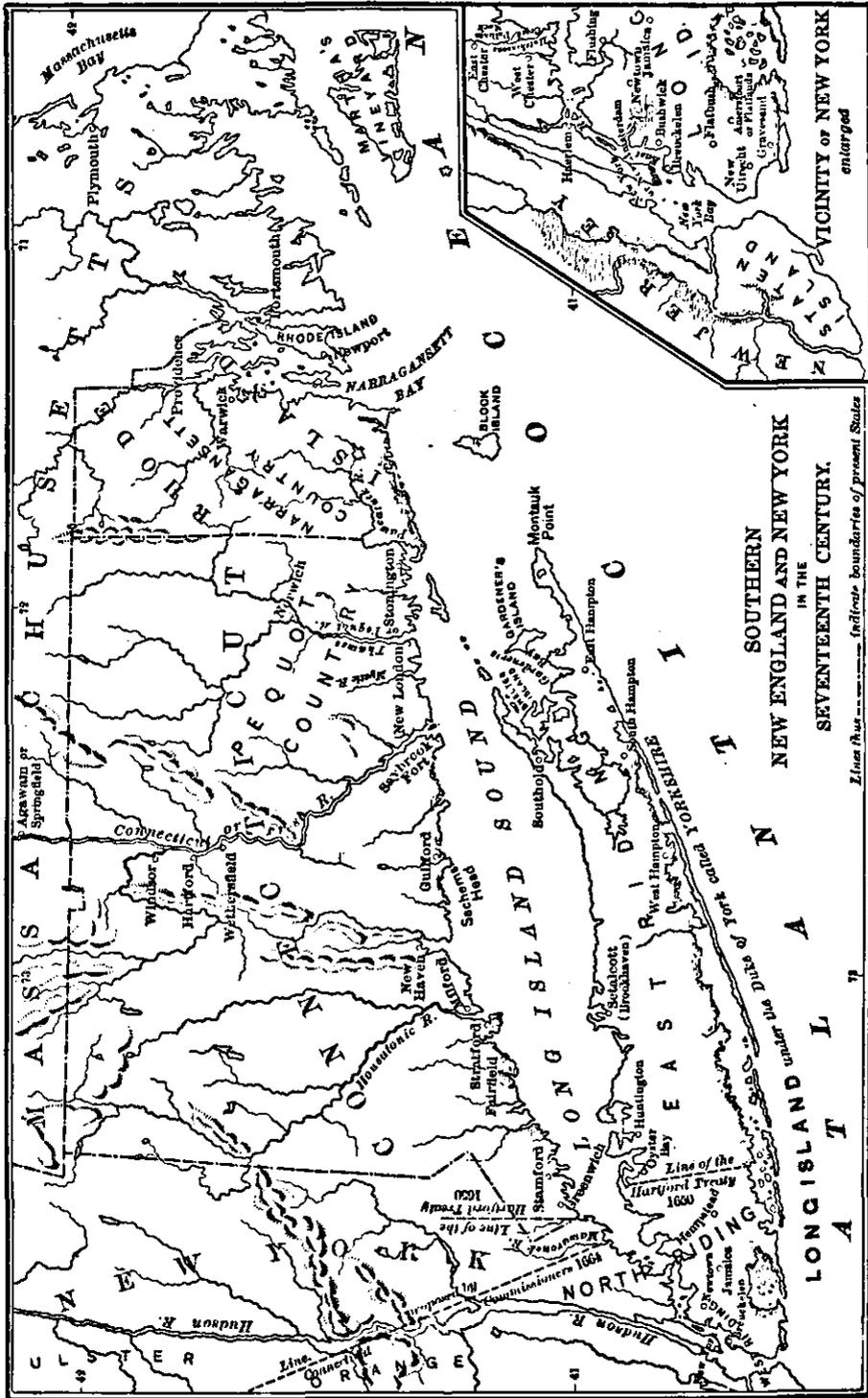
Gardiner's Island.

James Farrett, who was sent out by William, Earl of Stirling, as his agent, he claiming the whole of Long Island under a deed from the Plymouth Company, made before its dissolution by order of the king. Farrett vis-

ited Manhattan, and was held for a short time under arrest by the Dutch governor, Kieft, for asserting Lord Stirling's title.

The enterprising New Englanders, however, were not to be deterred by such measures. In 1640 a company from Lynn, Massachusetts, appeared, under the leadership of Captain Daniel How, at Cow Neck, within the present town of North Hempstead, Long Island, and attempted a settlement. They tore down the arms of the Prince of Orange, which they found upon a tree, and carved in place of the shield an absurd face, as their countrymen had done some years before at Kievit's Hook, at the mouth of the Connecticut. The insult and intrusion were resented by Kieft with spirit, and How and his companions were compelled to retreat. But it was only toward the other end of the island, where they settled South Hampton and East Hampton, at the eastern extremity.

¹ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, Trumbull, Appendix I.



SOUTHERN
NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK
IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Lines thus ——— indicate boundaries of present States

VICINITY OF NEW YORK
enlarged

The same year some New Haven people took possession at Southold on the Sound. The young colonies had not long to wait, when once a firm foothold was gained, for accessions both from Old and New England. Nor were the Dutch unreasonable, for they seemed quite willing to share the island with the English, leaving them to take possession of the eastern half unmolested. Ten years later indeed, in 1650, they made a treaty to this effect with the New England colonies, by which a dividing line should be drawn from the west side of Oyster Bay to the sea; but in the mean while, they had only insisted that the English plantations which in the course of that decade had grown up west of this line, should be held to be within the jurisdiction of the West India Company, and should acknowledge their allegiance to the



Montauk Point.

States General. Hempstead, Flushing, Jamaica, and Newtown, were, therefore, Dutch towns, though settled by the English. But South Hampton, East Hampton, Southold, Brookhaven, Huntington, and Oyster Bay, were united at different periods, to Connecticut, till after the surrender of New Netherlands to the English in 1664, when the whole island came under the government of the Duke of York.¹

This migration of the English from Massachusetts Bay to the country of the Connecticut, thence westward along both shores of the Sound, crowding in one direction almost as far as Hell Gate, pushing, in another, almost to the banks of the Hudson, was not impelled by any imperative necessity of outward circumstance, but rather by an uncontrollable restlessness, a fever of change that gave them no quiet. Full of energy, activity, curiosity, and a love of independence, political and religious, they demanded above all things space enough for the gratification of ambitions that sought to found thriving colonies and open new avenues to wealth.

They were all Puritans, and as such were anxious to escape from a real or apprehended thralldom in church or state. But there were, perhaps, in these offshoots of the parent stock something more of a

¹ A Sketch of the First Settlement of the Towns of Long Island, etc. By Silas Wood.

worldly disposition, and something less of that spirit of fanaticism which led the Boston brethren to welcome above all things a plunge into the uproar of a theological controversy, and to subordinate all else to the establishment of a uniformity of faith. That Puritan prudence, which was careful to be out of the reach of the heavy hands of the Bishops before the non-conformist ventured to expand into the more perfect freedom of separatism, seems to have been carried into all the other relations of life by these people who chose to find their abiding places without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay.

They would not, indeed, have been Puritans had not the interests of religion been with them paramount to all earthly considerations; but they were not therefore disposed to look upon all merely material interests with comparative indifference. It was not, perhaps, so much any essential radical difference of character between them and other New England emigrants of their time and class; but there was at least that fortunate difference of circumstance and opportunity which came with their escape from the fierce polemics of Boston, and reluctance to live under magistrates who, however excellent their rule in many respects, never willingly assented to the admission of others to any share of it, while insisting upon implicit obedience in all things which they decreed, whether relating to this world or the next. The people who escaped from this domination into Connecticut, if it were only that the ambitions of leaders might have fuller play, and the consent of followers a larger choice, gained, beside, more freedom than they sought. They were led to take a wider view of the possibilities of the new country they had found than as merely an arena for theological discussion where the metes and bounds of religious liberty, however much enlarged into the wider field of Puritanism, were just as arbitrary and as fixed as ever. They saw that they might be prosperous without ceasing to be pious, and that worldly thrift was not necessarily incompatible with a due regard for the things of the everlasting life. They were too busy in clearing forests, in planting crops, in building towns at the mouths of all the rivers that seemed most promising for future commerce, to permit themselves to be absorbed in attempts to find out the whole counsel of God in dim and subtle distinctions of theological controversy.

Not that they were unmindful of those things which made so large an element in the intellectual and spiritual life of the time; but that other interests were with them of equal if not sometimes of greater consideration. A steady compliance with the suggestions of worldly wisdom, a prudent attention to the conditions of worldly thrift, not less than an implicit obedience to the highest sense of religious duty,

Character of
the Connect-
icut Puri-
tans.

have ever characterized this branch of the family of New England Puritans. Wherever they have gone they have carried with them this profitable mixture of puritanic rectitude and wise worldliness. However stern and rigid their piety, hand in hand with it have gone industry and prosperity; the government of the people by the will of the majority; the free school; the free church according to their standard of religious freedom, and the common law of England. Of that hardy race of pioneers — whose indomitable courage, whose irrepressible energy, whose restless love of change, neither chains of mountains, nor gigantic rivers, nor lakes that are inland seas, nor arid deserts could hinder in their march to the shores of another ocean — there has been no more fruitful root than that which was first planted in the rich soil of the valley of the Connecticut.



Hooker's House at Hartford.

There had been struggling into existence, meanwhile, another New England colony, the stern and hard realities of whose early experiences were touched with no play of that idyllic light and shadow that give grace and romance to the first migrations from Massachusetts Bay to the region of the Connecticut. Its feeble beginning was no pleasant patriarchal journey like that of Hooker and Stone and their followers from Newtown to Hartford. With these went flocks and herds, and wagons laden with household stuff; and they travelled leisurely through the hundred miles of forest in the early days of June when the woods, rich in the tender colors of the young foliage, let

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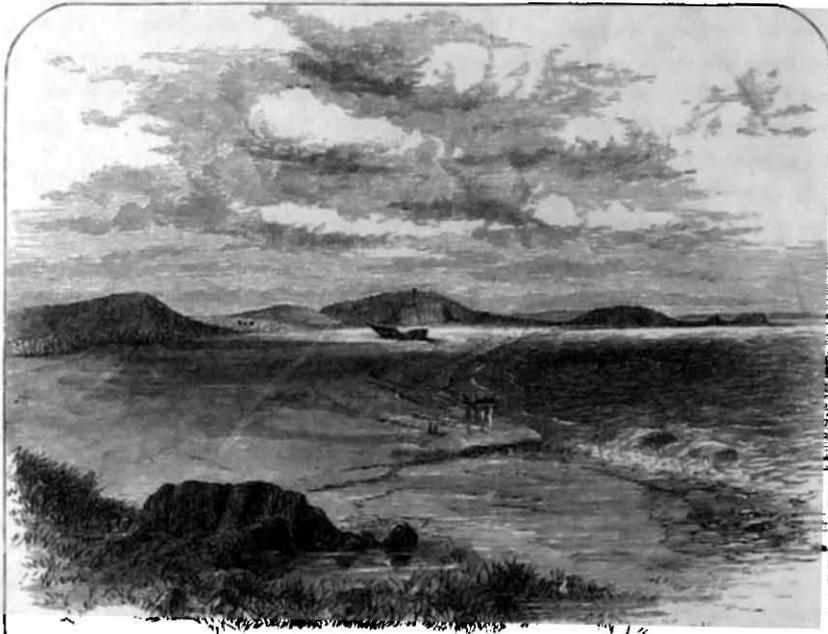


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the warm sunshine through upon the green, fresh-grown moss and the dead leaves of past summers, flecked all over with flowers in blue and white and gold — the warm sunshine that stirred, at the same time, into unwonted movement the hearts of the young Puritans, youths and maidens and hilarious children, in whom not even the watchful care and sombre presence of elder and deacons could suppress the quick and joyful sense of sympathy with the freedom, and beauty, and delight, that filled all nature.

So Davenport and his company sailed out of Boston harbor in the bright days of April, — sailed on even keel and with gentle breezes past the long beaches of the Bay; past the white strands and sand-hills of Cape Cod; past the islands of the southern coast of New



Coast of Massachusetts. — Nantasket Beach.

England where the warm current of the Gulf Stream with a westward sweep tempers the waters and the air; and so at length they came into Long Island Sound. The pastor meanwhile, no doubt gathering the elder men about him on sunny days in the shadow of the sails, held wise and sweet converse upon that stately temple of seven pillars which should presently rear its fair proportions in the primeval solitude where great oaks and elms cast their shadows over the rich meadows that stretched down to the sea.

All these went forth with the God-speeds and good wishes of the brethren of Massachusetts; but not so with the founders of Rhode

Island. Roger Williams fled out into the night and the winter's storm, with the order of the General Court behind him, the officers of the law in hot pursuit, and a ship waiting in the offing to bear him into perpetual banishment across the sea. The shelter which Puritan intolerance denied him he sought and found among savage friends. As he, the next spring, with only five companions, paddled his canoe along the shore of Providence Bay, their thoughts were less of hierarchies and of commonwealths, than where the sunniest slope could be found for a field of maize, the most sheltered and convenient nook for huts.

Landing of
Roger Wil-
liams at
Providence.

Mooshausick, as the place was called where Williams hoped to find rest at last — and which he named Providence, because, he said, “of God’s merciful providence unto me in my distress” — he desired, also, “might be for a shelter for those distressed in conscience.” It was not long ere such asylums were needed. Whether the exercise then and there of the right of free thought and free speech was wise or foolish, whether it was harmless or baneful either to church or state, the attempt to suppress that right was altogether futile.¹

Roger Williams had not long to wait for companionship. Within two years from the time of his landing upon Slate Rock such accessions were made to his colony that “the lands on the two fresh rivers, Womasquatuckett and Mooshausick,” granted to him by Canonicus and Miantonomo, he conveyed to twelve associates for thirty pounds. These incorporated themselves and all that should be subsequently admitted, into a township, promising to render “an active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good,” by the consent of the majority. But the submission was to be “only in civil things.”²

Signature of Miantonomo.

Signature of Canonicus.

¹ The popular defence of the intolerance of the early Boston Puritans — for strange to say, they have their defenders — is that the critical circumstances of their condition as an infant colony with its peculiar relations to the parent state made it imperative that a uniformity of belief should be enforced for the sake of preserving the Puritan ascendancy both in religious and civil affairs. And it is triumphantly asserted as the result that the character of the Massachusetts of later times, and its influence upon the history of the whole country, are due to the stern and wise policy of the early fathers in their suppression of a liberty that was running or had run into license. Whereas, the truth is that those bigoted elders and magistrates, though they sometimes silenced the men, never suppressed the opinions whether true or false. They only tried, and the more they tried the less they succeeded. The character of Massachusetts and the potent influence she has exercised upon the history of the United States are due to the fact that neither bigots nor fanatics have ever, from the time of Roger Williams to the present moment, been able to destroy the liberty of thought and of speech within her borders. Her people have always been wise enough — wiser always than the Synod and the General Court — to tolerate freedom of opinion, and, in the long run, to reject that which was unwise and injurious and accept that which was true and good.

² The twelve men to whom the conveyance was made were: Stukely Westcoat, Wil-

This was the corner-stone of the Commonwealth laid by the banishment of Roger Williams from Massachusetts Bay. He and his companions were pronounced dangerous men because their doctrines were assumed to be subversive of the state and the church. Their first act, so soon almost as there were enough of them gathered together to make an agreement, was — as a dozen intelligent Americans would do to-day if thrown together under similar circumstances — to enter into a compact for government by rule of the majority, leaving to each the enjoyment of such religious belief as the intelligence and conscience of each should dictate. Among the earliest recorded actions of the town of Providence is one depriving Joshua Verin of the privilege of voting because he had committed “a breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience,” inasmuch as he had prevented his wife from going when she pleased to Mr. Williams’s meetings.

To those whose presence in Massachusetts Bay the “Lords brethren” would not tolerate, or who could not submit to the despotic rule which these brethren sought to establish, the country about Narragansett Bay soon came to be as a land of refuge. There gathered there, no doubt, in the first few years a heterogeneous and remarkable company; some half crazed with those teeming maggots of the brain which so breed in times of exasperating religious controversy; others possessed by harmless vagaries of illogical thought, which spring up in such seasons in some minds, and which, if they have a meaning to those who cherish them, are incomprehensible to everybody else. Indeed, the wonder is, in our soberer times, not that there were so many of these unhappy and infatuated polemicists, but that any clear exercise of sound judgment remained in a community where the weight of wisdom and of character convened as in the Cambridge Synod, could elaborate out of the controversy on justification and sanctification eighty-two pestilent heresies worthy of condign punishment. There were nevertheless many men, possibly even a majority of the church in Boston, who in all this confusion of tongues, preserved their intellectual balance unmoved and kept their eyes firmly fixed on the everlasting truth. Many among them were determined to preserve the one thing worth preserving — liberty of thought and of conscience; never losing sight of its supreme value, sometimes, perhaps, abusing it themselves, suffering much oftener

liam Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman. The thirty pounds, however, seems not to have been paid till the admission subsequently of some new members into the body politic, when a new and fuller deed was made by Mr. Williams, and the first twelve were released from any payment. See Backus’s *History of the American Baptists*, vol. i., pp. 92. 93.

from its abuse in others, but dreading, nevertheless, the danger of its suppression far more than any evil likely to arise from its undue exercise.

Of these men, some who were wise and some who were foolish instinctively turned their faces, when Massachusetts would tolerate them no longer, to that shelter which Roger Williams had provided "for persons distressed in conscience." The eighty-two heresies which the Cambridge Synod saw lurking in the doctrine that a covenant of grace was the only way to salvation, and which were discovered to be equally dangerous to church and state, must with the Lord's help, be scattered to the winds of Heaven. The General Court, which was essentially the synod under another name, had little mercy upon the persons who held these dangerous opinions, upon those who were assumed to hold them, or upon those even who questioned the justice of punishing the real or the supposed offenders. It was not only that the original heresy was pronounced as deserving of punishment, but they were held no less guilty who refused to acknowledge as legitimate whatever dangerous deductions their opponents chose to draw from opinions conscientiously and innocently believed in. And no less was it an offence against the Commonwealth to maintain that one's carriage and behavior were not necessarily dangerous and seditious because one's abstract faith was pronounced to be heretical by elders and magistrates.¹

Attitude of
the General
Court to-
ward heretics.

The party which Winthrop led in the General Court, both officially and personally, and Wilson in the Synod, was content with no half measures. Vane was evidently glad enough, at last, to get back to England on any pretext after his defeat by Winthrop in the election for governor; ² Cotton, whom Mrs. Hutchinson had followed to New England, because of the soundness and purity of his faith, seemed

¹ See Callender's *Historical Discourse on The Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island & Providence Plantations*, 1739. For an admirable account of the Antinomian controversy, see also Bowen's *Life of Anne Hutchinson* in Sparks's *American Biography*, vol. vi., new series.

² How intense the party feeling of the time was is evident in some significant incidents related by Winthrop. When he was elected to succeed Vane in 1637, the two sergeants, whose duty it was to precede the governor on all public occasions, carrying halberds, refused to perform this office before Winthrop. One of the men was a son of Mrs. Hutchinson. Winthrop invited a young English lord — Lord Ley — on a visit to Boaton, to dinner, asking Vane, among others, to meet him. "Mr. Vane," says Winthrop, "not only refused to come (alleging, by letter, that his conscience withheld him), but also, at the same hour, he went over to Nottle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Ley with him." One is not surprised to read that when, not long after, Vane and Ley went down the harbor on their way to sea, although many persons were present to do honor to the departure of the ex-governor, and salutes were fired from the castle and elsewhere, the governor himself "was not come from the court, but had left order for their honourable dismissal." Such were the amenities that attended the controversy on sanctification and justification.

to fall away from his friends, though, perhaps, he only saw how impossible it was for any man, in the full possession of his reason, to go the whole length of either party.¹ One by one the Antinomians were deprived of their strongest leaders. Wheelwright wandered away northward, and stopped when he reached what seemed a promising spot in the woods for a plantation — now Exeter, New Hampshire. The most shocking and disgusting calumnies were, — as we have already related,² — visited upon Mrs. Hutchinson, and were enough to drive her out into any wilderness, however savage, even if Massachusetts had not decreed her banishment after a trial which only needed thumbscrews and the rack to be complete after its kind.

Treatment
of the Anti-
nomians.

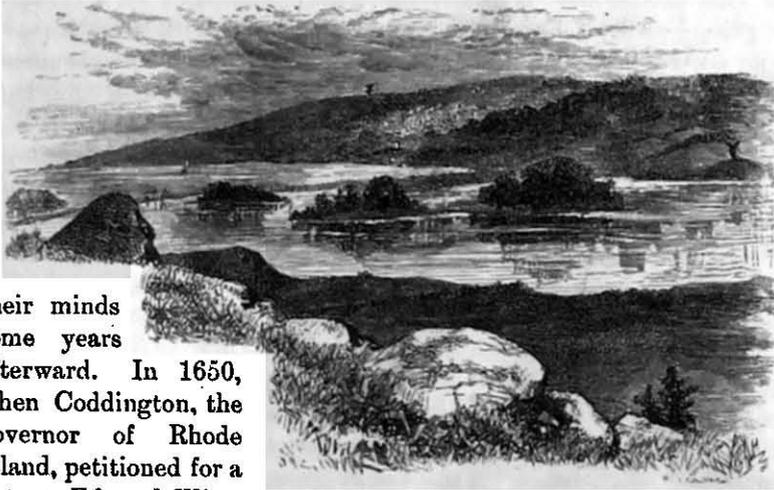
In Boston and its vicinity between seventy and eighty, most of them men of character and influence, were compelled to surrender their arms, — with the added humiliation of carrying them with their own hands to a certain place of deposit, — as enemies of the commonwealth. Many shared the sentence of Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother and were banished; others preferred voluntary exile to remaining where they were objects of constant suspicion, and dreaded as a dangerous and wicked faction. Whether there was any reason or not for apprehending that the defeated party would resort to arms, there was good reason for fearing their strength. Though the ministers, and the magistrates who joined with them, were able to rule with a high hand, the minority that was compelled to submit was a very large one.

Many of these were driven by such persecutions to seek for a new home outside the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Nearly all of them were of that number who were compelled to give up their arms. "I thought it not strange," wrote one of them — John Clark — "to see men differ about matters of Heaven, for I expect no less upon Earth: But to see that they were not able so to bear each with other in their different understandings and consciences, as in those utmost parts of the World to live peaceably together, whereupon I moved the latter [his own friends], for as much as the land was before us and wide enough, with the profer of Abraham to Lot, and for peace sake,

¹ Eminent and good as John Cotton was, his course in this controversy, as well as on other occasions, could hardly fail to give him the reputation of a man so candid that he cared nothing for consistency, or else so vacillating as to be untrustworthy. A Mr. Ward, "once lecturer at St. Michael's, in Cornhill, London," — probably the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," — said of him: "Here is our reverend elder, Mr. Cotton, who ordinarily preacheth that publicly one year, that the next year he publicly repents of, and shews himself very sorrowful for it to the congregation." *Simplicite's Defence against Seven Headed Policy, etc., etc.* Republication in *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 122.

² See vol. i., p. 556.

to turn aside to the right hand, or to the left.”¹ Moved by a purpose so peaceful and sensible, Wheelwright was first visited at Exeter; then Long Island and the Capes of the Delaware were proposed, and on the way southward Williams and the people of Plymouth, — tolerant of schismatics and who knew from long and bitter experience what exile for conscience’ sake meant — were visited. All concurred in advising them to go no further, but to take possession upon the island of Aquetnet, or Acquidneck — now Rhode Island. Their first choice was Sowames — a neck of land in the present town of Barrington, — but the Plymouth people claimed the latter as belonging to them, holding it, they said, “to be the garden of their Patent, and the flour in the garden,” while the island was not within their boundaries.² On this latter point, however, the Plymouth authorities changed



The Cove, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

their minds
some years
afterward. In 1650,
when Coddington, the
governor of Rhode
Island, petitioned for a
patent, Edward Wins-
low appeared on be-

half of the Plymouth people before the committee of the admiralty in London, claiming that Acquidneck belonged to them under the grant of 1620.³

The island, however, was purchased from Canonicus and Miantonomo, for “forty fathom of white beads,” for Coddington and his associates. It was done, writes Williams, “through that love and favour which that honoured gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, had with the great sachem, Myantonomy, about the league which I

¹ *Ill Newses from New England: or a Narrative of New England's Persecution, etc.* By John Clark, Physician of Rhode Island in America. 1652. Republished in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. ii.

² Clark's *Narrative*.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, p. 338.

procured between the Massachusetts English and the Narragansetts in the Pequod war."

The purchase was made on the 24th of March, 1637-8. The new comers pitched their tents at the northern extremity of the island, at Pocasset, now called Portsmouth, possibly some days before. With a reverential reliance upon the divine support, quite out of keeping with the supposition that they were men too dangerous to society to be trusted with deadly weapons, they had entered, on the 7th of the month, into a compact rather of the character of a church than of a civil body. To incorporate themselves into a body politic they submitted their lives, persons, and estates unto the "Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and to all those most perfect and absolute laws of his, given unto us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."¹ Under this theocracy they proposed to live; and Mr.

Coddington was at once chosen chief judge, with, probably, the functions of an equity court, but without the power of enforcing its decisions.

The experiment was a short one. "The perfect and absolute law" of the Scriptures might have been quite sufficient for the original associates alone, but their numbers were soon added to with such a result as might have been looked for. Some of those who came to the new settlement were probably not saints; some of those who were may possibly have been saints of a very pragmatismal and uncompliant disposition. Not a year had passed when we find that three persons were elected as elders to assist Mr. Coddington, and two of these three were not among the original associates. Not long after a constable was chosen to preserve



Governor Coddington.

the peace and prevent unlawful meetings, and a sergeant elected to keep a prison for the custody of those committed to his charge.² About the same time William Aspinwall, one of the most respectable

¹ The associates were William Coddington, John Clark, William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Sanford, Edward Hutchinson, Jun., Thomas Savage, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Phillip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, Sen., Henry Bull. — Callender's *Historical Discourse*. Backus adds to the list the name of Randal Holden.

² *Rhode Island Colonial Records*.

d most conspicuous of those who had been banished from Massachusetts, was proceeded against "as a suspected person for sedition against the State." There are no surer evidences of civil government in jails and constables.

It is easy to imagine the progress of events. The class to which, under the category of "Persons distressed in conscience," Roger Williams suggested that a shelter might be found about Narragansett Bay, is always sure to include some very disagreeable and very unreasonable, though unquestionably most upright and worthy people. Some of this kind, probably, whose consciences were very tender, as well as some who had no consciences at all, followed Rhode Island John Clark and his friends, whose earnest desire in coming was that they might be permitted "to live peaceably together." There were penalties many and severe yet to be paid before liberty and peace could dwell together undisturbed, as these people soon made manifest.

Difficulties
of the new
colony.



It was thought in Boston, or, at least, Governor Winthrop believed, that Mrs. Hutchinson was at the bottom of the troubles which broke out in the new colony. In May, 1639, the governor writes: "At Aquiday the people grew very tumultuous, and put



Entrance to Newport Harbor.

out Mr. Coddington and the other three magistrates, and chose Mr. Hutchinson only, a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles in the country, and still continued to breed disturbance."¹

This was, no doubt, so far true that Mrs. Hutchinson was not only to have been a silent listener to any discussions, especially upon theological questions, and these could hardly have failed to arise among minds cut loose from all settled beliefs by the Antinomian controversy; and hot and eager with

Influence of
Mrs. Hutchin-
son in
these dis-
cords.

¹ See Winthrop's *History*, vol. i., p. 356, and Savage's note on this passage. Also, *Palmer's Hist. of New England*, vol. i., pp. 512, 513.

novel theories, political and polemical. And out of such discussions may well have been evolved the necessity of civil rule and a change of rulers. But the spirit, nevertheless, in which John Clark spoke



Coddington's House, Newport.

influenced many among them, remembering the proffer of Abraham to Lot, and turning one to the right hand and the other to the left. Coddington and his friends removed within two years to the other end of the island, — at Newport, — but the colonies were soon after united under one government, with Coddington at its head, and Hutchinson as one of his assistants.

Newport was settled by nine of the leading men of Pocasset — or, as it was this year named, Portsmouth — including all its magistrates.¹ Of these, the first who built a house was Nicholas Easton, who, with his two sons, Peter and John, arrived in a boat on the first of May, perhaps a little in advance of his eight associates. He and his sons, at any rate, were the first to provide themselves with a permanent shelter.² At the first recorded meeting of the emigrants on the 16th of May, the site of “the plantation now begun at this southwest end of the island” is fixed as on both sides of the spring, “by the seaside southward”; this spring was on the west side of the present Spring Street near the State House, its stream running to the harbor. The town grew rapidly, and in five months numbered one hundred and one persons. Winthrop says in his journal of that month: “They [at Acquidneck] also gathered a church in a very disordered way; for they took some excommunicated persons, and others who were members of

¹ The nine were William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall, William Brenton, John Clark, Jeremy Clark, Thomas Hazard, Henry Bull, and William Dyre.

² The house was on the west side of Farewell Street, a little west of Friends' meeting-house in the Newport of our day. Coddington's house was on the north side of Marlborough Street, fronting Duke Street. — Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

the church of Boston and not dismissed." He probably refers to a gathering at Pocasset, but these nine founders of Newport must have been its chief members, and were not likely to have lost their Christian fellowship by their removal. The "disordered way" was ere long the Baptist Church of Newport, with the Rev. John Clark as pastor; — to the Puritan mind "a confusion worse confounded."

Hutchinson died in 1642. Only the summer before a son and a son-in-law of the family had been imprisoned and fined on a visit to Boston,¹ and it is far more probable that Mrs. Hutchinson, longing for peace and tranquillity, sought, after her husband's death, to escape persecution and calumny by removing to New Netherland, out of the reach of her own countrymen, than that it became intolerable to her, as her detractors would have us believe, to live in any peaceful and well-ordered community. "She and her party," says Winthrop, "would have no magistracy." But there was no evil he was not willing to believe of that unhappy lady. He even suspected her of witchcraft, and that she had bewitched this young man Collins, who married her daughter; for "it was certainly known," he says, with the utmost solemnity, that her "bosom friend," one Hawkins's wife, "had much familiarity with the devil in England."

In truth these Rhode Island people grew, from the beginning, to be more and more intolerable to the Boston brethren. It was bad enough that they should obstinately maintain the rights of independent thought and private conscience; it was unpardonable that they should assume to be none the less sincere Christians and good citizens, and should succeed in establishing a government of their own on principles which the Massachusetts General Court declared were criminal. Even in a common peril the Massachusetts magistrates could recognize no tie of old friendship — hardly, indeed, of human sympathy — that should bind them to such men. Opportunities for showing the bitterness and intensity of this feeling were not long in coming.

The necessity still existed — by whose fault may, perhaps, be questioned, but, at any rate, existed — of the utmost vigilance lest the hatred of the Indians should be again provoked, notwithstanding the terrible lesson of the Pequot war, into open hostility. An alliance of

¹ Collins, the son-in-law, was fined £100, and Hutchinson £50, not with any expectation that such fines could ever be paid, but that the men might be detained in prison. Governor Winthrop frankly acknowledges this and gives as an additional reason that the family had theretofore been so troublesome. In Collins's case this vicarious punishment was inflicted upon a man who had not even been in the country a twelve month. When the magistrates were satisfied with the length of the imprisonment the fines were remitted, and the young men returned to Rhode Island.

Mrs. Hutchinson goes to New Netherland.

Hostility of Massachusetts to Aquidneck.

all the English was, as that war had proved, the wisest precaution and the surest defence. These later settlements, made meanwhile on Narragansett Bay, were not less sensible of the common danger, nor doubtful as to how it could best be met.

Upon this subject Governor Coddington wrote in 1640, by order of the General Court, to the Governor of Massachusetts. The character of the letter we only know from Winthrop's account of it. Though it came from Newport and not from Providence, it was written in that humane spirit which Roger Williams had always held should govern the treatment of the natives; that the real safety of the English lay in a just recognition of the natural rights of the Indians. "They declared," says Winthrop, "their dislike of such as would have the Indians rooted out, as being of the cursed race of Ham, and their desire of our mutual accord in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness, and withal to watch over them to prevent any danger by them."

The magistrates of Connecticut and New Haven united with those of Aquidneck in this reasonable and Christian proposition. Nor was it in itself repugnant to the General Court of the Bay. But however apprehensive they might be of a savage outbreak, however much disposed to conciliate the Indians by justice and kindness, they, in Boston, would neither bestow nor willingly receive blessings in companionship with heretics. The resentment which would seize such an occasion for its gratification seems almost puerile. "We returned answer of our consent with them in all things propounded," writes Winthrop, "only we refused to include those of Aquidney in our answer, or to have any treaty with them."¹ The official record is even more explicit. The letter, it was ordered, "shall be thus answered by the governor; that the court doth assent to all the propositions laid down in the aforesaid letter, but that the answer shall be directed to Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Haynes [of New Haven and of Connecticut] only, excluding Mr. Coddington and Mr. Brenton [of Newport,] as men not to be capitulated withal by us, either for themselves or the people of the Island which they inhabit, as their case standeth."²

Nor was this an outbreak of a merely temporary feeling. Here was the spirit which was to shape the future relations of the older and the younger colony. It shut out all considerations of a common interest, dulled the sense of a common danger, stifled the sympathies of a kindred blood. The "case" of these men in Narragansett Bay was that they had been banished from Massachusetts, or had fled of their own

Proposition for an alliance of the colonies against the Indians.

Refused by Massachusetts.

¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 24.

² *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 305.

accord that they might enjoy in peace the right of thinking for themselves. But that was a right which to the Puritans of Boston was intolerable. It was not merely—as is so often pretended on their behalf—that these Puritans sought to protect the house of refuge they had built from any disturbing influences; they were no less determined that there should not be, if they could prevent it, anywhere within their reach, a church or a state that was not formed upon their model.

This proposition from the people of Rhode Island was only the renewal of an already familiar discussion. The question of a confederation of the colonies had been annually brought up for consideration from the close of the Pequot war to the spring of 1643 among the magistrates of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth. From year to year the project was deferred, the two smaller colonies fearing lest, in the adjustment of the terms of alliance, too much power should fall into the hands of the stronger colony of the Bay. One point, at least, might now be considered as settled; however willing Connecticut and New Haven might be that Acquidneck should be included in such a league, should it ever be formed, the assent of Massachusetts could only be obtained by the exclusion of that colony.

In 1643, accordingly, a confederation was made embracing Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. The same end and aim, the preamble recited, had brought them into these parts of America, “to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace.” Their distance from each other was incompatible with a single government for all these plantations, but their danger was a common one from the “people of several nations and strange languages” by whom they were surrounded; they could not look for protection from the home government because of “the sad distractions in England;” they entered, therefore, under the name of the United Colonies of New England, “into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.”

The purpose of this federation was strictly defined and limited, and its affairs were to be entrusted to a body of eight commissioners, two from each colony. The main object was an offensive and defensive league in case of war, though the rendition of fugitive servants and criminals was also provided for. In all things else each colony reserved to itself the right of self government. Thus simple were the terms of this federal union, so obviously the germ of the union of States of the next century.

For six years, as we have already said, this question of confederation was a topic of anxious discussion. Though so strictly defined and limited, it was only with the utmost caution that the several colonies consented to surrender the rights of self-government even for so obvious a good as a sure protection against their enemies. Perhaps the league would have been even longer delayed had not other than Indian wars been thought possible. The people along the southern coast of New England had turned their resolute faces and longing eyes towards New Netherland. The people of Massachusetts, or, at least, the leaders among them, never lost sight of the hope of absolute independence which first moved them to transfer their company, with its charter, quietly and secretly from London to Massachusetts Bay. They watched with absorbing interest the progress of the Revolution in England, cautious of any rash precipitancy, but ready for any emergency by which they might be involved in that great struggle, and any event that might be turned to their own advantage. That General Court of Massachusetts which ratified the act of confederacy, also decreed that in the oath of allegiance taken by the Governor and magistrates they should omit "for the present" the words "you shall bear true faith and allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King Charles;" for the king, they said, "had violated the privileges of Parliament, and made war upon them."

But from this first New England confederacy — with its immediate purpose of defence and offence against the Indians, and the possible purposes which time might bring forth — Gorges's colony at Agamenticus (York) in Maine, and the plantations on the Narragansett, were rigidly excluded. The Puritans dreaded the state and the church from which they had fled, and which Gorges represented; they hated the heretics who had escaped to Rhode Island from the persecutions of the church and the state which they sought to establish.

Objects of
the confederacy.

Agamenticus and
Acquidneck
excluded.

John Davenport

Signature of John Davenport.

CHAPTER III.

THE BOSTON PURITANS.

ROGER WILLIAMS AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. — BOSTON PURITANISM. — ITS BIGOTRY. — THE BELIEF IN A SPECIAL DIVINE PROTECTION. — SPECIAL PROVIDENCES. — PURITAN INTERPRETATION OF DISASTERS AND MISFORTUNES. — POPULAR APPREHENSION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. — EARLY LAWS OF THE PURITANS. — REGULATION OF DRESS AND CUSTOMS. — PATERNAL CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT. — RELATIONS OF THE SEXES. — LAWS AGAINST LYING AND BLASPHEMY. — PUNISHMENTS. — PURITAN SPIRIT AND ITS RESULTS IN PRACTICE. — SAMUEL GORTON. — HIS ACTION AT BOSTON AND AT PLYMOUTH, AND HIS BANISHMENT. — GORTON AND HIS COMPANIONS AT ACQUIDNECK AND PAWTUCKET. — THE ATTEMPT TO SEIZE WESTON'S CATTLE. — INTERFERENCE OF MASSACHUSETTS. — ARBITRARY COURSE OF THE BOSTON MAGISTRATES. — GORTON AT SHAWOMET. — HIS LETTER.

“SLATE ROCK,” as the spot is still called where Williams first stepped on shore in search of a new home, marks a memorable event in the history of New England. The wrongs he had suffered might have passed into oblivion as evil so often does, had not their memory been kept alive by the good which followed as a beneficent if not an inevitable consequence. A man less sturdy in courage, or of a virtue less stern would have been crushed into submission or frightened into retraction by the persecution with which he was beset. But whether the assertion of the liberty of thought and of freedom of conscience did or did not lead Roger Williams into errors, sometimes of thought and sometimes of action, the right of private judgment and the sacredness of conscientious conviction were still true; and to him was given the strength to assert and maintain, through much tribulation, the great principle, then dimly understood, which lies at the foundation of all free government and of all intelligent religious belief.

In the last analysis Puritanism meant freedom of thought and liberty of conscience. But the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay limited it to that measure of truth — by no means small indeed — to which they had attained. It was, they believed, obedience to the highest law of the human soul to go as far as they went; it was heresy to go beyond. They not only would not admit that free-

Williams
and liberty
of con-
science.

Boston Puri-
tanism.

dom of thought and of conscience could legitimately lead to any other conclusions than those they had reached ; but they would not admit that such freedom should go further and test the justice of those conclusions. More than this, — they insisted that any conclusions differing from their own were full of dismay and disaster ; and they denied the possibility of coming to any other result by any logical process of thought whatever.



Slate Rock.

Accordingly they believed those deserving of the severest condemnation who maintained any doctrine which, according to the construction they chose to put upon it and the deductions they chose to draw from it, was mischievous, however vehemently those holding that doctrine might repudiate such a construction and such deductions. They assumed, therefore, not merely to punish the propagation of error evidently or confessed as of evil intent ; they were no less eager to visit with severe penalties any doctrine which others might hold to be truthful and beneficent, but from which they by some ingenious intellectual process could deduce a possible civil offence or a religious heresy.

It was to the last degree narrow-minded, and, as narrow-mindedness always is, absurd. But these people were not the less sincere because they were intolerant. Bigotry, though it be ever so cruel, is not necessarily dishonest, and there can be no rational doubt that these Puritan bigots were for the most part upright and conscientious. They had braved the pains and perils of exile from homes and country most dearly loved to secure their own inalienable rights, and they felt to the very marrow of their bones the persecution from ^{its bigotry.} which they had fled. That which was gained was the more precious for the price that was paid for it, and they could not intermit their vigilance in guarding a possession that had cost so much. If the weakness of passion sometimes blunted the finer sense of justice, this is only to say that these men were human, — that great suffering had not taught them perfect charity.

But either they would not or could not recognize the fact that because they had gone so far and opened the way, others would inevitably insist upon going further; that the limit to thought and to freedom in matters civil and religious which they set up would not be accepted by others because they themselves were satisfied that only danger and darkness lay beyond. There was reason enough in their own circumstances and in their relations to the mother country for the exercise of the utmost care lest liberty should become license; but it behooved them of all men to make no mistake in drawing the dividing line between license and liberty. If they feared the harvest was to be of thorns they should have remembered it was of the tree they planted; and remembering this they should have doubted of such thorns; they should have reflected that if, when the fruit be gathered, it should be found not sharp and bitter, but of exceeding sweetness and wholesomeness, what madness it would have been to lay the axe at the root of the tree that bore it.

No faith could be more profound — none indeed more logical, if resting on a sure foundation — than that of these Boston Puritans in their own righteousness. They believed that the Almighty Power ^{Belief in a special Divine protection.} which created and governed the universe, unseen elsewhere and of other men, manifested itself visibly and unmistakably for their protection and in approbation of their lives and actions. It was, perhaps, only the elect few who recognized in all its marvellous majesty this impendency of the Divine presence; to common people yet subject to temptation and liable to sin, God may have seemed, as He does always to ordinary mortals, afar off. But to those who did see it, this visible imminence of the Almighty, manifested in incidents that might otherwise seem trivial or fortuitous, as well as in great events, had an awful meaning, and exercised over their existence an

irresistible and commanding influence. Life must needs have been a very stern and sombre thing to men who believed themselves to be standing face to face with God, to have entered into his counsels, to be joined with Him in the same work, to be justified in all they did by constant revelations of His will, or warned by significant punishments of His displeasure. They felt quite as intensely and devoutly as men generally feel that the will and the law of the Infinite Creator governed everywhere and always—omniscient in a universe without bounds; omnipresent in an eternity without beginning and without end. But to them there was a sense of a personal Divine presence which had another and even more overwhelming meaning: God himself was always and personally in Boston.

This belief in an immediate Providential government of the affairs of New England, so often avowed by Winthrop and others of the leading Puritans, was more profound than any ordinary superstition; it was a fundamental religious faith. Incidents in themselves trivial were "special Providences;" events of larger moment and wider consequence were "judgments of God." He before whom Moses hid his face, and who said "I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," was again a real personal presence upon the earth, had again revealed himself to his own peculiar people. Their wisdom was his wisdom; their purposes were his purposes; their enemies were his enemies. He shielded them in a thousand ways from trouble. If the wicked were visited with misfortunes, it was because they were wicked in His estimation as well as in theirs. If mishap sometimes befell the good it was to remind them of their dependence upon God, or to rebuke them for a proneness to forget that He was the source of all blessings. In either case it was to testify His immediate presence, or His approval of all that they thought and did believing it to be His will. Thus there was vouchsafed to them a constant revelation, and by the wise its voice could never be mistaken.

To incidents trifling in themselves there might be a tremendous import. Among a thousand books in a chamber where also Special Providences. was a store of corn, lay a volume in which were bound up together a Greek Testament, the Psalms, and the Book of Common Prayer. It was a thing "worthy of observation," to the pious Winthrop, that a mouse should have entered the garret, eaten the Prayer Book, "every leaf of it," and left the rest untouched. Could this be accident? Was it a mouse's discrimination? It was so obvious as to need only to be pointed out that by this humble instrument God had chosen to testify his abhorrence of the stated prayers of an idolatrous church.

Could the Lord tolerate false doctrine? There was no want of answers. God followed Mrs. Hutchinson — a “woman who had the chiefe rule of all the roast, being very bold in her strange Revelations and misapplications” — and her family to New Netherland, where, says Johnson,¹ the Indians “cruelly murdered her, taking one of their daughters away with them, and another of them seeking to escape, is caught, as she was getting over a hedge, and they drew her back againe by the haire of the head to the stump of a tree, and there cut off her head with a hatchet.” But this was “the loud-speaking hand of God against them.” A barber was overtaken by a storm on Boston Neck — the road still so called, and leading to the suburban towns of Roxbury and Dorchester — and perished. It was remembered of him when his frozen

body was recovered from the snow, that he was one who “having a fit opportunity, by reason of his trade, so soone as any were set downe in his chaire, he would commonly be cutting of their haire and the truth together.”² In the Hutchinson controversy this unhappy man had been so carried away by his



Ruins of the Oldest House now standing in Boston; built in 1633.³

mistaken zeal, that his name is found among those whose arms were taken from them.⁴ That he should freeze to death was a testimony from the Lord that an antinomian and contumacious barber, who for the propagation of error, so misused his opportunities, was not fit to live.

Governor Winthrop called it a notable “judgment of God,” that twenty-one barrels of gunpowder should explode on board an English ship in the harbor of Charlestown, killing the captain, nine or ten of his crew, and some others; for they were “profane scoffers,” says the

¹ *Wonder-working Providences in New England*, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., *et seq.*

² Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*.

³ This house, of which an account is given in the *Historical Magazine*, second series, vol. ii., p. 169 (number for September, 1867), stands on Minot Street, near Chicatawbut Street, in the part of Dorchester called Neponset, now annexed to Boston. It is called the “Minot House,” from the name of its first owner; and is asserted to be the oldest wooden house in the United States.

⁴ His name was William Dinely, and his infant son, born ten days after the father's death, was baptized Fathergone. *Savage's Winthrop*. Note, vol. i., p. 345.

Governor, "at us, and at the ordinances of religion here." Not that they were irreligious or wicked men in any other sense, for the captain had said, when questioned for his absence from a fast-day meeting in the town, that "they had as good service on board as we had on shore." It was a fatal assumption on behalf of the English Church; only two hours later God made the difference manifest by tearing ship and people to atoms; and it was the more significant that a shower of rain and some other hindrances were sent to detain from the coming catastrophe some of the leading Puritans of Boston, who were on their way to the vessel. The Lord protected His own, and sent his "judgment upon those scorers of his ordinances and the ways of his servants."

So at home and abroad, in great things and in small things, in the affairs of individuals, and in the affairs of the church and of the state, the interference of Divine Providence was manifested, and always for the protection of these His peculiar people, for the justification of their wisdom and virtue in thought and deed, and for the punishment of their enemies. It was "a special providence," Mr. Winthrop thought, that set a neighbor's hens to cackling in the night time, and aroused their owner to discover that the house of good Mr. Pelham at Cambridge, was on fire. No foolish fowls or crowing cocks could so mistake the light of a conflagration for the break of day, except it were to bring safety to a man so truly good.

But see a protecting care in larger measure to save the State. Divine inter-
position in
political
affairs. When one Captain Mason built in London a ship which was to bring over the dreaded General Governor for New England, it was the Lord who "disappointed and frustrated all the designs" of its enemies by breaking the ship's back before she had left the stocks. Mason himself, as a further evidence of the divine displeasure, "soon after fell sick and died," not even death-bed repentance availing him when he promised that "if he recovered to be as great a friend to New England [to the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, that is,] as he had formerly been an enemy." So also Sir Ferdinando Gorges "never prospered," for he "also had sided with our adversaries against us, but underhand, pretending by his letters and speeches to seek our welfare."

Even some rash men, returning to England against all advice and bearing thither no good report of the people and the country, were beset with disaster, tossed up and down by tempests, reduced to painful suffering for want of food, and only escaped shipwreck when they "humbled themselves before the Lord, and acknowledged God's hand to be justly out against them, for speaking evil of this good land and the Lord's people here." Nor was disaster by sea the end of their troubles. On shore, "some were exposed to great straits,

and found no entertainment, their friends forsaking them ;” the daughter of one of them soon went mad, and a worse fate befell two of her sisters, who were debauched ; a schoolmaster, the worst of these slanderers of the saints, who succeeded in gathering a school about him, was ruined by the plague by which his pupils were dispersed and two of his own children taken away from him.

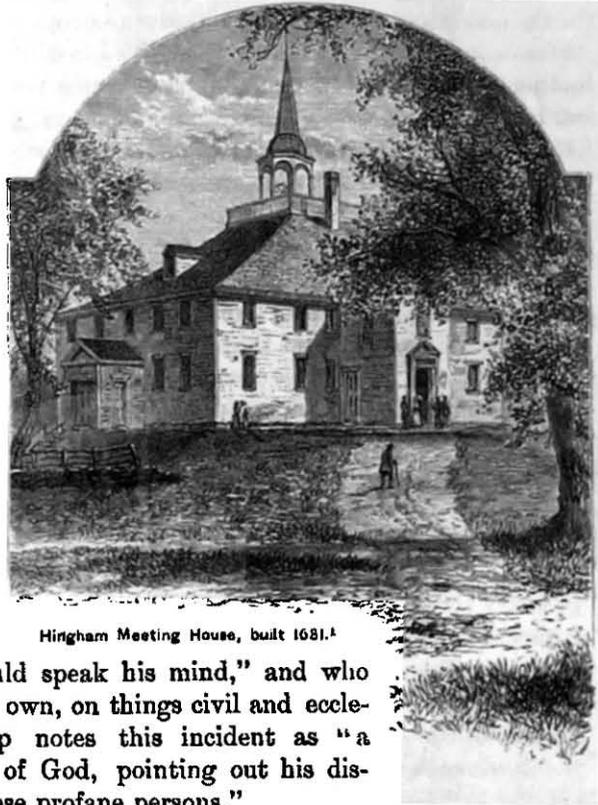
They saw the hand of the Lord raised over them in special protection, or in special rebuke in evidences like these many times, from year to year, in many places in the old world and the new. Only a few months before these evil-minded passengers were followed across the Atlantic by the divine wrath, a mail carrier was overtaken by a freshet on his way to Boston from the Isles of Shoals, where a ship had just arrived from England. His companion was lost beneath the ice, but he was permitted to escape, for “he had about him all the letters from England which were brought in the ship, which sure were the occasion of God’s preserving him, more than any goodness of the man.” Again, “a special providence of God appeared” in the case of a burning house in Roxbury, for some one remembered and gave warning in season that there was a store of gunpowder within, and though the explosion was like an earthquake, and burning cinders were carried even beyond Boston meeting-house, yet was no man injured. But the loss of the powder was the more observable, inasmuch as the General Court had neglected to pay for it, and had refused to lend a portion of it both to Virginia and to Plymouth, when those colonies were in danger of an attack from the Indians, and were without adequate means of defence. It was thus that Heaven chose to remind its servants that neither commercial contracts nor the claims of humanity could be ignored with impunity even in Boston.

Puerile as such incidents may seem to the robust common sense of later times, and easy as it is to bring to their interpretation the test of reason, they had a tremendous meaning to the Boston Puritans. Why, for example, should the Lord destroy the powder of Massachusetts Bay at one time because it was not sent to the Virginians to be used for their defence against the Indians, when the next year it was the divine will that these Virginians, then no better and no worse, should be destroyed by the savages? But counsel was not taken of human reason. In the later event Governor Winthrop could only see in the desolation of Virginia, that “it was very observable that the massacre came upon them soon after they had driven out the godly ministers we had sent to them, and had made an order that all such as would not conform to the discipline of the church of England should depart the country by a certain day, . . . and many were forced to give glory to God in acknowledging that

Puritan interpretation of certain disasters.

this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among them." The essential thing was, not whether the Virginians had or had not gunpowder; whether they could or could not defend themselves against the Indians; but that Boston might be rebuked or justified in whatever happened to them in which she had any concern. It was not that God cared much about Virginia.

The sign sought for in any coincidence of events was always the divine approval of the gospel according to the Puritans, and all that the Puritans did to establish that gospel. Thus it was because certain men of Hingham put out upon the Bay with a raft of timber, upon a fast day, that a tempest descended upon them, the timber was nearly all lost, and the men came near drowning; for they scoffed at a fast appointed by the magistrates in Boston, following their pastor, the Rev.



Hingham Meeting House, built 1681.¹

Peter Hobart, "a bold man, who would speak his mind," and who had notions of his own, on things civil and ecclesiastical. Winthrop notes this incident as "a special providence of God, pointing out his displeasure against these profane persons."

And when not long after, intelligence was received of the loss by shipwreck, on the coast of Wales, of Governor Kieft and eighty other persons of New Netherland, the Massachusetts governor speaks of it as "an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Netherlands, which though it were sadly to be lamented in regard of the calamity, yet there appeared in it so much of God in favor of his poor people here, and displeasure towards such as have opposed and injured

¹ This is the oldest Meeting House now standing in North America.

them as is not to be passed by without due observation and acknowledgment." Quite as observable is it that his religious faith had not overcome the natural man in the good governor, whose kindness of heart speaks out in spite of his stern theology.

Men who had this abiding faith that they were under the special protection of Providence in a way and to a degree that was not extended to the rest of God's creatures; — faith that God manifested, in the events of every-day life, his approval in what they did and in what they refrained from doing; — faith in the divine sanction of all they believed, of the divine condemnation of all which they held to be error, making thus their limit to the freedom of thought God's limit also; — men with such a faith, being human became intolerant, and being intolerant, became persecutors. It was not merely, as they held, that no further discovery was possible of moral or religious truth; but that the truth already discovered and established could not be trusted to compete with error. They recognized the direct interposition of God in arresting false doctrines and in punishing those who held and spread them; what else could they do but follow the divine example? There was a singular and unquestioning confidence in their own righteousness which seems inexplicable except by their unshaken conviction that they were, even as the angels of heaven, at one with God, and understood His will as it was given to no others to understand it.

"It is said," — wrote a Puritan writer, whose seriousness and piety were none the less because of his wit, and his authority and influence none the less because of his pedantry and his affectation of quaintness — "It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debar them of it; I can rather stand amazed than reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and find an Assertion worse than this (one excepted) I will Petition to be chosen the universal Ideot of the world."¹ Not a Puritan in Massachusetts, that Massachusetts could tolerate, but would agree with this. For so surely as it was divine wisdom that led the Puritan out of the Church of England, so it was not liberty of conscience but license of the devil that would lead one inch beyond the Church of Boston.

¹ *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America*, by the Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, Mass. This eminent Puritan clergyman exhausts the peculiarity of style which distinguishes him when writing of toleration. "How," he says, "all Religions should enjoy their liberty, Justice its due regularity, Civil cohabitation moral honesty, in one and the same Jurisdiction, is beyond the Artique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise, exadverse, and diametrical contradictions, as to compolitize such a multimoustrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly; I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can do more than the Senate of Heaven."

“ We have been reputed,” writes the same author, “ a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow room for our Phanatic Doctrines and practises ; I trust our diligence past and constant sedulity against such persons and courses, will plead better things for us. I dare take upon me, to be the Herauld of New England so far, as to proclaim to the World, in the name of our Colony, that all Familists, Anti-nomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts shall have free Liberty to keep away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better.”

Nor was this merely an expression of opinion ; it was the avowal of a policy. Non-conformists in Old England who became Separatists almost before they were off soundings on their voyage to New England, could hardly escape the suspicion of encouraging the utmost latitudinarianism. Men who had secretly provided that the royal charter should go with them to their new home,¹ well knew that their purpose of self-government was very likely to be construed into a purpose of independent government and freedom of religious opinion. There was suspicion to be done away with, and a good reputation to be established even with that class of their countrymen who might seek, as they had sought, to escape from the imminent storm in England, and to find an asylum beyond the observation, if not actually beyond the reach, of king and bishops. They could not, indeed, choose who should follow them to that place of safety ; but they could show that it was a place of safety only to those who, like themselves, believed neither too little nor too much. There was no doubt in their minds that they apprehended the will of God and did it ; but they were not so different from other men of other times that their religious convictions were uninfluenced by mere worldly considerations, by pride of opinion, by an imperfect comprehension of avowed principles, by an impatient intolerance of all those who declined to accept that measure of truth, no more no less, which they maintained was the only correct measure.

The colony of Massachusetts Bay its founders meant should be a virtuous, a happy, and a prosperous commonwealth ; but it was to be so strictly in accordance with their own notions of what constituted virtue, happiness, and prosperity, and there was no welcome and no toleration among them of any other opinions than their own. The cause of civil and religious liberty they maintained as they understood it, and up to that point which they had themselves reached ; and they would have arrested all further progress at that point if they could. But man only proposes. It was well for humanity, civilization, and religion, that they were as good as they were, and did as much as

Distinct
policy of the
Puritans.

¹ See vol. i., p. 521, *et seq.*

they did; that they were no better and did no more was their loss, not the world's. Where they stopped, others went forward.

But it is not to be forgotten that they were as rigid and uncompromising in their ideas of morality as in their religious principles. If they aimed to measure and limit thought by a ^{Puritan} _{laws.} standard which they believed God himself had prescribed, so they were equally sincere and unwearied in their efforts to make men's lives conform to the same rule of absolute right. Their whole method of government, whatever they did and whatever they proposed to do, can only be fairly considered in the light of their own understanding of their responsibility, and wisdom, and righteousness.

The first code of laws drawn up at the request of the General Court, by the Rev. John Cotton, was taken entirely from the Old Testament. It was not, indeed, accepted, but another was substituted of which the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, — who knew something of Roman as well as Jewish law — was the author.¹ He was lawyer enough to know that there were necessities of society in



Signature of Rev. Nathaniel Ward.

the 17th century which were not provided for in the laws of Moses. But the idea of government, nevertheless, was largely formed from a study of the Hebrew Scriptures. To exercise an immediate supervision over the conduct of every individual in the community, in all his private as well as public acts and relations, was to govern men in accordance with the will of God. A glance at some of their laws shows the spirit of their rule, and how infallible their belief was that the world could be made perfect if it was only governed enough, and governed in absolute accordance, nothing beyond it and nothing short of it, with the Puritanism which they professed.

¹ The code drawn up by Cotton was published in London in 1641, and entitled, "An Abstract of the Laws of New England as they are now established." But they never were the established laws of either Massachusetts or New England, though it was long believed, as that publication asserted, that they were. The "Body of Liberties," which was the work of Mr. Ward, and adopted in 1641, was in reality the first Constitution of Massachusetts, and the foundation of subsequent constitutions. Mr. Ward preached the election sermon that year, — "a moral and political discourse," says Winthrop, "grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an error." Laws had better, the governor thought, be taken from the Bible, than "on the authority of the wisdom, justice, etc., of those heathen commonwealths." Mr. Ward thought something could be learned from Justinian as well as Moses. The first article of this code provided that the rights of person and property in the citizen should be inviolate except by express law, or in default of that by "the word of God." What might be just and requisite under the "word" was to be decided by the General Court. See Savage's *Winthrop*, Hutchinson's *History*, and especially a paper on the "Abstract" of Cotton, and the "Body of Liberties" of Ward, by F. C. Gray, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. viii.

The sale of everything was regulated by law, with such minuteness as to reach the cost of a meal at an inn, and even the price of a pot of beer between meals. The law fixed the price of all commodities, of all labor, and of all servants' wages. The use of tobacco was early forbidden in all public houses and places; and though one might smoke it in his own house, it was unlawful to do so before strangers, or for one person to use it in company of another. Fashion in dress was the subject of much anxious and stringent legislation. In the early days of the colony, all apparel which any man or woman should make or buy was forfeited by law if it had upon it

Sumptuary
regulations.



Costumes about the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

any lace, whether of gold, silver, silk, or thread; the same penalty attached to any garment with more than one slash in each sleeve, and one in the back; to all "cuttworks, embroidered or needle-work capps, bands and rayles;" to "golde or silver girdles, hattbands, belts, ruffs, and beaver hats." The size of the sleeve in any dress for women was limited to a width of half an ell, and none were to be made "with short sleeves whereby the nakedness of the arm may be discovered in the wearing thereof."

But to enforce laws in such matters was, the General Court at last acknowledged, exceedingly difficult; "in regard," they said, "of the blindnes of mens minds and the stubbournnes of their wills." So difficult, indeed, did they find it, that in 1651 they gave it up so far

as it concerned magistrates, civil and military officers, persons of education and employment "above the ordinary degree," those who were worth two hundred pounds, and those whose estates had been considerable but had decayed — all those, in a word, called of the better class — were exempted from these sumptuary laws. But the Court felt itself called upon to declare the more emphatically their "utter detestation and dislike that men or women of meane condition, educations, and callinges, should take vpon them the garbe of gentlemen, by the wearinge of gold or siluer lace, or buttons or poynts at their knees, to walke in greate bootes ; or women of the same ranke to weare silk or



Costumes about the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

tiffany hooedes or scarfes, which, though allowable to persons of greater estates, or more liberal education, yet we can not but judge it intolerable in persons of such like condition." Either something of the simplicity of character that belonged to the early Puritans was lost in the first quarter of a century, or resistance against the assertions of rank and fashion was found to be useless.

Long hair in men was early prohibited, as "uncomely and prejudicial to the common good," and a few years later it was pronounced as "sinful." The governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates formed an association to suppress an evil so "contrary to the rule of God's word ;" the elders were exhorted to testify against it from the pulpit, and "to take care that the members of their respective churches be not defiled therewith."

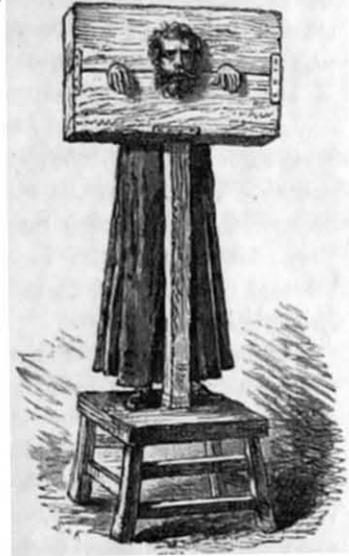
The government aimed to be paternal. The selectmen of the towns were required to have a special oversight of the education, behavior, and occupations of the children within their jurisdiction. This power of supervision extended to all families, and not merely to those who, as in all communities, are unworthy, from poverty, or indolence, or vicious habits, to be trusted with the care of their own offspring. The magistrates were to see that all young people were not only taught to read, to understand the principles of religion, and the character of the laws, but also to spin, to knit, and to weave; for a fixed quantity of "lining, cotten, or wooling" was required to be spun by each family, and the selectmen regulated the sowing of flax and the raising of sheep. These officers were to take care that boys and girls were not "suffered to converse together so as may occasion any wanton, dishonest, or immodest behaviour;" and to further regulate the relations of the young people, it was provided by law that "no person shall endeavour directly or indirectly to draw away the affections of any maid . . . under pretence of marriage, before he hath attained liberty and allowance from her parents or governors," or, in the absence of these, from the court of the shire. When this last was obtained the courting could go on under a magistrate's warrant, but not otherwise.

This latter law was meant to correct an evil the prevalence of which is the more remarkable among a people whose piety was so fervid, and where any breach of morality was so rigorously visited. "Marvillious it may be," exclaims Governor Bradford, "to see and consider how some kind of wickednes did grow and break forth here," notwithstanding the austerity of public opinion and the severity of the law, both exceeding that of any place he ever knew or heard of, and the latter so relentless as to be "somewhat censured by moderate and good men." Of these wickednesses, "unclainnes" was one. No penalty, even unto death, was left untried to keep the sexes within decent bounds in their relations to each other, and to restrain men from the most unnatural and beastly indulgence of passion. So common were such sins that Bradford suggests as one reason for their frequency that "the Divell may carrie a greater spite against the Churches of Christ and the gospell hear," and that "Satane hath more power in these Heathen lands, as som have thought, then in more Christian nations, espetically over God's servants in them." His more rational explanation, however, is that the very strictness of the law defeated its purpose, and was, in some degree, responsible for unrestrained outbreaks of lechery; and that in a small community it was the more difficult for crime to be hidden.¹ Among other laws

¹ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 385, 386.

relating to this subject was one forbidding men and women, whose wives and husbands were not with them, to remain in the country, unless to prepare for new homes, or for purposes of trade for a brief season.

Lying, whether intended to injure private persons, or to deceive the public "by false newes or reports," was punished by exposing the culprit in the stocks or by public whipping.¹ License of speech was never tolerated, though the distinction between license and liberty was not always recognized. "Re-viling speeches," "uncomely speeches and obscene," were often punished. Mr. Shorthose, for example, it is recorded, was sentenced "to have his tongue put into a cleft stick and stand so by the space of haulfe an houre," for swearing by "the blood of God;" and the unruly member of the wife of Thomas Aplegate, was subjected to similar discipline for "swearing, raileing, and revileing."



The Pillory.

Later, a fixed penalty was adjudged for profane swearing "either by the holy name of God or any other oath." To make this law more effective it was afterward enacted that the fine should be doubled, or the culprit whipped, if he swore more than one oath at a time.

Laws against blasphemy.

In the fundamental law, the "Body of Liberties," it was provided that whoever shall blaspheme the name of God, the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost, should be put to death. Profane language, therefore, was not held to be necessarily blasphemous, however immoral. But to deny that any one of the books of the Old or the New Testament was inspired by the Holy Ghost and contained the will of God, was no less a crime than blasphemy. Whoever committed it, whether on sea or land, was to be fined or severely whipt for the first offence, and for the second, put to death.

Punishments were, in the earlier years of the colony, largely at the discretion of the magistrates; nearly twenty years passed away before any penalty was provided by statute even for

Punishments.

¹ Such a law may not have been without reason, if one who wrote of the manners and character of the people of New England as late as 1686, was not himself a fair subject for its penalties. Speaking of a friend in Boston, he says: "And this was a noted quality in him, that he would always tell the truth; which is a practice so uncommon in New England, that I could not but value his friendship." Had this been said in Boston instead of in London, the writer would have been set in the stocks. — *John Dunton's Journal, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Second Series, vol. ii.*

the crimes of burglary or violence against the person.¹ Subsequently the punishment for burglary was branding on the forehead. Such marks, indelible, or conspicuous for a certain period, to designate criminals, to hold the culprits up to public terror and expose them to public humiliation, may, perhaps, have been resorted to in the absence of any safe place of confinement. Boston had her jail at an early day, and so possibly had one or two others of the larger places; but it was not till 1655 that houses of correction were provided for each county. At any rate, it was the punishment and not the reformation of criminals which the magistrates and the court had in view when they affixed upon the faces or the clothing of offenders, who were allowed to be at large, marks of ignominy which must set them apart from their fellow-men.

Thieves and drunkards were exposed to public scorn with placards upon their breasts inscribed with capital letters to denote their offences. Dunton saw an English woman in the streets of Boston, who, for having admitted an Indian to some "unlawful freedoms," was compelled to wear upon her right arm the figure of an Indian cut in red cloth.² In a certain case where the general court and the jury did not agree as to the evidence offered where the crime charged was blasphemy, the court decided that the accused should be severely whipped in the market-place, then burnt in the forehead with the letter B, and banished from the colony. The cognate offence of contempt of the "word preached," or contemptuous behavior towards the preacher, thus "making God's wayes contemptible and ridiculos" was punished in a manner meant to eradicate the crime by exposing the criminal to peculiar ignominy. If the offence was a second time committed the culprit was exhibited for "two houres openly upon a block 4 foote high, on a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast with this, A WANTON GOSPELLER, written in capital letters." In 1677 another law was passed, intended not merely, probably not chiefly, for the vulgar Sabbath-breaker, but for the more contumacious citizen, the disturber for conscience sake of public worship; he was to be taken to Boston, or any other town where such accommodation was provided, and confined in a cage in the open marketplace till such time as the

¹ The natural inference that such crimes were uncommon is not necessarily correct. It is no proof that burglary was or was not common, but it is an incident worth noting as indicating a rather unusual degree of lawlessness, that two young men of twenty years of age, both students of Harvard, one a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, the other a son of an equally well-known clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Wilde, of Roxbury, were detected in robbing two houses at different times. They were first whipped by the president of the college, and it was then ordered by the court that the punishment be doubled, or the young men imprisoned. — *Savage's Winthrop*. *Coffin's History of Newbury*.

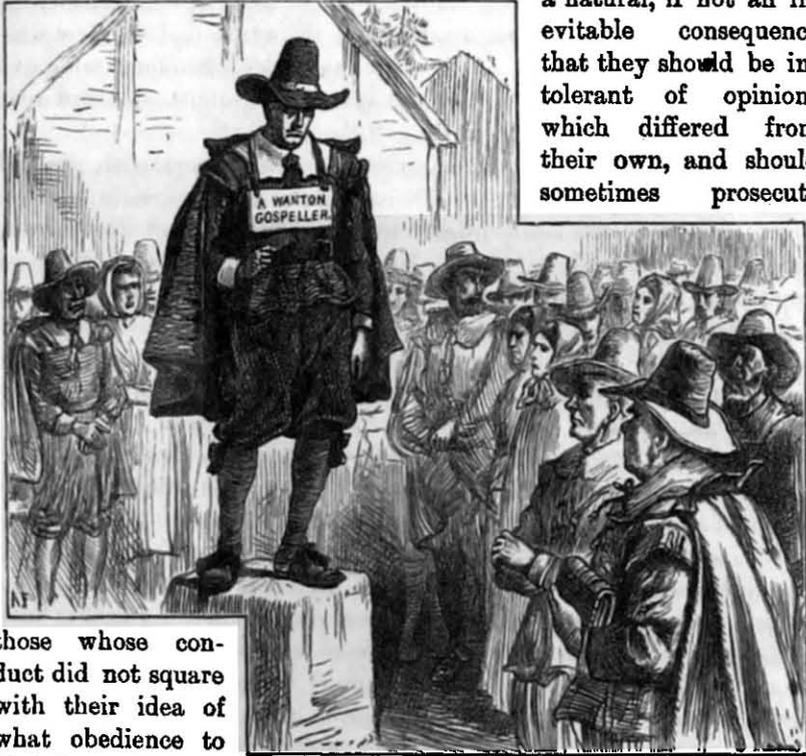
² *John Dunton's Journal*, p. 100.

magistrates should find it convenient to give him a trial. Notwithstanding the severity of such laws, however, the "wanton gospeller" has not been exterminated in Massachusetts even unto this day.¹

Such was the spirit of the religion and the laws of the Massachusetts Puritans. They were to govern in the name of God, who had there set up his kingdom in a peculiar manner. As they themselves, however, were not divine, but were moved by human passions and limited by human weaknesses, it was

Puritan
spirit and
practice.

a natural, if not an inevitable consequence that they should be intolerant of opinions which differed from their own, and should sometimes prosecute



A Wanton Gospeller.

those whose conduct did not square with their idea of what obedience to God demanded and the good order of society required.

When, therefore, it turned out that the "wild opinionists," with their "phanatic Doctrines and practises," their "multi-monstrous maulfrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets," were swarming about Narragansett Bay, it was no wonder that Governor Winthrop and others should believe—and he used the words in literal faith—that "at Providence the devil was not idle." He was never busier, never doing more fatal mischief, it was believed, than when he was exciting theological controversy to its whitest heat.

¹ For all these early laws see *Massachusetts Records*.

Among the earlier settlers at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, was one Samuel Gorton, who soon proved himself to be a singularly incomprehensible, obstinate disputant, and incorrigible citizen; "a man," says Hubbard, "of an haughty spirit, and very heretical principles, a prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties, even the very dregs of Familism."¹ The same author says that he left Boston soon after arriving there because of a demand for an unpaid debt which followed him from England. The charge would be hardly worthy of belief even on better authority than that of Hubbard; for in all the acrimonious strife in which Gorton was involved for so many years, and in all the persecution with which he was pursued, there was no question of his integrity. "Whose ox or whose ass have I taken," — he said in a letter of defence and defiance, written in 1669 — "or when or where have I lived upon other men's labours, and not wrought with my own hands, for things honest in the sight of men, to eat my own bread?"² No one gainsaid him, as some one of his opponents would certainly have done had it been easy. For at a period remarkable for the exceeding ingenuity developed among men to make themselves hateful to their fellows, Gorton showed himself to possess pre-eminent ability; and his reputation for morality would have been — as it was for righteousness — picked clean to the bone, had he ever laid himself open to such an attack.

From Boston he went to Plymouth. Antinomianism was not necessarily responsible for his first conflict with the Plymouth authorities, as its occasion was his public defence of a servant in his own family, who having permitted herself, unfortunately, to smile in church, was declared by that token to be a heretic and a scoffer, and unworthy to remain in a Christian community.³ But he began about this time to exercise his gift of preaching, persuaded that he had "a call to preach the gospel of Christ, not inferiour to any minister in this countrey, tho'," as he afterward said, "I was not bred up in the schools of humane learning, and I bless God that I never was, least I had been drowned in pride and ignorance."⁴ He soon preached himself out of Plymouth. The Fathers put him under bonds for his good behavior, punished him by a heavy fine, and gave him fourteen days to depart out of their jurisdiction.⁵ Naturally he turned his face towards Acquidneck, where he soon made himself conspicuous.

¹ *General History of New England.*

² Letter from Samuel Gorton to Nathaniel Morton, in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i. Appendix. *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii.

³ *Life of Gorton*, in Sparks's *American Biography*. New Series, vol. v. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

⁴ *Letter to Morton.*

⁵ Morton's *New England's Memorial*, p. 143. Hutchinson says he was whipped.

Here as at Plymouth he soon got into trouble, and, as it appears, on a somewhat like occasion. His maid assaulted another woman in a quarrel about the pasturage of a cow. Gorton appeared in her defence and behaved so insolently to the court, that he was arrested and imprisoned.¹ The grand jury indicted him as a nuisance, one of

But still I am yours to live
and to die Samuel Gorton

Warwick the 20th
of November 1649

Signature of Samuel Gorton.

the counts of the indictment being that he called the magistrates Just asses; another that he alleged in open court that they were lawyers.² In the affair of the maid servant his friends Holden and Wickes made so much disturbance that an armed guard was called to suppress it, and Wickes was put in the stocks. Gorton fared even worse at his trial. Winthrop says there was much "tumult" at Aquidneck, and whether right or wrong, Gorton seems to have been in the thick of it. "These of the Island," says a contemporary writer, "have a pretended civill government of their owne erection without the King's Patent. There lately they whipt one master Gorton, a grave man, for denying their power, and abusing some of their magistrates with uncivill tearmes; the Governour, master Coddington, saying in Court, *You that are for the king, lay hold on Gorton*; and he againe, on the other side, called forth, *All you that are for the king, lay hold on Coddington*."³ Coddington's was the strongest party, and Gorton and his friends sought an asylum in Providence.

Williams received them kindly, as was his wont. How could he, who not long before had accepted re-baptism from Ezekiel Holliman — "a poor man late of Salem" — the founder of the first Baptist Church in America, refuse a welcome to one who had just testified to the truth, as he believed it, by suffering an ignominious punishment?

He leaves
Aquidneck
for Providence.

Gorton bought lands, in the latter part of the year 1641, at Pawtuxet — now Cranston — but within the bounds of Providence, and was soon involved in disputes with his new neighbors. "Those of Providence," says Winthrop, were all Anabaptists; "some were only against baptizing of infants; others denied all magistracy and churches, etc., of which Gorton . . . was their instructor and captain." Wil-

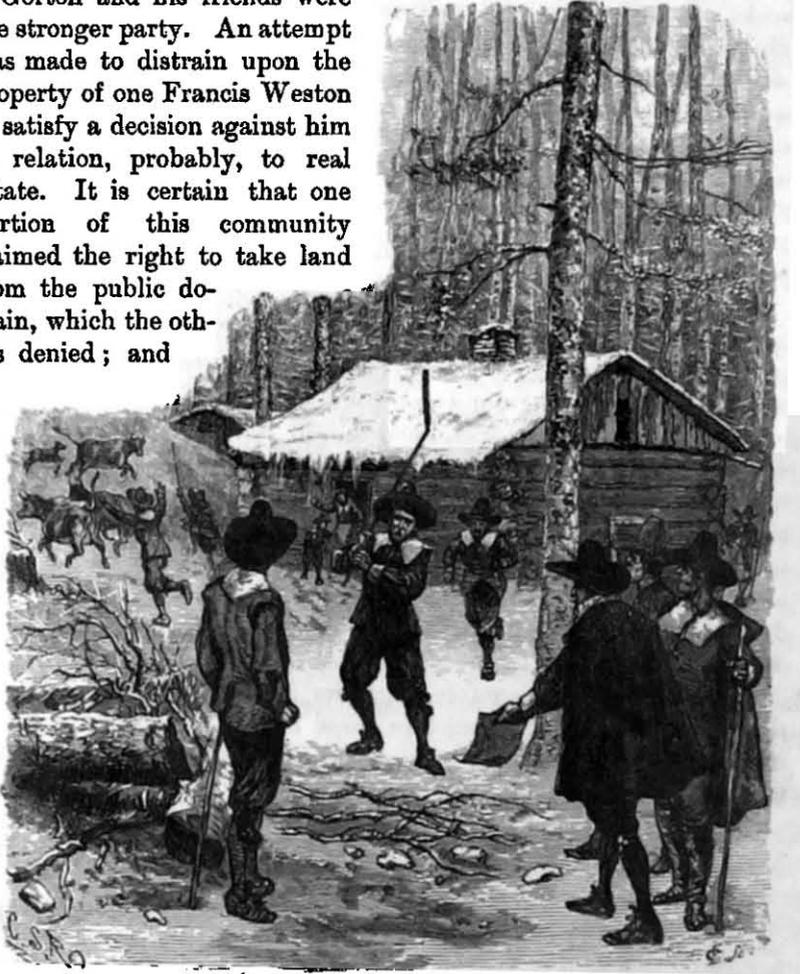
¹ Winslow's *Hypocrisis unmasked*.

² Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

³ *Plain Dealing; or Newses from New-England*. By Thomas Lechford, of Clement's Inne, in the County of Middlesex, Gent., London, 1642. Republished in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. iii. See also Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 69.

liams kept the peace among them for a little while, but controversialists soon became combatants, and from words came to blows.

Gorton and his friends were the stronger party. An attempt was made to distrain upon the property of one Francis Weston to satisfy a decision against him in relation, probably, to real estate. It is certain that one portion of this community claimed the right to take land from the public domain, which the others denied; and



The Conflict over Weston's Cattle.

it may be that for an encroachment of this kind Weston was adjudged by a board of referees — which was the method adopted for the administration of justice — to make a payment into the public treasury. The debt, at any rate, was a public one, and Weston refused to submit to the judgment in a written reply, a copy of which he nailed to a tree in the village, as well as gave to the authorities. The order was given to levy upon his cattle, which Gorton and others resisted, with a “tumultuous hubbub,” and some blood was shed. A second attempt was made, when, says the narrative, “Weston came furiously running

with a flail in his hand, and cried out, 'Help Sirs, Help Sirs, they are going to steal my cattle,' and so continued crying till Randall Holden, John Greene, and some others came running, and made a great outcry, and hallooing, and crying 'Thieves, Thieves, Stealing cattle, Stealing cattle;' and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered they had made a rescue, and that such should be their practice, if any men, at any time, in any case, attach anything that is theirs."¹

Gorton's party resist the Providence magistrates.

Benedict Arnold,² and a dozen others of the defeated party, appealed at once to Massachusetts for aid and counsel against these "lewd and licentious courses" of persons who, they declared, had openly proclaimed that they would "have no manner of honest order or government either over them or amongst them;" and who, unless brought to reason, would soon come "boldly to maintain licentious lust, like savage brute beasts," and fail to recognize any "manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, wives, lives." The exaggeration of such a statement is self-evident. It was so much the habit of the time to attribute all manner of immoralities, as a necessary consequence, to any difference of opinion, that nothing was easier — even to those who had been sufferers from intolerance in others — in a dispute where feeling was warmly enlisted, or pecuniary interest deeply involved, than to asseverate that he who maintained one side of the question had, therefore, no more religion than an Indian, and that he who maintained another must be bad enough to covet his neighbor's goods, and was generally no better than a thief and a murderer.³

¹ *Petition of some of Providence Colony to the Government of Massachusetts against Gorton and Others. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d series, vol. i. Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. ii.*

² The petition was in Arnold's handwriting.

³ In 1664-65 the people of Warwick — as Shawomet had come to be called — petitioned the King's Commissioners that satisfaction might be given them for the great losses they had suffered from the Massachusetts government. The General Court of Massachusetts cited in their defence the petition referred to in the text from the Providence people against those of Shawomet. As nearly twenty-five years had elapsed since the event referred to had occurred, it was clear enough that the consequences which the petition predicted — namely, that unless the Shawomet people were checked in their evil courses they would come to be like licentious, savage, brute beasts, holding all things, even their wives in common — were completely falsified. A prophecy proved to be false in 1665 would be a poor justification for Massachusetts to offer for her conduct in 1641. It therefore suited the General Court to quote the Providence petition as stating that Gorton and his companions were already the vile and dangerous men which the petitioners only said they might become in a certain contingency. In other words, the court so garbles the petition as to make it assert as an existing fact that which was only put as a possible consequence. However heretical it may seem, it is difficult to escape the suspicion that the Puritans some-

To the appeal of the discomfited party, however, the magistrates in Boston returned a cautious, and, at the same time, a suggestive answer. They could not, they said, levy war without the action of the General Court; but then any aggrieved people would be sure of protection if they subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. As all these people at Pawtuxet knew what it was to live under the government of Massachusetts and had run away from it, they were apparently not disposed to try it again immediately.

They were evidently not so disposed, for they did not "subject" themselves. For a year nothing is heard of any discord among them, and when, after the lapse of that period of quiet another cry came to Boston for help, it was not from the people of Providence at large; not even from the thirteen who had begged for interference the year before; now it was only four men who appealed to the Massachusetts magistrates, and of these four two were new men.¹

These "four of Providence," writes Governor Winthrop, "who could not consort with Gorton and that company, and therefore were continually injured and molested by them, came and offered themselves and their lands, etc., to us, and were accepted under our government and protection." This was done, he says, "partly to rescue these men from unjust violence, and partly to draw in the rest in those parts, either under ourselves or Plymouth, who now lived under no government, but grew very offensive." But there was still another reason for this proposed interference with his neighbors, and Winthrop is frank enough to avow it; "the place," he adds, "was likely to be of use to us." The good Governor, who was so apt with Scriptural illustration, might have been reminded of

times showed signs of human weakness. See *Memorial to the King's Commissioners*, republished from *Mass. Records in Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii.

¹ The four were William Arnold and his son, Benedict Arnold, William Carpenter and Robert Cole. Benedict Arnold and Carpenter were among the petitioners of the year before. Cole, during the ten previous years, had been more under the active jurisdiction of the government, whose protection he now asked for, than most men. He was repeatedly punished for drunkenness and other misdemeanors, as the Massachusetts Records show. One of these records is: "Robte Coles is fined X^l & enjoyned to stand wth a white shcete of pap on his back, wherein a drunkard shalbe written in greate tres, & to stand therewth soe longe as the Court thinks meete, for abuseing himselfe shamefully wth drinke, intiseing John Shotswell wife to incontincy, & oth^r misdemean^r." *Mass. Records*, vol. i., p. 107. And again: "It is ordered, that Robte Coles, for drunkenes by him committed att Rocksbury, shalbe disfranchized, weare aboute his necke & soe to hange vpon his outward garm^t, a D, made of redd cloath, & sett vpon white; to contynue this for a yeare, and not to leave it of att any tyme when hee comes amongst company, vnder the penalty of x^l for the first offence, & V^l the second, & after to be punished by the Court as they thinke meete; also, hee is to weare the D outwards, & is enjoyned to appeare att the nexte Gefiall Court, & to contynue there till the Court be ended." *Ibid.* p. 112. Even the austere magistrates in Boston must have smiled to see Robert Coles in the attitude of plaintiff, and asking their intercession for the establishment of an orderly and quiet government.

Interference
of Massa-
chusetts.

that narrative in which it is related how "Naboth, the Jezreelite, had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel, hard by the palace of Ahab king of Samaria. And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house."

The grievance actually complained of related to the division of wild lands, a question on which it was absurd to assume that one side was necessarily in the right, and the other as necessarily in the wrong. Massachusetts had not the shadow of authority for interference on either side. But she wanted a pretext and found it in the petition of the Arnolds and their two companions. It was natural enough to covet the garden of the Narragansett; it was not less natural that she should wish to punish over again those whose banishment had led to so pleasant a possession and not to pains and penalties. In addition to these carnal motives, there was the desire to serve God, as they proposed to do, by suppressing heresy.

Gorton was undoubtedly a pestilent and noisy fanatic, preaching doctrines as incomprehensible as they were captivating to himself and his illiterate hearers. But he does not seem to have been a bad citizen, and probably would have been harmless enough had he been let alone. But "a wanton gospeller" was of all men the most exasperating to a Boston Puritan, — a kind of human vermin which he felt bound to extirpate. Williams had written to Winthrop the year before: "Master Gorton, having foully abused high and low at Acquidneck, is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, both with his unclean and foul censures of all the ministers of this country (for which myself have in Christ's name withstood him), and also denying all visible and external ordinances in depth of Familism, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the Most High assisting) to death."¹ But the short and sharp punishment which Coddington adjudged Gorton drove him speedily out of that colony. It is probable that he was already becoming of little moment to the Providence people, inasmuch as two only of the thirteen who the year before asked for aid against him now joined with two others in this second complaint. A year's experience had probably convinced the rest that the man was a harmless enthusiast; but whether he was or not, Williams, however much he might disapprove of him, would not be likely to ask the protection of that government the character of whose mercy he so well knew.

There came presently a formal and formidable notice from the Massachusetts magistrates, that, inasmuch as the two Arnolds, Cole, and Carpenter had put themselves under their protection, they should

¹ Winslow's *Hypocrisy Unmasked*.

“maintain them in their lawful rights. If,” continued this remarkable document, “you have any just title to any thing they possess, [referring to the lands in dispute] you may proceed against them in our court, where you shall have equal justice; but if you shall proceed to any violence, you must not blame us if we shall take a like course to right them.”¹ That course, indeed, was taken at once, and the case prejudged in favor of the four complainants; for these were immediately appointed “to keep the peace in their lands,” which only meant that they should have all requisite force to crush their adversaries. In short the whole proceeding was an act of sheer usurpation on the part of Massachusetts, done on the flimsiest pretext, and for an unavowed purpose.

Their defence of it was that it was their right and duty to protect any Indians who asked for protection; that Plymouth claimed that the lands in dispute were within the limits of the Plymouth patent, and her magistrates assented to this interference on the part of Massachusetts; and that the commissioners of the United Colonies justified her action by formal vote. But the real question at issue was whether either Massachusetts or Plymouth had any such rightful jurisdiction over these lands of Pawtuxet. The conduct of Massachusetts, therefore, could not be justified by the assumption of that right while it was still doubtful, nor could that conduct, if wrong, be made right by the approbation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. The plea that the Indians needed any protection was a pretext and not a reason.

The whole Gorton party seems to have been only about a dozen. So far from assuming to be defiant or dangerous, except in words, they immediately abandoned their houses and lands at Pawtuxet, — which put an end, of course, to any plausible pretext of the necessity of interference from anybody — and moved away in search of a new home. Whatever they may have done at other times, and in other places, to provoke persecution, they were anxious now to get out of the way of it. Though they did not mean to forego the right of maintaining their religious convictions, they hoped, at least, to escape from a jurisdiction where to those convictions was attached a penalty. They might well call upon the woods to hide them from a government which summoned them to appear as plaintiffs in a civil suit, that it might try them as criminals, whose guilt admitted of no defence.

The place chosen for their new settlement was Shawomet — afterward called Warwick, — about a dozen miles south of Providence. All those who went, being of one mind, probably hoped to escape further molestation from Massachusetts, as well as to

Gorton at
Shawomet.

¹ *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 53.

be beyond the reach of the four new justices of the peace that Massachusetts had put over them. So far as the land-titles at Pawtux were concerned, the Arnolds had carried the day; but the magistrates at the Bay were greatly mistaken if they thought that any assumption of territorial jurisdiction on their part could silence Gorton.

Before he and his companions fled to Shawomet they answered the Boston magistrates in a letter of many pages. It covered their whole body of theology as that was conceived and brought forth, full grown, from the brain of Samuel Gorton; it touched upon civil things, but only as they had some theological aspect; it was replete with Scriptural illustrations; it abounded with references to Hebrew history; it was illuminated with copious annotations; it assumed to be exhaustive as to its logic; as to its inward spiritual sense its depths were unfathomable; it was red and hot and angry with denunciation, and had only the briefest and most perfunctory allusion to the question of land titles. No doubt it meant a great deal to those who wrote it, though we have never heard of anybody since that time who has pretended to understand it; and it is creditable to the intelligence or the ingenuity of those to whom it was addressed that they could find in it "twenty-six particulars, or thereabouts, which, they said, were blasphemous," though to do this they had, the writers said, to change the phrases, to alter the words and the sense, and in some cases take the true intent of the writing.¹ So taken, however, it answered the purpose of those who received it; here were fresh heresies and blasphemies to denounce from the pulpits; and the magistrates and General Court of Massachusetts were incited to new watchfulness to find a fresh pretext for the suppression of the schismatics whose existence troubled the Israel of New England.²



Site of Gorton's Settlement at Shawomet (now Warwick).

¹ Gorton's *Simplicite's Defence*, in *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii.

² The signers to the letter were John Wickes, Randall Houlden, John Warner, Rob

For that pretext they had not long to wait. They seized it and used it pertinaciously and remorselessly. However unworthy it was of men so enlightened and so good as they unquestionably were; however sincerely they may have believed they were suppressing evil, not hindering the truth, they must be judged by their acts, rather than their motives, — by that abstract rule of right by which the deeds of all men are to be measured. In no event of that period do we see more clearly the spirit of that rule which the Puritans hoped to establish, or a more marked illustration of the character of that struggle for civil and religious freedom, and the abuses attending it, which belong to the early history of New England.

Potter, Richard Waterman, William Waddle, Samuel Gorton, Richard Carder, John Greene, Nicholas Power, Francis Weston, Sampson Shotton. These twelve men were the purchasers of Shawomet.



Ruins of Gorton's House at Shawomet (Warwick, R. I.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE SHAWOMET PEOPLE AND THEIR INDIAN FRIENDS.

PURCHASE OF LANDS AT SHAWOMET.—PROTEST OF TWO INDIAN CHIEFS, PUMHAM AND SACONOCO.—SHAWOMET PEOPLE SUMMONED TO BOSTON.—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO VISIT THEM.—THREATS AND PREPARATIONS FOR RESISTANCE.—FLIGHT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.—THE MEN BESIEGED.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.—A HOLLOW TRUCE.—THE MEN TAKEN PRISONERS AND CARRIED TO BOSTON.—THEIR TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT.—THEIR RELEASE AND RETURN TO RHODE ISLAND.—APPREHENDED TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS.—CHARGES AGAINST MIANTONOMO.—FEUD BETWEEN THE MOHICANS AND NARRAGANSETTS.—UNCAS BEFRIENDED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED COLONIES.—CAPTURE OF MIANTONOMO BY UNCAS.—HIS ASSASSINATION BY DIRECTION OF THE ENGLISH.

THE lands at Shawomet upon which Gorton and his eleven companions hoped they might live unmolested, were bought of Miantonomo. He gave a deed as chief sachem of the Narragansetts, and by it conveyed possession "with the free and joint consent of the present inhabitants, being natives, as it appears by their hands hereunto [thereunto] annexed." Among these was Pumham, a petty sachem of the place. The twelve men with their wives and children had fled for the sake of peace into the wilderness; for their lands they had paid the owners in sound Indian currency of wampumpeage,—one hundred and forty-four fathoms, twelve fathoms to a man;—and as they had gone where they could do no harm to others, they only asked that no harm be done to them.

But they were not left long undisturbed. Whether it was that the controversy about the lands at Pawtuxet had aroused in Benedict Arnold a personal animosity so bitter that nothing would satisfy him but the ruin of his opponents; or whether he was only anxious to serve those with whom religious rancor was quite as inexorable as private hate could be,—whatever was his motive he again appeared before the government of Massachusetts as a complainant against the Shawomet people.

He was an Indian trader and interpreter, and as such possessed a good deal of influence over the natives. Soon after Miantonomo's deed was given Arnold went to Boston, and with him were two chiefs, Pumham and Saconoco. They claimed that they were independent sachems; that one of them —

An Indian
complaint
against the
Shawomet
settlers.

Pumham — had been compelled by Miantonomo to part with his lands at Shawomet, and affix his signature to the deed conveying them to the Gorton people, for which he declined to accept any remuneration; and both now begged that they might be taken under the protection of Massachusetts.



Signature of
Pumham.

It is far more likely these Indians were induced by Arnold to come forward with such a proposition, that a plausible pretext might thereby be made for further proceedings against the Shawomet people, than that the Indians should ask for any such interference between them and another chief. The umpire whose good offices they would have naturally sought, in case of any real grievance, was Williams. And even if they did not owe allegiance to Miantonomo, — which, as he was the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, they probably did, — the protection of one Indian against another did not necessarily extend the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over a country beyond the boundaries of her patent. The colonies, great or small, were responsible to the government at home, and not to Massachusetts. The plea, nevertheless, answered its purpose. Miantonomo was summoned to Boston, and on the testimony of Arnold, an interested witness, and Cutshamake, a petty sachem of Dorchester, who knew little about the matter, the magistrates decided that Pumham and Sacononoco were independent chiefs, whose lands Miantonomo had no right to sell. Pumham and Sacononoco were thereupon told that they would be received “not as confederates, but as subjects,” to which they replied with true Indian frankness and indifference, that they knew the English had so little respect for them that they expected nothing better.¹

That the new subjects might be properly protected the twelve men

¹ The two chiefs seem to have been but little impressed with the gravity of changing their nationality. On the other side it was made a very solemn business, and the Sagamores were put through a rigid course of catechizing. Some of their replies were curious and characteristic. They should wish, they said, to speak with reverence of the Englishman's God, for He did better by His people than their gods did by them. As to false swearing, they knew nothing about it, as they did not know what an oath was. When asked if they would refrain from unnecessary work on the Lord's day while in the towns, they replied that it was easy to do that, for they had very little to do at any time, and could forbear from work on that day quite as well as any other. As to honoring superiors — so much was it their habit to do so, they said, that if the governor told them they lied they should not resent it. Certain crimes which they were asked to refrain from, they said with quiet sarcasm were no more allowed, though they were committed among them, than stealing was — stealing not having been mentioned by their catechizers. They would like to know, they said, the “manners” of the English, when asked the comprehensive question if they would permit their children to read God's Word that they might have a knowledge of the true God, and worship Him in accordance with his will. In short, whether consciously or unconsciously, they were guilty of literal contempt of court in their manner of treating very serious matters.

of Shawomet were summoned to appear before the General Court at Boston.¹ They answered that they were responsible for their actions, not to Massachusetts but to the government in England which was over both. A second message was sent a few days later, but with an indictment much enlarged. Wrong had been done, it declared, not merely to the Indian sachems but to English and Indians generally within the newly found jurisdiction, and more than this, even to the Massachusetts government itself. The accused were notified that commissioners would at once proceed to Shawomet for negotiation, taking with them, however, a sufficient guard "for their safety against any violence or injury." But this precaution for the protection of the commissioners had another purpose; for unless their demands were complied with "we must" — adds the letter, signed by the secretary of the General Court — "right ourselves and our people by force of arms,"² — the "force" of a powerful colony against twelve men.

The Gorton party summoned to Boston.

The handful of Shawomet men were nevertheless defiant. "If you come to treat with us," they wrote to the commissioners, "in ways of equity and peace (together therewith shaking a rod over our heads, in a band of soldiers), be you assured, we have passed our childhood and nonage in that point; and are under commission of the great God, not to be children in understanding, neither in courage, but to quit ourselves as men. We straitly charge you, therefore, hereby, that you set not a foot upon our lands in any hostile way, but upon your peril; and that if any blood be shed, upon your own heads shall it be." But the peril was one that no brave words could avert.

The commissioners had with them a minister as well as a band of soldiers, "certainly persuading ourselves," they said, "that we shall be able through the Lord's help, to convince some of them at least of the evil of their way, and cause them to divert their course, that so doing they may preserve their lives and liberties, which otherwise

¹ According to one of the Gorton letters, addressed "To the great and honored Idol General now set up in the Massachusetts," an offence that was neither forgotten nor forgiven, these Indian chiefs had some reasons, not stated, for wishing to be released from responsibility to the Shawomet people. They were both thieves, and Pumham having, on one occasion, crept down a chimney and rifled a house in the absence of its owner, was captured as he was attempting to escape by the same outlet. Perhaps the Massachusetts magistrates were not insensible of the ridicule thrown upon them by the relation of this incident in the letter, with the reflection, "indeed Pumham is an aspiring person, as becomes a prince of his profession."

² The commissioners were George Cooke, Edward Johnson, and Humphrey Atherton. Johnson was the author of *The Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England*, published in London in 1654. In that book he speaks of Gorton as the "ring-leader of the rout, full-gorged with dreadful and damnable errors"; as he who "vomits up a whole paper full of beastly stuff"; as "exceeding the Beast himself for blasphemy."

must necessarily lead to eternal ruin of them and theirs; . . . but if there be no way of turning them, we then shall look upon them as men prepared for slaughter."

There was little opportunity, had there been any serious intention of engaging in theological disputation, and this suggestion of persuasion was mere pretence. That point was long since passed, even if Gorton had been a much more hopeful subject. The presence of a clergyman only showed that the suppression of heresy was the true object of the expedition, as it was of all the preliminary measures that led up to it; but the suppression was not to be by an appeal to reason.

Though Gorton had been whipped from colony to colony, and he and his followers must have been quite conscious that they were held to be a very obnoxious and even dangerous people, this answer of the commissioners to their brave words seems to have revealed to them, for the first time, that they really were in danger of their lives.

Alarm at Shawomet. Alarm spread through the village. The women gathered their children about them to be ready for flight to the forest, where they hoped to find refuge among the savages. The men prepared themselves, few as they were, for fight, but without sufficient means for any effectual resistance, if their own story be true, that the magistrates of Massachusetts had, some time before, included them in a prohibition of the sale of gunpowder to the Indians.

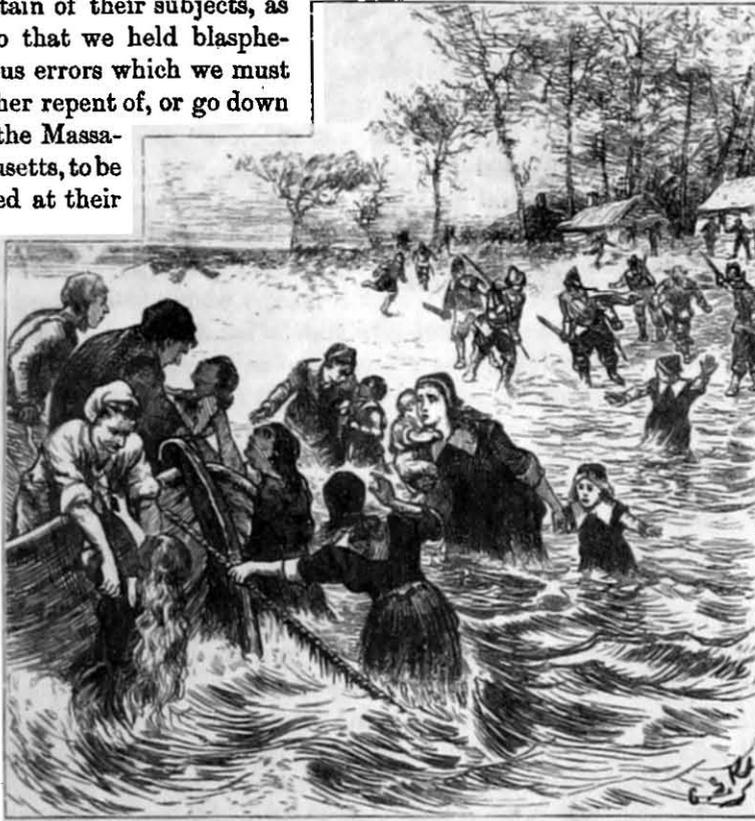
The commissioners were not far behind the announcement of their determined purpose. The band of soldiers and Indians was seen coming through the woods, and the alarm was hardly given before they charged into the village. The affrighted women and children fled before them as the brave troops of the Massachusetts General Court levelled their muskets upon women great with child, upon toddling children holding to their mothers' skirts. Some ran to the woods for shelter; others waded into the river to reach a boat where some kindly Providence people, whose sympathies had brought them to the place, were ready to give them a helping hand. None were killed actually upon the spot, though some died afterwards in premature childbed, and others from the sufferings to which they were all exposed.

The men, not thinking, probably, that they were leaving their wives and little ones to any serious peril, had fortified themselves as best they could, in one of their log-houses. Gorton was the last to enter this citadel, having delayed that he might help his wife—it should have been the wife of another man if he deserved his reputation—to a place of safety. When the soldiers had dispersed all who were incapable of resistance they con-

Gorton's
people at-
tacked.
Their par-
ley.

sented to a parley with those who could fight. It was only by the persuasions of the Providence people, however, who hearing of the coming of the commissioners were there to prevent bloodshed if they could, that an immediate assault upon the log-house was prevented.

The commissioners demanded an instant surrender. "They pretended," says the Gorton narrative, "we had done some wrong unto certain of their subjects, as also that we held blasphemous errors which we must either repent of, or go down to the Massachusetts, to be tried at their



The Gorton Party attacked.

Courts, or else they had commission to put us to the sword and to pay themselves out of our goods for their charges in coming thither."¹ Possibly they may not have gone to the extremity of threatening instant death, but the statement of the alleged offences for which surrender was demanded is, no doubt, correctly given.

The besieged refused. They denied that they owed any allegiance to Massachusetts, for they were not within her jurisdiction. They declined to accept as their judges those who were their avowed enemies ;

¹ *Simplicite's Defence against Seven Headed Policy*, p. 104, vol. ii., *Coll. R. I. Hist. Society*.
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but they were quite willing that the differences between them should be submitted to the government at home. This proposition was met with a peremptory refusal.

They then offered to submit the case to arbitration. Impartial men, they proposed, should be chosen by both parties, and they promised to bind themselves by their goods, their lands, and their persons to abide by any decision that should be given against them. This was so far considered that a truce was agreed to till a reply to the proposal could be received from the government in Boston.

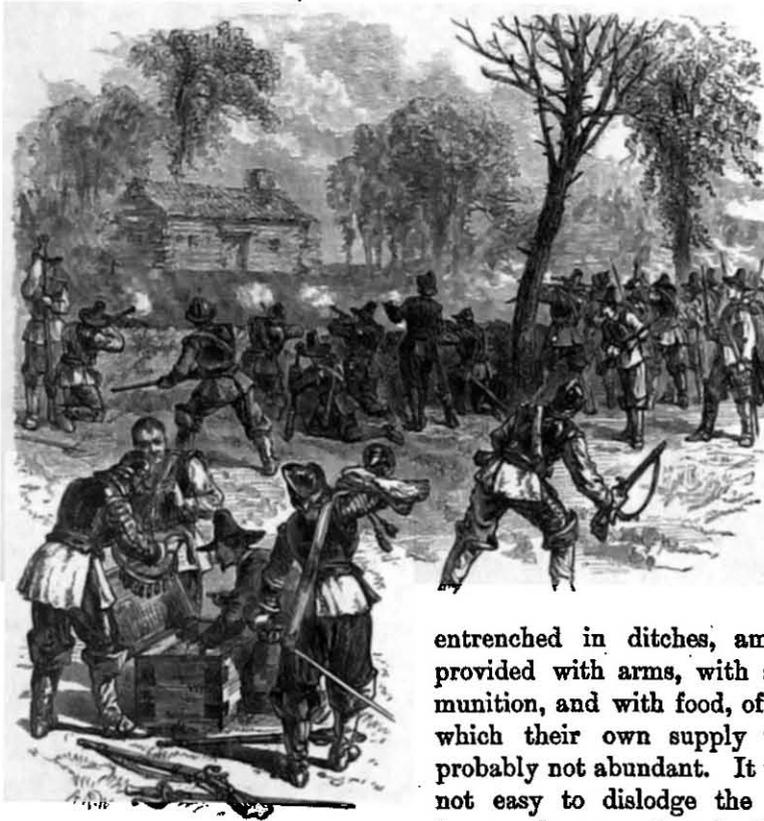
It is clear enough that the Gorton people were only anxious for peace; equally clear that the other party only meant that they should be punished. The truce on one side was a hollow pretence. Before the messenger could return from Boston, the houses of the village were broken open and pillaged; their desks were rifled and their papers stolen; the soldiers helped themselves to all they wanted, carrying beds and bedding to the trenches for their own comfort; the women and children venturing back from the woods to see the husbands and fathers who they hoped would be for a little while unmolested, were assaulted, and even fired upon as they approached. No doubt it was — as some pitying people in Providence wrote at the time to Governor Winthrop, under the delusion that their intercession and testimony might abate the rigor of that persecution — no doubt it was “a mournful spectacle,” and one can only wish, as they did, that these poor creatures so likely “to be left miserable,” had but been “able to write their own grief.”¹

Affairs were still worse when the messenger arrived from Boston. The proposition for arbitration was rejected at once. The real offence was one for which there could be no compromise, and, with the Puritans no palliation. “Besides the title of land,” wrote Winthrop, to the compassionate mediators of Providence, they “have subscribed their names to horrible and detestable blasphemies, against God, and all magistracy.” Above all things was “the vindication of God’s honour,” which the Boston people firmly believed was intrusted to their keeping. And, moreover, to whom could all the questions in the case be referred? Not to you of Providence, said the Massachusetts governor, for you live too near and have too much pity for these blasphemers, to be trusted; and as to those people on Rhode Island

¹ However much the people of Providence may have been vexed at the extravagances of Gorton and his friends, they deprecated and protested against the cruel treatment which their vagaries brought upon them. Even had they of Providence cared nothing for liberty of conscience, they knew how little reason there was to fear that any harm could come of the preaching of an apostle who had gained, even with the rare advantage of two public whippings and expulsion from every place where he had tried to find a home, only about a dozen disciples.

we know them too well! No! There could be even no further negotiation, much less arbitration. They must surrender or take the consequences.

Gorton and his men, whatever else they were, were not cowards. A discharge of musketry announced the return of the messenger, and notice was given that the truce, — which had been no truce, — was ended. They saw their goods despoiled, their cattle driven off, or slaughtered; their women and children were in they ^{Shawomet} pillaged. knew not how great extremity; they were a dozen men only shut up in a log cabin; the enemy was nearly four times their number, safely



The Gorton Party besieged in the Block-house.

entrenched in ditches, amply provided with arms, with ammunition, and with food, of all which their own supply was probably not abundant. It was not easy to dislodge the beleaguered men, though their resistance was rather passive

than active. For several days they withstood the siege, but without firing a shot, for they would shed no blood if they could avoid it. The soldiers in the trenches emptied their bandoliers of four hundred bullets into the logs of the fortress; they built fires in the night time against the walls; but all with no other result than the con-

sumption of much patience and powder. It was a special providence, Mr. Winthrop thought, that nobody was hurt — nobody, that is, on his side; the ungodly Gortonites perhaps thought that nobody was killed because they preferred not to kill the enemy on the outside, and on the inside kept themselves out of the range of the bullets.

But what could not be done by force was done at last by stratagem — if treachery be not the better word. Reinforcements were sent for from Boston, and it was evident that defence much longer was hopeless. It was agreed, therefore, that hostilities should cease, Gorton and those with him consenting to go to Massachusetts, on condition, however, that they should go not as prisoners, but as “free men

The Gorton party taken prisoners.

and neighbors.” So soon, however, as the soldiers gained admittance to the house, the men were seized by order of the captain, their arms taken from them, and the whole company marched off as captives. They were permitted to make no disposition of their property, which was left as a spoil to the Indians after the commissioners and the soldiers had helped themselves to all they thought worth taking. They had been, it is plain, too thrifty and industrious a community to have been very bad citizens, for their losses were fourscore head of cattle, besides swine and goats, corn and other provisions, and their household goods. “Our countrymen,” — is the simple but emphatic testimony, a few months afterward, of some of the most respectable people of Providence, — “were peaceably possessed of a plantation at Shawomet;” they were “assaulted and besieged by Captain Cooke and his company in warlike manner,” “their goods, cattle, houses, and plantations were seized upon by the foresaid captain;” they themselves “were carried captive through this town of Providence to the Bay of Massachusetts;” Their “wives and children were scattered in great extremities, and divers since have died.”¹

No glimmer of merciful relenting, no ray of pitiful compassion, soften or relieve the cruel and sombre gloom of this page in the history of Massachusetts. Making every possible allowance for the strength of religious convictions, and for the sensitiveness of political relations still inchoate and experimental, it is hard to find any other excuse than that which may be given for any religious bigotry for this persecution of a handful of harmless people, whose numbers were too few to be dangerous, and whose doctrines were too abstruse, if not absolutely too unmeaning, to admit of that number being ever seriously increased. But it was enough that they were blasphemers against God, because their supposed theological notions did not square with those preached in the First Church of Boston; that they were disbe-

¹ *Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 117.

lievers in all human governments, because they questioned the authority of the magistrates of Massachusetts.

The unhappy prisoners were hurried on to Boston. Had they been malefactors on their way to the gallows, — malefactors on whose garments the mob hope to see, and shudder at the thought of seeing, the blood of the victims of their cupidity or their hate, — they could hardly have been received with more public emotion. In some of the towns they passed through the clergymen called the people to join in prayer, in the open streets, in recognition of the good-



Winthrop blessing the Soldiers.

ness of the Lord that he had given them the victory. In Dorchester was a great gathering, and in the crowd were those worshipful ministers, Master Cotton and Master Mather, whose presence gave special solemnity to the volleys of shot that were fired over the heads of the prisoners in token of the triumph of the expedition. In Boston the public rejoicings were made even more significant. The troops were drawn up in double file in front of Governor Winthrop's house, and, at intervals of five or six soldiers, were placed these dreadful enemies

of the quiet of the Church, and the peace of the Commonwealth. The commissioners entered the house, and in due form reported their return; and then came out to the military array the honored governor, who, passing between the lines, lifted up his hands and his voice in welcome and in thanksgiving that God had permitted their safe deliverance and signal victory. And he took from each soldier his name, that the General Court might be informed of their pains and good carriage, and where such worthy instruments of its will might be found when occasion should again arise for great services.¹ Then after a brief examination, the prisoners were committed to the common jail; the governor again stepped forth to receive a salute of three rounds of shot from the military, who then marched to the nearest inn, the governor at their head, for a frugal banquet, before disbanding. There was peace in Massachusetts.

Trial and punishment came in due order, beginning with compulsory attendance upon Mr. Cotton's ministrations on the first Lord's day after the arrival in Boston, — a penalty, however, not without mitigation, for Gorton took up the sermon of the learned clergyman and answered it on the spot, point by point. For such an opportunity of exhorting he and his followers would have been willing doubtless, to listen to Mr. Cotton daily, but we find no record of the repetition of this particular discipline. It was clearly more prudent that the elders should conduct these theological discussions within the jail, rather than the meeting-house, lest some feeble brothers or sisters, as was quite possible, should be deluded by the Evil One into believing that Master Cotton or Master Wilson had the worst of the argument. There was, at any rate, no lack of controversy till the time of the public trial, and the most learned elders, and those most distinguished for godliness, spent themselves in vain in labors with the stiff-necked heretics.²

¹ Gorton, in the *Simplicite's Defence*, and Winthrop, in his history, are perfectly in accord as to the details of this singular proceeding.

² To grapple with a knotty theological problem was the delight of the learned and devout Puritan, and it is easy to understand the complete satisfaction with which they came to the encounter with so tough a disputant as Gorton, armed and equipped with such weapons as these, — we quote from Winthrop: "Gorton maintained (in a dispute in the prison with one of the elders) that the image of God wherein Adam was created, was Christ; and so the loss of that image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of it in regeneration was Christ's resurrection, and so the death of him that was born of the Virgin Mary was but a manifestation of the former." The devout governor discovered flat blasphemy in all this, but it is difficult to understand that such a thesis, however earnestly defended could threaten the safety of either Church or State.

Gorton's method of controversy was only a travesty of that of the time. That professedly minute and exhaustive analysis of texts of Scripture, in search of some profoundly occult meaning, overlooking the obvious interpretation as puerile, because it was level to the vulgar comprehension, — this Gorton imitated and reduced to a fine absurdity. The

They were brought at length before the General Court and put formally upon their defence. The judicial proceeding was characteristic of all that had gone before. The offences, for which the accused were on trial, were theological rather than civil, and therefore the elders were called to sit with the judges. As to the claim of jurisdiction, including protection for the vagabond Indian chiefs, "we need not," said Winthrop, "question them [the Shawomet people] any more about that;" possession was gained, and the Massachusetts "title appearing good," he said, they refusing to prove a negative. They refused, because they were too wary to be impaled upon the horns of a dilemma by appearing as defendants before a court whose jurisdiction they denied, where the question to be tried was whether that court had jurisdiction.

Trial of the
Gorton
party.

"They were all illiterate men," says Winthrop; "the ablest of them could not write true English, no, not common words, yet they would take upon them the interpretation of the most difficult places of Scripture, and wrest them any way to serve their own turns." Pity might have waited gracefully upon such contempt as this, and the more, that these ignorant enthusiasts would not acknowledge, perhaps were incapable of understanding, that the doctrines they preached could bear any such interpretation as the court chose to put upon them. But they stood before judges of a faith too inexorable to be moved by compassion, and, as was fit, they to whose care that faith was specially committed were the most unrelenting.

The trial lasted several days. A single incident shows the manner in which it was conducted. Four questions were put to Gorton, in

difficulty was that the very elect were taken in by any such assumption of profound religious wisdom, because the presentation was after the approved method. They became incapable of relying upon the good sense of the people, who, when no appeal was made to their sympathies by the persecution of obnoxious persons, would easily distinguish the false from the true. To give an instance of Gorton's method: When in prison in Charlestown, he wrote to the minister of the church, and proposed that he might have "liberty to speak and express the word of the Lord" in public, either on Sunday or at the weekly lecture. The Scripture he proposed "to open and declare" was the ninth chapter of Revelations. The first verse of that chapter is: *And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth; and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.* On this text the people of Charlestown were to be taught by Gorton —

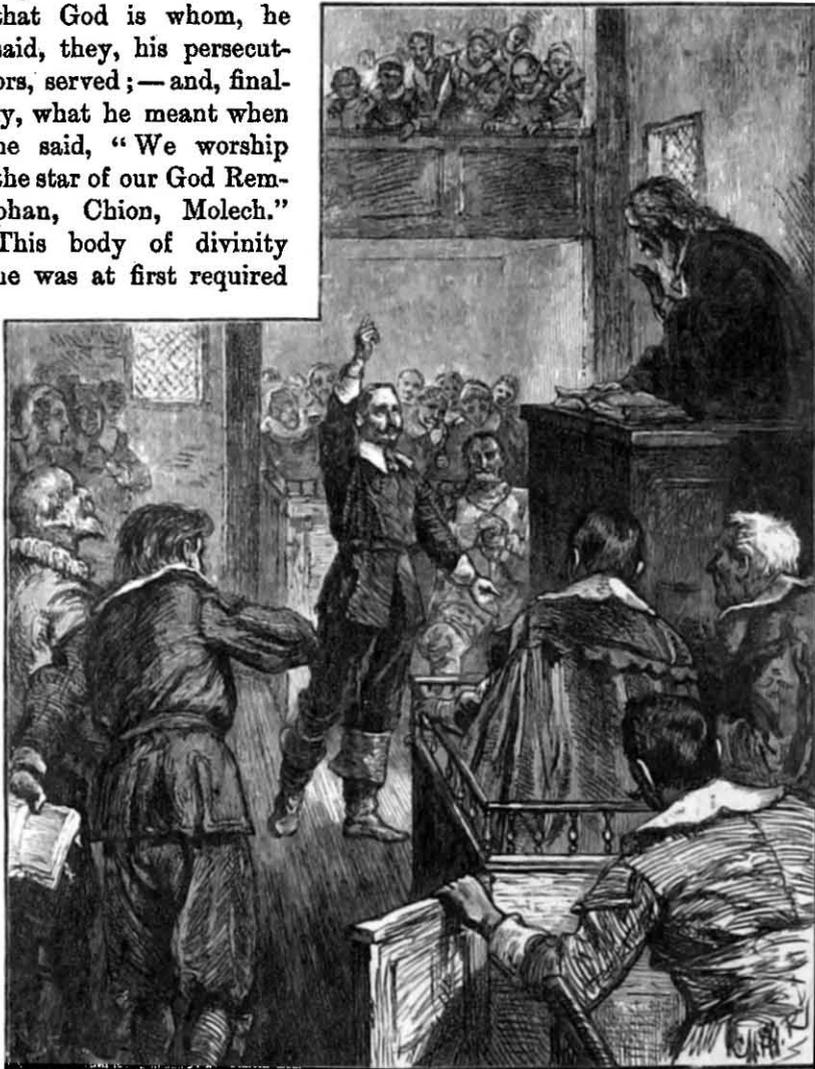
"1. What the sound of the trumpet is. 2. Who the Angel is. 3. Why the fifth.

"1. What the star is that falls from heaven to the earth. 2. What the fall of it is. 3. How it falls from heaven unto the earth.

"1. What the key of the bottomless pit is. 2. To whom it is given. 3. The manner how it is given. 4. How the pit is opened. 5. How it can be said to be bottomless, seeing nothing can be without banks and bottom, but the Lord himself."

He goes on to other verses of the chapter with the same drastic diffusiveness of verbal criticism; and were it not perfectly certain that Gorton was in most deadly earnest it might be supposed that he was aiming to give an absurd caricature of Puritan preaching and exegesis. — See *Simplicite's Defence*. *Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 146.

which he was called upon to answer, whether the Fathers who died before Christ was born, were justified and saved only by his blood;— whether the only price of redemption was not the death and sufferings of Christ;— who that God is whom, he said, they, his persecutors, served;— and, finally, what he meant when he said, “We worship the star of our God Remphan, Chion, Molech.” This body of divinity he was at first required



Gorton's Dispute with Cotton.

to elucidate in writing, at peril of his life, in fifteen minutes; but the time was afterward extended to half an hour, and then to the next morning. In the answers, no flaw could be found, but they were none the more satisfactory on that account; on the contrary, they

were on that account the more objectionable, inasmuch as they were not what was expected, and did not agree, the court decided, with what Gorton had written in his answer to the accusations of the magistrates. There could be little of the spirit of justice in a court that arraigned a man for alleged erroneous opinions, and then refused to accept his defence because he denied that these opinions which his judges accused him of holding were his.

The elders declared that the offence of these men was deserving of death; of the magistrates, all but three agreed with the elders; but the larger number of the forty delegates to the General Court representing the body of the people, where sound judgment and love of justice had freer play, refused to sanction such a sentence. <sup>The sen-
tence.</sup> But it was decided that the accused should be dispersed into several towns, where each should be kept at hard labor, with irons upon one leg, and commanded that they should "not, by word or writing, maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death."¹

The imprisonment lasted through the whole winter of 1643-4, and, as not unfrequently happens, the purpose of the punishment was defeated by its severity. The poison of false doctrine was spread, not suppressed; for the fear of death with such men was as nothing compared to the fear of offending their own consciences by base and submissive silence. In the spring, the anxiety was as great to get rid of them as it was in the autumn to bring them within reach of the heavy hand of Massachusetts law. "The court," Winthrop frankly confesses, "finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them fourteen days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death." Gorton, no doubt, was willing enough to be released, but he parted unwillingly with the "iron furniture" about his leg. He would have been glad to drag that clanging witness at his heels about the streets of Boston, as he boldly cried aloud against the injustice of her magistrates, and proclaimed anew his own heresies. But the people could no more be trusted to listen <sup>Gorton ex-
pelled from
Massachu-
setts.</sup> than he to preach. Within three days of the order of release, which gave them permission to remain a fortnight, Gorton and

¹ Winthrop's *History*, Savage's edition, vol. ii., p. 177. *Mass. Records*, vol. ii., p. 52. "And when the bolts and chains were made ready," says Gorton, in his *Simplicities Defence*, "they put them upon us in the prison of Boston, that so we might travel in them to the several towns to which we were confined, some of us having fifteen miles, and some thirty to go from Boston, only we were to stay till Master Cotton, his Lecture day, and then were all brought to the congregation, in that our iron furniture for the credit of the sanctuary, which had set the sword on work to such good purpose." Whatever Governor Win-

his companions were commanded "to depart out of the town before noon this day," — the day of the order.

Persecution in their case had clearly not been successful except to inflict upon them needless suffering. As they turned their faces back toward the road along which they had been brought as prisoners six months before, they evidently felt that the Lord had given them the victory. "Was Captain Cooke a good captain?" asked some of them of an Indian chief at whose wigwam they were entertained on their journey. "I cannot tell," he answered, "but Indians account of those as good captains, when a few dare stand out against many."¹ They were quite willing to accept this tribute to their own courage and this estimate of good soldiership.

For one night they stopped in their old homes at Shawomet, now desolate and ruined. And it must have been in no slight degree exasperating to the magistrates in Boston, when a letter came from there asking if the prohibition to settle upon any lands of Pumham and Sacononoco was meant to include Shawomet? for they very well knew — and knew that those magistrates knew that they knew — that the only lands to which those sachems had ever made any precise claim were the lands of Shawomet. They were not so out of the fashion of the times as to be given to unseemly mirth; but possibly they may have indulged in a quiet smile when Winthrop, foolishly provoked into answering the question, and betrayed by its impudence into unwonted anger, replied, that not "upon peril of their lives," were they to intrude upon the lands of those chiefs, "be the place called Shawomet or otherwise." Surely never were a more exasperating people.

Nevertheless, Shawomet, in the end, again became their home. They found refuge for two or three years in Rhode Island until they were reinstated upon their lands by an order from the government in England. For Gorton as a politician was by no means wanting in sagacity, and the first use he made of his liberty was to avail himself of, and probably encourage, a strong feeling of enmity existing — for a reason to be explained presently — among the Narragansetts against the Massachusetts colony.

These Indians, Gorton says, were puzzled to understand why the magistrates in Boston, having had these Shawomet people — the violent proceedings against whom the Indians witnessed with their own eyes — in their power, should have permitted them to escape with their lives from a Massachusetts prison. They

throp may have thought of the power of these men to write "true English," this statement could hardly be put in a style more forcible and picturesque.

¹ *Simplicite's Defence.*

Subsequent
doings of
the Gorton
party.

Effect of
these events
upon the In-
dians.

did not understand why an enemy, who was worth the trouble of being captured, should not be killed. The explanation was an Indian explanation. Rumors of a great war in England had reached their ears. There must then be in England two kinds of people, the Wattaconoges — as they called the English generally — and the Gortonoges; and the Gortonoges must be the stronger, for here in Massachusetts, the Wattaconoges were afraid to kill them. The policy the chiefs chose was the Indian policy; it was to be on the strongest side. Pessicus, Canonicus, and Mixan, the Narragansett sachems, accordingly submitted themselves and their people, by sol-



Signature of Pessicus.



The Messengers at the Tent of Canonicus.

emn act and deed, to Charles the First, who at that moment stood in great need of faithful subjects.

The government at the Bay were duly advised of this new aspect of affairs, and the sachems were summoned to appear before the General Court. They declined to come; whereupon messengers were sent them with instructions to ask "by whose advice they had done as

they wrote, and why they would countenance and take counsel from such evil men, and such as we had banished from us, and to persuade them to sit still and to have more regard to us than such as Gorton." But Canonicus sulked in his tent; for two hours he kept the messengers waiting in the rain; and when he admitted them to his presence entertained them only with "a few froward speeches." Pessicus was more amenable. The conference he granted to the messengers lasted through the night, and his speeches, though not "froward" were "witty."¹ The savage chieftain probably could not be convinced why, if it were right that Pumham and Sacononoco should ask the protection of Massachusetts, he and Canonicus and Mixan should not declare allegiance to King Charles, the great chief, as they considered, of the Gortonoges. Moreover he declared that the Narragansetts would presently go to war with Uncas, the Mohegan sachem.

This avowal of hostility to the Mohegans is the real explanation of the relation in which the Narragansetts stood to all parties. The King of England, the government of Massachusetts, or the handful of fanatics at Shawomet, were of little moment to them except so far as they might hinder or help their designs of revenge upon their savage enemies. There had long been a deadly feud between these two tribes, and the Narragansetts were at this time in mourning for the death of their chief Miantonomo, whom Uncas had caused to be treacherously murdered, the previous year, with the connivance or rather by the counsel, of the United Colonies of New England.

For several years before this act of useless and cruel perfidy, there had been suspicions that the great sachem Miantonomo, jealous of the growing power of the English, and alarmed at the result of the Pequot war, — was seeking secretly to unite all of his race in a league for the utter destruction of the whites. He was represented as travelling among the tribes from Massachusetts to Long Island, everywhere appealing to their patriotism, buying their consent with presents of wampum, inciting them by his eloquence to protect their own interests and to revenge the wrongs they had suffered. We, he is reported to have said, are all Indians as they are all English, "so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall be all gone shortly. For you know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins; our plains were full of deer, as also our woods; and of turkies; and our coves full of fish and fowl. But these English having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our

Feud between the Narragansetts and Mohegans. Its causes.

Supposed designs of the Chief Miantonomo.

¹ Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 203. Wit in the sense of wisdom.

clam banks, and we shall all be starved. Therefore it is best for you to do as we, for we are all the sachems from east to west, both Moquakues and Mohawks joining with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them all at one appointed day . . . and when you see the three fires that will be made forty days hence, in a clear night, then do as we, and the next day fall on and kill men, women and children; but no cows, for they will serve to eat till our deer be increased again."¹

This bit of Indian eloquence, which seems to have been the prototype of many Indian speeches since, was probably never made by Miantonomo, but put into his mouth by some clever savage to work him harm. Captain Gardiner, nevertheless, believed it to be his, and reported an intended massacre of the English to Mr. Haynes at Hartford, and Mr. Eaton at New Haven. Massachusetts was appealed to for aid, and the sachem was summoned to Boston to answer the accusation. The only evidence against him was the hearsay testimony of his enemies.

This evidence, though accepted at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, was not believed by the Massachusetts magistrates. Twice (in 1640 and 1642) Miantonomo appeared before them, and by his dignified and fearless bearing, his evident good sense and frankness, satisfied them that, as Winthrop said, "All these informations might arise from a false ground, and out of the enmity which was between the Narragansett and Monhigen."² The plot had no other foundation than the purpose of Uncas to provoke the English into hostilities against the Narragansetts.

But the Gorton difficulty favored Uncas in an unexpected way, and forced Miantonomo into an attitude which the United Colonies assumed to be hostile. He would not, with Pumham and Sacononoco, repudiate the sale of the lands of Shawomet to Gorton, nor ask, as they did, under the leadership of Benedict Arnold, the protection of Massachusetts. During the progress of that controversy, but before Gorton and his companions were taken prisoners to Boston, Uncas attacked and destroyed a Narragansett village, and killed a number of its people. Miantonomo complained of this outrage to the magistrates of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and begged them not to be offended if he should revenge this wrong done to his relatives and friends. Governor Winthrop replied: "If Onkus [Uncas] had done him or his friends wrong, and would not give satisfaction, we should leave him to take his course."³

¹ Gardiner's *Pequot Warres*. We follow the text of this supposed speech *verbatim*, but making a few slight changes in the punctuation where the sense obviously requires it.

² Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 100.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 155.

Confiding in this assurance of neutrality he went upon the war-path against Uncas. The result was unfortunate, for he was taken prisoner, the weight of the coat of armor, which, it is said, Gorton had given him, preventing his escape by flight. That disgrace, no doubt, overwhelmed him, for he begged his enemies repeatedly to take his life, taunting them, perhaps, after the Indian fashion, with his own deeds of prowess in the past, and how they had fled like women before him at the sound of his war-whoop. But Uncas had learned to refine upon the crude methods of Indian revenge; he sent the great chief to Hartford to be lodged in the common jail.

Miantonomo
taken pris-
oner.

How should so important a prisoner, falling thus into the hands of the English, be disposed of? The question was one, it seems, not easily answered. The governor and magistrates at Hartford consented to hold him in custody, but declared that it was not for them to decide upon his final disposition; there was no war, they said, between their colony and the Narragansetts to justify their interference. That decision, they thought, belonged to the commissioners of the United Colonies.¹

A meeting of the commissioners, at which Governor Winthrop presided, was held in Boston in September, and the subject had their most serious consideration. They well knew, they said, the ambitious design of Miantonomo "to make himself universal Sagamore or Governor of all these parts," and they believed he had determined to exterminate the English; but this knowledge and belief, they declared should not influence their judgment in this case, which was simply one between the two Indians. Their conclusion was "that Uncas cannot be safe while Myantonomo lives, but that either by secret treachery or open force his life will be still in danger. Wherefore they thinke he may justly put such a false and blood-thirsty enemie to death, but in his owne jurisdiccon not in the English plantacons — and advising that in the manner of his death all mercy and moderacon be showed, contrary to the practise of the Indians who exercise torture and cruelty."

This was their conclusion. The considerations that led them to it were: That Miantonomo had made war upon Uncas without submitting his grievances to the English for arbitration, as had been provided by treaty: that a subject of Uncas had attempted to kill him and then fled for protection to the Narragansetts, and that Miantonomo instead of surrendering him as he had promised, had himself cut off the culprit's head, "that he might tell no tales": that Miantonomo had attempted to destroy Uncas by "sorcery": that it was Sequasson and not Uncas who was the original aggressor in the quarrel

Condemned
to death by
the commis-
sioners.

¹ Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i., p. 131.

that led to the conflict between Uncas and Miantonomo: and, finally, that Miantonomo had "suddenly without denouncing war" come upon Uncas with superior numbers and relying upon those had declined to settle their feud by single combat; that the Mohawks were now within a day's journey awaiting the issue of his capture, though what they might do "whether against the English, or Uncas, or both," the commissioners acknowledged, "is doubtful."¹

This formidable indictment, nevertheless, was not accepted, at once, as conclusive. Winthrop's statement of the conclusion of the commissioners is, that they, "taking into consideration what was safest and best to be done, were all of opinion that it would not be safe to set him [Miantonomo] at liberty, neither had we sufficient ground for us to put him to death."

Here then was a dilemma. Was Miantonomo to be punished because he was the enemy of the English? He was believed to be so in Plymouth, New Haven, and Hartford, but hitherto Massachusetts



The Grave of Miantonomo.

had not believed it; moreover, the delegates from those colonies declared that was not the question now at issue. Was he to be punished because he had disregarded the treaty, as the commissioners said, by neglecting to notify the English that he proposed to make

¹ Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 8, et seq.

war upon Uncas? But this was not true, according to Winthrop's own testimony. Miantonomo, he had recorded in his journal, "sent to Mr. Haynes (at Hartford) to complain of Onkus;" and Governor Haynes had replied, "that the English had no hand in it, nor would encourage them." "Miantonomo gave notice hereof also to our governor" — Winthrop himself — continues the journal, and the chief was told "to take his own course." Miantonomo took "his own course." Was it a crime because the fortune of war was against him?

"In this difficulty," says Winthrop, after giving the decision of the commissioners — "in this difficulty we called in five of the most judicious elders, (it being the time of the general assembly of the elders,) and propounding the case to them, they all agreed that he ought to be put to death."

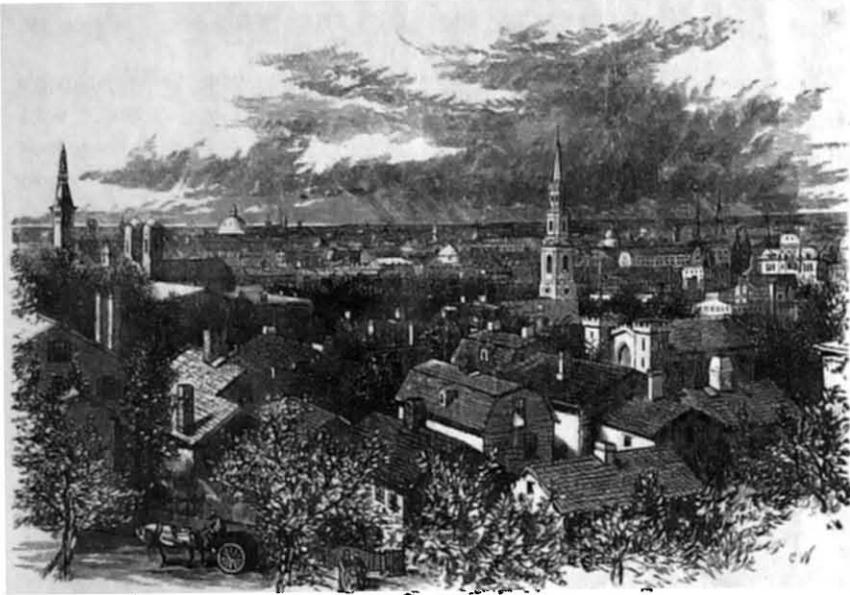
"It was now clearly discovered to us," says the governor, "that there was a general conspiracy among the Indians to cut off all the English and that Miantunnomoh was the head and contriver of it." Apparently it was the judgment of the elders alone that revealed the truth of what hitherto had not been credited, for there seems to have been no new evidence.

Miantonomo was to die then by the sentence of the English, but Uncas was appointed to be his executioner. The Mohegan chief was by no means reluctant to take upon himself that pleasant office. The prisoner was delivered into his hands and marched to a spot near where he was captured, now known as Sachem's Plain, in Norwich, Connecticut. It was ordered by the commissioners that the execution should be without torture, and some Englishmen were present to see that the order was obeyed. If the method chosen was

The execution of Miantonomo.

savage, it was, at least, merciful: one of Uncas's men — said to be his brother — stealthily approached the prisoner from behind, and with a deadly blow buried a hatchet in his brain. Uncas sprang upon the body of his fallen enemy, and cutting a large piece of flesh from the shoulder devoured it in triumph, exclaiming, "it was the sweetest meat he ever ate, it made his heart strong."¹

¹ Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i., p. 135. Drake's *Book of the Indians*, p. 65. Winthrop was probably wrong as to the place of this tragedy, notwithstanding Savage (vol. ii., p. 162), in a note, maintains that he is right. Drake doubts if Uncas committed the savage act attributed to him, but Trumbull is good authority for the tradition. A monument has been erected to the memory of the great Sachem on Sachem's Plain in Norwich.



View of Providence, Rhode Island.

CHAPTER V

RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

THE SHAWOMET CONTROVERSY TAKEN TO ENGLAND. — DECIDED IN FAVOR OF GORTON AND HIS ASSOCIATES. — CHARTER GRANTED TO PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS. — CIVIL LIBERTY AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION PROVIDED FOR. — VISIT OF CLARK, HOLMES, AND CRANDALL TO BOSTON. — PUNISHED FOR HOLDING AND PREACHING HETERODOX OPINIONS. — DISSENSIONS IN RHODE ISLAND. — CODDINGTON APPOINTED GOVERNOR FOR LIFE — THE CHARTER GRANTED BY CHARLES II. — ITS CHARACTER AND HISTORICAL INTEREST.

DEEPLY moved with grief and indignation as the Narragansetts were when they heard of the treacherous assassination of their young and beloved sachem, it shows how little real fear there was of any retaliation on their part, that a small guard was thought sufficient for the protection of Uncas. "That the Indians might know," says Winthrop, "that the English did approve of it, they sent 12 or 14 musketeers home with Onkus, to abide a time with him for his defence, if need should be." There was no need; the Narragansetts understood.

They understood, they thought, so well that when a few months later Gorton and his men came back rejoicing and confident with not a hair the less upon their heads, it was, the Narragansetts believed, because the others were afraid. Gorton looked, he told them, to the king for justice; it was no hard thing to persuade them to offer their allegiance to a power which, though so far away, was feared by their enemies. If such subjects were of no

Gorton's return to Shawomet.

use to Charles, and such a king no protection to such subjects, the deed of submission was, at least, a good document for Gorton to have in his hand when he appealed to the government at home. This he did, and so successfully that within about two years, Randall Holden and John Greene — two of the Shawomet people — arrived in Boston, with an order from the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations in London, that they and Gorton should be permitted to pass unmolested through any part of New England, from which they had been banished; and ten days later these Commissioners issued an order that all those evicted from Shawomet should be permitted to reënter upon and enjoy their possessions in that place. The Earl of Warwick was the president of that Board of Commissioners, and in gratitude to him the place was thereafter called Warwick.

The English
commission-
ers' decision
in his favor.

This happy result to their troubles was not, of course, brought about without a struggle. Edward Winslow was sent by the government of Massachusetts, to controvert in England the statements of Gorton, and a lively controversy ensued between them before the Com-



Edward Winslow.

missioners and a committee of Parliament, and in published letters and pamphlets, which found listeners, absorbing as the interest of the English people was, at that time, in their own affairs. Winslow was faithful to his trust, and withstood with all his might a controversialist, who thanking God that he was bred in no "schools of human learning," must have been the harder to grapple with; but even Gorton himself testified to his manly fairness.¹

But Winslow only so far prevailed that a year later the order restoring their lands to the Shawomet people was so modified and explained by a committee of both houses of Parliament, and by the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Plantations that the question of jurisdiction should be left for future decision. Winslow claimed that

¹ Edward Winslow, often governor of Plymouth, was deservedly one of the most honored and respected of the early New Englanders. No one went so often as he as the agent of the Colonies to England, and on one of these visits he was sent by Cromwell as commissioner on the expedition to the West Indies, in 1654. He died, after the disgraceful repulse at Hispaniola the next year, of fever; A Diary in the *Memorials of Admiral Sir William Penn* says: "Taking conceit (as his man affirms) at the disgrace of the army on Hispaniola, to whom he told, it had broken his heart."

the lands were within the Plymouth patent; but however the colonists may have persuaded themselves on this point, the Commissioners still insisted that Gorton, Holden, and their friends should be permitted to rest on the lands they had purchased from the natives.

For years the question continued to vex the colonies, and was a frequent subject of discussion, and even of altercation, between Plymouth and Massachusetts, between the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and between them all and the people of Warwick. As a reason for insisting upon the exercise of the right of jurisdiction over them the latter were accused of wrongs committed against their neighbors both English and Indian, the ready rejoinder to which accusation was that the injuries were from the other side and were only withstood in self-defence. There seems to have been little peace for them till 1658, when William Arnold and William Carpenter, two of the four original instigators of the troubles of the Shawomet people, petitioned — with others of Pawtuxet — that Massachusetts would discharge them from the jurisdiction of that colony. This petition, however, is to be understood as one of the evidences that Massachusetts had relinquished her claim and is not to be mistaken as the cause of that change of policy.

Years before this Warwick had become a part of the colony of "Providence Plantations," under a charter procured by Roger Williams in March, 1644.¹ This was granted to Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, Warwick not being named in it; but when in May, 1647, the colony was organized, that plantation was admitted to equal privileges with the rest. Thereafter any attempted exercise of power over her was an intrusion upon territory protected by patent given under the authority of the English Parliament.

Williams's
charter.
1644.

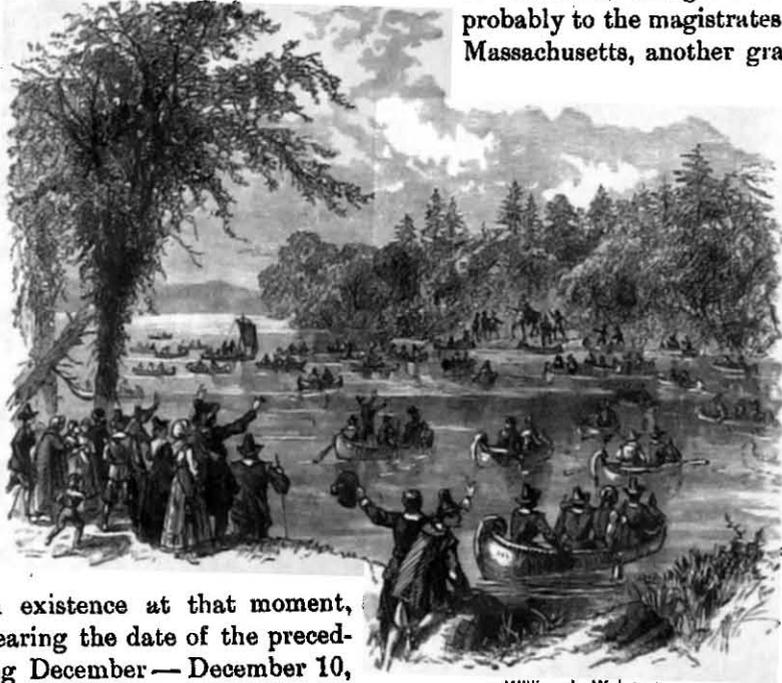
Williams arrived in Boston with this charter in September, 1644, and was allowed to land there on his way to Providence by virtue of a letter from "divers lords and others of the parliament" to the governor and assistants of Massachusetts. Not that there was any growing disposition to tolerate him or his doctrines.² The letter alone secured him a safe passage through Massachusetts and at the same time informed its magistrates that he was the bearer of this charter granted to him and his friends by both houses of Parliament.

¹ There has been some controversy as to the date of this charter, the question being whether it was March 14th or 17th. In Hazard's *State Papers* it is the 14th; Savage in *Winthrop's Journal* maintained that this was correct, while Elton and Staples in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, insist that it should be the 17th. But Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers* in the State Paper Office, London, gives the 14th [O. S.], and this, therefore, must be the correct date.

² Hubbard's *General History of New England*, chap. xliii.

The warmth of his welcome at home was as marked as the coldness with which he was received in Boston. It was a little less than eight years since he had evaded the sentence of the law of Massachusetts and fled into the forest through which he now again found his way. The people had heard of his coming; at Seekonk the river was covered with canoes; all Providence had come out to hail the return of a benefactor and a friend. Surrounded by a grateful people he made an almost triumphal entry into the colony he had planted.

It is an interesting and important fact that there was, unknown to Williams, though known probably to the magistrates of Massachusetts, another grant



Williams's Welcome.

in existence at that moment, bearing the date of the preceding December — December 10, 1643 [O. S.] — extending the

Existence of an earlier charter to Rhode Island.

patent of that colony over the whole of the present State of Rhode Island. It is probable that the instrument had not then been received, for some reason, in Boston, for the first allusion to it is found in the records of the 7th of October, 1645. Mr. Williams is then notified by an official letter to refrain from exercising any jurisdiction over the lands about Narragansett Bay and the tract "wherein Providence and the Island of Quidny are included," the charter of which was "received lately out of England,"¹ giving that country to Massachusetts.

¹ *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. iii., p. 49.



VIEW IN NARRAGANSETT BAY.

Why should a charter which, if put in force, would settle definitively so much that was vexatious because unsettled, have been received only "lately" in October, 1645, when the grant was made nearly two years before, in December, 1643? Why also when received, though so tardily, was not some further use made of it other than in this single instance to hold it up as a menace to the Providence Plantations? That is the sole use to which it was ever put by the Massachusetts government, and in that case the warning was not thought worth heeding by those to whom it was sent or followed up by those who gave it.

Puzzling questions in regard to it.

The patent was a month old when Gorton and his companions were released from their sentence of confinement at hard labor in Massachusetts and dismissed with a new one of banishment beyond her borders. It was four months later when Governor Winthrop warned these people that the General Court did not intend their sentence as a "scarecrow" — that it would be found real and effectual should it be transgressed. Did he know at that very moment that these men were still within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and in proposing to settle on Rhode Island were as much disregarding the order of the General Court, if this charter were valid, as they would have done by remaining in Boston? It is of course, possible, though not probable, that the Massachusetts agents in London, the Reverend Thomas Welde and the Reverend Hugh Peters, had not informed the government of Massachusetts that they had secured so important an addition to her domain and her power. But even if this were true, for years afterward, when the charter was certainly in Boston, no attempt was made to enforce it, though its enforcement as a matter of absolute right would have settled at once so many questions over which discussion, altercation, and contention lasted through all those years.

Why then was so important an instrument permitted to lie in abeyance among the archives of Massachusetts? Why should Winthrop, whose journal of the events of that period is so minute, and therefore so much more valuable than any other contemporary narrative, be absolutely silent — save in a single instance where it is alluded to by way of illustration only — upon this Narragansett patent?

Positive answers there are none to these questions, but many conjectures.¹ By some writers it is maintained that the charter was fraudulent, procured in an irregular and illegal way by Welde, and sent out by him to be used in Massachusetts to sustain the unfounded claim of jurisdiction over Rhode Island, assumed in the outset for the punishment and suppression of the

Singular treatment of the matter by the Massachusetts government.

¹ See a very thorough discussion of the subject by Mr. Charles Deane and Col. Thomas Aspinwall in the volume of *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1862-1863.

heretics of Shawomet. Williams in a letter to Major Mason, written in 1670, says that when Gorton made his complaint, in London, against the action of Massachusetts, "the Lord High Admiral, President, [Warwick] said openly in a full meeting of the commissioners, that he knew of no other charter for these parts than what Mr. Williams had obtained, and he was sure that charter, which the Massachusetts Englishmen pretended had never past the table."¹ In a petition presented by John Clarke and others on behalf of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations to Lord Clarendon in 1665, the charter is referred to as "that which Mr. Wells [Welde] got underhand" and as "never passed at Council table nor registered."² And in 1662 President Brenton told Hutchinson, the Massachusetts agent in London, that the Narragansett patent "was not fairly got;" that "there was no such thing upon record in any court of England, for he had sent to search the records;" and Hutchinson in a letter to Secretary Rawson of Massachusetts, says, "find there theirs, but not ours."³

On the other hand, Sainsbury records the patent as in volume x. of the State Paper Office in London.⁴ But this record rather complicates still further than clears up the question, for added to it are the words — "Copy, attested by Edward Rawson, Secretary." Rawson was the Colonial Secretary of Massachusetts. Did he send back to England an official copy of a charter obtained by fraud, that it might

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., First Series, vol. ii. R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. iii.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Second Series, vol. vii.

³ Mass. Archives, cited by Aspinwall in the discussion with Deane.

⁴ Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 325.

Grant full power, good, right and lawfull authorities from King to King and all
 private Charters and Letters to the Colonies within the precinct and limits of this
 Province and settling of indentures (parties or) (parties) within any part
 thereof to any other use or end whatsoever that may be necessary to the better
 propagation of the true Religion, as well for the drawing in of the Indians into
 the English Nation **to have hold and enjoy** the said Grants of
 and to use of them granted to and executed by the said Governor & C.
 or (they) during their continuance in the said Colonies (except and always
 save as are hereafter lawfully granted and in present possession held and
 continued to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding) 311. v. o. s.
 the 10th of the 11th Day of December 1643. And in the 10th day of

Sam. Vassall Gov. of the
 John Clarke Secy
 J. H. J. H. J. H.
 J. H. J. H. J. H.

Reduced Fac-simile of the Signatures and Closing

appear, for some ulterior purpose, of record in the State Paper Office? Or, appearing there in due course, were the Earl of Warwick, John Clarke, President Brenton of Rhode Island, and Edward Hutchinson of Massachusetts, all in error as to its legality?

It is neither agreeable nor charitable to suppose that the Massachusetts magistrates would avail themselves of a patent which they knew to be obtained by trickery, even for so pious a work as the suppression of heresy. They recognize its existence just often enough to show that they accepted it as legal — or accepted it at any rate — while they refrained so completely from maintaining any vested right under it, that it is plain they preferred, for some reason, to ignore it. Perhaps the most commonplace explanation of the enigma is nearest the truth, — they did not use the charter because it did not answer their purpose. For some reason, which probably will never be explained, there were serious doubts as to the genuineness of the document; but in Boston, let us hope they knew it was legal, and nevertheless they put it aside among the archives of the colony because it was of little practical value in carrying out their policy in regard to Rhode Island.

Possible explanations of their policy.

For the jurisdiction Massachusetts wanted in that region of country was not merely jurisdiction over land, but over people; not merely over that which was uninhabited, except by Indians, but that in which dwelt their own countrymen. In each of the new settlements were men already obnoxious to the laws of the General Court, and in each could men still more obnoxious find an asylum. But the Narragansett patent contained a reservation of all lands previously granted, “and in

*governour for his heirs & assigns and their successours. (Whomever hee shall employe
all lands heere to be as of him and when they shall see cause, all their
Interruptions, & hindring, & impediments for the convenient planting
or use of the said lands, or for the employment, and benefit of the said
plantations, as they shall thinke most needful, and for the
advancement to the best knowledge and use of Almighty God, as hee shall
thinke best, and all such things as hee shall thinke necessary, with
his assistants and counsellors, for his heirs & assigns and their successours,
prouided and referred, all and singular such his said lands and
things, by any of his Ma^{ties} good people, Subjects, any thing herein
written contained, with his heirs & assigns, out of hand, and to be
of the reign of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles 1st.*

Ed

WARWICK

Hutchinson
Ed. Hutchinson

Sentences of the Narragansett Patent.

present possession held and enjoyed by any of his majesty's Protestant subjects." There had, indeed, been no grants of lands in the territory in question, but there was "present possession" at Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Shawomet, and the charter, therefore, conferred upon Massachusetts no right of jurisdiction over these or their inhabitants. Her authority, therefore, in that country would have been only a divided authority, and would have failed precisely where she most wished to exercise it. Rather than accept this she may have preferred to await the decision she hoped for — that the country was embraced within the Plymouth patent, inasmuch as Plymouth had conveyed her right of jurisdiction to Massachusetts.¹ But, however her course may be explained, the question still remains unsolved, — how came the Commissioners of Plantations to confer — if they did confer — upon the Providence Plantations, in March, 1644, a patent of precisely the same lands which three months before they had granted to Massachusetts?

The charter which Williams brought back from England was free and absolute, giving to the people of Providence Plantations "full power and authority to govern and rule themselves and such others as shall inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greatest part of them shall be found most serviceable in their estates and conditions;" and to that end it empowered them to make and enforce such civil laws and constitutions as should be necessary, provided only that they were in accordance with the laws of England. And even this condition was so modified as to provide that this conformity to the laws of the mother country need be only so far as the nature and constitution of the colony admitted. It was the freest colonial charter that had ever been given; naturally, for it was obtained at the solicitation of Roger Williams, through the influence of Sir Henry Vane, and from a parliamentary commission.

The first General Assembly which met under it at Portsmouth, May 19, 1647, adopted a code of laws, in the preamble of which it was declared: "sith our charter gives us to govern ourselves, and such other as come among us, and by such a form of civil government as by the voluntary consent, etc., shall be found most suitable to our state and condition. It is agreed by this present Assembly, thus incorporate, and by this present act declared, that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is DEMOCRATICAL, that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free

Provisions
of the grant
of 1644.

First As-
sembly and
laws under
the Williams
charter.
1647.

¹ See Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, vol. i., p. 119.

inhabitants." The personal rights of the citizen were guarded by the declaration "that no person in this Colony shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his lands or liberties, or be exiled or any otherwise molested or destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by some known law, and according to the letter of it," ratified and confirmed by the General Assembly. And that absolute freedom of conscience should be secured, it was declared that "all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the saints of the Most High walk in this Colony without molestation in the name of Jehovah, their God for ever and ever."¹

Five years before Portsmouth and Newport had declared in almost the same words, that such were the principles by which they meant to be governed. Here was a new and wider union under the authority of a charter. It laid down as the firm foundation of the State that idea of civil and religious liberty, which every wise man among them, who had followed Williams to an asylum for those distressed in conscience, maintained to be its only true foundation. Whatever vicissitudes and trials they were called upon to meet, they kept carefully in mind the great principles of their political faith.

There were dividing interests and dissensions in the several towns, however, which the union under this charter could not reconcile. What these were is not, and cannot now, be accurately known, but they were, no doubt, increased by division of feeling and opinion on affairs in England. Royalists and parliament men no more loved each other in the colonies than at home, though distance from the scene of the actual struggle softened the political rancor enough to restrain them from open violence. But whatever other differences there were, this one intensified them. Codrington, a royalist, was the leader of one party, and one strong evidence of the difference between the two was that he, with others, asked on behalf of the island that they be admitted into the confederation of the United Colonies. He claimed that this was the wish of a majority of the people of Portsmouth and Newport, and he may have been right, for the island towns and the mainland towns seemed to mark the division of parties.

The party feeling in the Rhode Island towns must have been intense that could make any of them so forget the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of Massachusetts, as to ask an alliance where hers was the chief influence. The request of the petitioners was refused unless they would acknowledge that the territory they occupied was within the Plymouth patent. To accept such terms would have been

Influence of English affairs in colonial dissensions.

¹ *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iv., p. 229.

to forego all the advantages of the possession of their own charter, and to surrender themselves eventually to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. What that might be the people of Providence Plantations had already been taught by some efficient lessons, and others were to come.

In the summer of 1651 the Reverend John Clark, who was not only one of the most influential and most respected citizens of Rhode Island, but the pastor of the Baptist Church at Newport; the Reverend Obadiah Holmes, who had gathered a church of the same denomination at Seekonk, and one Crandall, went together to Lynn, in Massachusetts, to visit a sick brother in the church, one William Witter.¹ Clark was an eminent and public offender inasmuch as he was a Baptist clergyman, and the leader of that band of exiles who, banished from Massachusetts, found a home on the island of Acquidneck; Holmes was also a Baptist clergyman, had been excommunicated from the church at Seekonk, and bound over to keep the peace by the authorities of Plymouth; and Crandall, to his other offence of being an Anabaptist, had added that of marrying a daughter of Samuel Gorton. Three such criminals were not to be permitted to come with impunity within the boundaries of Massachusetts, although the church of which all three were members had deputed them to visit a brother member, sick and old and blind, who, from his distant home, had asked for the consolation of a religious visit.²

On the Sunday after their arrival, "not having freedom in our Spirits," says Clark, "for want of a clear Call from God to goe unto the Publike Assemblie to declare there what was the mind, and counsell of God concerning them," he "judged it a thing suitable" to hold divine service in the house and with the family of Witter, and four or five others who came in to join in their worship. While thus engaged there came in two constables with a warrant for their arrest. A request to finish the services was denied, and "the erronious persons, being Strangers" whom the writ of Justice Bridges commanded should be brought before him in the morning, were marched off as prisoners — bail being refused — to the inn for safe keeping.

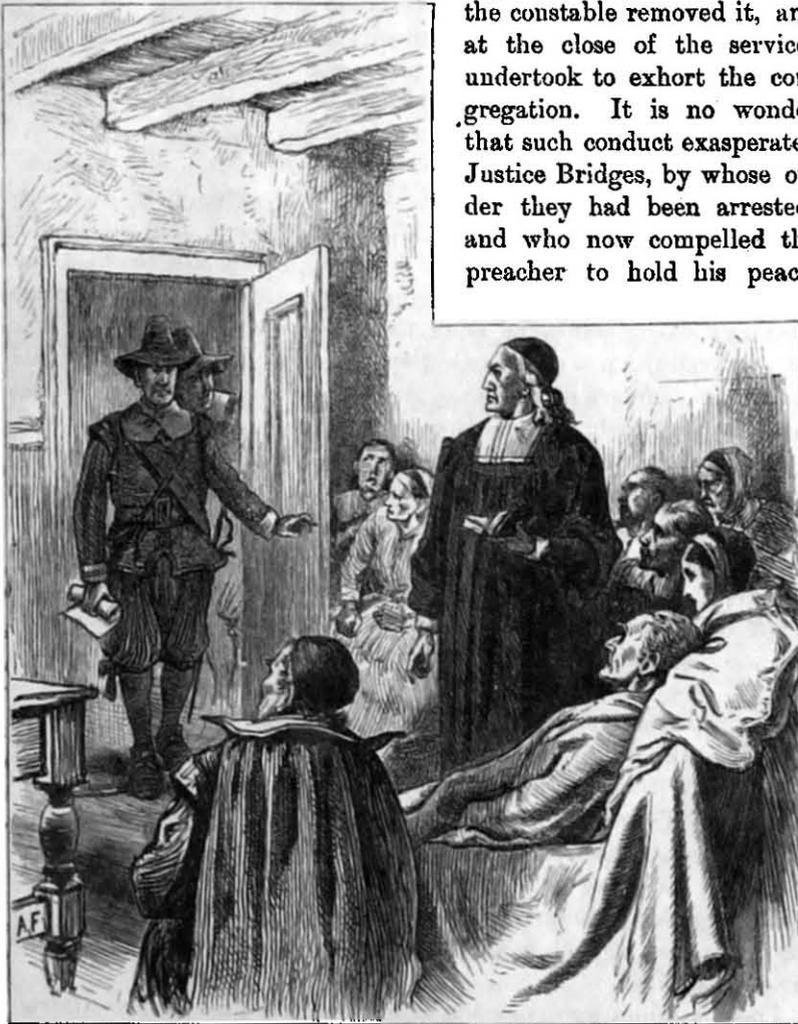
The constables were more zealous than wise, for in the afternoon they insisted upon taking the prisoners to the Meeting, notwithstanding

¹ Witter was nearly seventy years of age and blind; not being able to go to Newport for the comfort of the ordinances in the church to which he belonged, he asked that he might be visited, for he seemed to be near his end. Clark, Holmes, and Crandall were sent as the representatives of the church at Newport, as appears by the records of the church, as quoted by Backus.

² Backus's *History of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 215.

ing Mr. Clark's repeated protests and warnings that if compelled to go there his conscience would constrain him to testify to his dissent both by word and gesture from those with whom he could hold no religious communion. And he was true to his word ; for in the Meeting he

kept his hat upon his head till the constable removed it, and at the close of the services undertook to exhort the congregation. It is no wonder that such conduct exasperated Justice Bridges, by whose order they had been arrested, and who now compelled the preacher to hold his peace.



The Meeting at Witter's House.

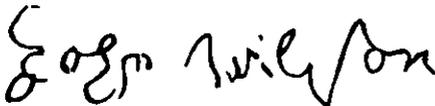
The next morning the three were sent to Boston jail for safe-keeping till the next sitting of the court, the charges against them being that they had held a private religious meeting ; that they had disturbed public worship ; that they had led others astray ; that they

were suspected of rebaptizing of one or more persons, and had failed to give security that they would appear for trial.¹

They lay in jail for ten days before the Court, consisting of the governor, deputy governor, and three assistants, was convened, but there was no delay when they were once before their judges. There were neither accusers nor witnesses summoned against them; no jury to try them, and no law either of God or man cited to their condemnation. It was enough for the irascible Governor Endicott to declare that they were Anabaptists; the formalities of trial evidently were of small moment with regard to criminals of that sort.

Of course they were found guilty. They were Baptists; the commitment said they had held two meetings of worship at Witter's house; and when taken into the meeting-house of the town they had kept on their hats. They were sentenced to be well whipt, or to pay, Clark twenty pounds, Holmes thirty pounds, and Crandall five pounds. Mr. Clark asked respectfully that he might be told under what law they were condemned. He reminded them that by their Code no man should be molested except under a law of the General Court, or, failing that, the law of God; and neither had been produced against them. He hoped they were not less tender of the rights of the stranger within their gates, than they were of the rights of their own people.

Endicott was equal to the occasion; they denied infant baptism, he shouted; they ought to be put to death, and "he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction." Holmes, more meek, said as he turned to leave the court, "I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus."



Signature of John Wilson.

Whereupon he adds, "John Wilson (their pastor, as they call him) strook me before the judgment seat and cursed me,

saying, the curse of God or Jesus go with thee." It was not much that would put John Endicott in a towering passion at any time; but

it must have been a lively and exciting occasion that could move John Wilson — though capable of being moved, for we have seen him climbing a tree in a time of popular clamor to harangue a crowd² — that could so move him as to strike and curse even a theological opponent in open court.³

Endicott told Clark that it was only the weak to whom he ventured

¹ *Ill News From New-England; or A Narrative of New-Englands Persecution.* By John Clark. London: 1652. Reprinted *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. ii.

² Vol. i., p. 554.

³ *Holmes's Narrative* in Backus; and *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi.

to present his doctrines, but that he could not sustain himself in a controversy with the Boston ministers — with brother Wilson, for example, then and there present ready on the instant to pound the obdurate Holmes into a Christian state of mind. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Newport clergyman than such a challenge; but though agreed to and the preliminaries arranged after much negotiation, the proposal came to naught. It was not so much, probably, that Messrs. Wilson and Cotton feared to meet Mr. Clark in debate as that they dreaded the effect on the popular mind, all the more ready to embrace new doctrines which it was unwisely attempted to suppress by the persecution of those who held them.

After some days of imprisonment both Clark and Crandall were released, their fines being paid by some judicious friends without their knowledge. But with Holmes it fared otherwise. His conscience would not permit him to pay for himself, or allow others to pay for him, the sum adjudged as penalty. He struggled hard, he tells us, to resist the temptation to escape a painful punishment, and on the morning of its execution, “in consideration of the weakness of the flesh to bear the strokes though the spirit was willing, I was,” he adds, “caused to pray earnestly unto the Lord that he would be pleased to give me a spirit of courage and boldness, a tongue to speak for Him, and strength of body to suffer for His sake, and not to shrink or yield to the strokes, or shed tears lest the adversaries of the truth should thereupon blaspheme and be hardened, and the weak and feeble-hearted discouraged.”

Fortified with this spirit of resignation and endurance, he was led out of the prison into the presence of the people. He tried to speak that he might bear witness to them that he suffered for “the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.” The punishment of Holmes. If the punishment was just it was just that he should be silenced, for it was for preaching that he was punished. “Fellow, do thine office,” said the magistrate to the executioner; “for this fellow would but make a long speech to delude the people.” To him there was nothing ignominious in his position; rather the glorification of martyrdom. “I dressed myself,” he says, “in as comely a manner as I could, having such a Lord and Master to serve in this business.” And these comely garments had to be removed from him, for “I made,” he declares, “as much conscience of unbuttoning a button as I did of paying the 307. in reference thereunto.” To this disrobing he submitted gently and unresistingly, as he did to his punishment; “for in truth,” continues his narrative, “as the strokes fell upon me I had such a spiritual manifestation of God’s presence as the like thereto I never had nor felt, nor can with fleshy tongue express, and the outward pain

was so removed from me that, indeed, I am not able to declare it to you ; it was so easy to me that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength, (yea, spitting on his hand three times, as many affirmed), with a three-corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes." Such was his spiritual exaltation that when the ghastly spectacle was over and his clothes were restored to him to cover his scored and bloody back,

His narrative concerning it.



Whipping of Obadiah Holmes.

he turned to the magistrates standing by and said, " You have struck me as with roses."

When the scourging was finished a number of the bystanders crowded around the sufferer to avow their pity for his condition, if not their sympathy for his doctrines and their indignation at his persecution. Writs were immediately issued for the arrest of a dozen or more of these persons, but only two were taken. These also would have been publicly punished at the whipping-post, had not their fines, which their consciences forbade their paying, been discharged by their friends.

Whatever were the merits, and they were many, of the early Puri-

tans of Massachusetts, candid and truthful history can neither wink out of sight nor palliate the intolerance and cruelty which they visited upon those who differed from them. Fortunately for her, and for the whole country whose destiny she has done so much to influence, the efforts of her earliest rulers to stamp her character with the indelible impress of their own narrow views and purposes were not successful. In all those years there was among the common people, particularly outside of Boston, a determined purpose, which it was impossible altogether to suppress, not to submit to the arbitrary will and narrow fanaticism with which the magistrates proposed to govern in the name of religion and of law. The struggle was long continued, — continued, indeed, even down to our own time. But that spirit which led some of the most enlightened of her people to build up another colony on a foundation of religious toleration and the equal civil rights of all men, has, in the long run, been triumphant in Massachusetts also. The extravagancies in theological discursiveness which grew out of the intellectual and religious activity of the age came, in the end, to harmless and sometimes rational conclusions; while the intolerant bigotry which knew no better way to meet the vagaries of fanaticism than persecution became at length so intolerable to all sober-minded people as to be looked upon with such abhorrence as to defeat itself.

It is not at all impossible that these outrages in Boston upon two well-known clergymen of Rhode Island may have had some influence upon political events in that colony. Governor Coddington had, by a clever *coup de main*, obtained from the Council of State in England a commission to govern Rhode Island, with a council of six men, during his life. With this commission he returned home about the time of the visit of Clark to Massachusetts; and though there is no evidence of his having repeated his overtures to the Commissioners of the United Colonies that Rhode Island should be admitted to that Confederacy, there was, nevertheless, a good deal of alarm among the people at his success. Roger Williams, as representative of the mainland towns, and John Clark, on behalf of those of the Island, were sent soon after to England, the one to procure the recall of the commission to Coddington, the other to obtain a confirmation of the charter. The latter was probably thought desirable, as since that charter was granted Charles the First had been brought to the block, England had been declared a Commonwealth, and the government of the nation entrusted to the Council of State appointed by parliament. The mission of the commissioners, however, was, in effect, the same — to restore the government of Providence Plantations, which had lapsed through the dis-

The spirit of
opposition to
Puritan in-
tolerance.

Coddington's Com-
mission for
Rhode Isl-
and.

sensions of the several towns, and the repeal of the appointment of Coddington as governor for life over those of Rhode Island.

The mission was successful. Williams and Clark presented their petition to the Council of State the following spring; in the autumn of 1652 the commission to Coddington was recalled, and a few months later the towns were again united under one government, Williams, who had meanwhile returned from England, being the first governor.

Clark remained in England to watch over, during the next ten momentous years of the Commonwealth, the interests of the Colony. On the restoration of Charles II. he devoted himself to obtaining a royal charter, which was granted in July, 1663, to the Colony under the new name of "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations."

Rhode Isl-
and charter
of 1663.



Portrait of Charles II.

All the rights granted in the earlier patent were confirmed in this; the original title of the native Indians—for affirming which as to the country of New England Roger Williams was, among other reasons, banished from Massachusetts—was recognized; the rights of conscience and of private judgment, for which the people of Rhode Island had suffered so much at the hands of their neighbors, were affirmed by the declaration that "no person within the said Colony, at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion,

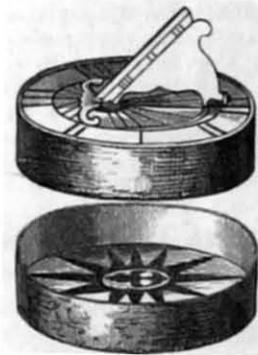
that do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said Colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the injury or outward disturbance of others"; it empowered a general assembly "to make, ordain, constitute

or repeal, such laws, statutes, orders and ordinances, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, as to them shall seem meet, for the good and welfare of the said Company, and for the government and ordering of the lands and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and of the people that do, or at any time hereafter shall, inhabit or be within the same; so as such laws, ordinances and constitutions, so made, be not contrary and repugnant unto, but as near as may, agreeable to the laws of this our realm of England, considering the nature and constitution of the place and people there"; that in all matters of public controversy between this and other colonies the appeal should be to the government in England, and that to the inhabitants of Rhode Island there should be perfect freedom to pass and repass without let or molestation into the other colonies, and to hold intercourse and trade with such of their people as were willing, "any act, clause, or sentence in any of the said Colonies, provided, or that shall be provided, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." This, no doubt, referred to the sentence of banishment of Roger Williams and others from Massachusetts which had never been repealed.

No charter so comprehensive and so radical as this had ever before been granted to any English colony. It guaranteed to the people of Rhode Island those great principles of civil and religious liberty for which they had struggled so long and some of them had sacrificed so much; it anticipated in a royal grant the fundamental law of that great republic of which this colony is a part, but which was waited for till more than another century of growth and struggle had passed away; and so broad and free it was that it served as the constitution of that little commonwealth for the next hundred and eighty years. Under it Benedict Arnold was the first governor; among the names of those on whose behalf the king was petitioned that such a patent be granted, were those of Samuel Gorton, John Greene, Randall Holden, and William Coddington; ¹ and the man to whom it owed its character and at whose importunity the royal will was chiefly moved, was Dr. John Clark, who two years before barely escaped the whipping-post in Boston, where the magistrates were not ashamed to condemn to a punishment so ignominious a venerable and estimable and learned clergyman whose offence was one that this charter forbade to be called a crime, and maintained as

¹ Those on whose behalf John Clark petitioned the king were: Benjamin Arnold, William Brenton, William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, William Boulston, John Porter, John Smith, Samuel Gorton, John Weeks, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, John Coggeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Holden, John Greene, John Roome, Samuel Wildbore, William Field, James Barker, Richard Tew, Thomas Harris, and William Dyre.

a precious right. As an historical document the instrument is full of the gravest interest for the incidents and the men whose memory it preserves ; for the events in the formation of governments of which it was, in a certain measure, a prophecy ; and for the end which awaited it when nearly two centuries later its form though not its spirit was outgrown.



Roger Williams' Compass.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW NETHERLAND UNDER PETER STUYVESANT.

STUYVESANT'S ARRIVAL AT MANHATTAN. — HOPEFUL RECEPTION BY THE CITIZENS. — HE BEFRIENDS EX-GOVERNOR KIEFT. — ARREST AND TRIAL OF KUYTER AND MELYN. — THEIR BANISHMENT AND DEPARTURE WITH KIEFT. — WRECK OF THE PRINCESS. — DIFFICULTIES WITH NEW ENGLAND. — SEIZURE OF THE ST. BENINIO. — THE CONSEQUENT QUARREL WITH NEW HAVEN. — CONTROVERSY WITH THE COMMISSARY OF RENSSELAERSWYCK. — DISCONTENT OF THE PEOPLE. — APPEAL OF THE CITIZENS TO HOLLAND. — MELYN'S RETURN. — REVERSAL OF HIS SENTENCE. — THE REMONSTRANCE FORWARDED TO THE STATES-GENERAL. — VAN DER DONCK AND THE DELEGATES AT THE HAGUE. — STUYVESANT'S CONTINUED ARROGANCE.

ON the 27th of May, 1647, Peter Stuyvesant, the new governor who, the New Netherlanders hoped, had come to remedy all the evils which they had suffered under the administration of Kieft, arrived amid "shouting on all sides" and the burning of nearly all the powder in the town in salutes.¹ The rejoicing was universal, and even Kieft himself was glad, probably, to welcome a successor who was to release him from the cares of a vexatious office. As the excited burghers gathered near the fort upon what is now known as the Battery, to look at the fleet anchored in the harbor, they congratulated each other, no doubt, that an era of peace, prosperity, and equitable rule had come at last.

The burghers forgot for the moment, if they had ever heard, that the reputation of the new governor was not altogether unsullied. It is said that in Holland he had been detected in robbing the daughter of his host, and that he would have been punished for the act had he not been mercifully forgiven for the sake of his father, who was a clergyman in Vriesland, and greatly esteemed. The famous expedition against St. Martin, where Stuyvesant lost his leg—in place of which he ever after wore a wooden one, bound together with rings of silver, and therefore called his "silver leg,"—this expedition, it was said, was unsuccessful because it was so badly con-

Governor
Stuyvesant's
arrival at
Manhattan,
May, 1647.

His previous
career.

¹ So extravagant was this demonstration of welcome "that they were obliged to send to another place to buy powder for exercising and in case of need."—*The Breeden Raedt*. Extracts translated in *Documentary History of New York*, vol. iv., p. 69.

ducted; for the commander wasted, in vainglorious salutes at sea, nearly all his powder before he reached the fort; and when he raised the siege, which he had not ammunition enough to go on with, he left behind him, not only his leg but much property, especially cannon. But as the leg was really lost, it seems hardly probable that its owner had acted the part of a coward, and other stories against him on the same authority may be as little likely to be true.¹

At any rate the enthusiastic people of New Amsterdam, when they welcomed with shouts and all their powder this successor to Kieft, were so full of pleasant excitement and hopeful anticipations of a happy and prosperous future, that they failed to call to mind, if they had ever heard of, any moral delinquencies of which the man might have been guilty in far-off Holland, or of military failures which had befallen him in the West Indies.

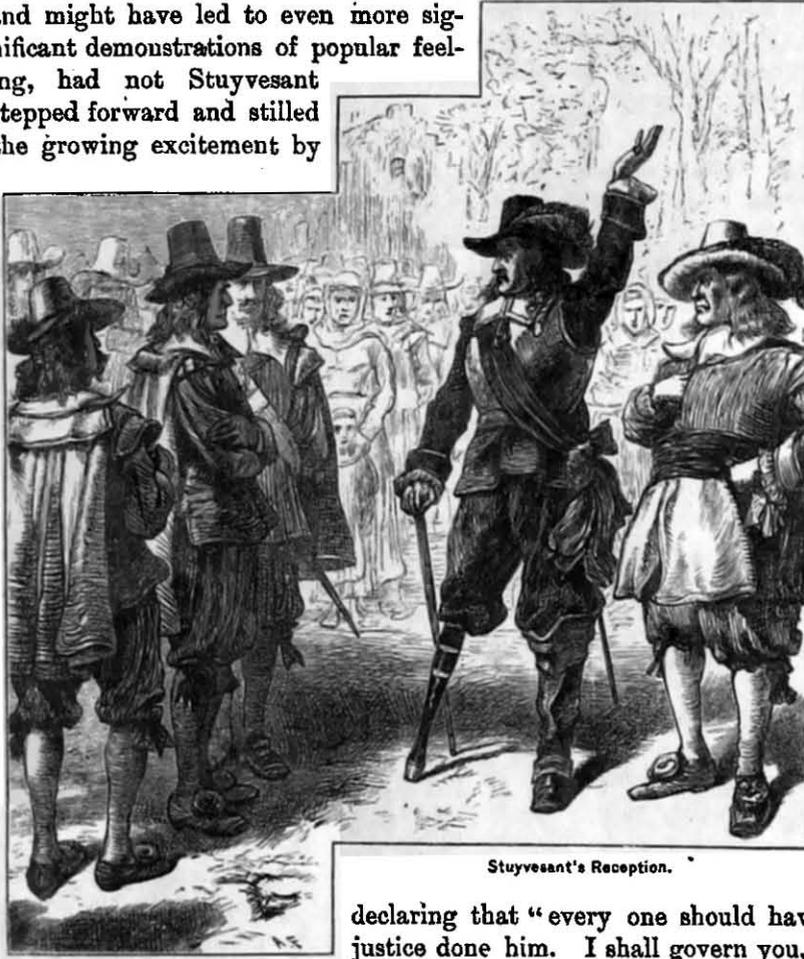
This popular enthusiasm, however, hardly outlasted the ceremony of reception. Stuyvesant was a man of haughty as well as violent temper; more imperious in presence and in manners than Kieft whom he came to displace, he was quite as despotic, and the more to be feared for his ability and strength of purpose. When he landed he marched into the town "like a peacock, with great state and pomp." Some of the principal citizens met him bare-headed, and bare-headed "he let them wait for several hours, he himself keeping his hat on his head as if he was the czar of Muscovy; nobody was offered a chair, while he seated himself very comfortably on a chair, the better to give the welcomers an audience."² The picture is not drawn by friendly hands, but it is not out of keeping with what we know of Peter Stuyvesant.

But he did better presently when Kieft came forward to surrender the government into the hands of his successor. As the retiring governor stood for the last time before his fellow-citizens in his official capacity, he wished, perhaps, to bury the memory of past animosities; at any rate he must have been anxious to step down gracefully from his elevation, as he yielded the place to another. He thanked his fellow-citizens with a natural if not pardonable exaggeration for the fidelity they had shown him during his administration of affairs, hoping, no doubt, that he would be met in a like conciliatory and compliant mood, and his services acknowledged in terms that would be complaisant if insincere. But the sturdy Dutchmen were not to be cheated out of their resentments by any momentary enthusiasm or

¹ Translations from *The Breeden Raedt*, in *Documentary Hist. of New York*.

² *The Representation of New Netherland* (1650). By Adrian van der Donck. Translated by Henry C. Murphy. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii. *The Breeden Raedt. Documentary Hist. N. Y.*

ceremonial proprieties. On all sides went up a shout of loud dissent; as spokesmen for the rest, Joachim Kuyter and Cornelis Melyn, who were of the old Board of "Eight Men," and had otherwise been conspicuous as opponents of Kieft, declared boldly that they had nothing to thank him for and no approval to give. Such unexpected candor marred the harmonies of the occasion, and might have led to even more significant demonstrations of popular feeling, had not Stuyvesant stepped forward and stilled the growing excitement by



Stuyvesant's Reception.

declaring that "every one should have justice done him. I shall govern you," he said, "as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers and this land."¹

The crowd dispersed, quieted if not satisfied with these assurances of the paternal intentions of the new governor, and almost forgot how long they had stood bare-headed in the sun.

¹ *Breeden Raedt and Albany Records*, cited by Brodhead, *History of New York*, vol. ii., p. 433.

There was not much delay, however, in testing his sincerity. Before many days had passed Kuyter and Melyn brought a formal complaint against Kieft, and asked that a rigid inquiry be made into the alleged abuses of his government, and especially of his treatment of the Indians which had led to the war. The answer was as unexpected as it was unwelcome. Was it to be accepted as his opinion that it was treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not? The denials of Kieft, he considered as of more weight than any evidence his antagonists could bring to substantiate their charges. He would not, he declared, recognize them officially as members of the late Board of "Eight Men," nor as representatives of the citizens at large; but only as "private persons." He looked upon them, he said, merely as "perturbators of the public peace," hardly worthy of a hearing. In all this he was mindful of the force of precedent. "If this point be conceded," he said to his council, "will not these cunning fellows, in order to usurp over us a more unlimited power, claim and assume, in consequence, even greater authority against ourselves and our commission, should it happen that our administration do not quadrate in every respect with their whims?" His despotism was not without forethought. The council had no will and no opinions of their own; all its members, Van Dincklage, Van Dyck, Keyser, Captain Newton, La Montagne, and Van Tienhoven the provincial secretary, hastened to agree with him, and the petition of Kuyter and Melyn was not granted.¹

The wily Kieft saw his opportunity in this unexpected turn of affairs, and embraced it promptly. The defendant became plaintiff, and brought charges against Kuyter and Melyn, who, he declared, were the authors of that appeal of the "Eight Men" to the chamber of Amsterdam;² that they had induced their colleagues, against their better judgment, to join in that petition, all whose statements, he affirmed, were false. The ex-governor was listened to where the "private persons" had no standing in court. They were ordered to answer the accusations within twenty-four hours.

Stuyvesant was only the more enraged when that answer was an offer to produce the evidence of the truth of all the charges sent to Amsterdam against Kieft, and to bring forward the four survivors of the Eight Men to testify that they had voluntarily signed the documents containing those charges.³ It was only an aggravation of the

¹ See Stuyvesant's address on this subject in O'Callaghan, vol. ii., pp. 24, 26.

² See vol. i., p. 462.

³ The *Breeders Raedt* says that these survivors were induced by threats and promises to testify that they had been bribed to sign the letters sent to Holland containing the charges against Kieft.

offence, on the part of the accused, to propose thus to show their innocence. The Director General ordered that they be at once indicted; a speedy trial followed, and a prompt conviction waited on the trial.

Both were found guilty. Kuyter was condemned to three years' banishment and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. The sentence of Melyn was more severe. Perhaps there were additional charges against him; perhaps the enmity of Kieft, who, says one authority, had resented Melyn's refusal some time before to give him a share in the manor of Staten Island, was more bitter. The patrolon was at any rate declared guilty of treason, of bearing false witness, of libel and defamation; was sentenced to forfeit all benefits of the Company, to pay a fine of three hundred guilders, and to be banished for seven years. The Director was in favor of severer punishment, but even his pliant council dissented from his judgment, though he supported it by a violent speech, in which he appealed to Scripture and the authority of the learned in civil and criminal law with many a text and quotation.

When it was suggested to the triumphant Kieft that the result of the trial might have been different in Holland, "Why should we," said he, exultingly, "alarm each other with justice in Holland? In this case I consider it only a scarecrow." Stuyvesant was even more emphatic. Melyn,

he thought, deserved death, and was threatened with it by the Director. "If I was



Signature of Cornelis Melyn.

persuaded," he said, "you would appeal from my sentences or divulge them, I would have your head cut off, or have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland." To another person he said, "If any one, during my administration, shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way."

These servants of the West India Company had little fear, probably, of their masters, who cared little and did less for New Netherland, and who, already in a condition of bankruptcy, had neither the power nor the will to regulate the affairs of the distant colony.¹ Had it been otherwise, however, Stuyvesant would not have been likely to put a bridle upon his tongue, for so transported was he with rage at these daring attacks upon prerogative, that "the foam hung on his beard" as he roared and raged against their perpetrators. "These

¹ *The West India Company: in Bibliographical and Historical Essays on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland.* By G. M. Asher.

brutes," he said, "may hereafter endeavor to knock me down also, but I will manage it so now, that they will have their bellies full for the future." The people of New Amsterdam had good reason to be amazed and alarmed at the words of this impetuous and irascible gentleman, as well as at these first acts of the administration of a governor who not long before, had declared "under the canopy of heaven," that justice should be done in all New Netherland, and that he was to rule over them as a father over his children.

But there was one man, at least, who was thankful for such a Director; and that was Kieft. Had he been the benefactor instead of the oppressor of New Netherland he could hardly have retired from its government with more triumphant complacency than that with which he now hugged himself. On the 17th of August, less than three months after the coming of Stuyvesant, Kieft embarked for Holland in the ship *Princess*, carrying with him an ample fortune, and taking on board with him, "like criminals torn away from their goods, their wives, and their children,"¹ the "two faithful patriots," Kuyter and Melyn, who had ventured to impeach his administration, and who for their temerity were thus punished by banishment, with the added humiliation of going as the prisoners of the man they had hoped to humble.

But their humiliation and his triumph were not to last long. It was on this voyage there came that "observable hand of God," of which Winthrop speaks, and which he interpreted as "against the Dutch at New Netherlands," and showing "so much of God in favor of his poor people here [in New England] and displeasure toward such as have opposed and injured them." For Kieft, he adds, "had continually molested the colonies of Hartford and New Haven, and used menacings and protests against them upon all occasions, and had burnt down a trading-house which New Haven had built upon Delaware River."

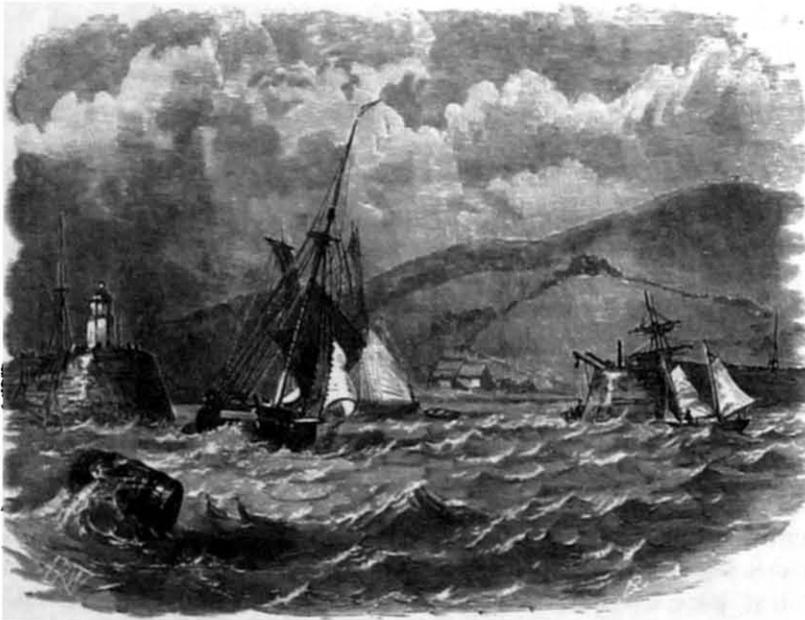
Therefore it was that the hand of God was heavy upon him; so that when the *Princess* approached the English coast she lost her reckoning, ran upon the coast of Wales, near Swansea, instead of up the English Channel, and was lost. Many saw in it a judgment, who did not agree with the Massachusetts governor that Kieft was "a sober and prudent man," and who believed that the providence of God sometimes had other purposes than the punishment of the enemies of the Puritans of New England. "I told Wilhelm Kieft," — De Vries had written four years before, — "that I doubted not that vengeance for the innocent blood which

¹ This is the testimony of the *Breedden Raedt*, a little colored, perhaps, by partisanship, as it is certain that Melyn took a son with him.

Wreck of
the *Prin-
cess*.

he had shed in his murderings, would, sooner or later, come on his head." Kuyter and Melyn, and their friends, also, had, no doubt, their reflections. To Kieft himself, whose life had been one of so much turbulence and injustice, there came a sort of death-bed repentance, as his ship lay pōunding to pieces on the Welsh rocks; for calling his prisoners to his side, he said: "Friends, I have been unjust towards you, — can you forgive me?"

So he perished, and with him eighty others — among them Melyn's son, and Bogardus,¹ the minister of the church of New Amsterdam, who had been one of Kieft's most determined opponents. Twenty only



View on the Coast of Wales near Swansea.

were saved, and of these one was Kuyter, who was washed ashore in a surf so heavy that it threw, at the same time, a cannon upon the beach; and another was Melyn, who escaped upon a raft. Perhaps their hardships aroused some sympathy for them in Holland; at any rate their grievances were listened to, the

Kuyter
and Melyn
in Holland.

¹ The farm of Dominie Bogardus — called first the "Dominie's Bowery," afterward "the Duke's Farm," "the King's Farm," "the Queen's Farm," as it was conveyed, in the progress of events, from one proprietor to another — became at length the property of Trinity Church, New York, by letters-patent under the seal of the province. It is still, for the most part, in the hands of that corporation, and produces an immense revenue. To the conveyance of this farm to Governor Lovelace, in 1671, by the children of Annetje Jans, — the widow of Dominie Bogardus, who had been twice married, — one of the sons was not a party, and the property is claimed by his descendants. — *O'Callaghan*.

sentences against them reversed by the States-General, and Stuyvesant had reason subsequently to regret that he had begun his administration of the affairs of New Netherland by their persecution.

In the spirit and temper, however, with which he had come to the defence of Kieft, the Director-general continued to administer the affairs of the colony after the departure of the *Princess*. He began at once to enforce some burdensome taxes, particularly upon wine and beer, which aroused the most bitter opposition; and he showed it to be clearly his policy to make the colony profitable to the Company rather than that the rights of the colonists should be protected. If his laws and their rigid enforcement were sometimes beneficial to the citizens, as they sometimes unquestionably were, it was not so much that Stuyvesant was anxious for their welfare, as because the laws were in themselves judicious and wholesome for them as well as favorable to the interests of the Company. He was accused of imposing restrictions upon trade that he might have a monopoly in smuggling some particular article of commerce; when the truth was that he was honestly aiming to repress some illegal and injurious practice, the repression of which would deprive his accusers of the monopoly which, they said, he was prostituting his power to get into his own hands. Undoubtedly he was very much of a despot, had very little faith in popular government, and very little respect for popular rights; but he was personally honest; he conducted the affairs of the colony in a way which he sincerely believed was for the benefit of the Company; and he ruled with a strong hand because he thought that was the only way the people could be governed. As a natural consequence he had almost as little popular support in acts that were judicious and for the good of the community, as in those which were unwise and clearly against its best interests.

Features of
Stuyvesant's
administration.

But he could not carry on the administration of affairs without some sort of popular coöperation. Taxes were paid, if paid at all, with reluctance and much grumbling; the Indians were threatening the fort, and the palisades around the town were in need of repairs; the church was only half finished; trade languished, and there was a general condition of danger, depression, and discontent. Stuyvesant listened at last, though very unwillingly, to the advice of his council, to admit the people to such share in the government as they were accustomed to at home. A general election was ordered in the autumn, at which the burghers of New Amsterdam, of Breuckelen, on the other side of the East River, of Pavonia, and Amersfoort or Flatlands on Long Island, were to choose eighteen delegates, from whom the governor and council were to select a board of Nine Men as the popular representatives of the colony.

By proclamation in September, the powers of this body were defined. That the colony "and principally New Amsterdam, our capital and residence, might continue and increase in good order, justice, police, population, prosperity, and mutual harmony, and be provided with strong fortifications, a church, a school, trading-place, harbor, and similar highly necessary public edifices and improvements;" that "the honor of God and the welfare of our dear Fatherland, to the best advantage of the Company, and the prosperity of our good citizens" be promoted; that "the pure reformed religion, as it is here and in the churches of the Netherlands," be preserved and inculcated, this Board of Nine Men was established.

Concessions
to the
burghers.

These were to convene when called by the governor and council, but were not to hold private meetings, the governor, whenever he pleased, sitting with them as the presiding officer. Their duty and powers were advisory, not legislative, as they were only to give advice on such propositions as the governor and council thought fit to submit to them. Three of them were to sit in turn at the council-board each week, and to act as arbitrators in civil suits, the parties to which, however, had the right of appeal to the council on payment of a fee. Six of the nine were to retire annually, and six new members to be appointed from twelve of "the most notable citizens."¹ Thus the Nine Men were to nominate their successors, with the Director's help, without recurrence again to a popular election; and the Board was to "continue until lawfully repealed," — continue, that is, until the Director and council saw fit to dispense with it. Its creation, nevertheless, was a concession, on the part of Stuyvesant, to the popular will,² and its members sometimes were enabled to withstand and defeat the arbitrary acts of the Director and his Council.

Besides his difficulties at home the Director was soon involved in trouble with his neighbors of New England. Kieft had left, as he could hardly help doing, the questions of boundaries and jurisdiction in the valley of the Connecticut in an unsatisfactory condition, and an effort to come to some equitable settlement with the commissioners of the United Colonies was among the earlier acts of Stuyvesant's administration. He entered into correspondence with the several colonies with a sincere desire, no doubt, to reach an amicable understanding; but the policy of New England was to come to no understanding whatever. There was no lack of

Difficulties
with New
England.

¹ The proclamation — or charter, as it is sometimes called — is given in full from Albany Records (vii. 72-84), by O'Callaghan, in his *History of New Netherland*, ii. 37-39.

² The Nine Men first appointed were Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus van Hardenburg, and Govert Loockermans, merchants; Jan Jansen Dam, Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, and Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, citizens; and Michael Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Thomas Hall, farmers.

courteous words, and on his side an earnest purpose; on the other, fair words only covered up the determination to "keep crowding the Dutch." Stuyvesant's proposition of a friendly conference Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts accepted in vague terms; that it might take place at some proper time and place when his health permitted; but no conference followed. Stuyvesant suggested as the basis of any settlement the right of the West India Company "to all that land betwixt that river called Connecticut, and that by the English named Delaware." The New England commissioners, on their side met the suggestion by complaints of the restrictions on trade established by the Dutch, and of the selling of arms to the Indians to the great danger of the English settlements. Energetic action, however, suited the temper of the Dutch Director better than this sort of diplomatic correspondence which led to nothing.

What he would do when a practical case of disputed jurisdiction presented itself he soon had opportunities of showing. Some years before, as we have related in another chapter,¹ a company from Massachusetts, under Captain How, had made a settlement within the territory of New Netherland, not only without the permission of the Dutch, but in such evident contempt of their assumed proprietorship as to pull down the Dutch escutcheon, and to carve in its place a mocking effigy. These Englishmen had bought the lands of the Indian owners by an agreement with one James Farrett, the agent of the Earl of Stirling, who claimed the island of Matowack, or Long Island, under a grant from the council of New England.²

In September one Andrew Forrester appeared on Long Island and at New Amsterdam, claiming to be — as he no doubt really was — the agent of Lady Stirling, the widow of the earl, and asserting her right of proprietorship.³ As Kieft, in his time, had dispersed the people who claimed the right of settlement near Cow Neck by virtue of an agreement with Farrett, act-

Claims of
Lord Stir-
ling's estate
to Long
Island.

¹ See Chapter ii., p. 34.

² Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 204.

³ Some confusion has crept into the books in relation to these two agents, Farrett and Forrester, which is explained in a note to Murphy's translation of *The Representation of New Netherland*. Wood, in the first edition of his *Sketch of Long Island*, confounded Forrester with Farrett, and this led Savage [*Winthrop's Journal*, note, vol. ii., p. 6] to assert that there was no such agent as Forrester. In the second edition [Furman Club] of Wood's *Sketch* the error of the first is corrected, and the agent of the Earl of Stirling, in 1640, is properly named as James Farrett. Hubbard, in his *History of New England*, calls him Forhead. As all that is of much value in Hubbard is copied from Winthrop, it is difficult to account for his change of spelling on any other supposition than that Hubbard assumed to correct Winthrop, who, he may have supposed, had written *forehead*, as the vulgar pronounced it — *forrett* — which supposition, if correct, settled Hubbard's pronunciation rather than Winthrop's spelling. The fact is that Farrett was the Earl's agent in 1640, and Forrester in 1647.

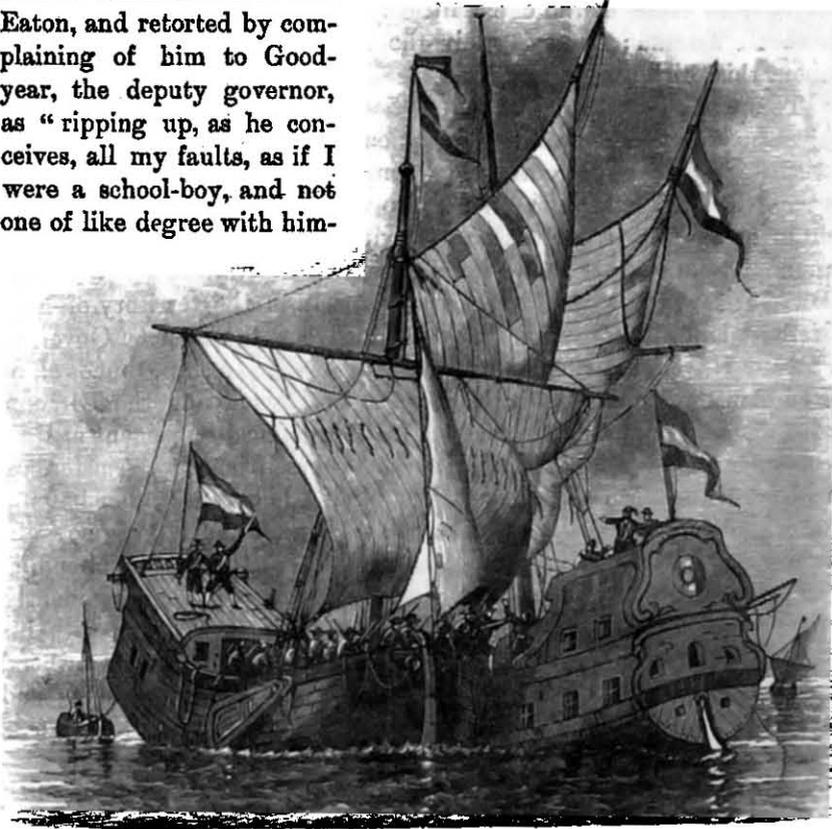
ing for the Earl of Stirling, so Stuyvesant now disposed of Forrester when claiming to represent the widow of the earl as the owner of the whole island. Forrester was arrested, and, though consideration enough was shown him to permit him to present ^{Arrest of Forrester.} the grounds on which, on behalf of his principal, he claimed the ownership of Long Island, he was kept in close confinement till he could be put on board ship for Holland. He left the vessel, however, at an English port, not without, perhaps, the consent of those who had charge of him, and who cared little where he was so he was not in New Netherland; for it is plain the Dutch did not feel quite easy about this Stirling patent.

The next case of disputed jurisdiction was not so easily disposed of, but Stuyvesant had as little hesitation in dealing with it as ^{Content with New Haven.} with Lady Stirling's agent. He learned that a Dutch ship was at New Haven taking in a cargo without a permit from the government at New Amsterdam, or paying the legal duties. She was pronounced a smuggler, and her seizure was determined upon, for the Director claimed that New Haven was within the territory of New Netherland. It happened that Mr. Goodyear, the Deputy Governor of New Haven, had just purchased the Company's ship, the *Zwol*, at New Amsterdam, to be delivered at New Haven, and the Director took advantage of this transaction for a strategical movement against the other ship. The *Zwol* sailed in due course from New Amsterdam to New Haven for delivery to her purchaser, but beneath her hatches were concealed a company of soldiers under the command of one Captain Van der Grist, with orders to take the *St. Beninio*, the offending vessel, and bring her to Amsterdam. The expedition was eminently successful. Suddenly, "on the Lord's day," Van der Grist, with his men, boarded the *St. Beninio*, made prisoners of one of the owners, of her officers and crew, and before the astonished Englishmen had time to come to the rescue, sailed out of the harbor.

Against this high-handed act Governor Eaton of New Haven protested, promptly and indignantly. "We have protested," he wrote, "and by these presents do protest against you, Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of the Dutch at Manhattans, for disturbing the peace between the English and Dutch in these parts . . . by making unjust claims to our lands and plantations, to our havens and rivers, and by taking a ship out of our harbor, without our license, by your agents and commission; and we hereby profess that whatever inconveniences may hereafter grow, you are the cause and author of it, as we hope to show and prove before our superiors in Europe." But Stuyvesant confiscated the ship and cargo, nevertheless, having asserted — with some considerable extension of his former claim — that New Nether-

land embraced the whole country from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen,¹ and that the *St. Beninio* was legally seized within New Netherland boundaries.

The correspondence was hot and furious. You write me neither in Latin nor in English, "but in Low Dutch, whereof I understand little, nor would your messenger, though desired, interpret anything," wrote the angry Englishman. Stuyvesant refused at length to hold further communication with Eaton, and retorted by complaining of him to Good-year, the deputy governor, as "ripping up, as he conceives, all my faults, as if I were a school-boy, and not one of like degree with him-



Capture of the *St. Beninio*.

self." The New Haven governor was sufficiently revenged for the Low Dutch, in exciting the Director to this childish display of anger.

And not only this; Eaton was presently able to retaliate in acts as well as words. Three of the servants of the Dutch governor escaped from New Amsterdam and fled to New Haven. Stuyvesant demanded their rendition, addressing his letter, Winthrop says, to "New Haven

¹ Stuyvesant afterward explained that by Cape Cod he meant Point Judith.

in New Netherlands." It was not wise to ask a favor with the air of a sovereign. Eaton refused to return the fugitives, contrary to the advice of Winthrop, who considered that such an act of courtesy, though asked for in a way that was objectionable, could be assented to without prejudice to the territorial title of the English.

Progress of
the contro-
versy.

On receiving this reply Stuyvesant's conduct was characteristic. It was of no little importance to all the colonies that fugitives from justice or from labor in any one of them should not find an asylum in another. To retaliate in kind upon Governor Eaton was a most unpopular proceeding even in New Netherland; nevertheless, the Director issued a proclamation when Eaton's refusal reached him, every word of which flashed with indignation, declaring that "if any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor, yea to the lowest prisoner included, run away from the colony of New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance." It was, at least, a bold act, if not a masterly stroke of policy. Governor Winthrop lamented the more that New Haven had not followed the advice of Massachusetts instead of obstinately adhering to its own judgment, "in pursuit whereof this damage and reproach befell them."

But it was as easy to recapture a prisoner as to cut out a ship, and Stuyvesant was not a man to satisfy himself with proclamations, or to let his actions lag behind his wrath. However loud he barked, his bite was always worse than his bark. He contrived to get letters conveyed to the refugees in New Haven; both from himself and from the dominie of New Amsterdam; they were assured of a full pardon for offences in the past, and plied with promises of good treatment in the future. The Director was as successful in his strategy as he was vigorous in his proclamation. The men were persuaded by his assurances and returned to New Netherland. It was easy enough then to recall with dignity his offer of protection of offenders against the laws of New Haven, which he had already explained to Massachusetts and Virginia was only meant to apply to that colony.

Stuyvesant's
New Haven
policy suc-
cessful.

These quarrels with the New Englanders were neither forgotten nor forgiven, and the New Netherlanders had occasion a few years later to regret, and the Director, possibly, to repent of them. Meanwhile his administration of the affairs of his own colony was no less vigorous, sometimes judiciously so, and sometimes injudiciously and oppressively. It was not that he disdained to take counsel of prudence, but that his prudential measures were often carried out with a passion and vehemence that defeated his most cher-

His govern-
ment at
home.

ished purposes. The selling of arms to the savages, who might on the smallest provocation, or with none at all, turn them against the whites, was an evil so obvious, that the complaints of other colonies were not needed to convince him of the necessity of its suppression. He issued stringent orders upon the subject, and when certain persons in New Amsterdam were suspected of disregarding this prohibition, he brought them to trial, and they were sentenced to death. The penalty was too severe, and so shocked the community that it was commuted to milder punishment, and especially when it appeared that there were grave doubts of the guilt of some of the accused.

The intention of the governor was certainly praiseworthy, and for the real good of every citizen of the colony. But men are free-traders by nature, and restrictions even upon a traffic so dangerous as to put arms in the hands of those who may at any time become enemies, may be made unpopular by undue severity. Stuyvesant's energy, in the right direction, was almost sure to make itself offensive by harshness and arrogance, and his zeal made the recrimination all the more bitter, when later it was suspected that nobody violated his own prohibition in this matter so flagrantly as himself. The truth really was that he only sparingly distributed arms and ammunition among the Indians, by order of the directors in Holland, to bribe the savages to keep the peace; but either the distinction was not understood, or was wilfully misinterpreted. The result, at any rate, was to unjustly aggravate the unpopularity of the governor, which he was justly earning in other ways.

This question of trade with the Indians was probably one cause of a conflict which soon arose between Stuyvesant and Brandt van Slechtenhorst, the commissary of the young patroon of Rensselaerswyck at Beverswyck, Albany. The old patroon was dead and Van Slechtenhorst was sent out by the guardians of the son and heir, Johan van Rensselaer, as his representa-

The Governor's conflict with Van Slechtenhorst.

tative, about the time that Stuyvesant arrived at New Amsterdam. The commissary was



Signature of Johan van Rensselaer.

quite as jealous of the prerogatives of the young patroon as the Director was of the rights of the Company. An opportunity soon arose of testing the question, for when Stuyvesant proclaimed a fast Van Slechtenhorst refused to keep it, on the ground that the Director General of New Netherland had no jurisdiction within the domain of the Patroon.

Such a defiance of authority was certain to exasperate Stuyvesant, and he unwisely determined to assert his authority in a more positive way. He visited Fort Orange, about which the hamlet of Beverswyck had clustered, and which certainly belonged to the West India Company, and ordered, on a survey of the place; that certain houses should be pulled down to permit of a better defence of the fort in case of an attack from the Indians; he commanded also that stone and timbers should be taken from the Patroon's lands for the purpose of repairing and adding to its fortifications. Van Slechtenhorst refused to permit the houses to be destroyed, and forbade that depredations should be made upon the Patroon's property.

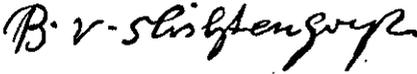


Stuyvesant at Fort Orange.

The Director sent a squad of soldiers from New Amsterdam to enforce his orders; the commissary defied them to interfere with his authority on his lordship's manor, and though they derided and almost assaulted him, the commander of Fort Orange was too prudent to try the temper of the people of Beverswyck by any attempt to enforce the Director's commands. Even the Indians shared in the excitement, and wondered why "Wooden Leg" wanted to pull down the houses of his own countrymen, and were evidently ready if a struggle ensued to take sides with those whom they looked upon as their friends and who sold them guns and ammunition. The conflict of authority between the Company and a patroon was one that was inevitable whenever an occasion for it should

Van Slechtenhorst the victor.

arise, and this occasion was an unfortunate one. The commissary stoutly and successfully maintained the rights of his lord; the Director was powerless to maintain those of the Company. Proclamations were loud and long from both parties; but the commissary carried his point, while the Director gained nothing, except, perhaps, some loss of prestige for asserting a right which he had not the power to maintain.



Signature of Brandt van Slechtenhorst.

So far Stuyvesant had not proved a successful governor, nor been to the people as he had promised, "as a father to his children." Discontent had followed increased taxation; prosperity had diminished rather than grown; the vexed question of colonial boundaries remained as unsettled and vexatious as ever, and in the confused condition of affairs in England seemed likely to remain so; trade was driven from the port of New Amsterdam, for New England and Virginia vessels were afraid to venture into a harbor where, as in the case of the *St. Beninio*, seized at New Haven, the governor did not hesitate to confiscate ship and cargo if his demands were not complied with; and the fear of such acts was said to have been a loss of the trade of twenty-five ships a year to New Netherland. Within two years the first board of Nine Men became dissatisfied and uncompliant, and another was appointed. This second board proved as unmanageable as the first, and succeeded in doing what the first had attempted to do without success, — in sending a deputation to the Hague to present to the States-General a statement of the grievances of the colonists, and to complain of the general mismanagement of the affairs of New Netherland by the West India Company and its servants. Of this commission Adrian van der

Appeal of
the citizens
to Holland.



Signature of Adrian van der Donck.

Donck was the head, as he was probably the author of the *Vertoogh*, or Representation, presented to their High Mightinesses.¹

This important measure, however, was not carried without a struggle with the imperious Director. When the Nine Men proposed it they asked permission of Stuyvesant that they might confer with their constituents in a popular meeting to be called to consider the

¹ *The Representation of New Netherland*. Translated by Henry C. Murphy, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii.

condition of the colony, whether it would approve of sending a delegation to Holland, and to provide means to defray the expenses. The Director refused permission, saying that any such communication with the people must be made through him, ^{Stuyvesant's treatment of the matter.} and his directions followed. The next best thing the Nine Men could do was to go from house to house to consult with their constituents privately, and Van der Donck was appointed to keep a record of the result of these private conferences. Stuyvesant, exasperated at this defiance of his authority, went to Van der Donck's chamber, in his absence, seized all his papers, and the next day arrested and imprisoned their author. That he might not be, however, without some show of popular support he called a meeting of delegates of the militia and the burghers. From these he secured an approval of his course, and Van der Donck was expelled from the board of Nine Men, and the demand that his papers be returned to him refused.

While this struggle was going on between the Director and the party opposed to him, Melyn returned from Holland, not only with the sentence, pronounced against him by the Council of New Amsterdam, reversed by their High Mightinesses, ^{Melyn returns from Holland.} but bringing with him a mandamus requiring the Director to appear at the Hague, either in person or by attorney, to answer to the charges which Melyn and Kuyter had brought against him. The Patroon was by no means disposed to carry his triumph meekly. He declared that the decision in his favor ought to be pronounced as publicly in New Amsterdam as, two years before, he had been publicly condemned. This he demanded in a public meeting in the church soon after his arrival. At this bold step the whole assembly was ablaze with excitement. An excited and vehement debate followed; but the motion to read the mandamus was carried, and Van Hardenburg, one of the board, was about to obey, when Stuyvesant, declaring that a copy ought first to be served upon him, snatched the document from the hands of the councilman.

All dignity and reserve were thrown aside at this violence of the governor. The disputants forgot where they were and who they were; an unseemly struggle followed, in which, if the burghers did not knock each other down, they showered ^{Excitement at the States-General's orders.} hard and angry words upon each other. One party tried to retain, the other to regain possession of the paper, and in the snatching and re-snatching the seal was torn from it. The tumult was at length quelled by the intercession of some of the cooler and wiser by-standers, and the Director was persuaded to return the document, on Melyn's promise that a copy should be given him. When the manda-

mus was read, Stuyvesant said in answer, "I honor the States, and shall obey their commands. I shall send an attorney to sustain the sentence that was pronounced." Melyn demanded that a written reply should be given, but this Stuyvesant refused.

The popular feeling was evidently in Melyn's favor, but that was of no personal advantage to him, as Stuyvesant let no chance escape him which could be used to annoy his enemy. But the governor's conduct in this affair, his imprisonment of Van der Donck, and the strong suspicion that he used his office to promote his own interests, in shops which he owned and others kept for him, in farms cultivated, in breweries carried on, in ships sailed wholly or in part on his account, and in a monopoly of the sale of arms to the Indians, — all these charges, true or untrue, combined at this time to so arouse the public indignation, that he did not venture to continue to throw obstacles in the way of a popular delegation to Holland.

A memorial was prepared and signed by eleven persons who were members of the second, or had been members of the first Board of Nine Men, asking that the States-General would take the colony under its own care; that they would establish in it a Burgher Government, as much as possible like that of Holland; that there should be free trade, colonial commerce, with the encouragement of the fisheries; that the boundaries of New Netherland should be definitely and definitively determined, all for the "peace and quietness," and the "liberty" of the people. In the Remonstrance, or *Vertoogh*, which

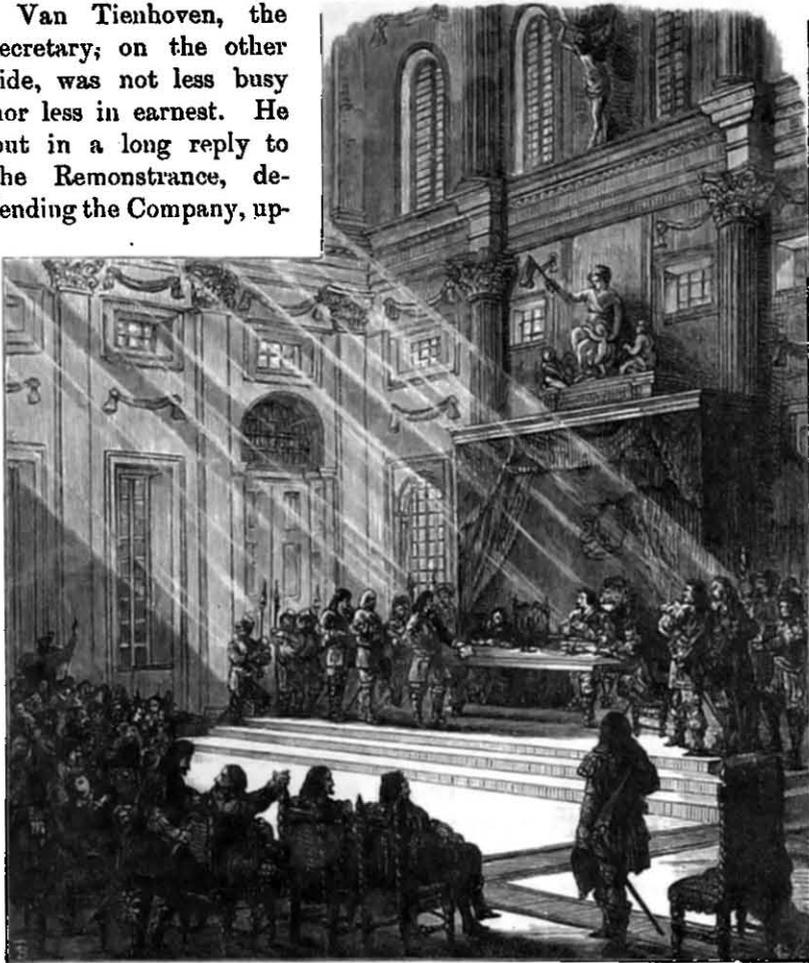
The Remonstrance finally dispatched. accompanied the memorial and which was signed by the same men, the gravest charges were brought against the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant, and it was declared that the colony could never flourish if left longer in the hands of the West India Company. And this was not done in a corner, but in the light of day. The haughty and irascible Director was brought by the popular clamor to unwonted submission. He permitted the departure of three of the signers of these documents, — Van der Donck, Couwenhoven, and Bout, — as delegates to the States-General, one of whom he had, not long before, imprisoned, partly because he was the author of this very Remonstrance. He dispatched Van Tienhoven, the provincial secretary, however, to Holland, to meet his accusers.

Van der Donck was zealous and able, and his efforts on behalf of his constituents were well supported not only by his colleagues, but by Melyn, who went out to Holland with them, and the Dominie Backerus, the clergyman of New Amsterdam, who left the colony not long before. A strong popular feeling was soon aroused in favor of the colony, for Van der Donck appealed to the people of

Efforts of the supporters.

Holland by publishing the Remonstrance, as well as to the States General by his earnest representations. "The name of New Netherland," wrote the Amsterdam Chamber to Stuyvesant, "was scarcely ever mentioned before, and now it would seem as if heaven and earth were interested in it."

Van Tienhoven, the secretary; on the other side, was not less busy nor less in earnest. He put in a long reply to the Remonstrance, defending the Company, up-



The Delegates before the States-General.

holding the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant, denying, and, if he spoke the truth, sometimes disproving the charges brought against them, but resorting to the common line of defence, where the defendant's cause is a weak one, of abusing the plaintiff's attorney. And this he did with a good deal of bitterness and some humor. "Those," he said, "who complained about the haughtiness of Stuyvesant are such as seek to live without law or rule;" those indebted

to the Company were "angry and insolent" if payment was demanded, and "would be right glad to see that the Company dunned nobody, nor demanded their own, yet paid their creditors;" many of them had been provided with provisions and clothing on arriving

from Holland, and "now when some of them have a little more than they can eat up in a day, they wish to be released from the authority of their benefactors, and without paying if they could; a sign of gross ingratitude;" the place of Dominie Backerus was now "supplied by a learned and godly minister who has no interpreter when he defends the reformed religion against any minister of our neighbors, the English Brownists;" Van der Donck had been in the service of the proprietors of Rensselaerwyck, and there is the sting of an insinuation in the comment that he did not remain long in that service; Stevensen, another signer of the Remonstrance, had "profited in the service of the Company, and endeavored to give his benefactor the world's pay, that is, to recompense good with evil;" Elbertsen was indebted to the company, and "would be very glad to get rid of paying;" Loockermans, who from a "cook's

Opposition
of Van Tien-
hoven.



Signature of Govert Loockermans.

mate" had become a prosperous trader, "owed gratitude to the Company, next God, for his elevation, and ought not

advise its removal from the country;" Kip was a tailor who had never lost anything, which was only another way of saying he had nothing to lose; and Evertsen's grievance was that he had lost a house and barn in the war with the Indians, though the land on which they stood, and which cost him nothing, he had sold for a great price.

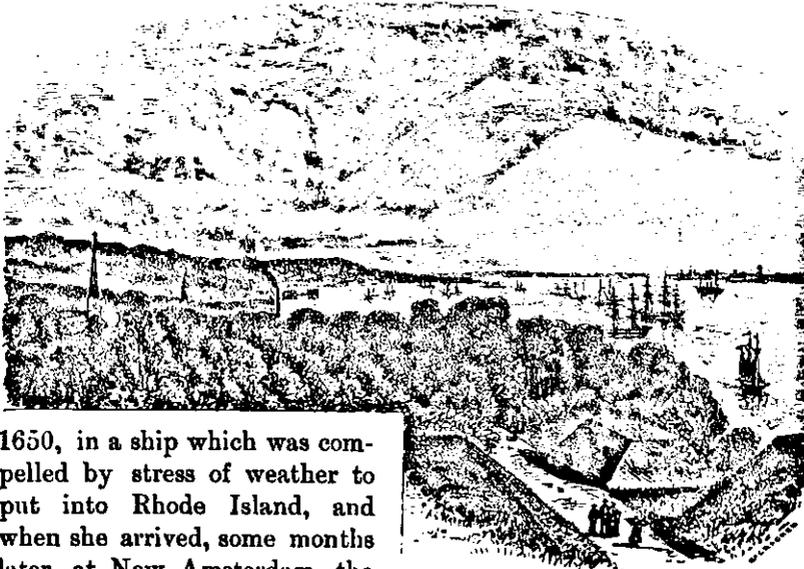
In short, the secretary, though he undertook to show that the indictment of the Company and its servants could not be sustained, hoped to strengthen his arguments and his assertions by showing or insinuating that those who brought the charges were either interested witnesses or not worthy of belief. It was unfortunate for his own case that he proposed to test the truth of alleged facts by the character of those who stated them, for soon after making this appeal he was brought to trial in Amsterdam and found guilty of seducing a young woman under promise of marriage, he having a wife and children residing in New Netherland.

Redress did not come immediately for the grievances complained of, though some promise of relief was given in a provisional order of their High Mightinesses containing some wise measures for the government of the colony, and commanding

Provisional
order of the
States.

Stuyvesant's return to Holland. It was not accepted, however, by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company, and, when sent to New Netherland, Stuyvesant refused to obey it. "He should do as he pleased," he said, and in all such matters he was quite as good as his word. In two successive years the board of Nine Men added fresh delegates to their deputation in Holland, moved thereto, the second year, by the Director's refusal to nominate new members to the board, thus virtually dissolving it. In nothing would Stuyvesant abate the arrogance of his temper, the rigor of his rule, or the bitterness of his resentments.

No sooner, for example, was Melyn again within his reach than the Director subjected him to new persecution. The Patroon returned in



Melyn's Manor at Staten Island.

1650, in a ship which was compelled by stress of weather to put into Rhode Island, and when she arrived, some months later, at New Amsterdam, the Director ordered her to be seized for violation of a regulation of the company in trading without a license, and brought Melyn to trial as her owner. He was only so far interested in her voyage that she brought a number of settlers for his manor of Staten Island, and though the ship and cargo were confiscated, there was no evidence that could hold him responsible.¹ Failing in this Stuyvesant brought new charges against the patroon, confiscated his property in New Amsterdam, and compelled him to confine himself to his manor of Staten Island. Melyn surrounded himself with defences, and establishing a sort of baronial

¹ The Company was subsequently compelled to pay heavy damages to the owners of this vessel for this arbitrary act of the Director. — *O'Callaghan*, vol. ii., p. 157.

court contrived for a while to live till Stuyvesant's persecutions drove him, at length, out of the colony.

With Melyn, on Staten Island, Van Dincklage, the vice-director, also found a refuge from the violence of Stuyvesant. The vice-director busied himself in preparing a new protest to the States-General on behalf of the colony, when Stuyvesant ordered that he be expelled from the council. Van Dincklage refused to be thus disposed of, on the plea that he held his commission not from the Director but from Holland. Stuyvesant arrested and imprisoned him for some days, and he felt that his life was not safe on Manhattan Island.

Other leaders of the popular party were subjected to treatment hardly less vindictive and arbitrary. "Our great Muscovy Duke (*noster magnus Muscovi Dux*)," Van Dincklage wrote to Van der Donck, "goes on as usual, resembling somewhat the wolf, — the older he gets the worse he bites. He proceeds no longer by words or letters, but by arrests and stripes." Van Dyck, the fiscal, or attorney-general, who, with Van Dincklage, was detected in drawing up the protest, was excluded from the council, and his duty reduced to that of a mere scrivener. Sometimes he was "charged to look after the pigs and keep them out of the fort, a duty which a negro could very well perform;" and if he objected the Director "got as angry as if he would swallow him up;" or if he disobeyed, "put him in confinement or bastinadoed him with his rattan."¹ Finally he was charged with drunkenness, and removed from office. The secretary, Tienhoven, was appointed in his place; — the "perjured secretary," wrote Van Dyck, "who returned here contrary to their High Mightinesses' prohibition; a public, notorious, and convicted whore-monger and oath-breaker; a reproach to this country, and the main scourge of both Christians and heathens, with whose sensualities the Director has been always acquainted." "The fault of drunkenness," he adds, "could easily be noticed in me, but not in Van Tienhoven, who has frequently come out of the tavern so full that he could go no further, and was forced to lie down in the gutter."¹ While the Director was thus making life a burden to his enemies, he had, under the pretext that his own person was in danger, four halberdiers to attend him whenever he walked abroad.

Persecution
of the pop-
ular leaders.

¹ *Albany Records and Holland Documents*, cited by O'Callaghan and Brodhead.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DUTCH AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.

THE HARTFORD BOUNDARY TREATY OF 1650. — ACTION OF THE STATES-GENERAL ON THE NEW NETHERLAND REMONSTRANCE. — NEW ENGLAND TROUBLES. — STUYVESANT ACCUSED OF CONSPIRING WITH THE INDIANS AGAINST THE ENGLISH. — JOHN UNDERHILL IN THE FIELD. — POPULAR DISCONTENTS AT NEW AMSTERDAM AND ON LONG ISLAND. — CONVENTION OF THE TOWNS. — A RENEWED APPEAL TO HOLLAND. — ENGLISH FEELING ON LONG ISLAND. — HOSTILE PREPARATIONS IN CONNECTICUT. — NEW ENGLAND ASKS AID FROM THE PROTECTOR AGAINST THE DUTCH. — AN APPROACHING CONFLICT PREVENTED BY THE TREATY OF PEACE IN EUROPE. — UNFAVORABLE REPLY TO THE CONVENTION'S APPEAL. — NEW SWEDEN ON THE DELAWARE. — CONTESTS BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND THE SWEDES. — STUYVESANT VISITS THE SOUTH RIVER. — FORT NASSAU ABANDONED AND FORT CASIMIR BUILT BY THE DUTCH. — GOVERNOR PRINZ RETIRES. — FORT CASIMIR TAKEN BY THE SWEDES. — RETAKEN BY THE DUTCH. — DIVISION OF THE COLONY BETWEEN THE W. I. COMPANY AND THE CITY OF AMSTERDAM. — LIMITS OF NEW AMSTEL. — DISASTERS AND DISSENSIONS.

STUYVESANT had a leaning toward the English, notwithstanding his quarrels with Governor Eaton, of New Haven, and his altercations with others of the New England colonies. Of all the people of New Netherland, the English on Long Island were treated with the most consideration, and in return they gave him the weight of their support against the opposition party among his countrymen. This was not the smallest among the causes of his unpopularity, and it gained new intensity and bitterness when in the midst of all these other troubles the Director concluded an agreement with New England in regard to the boundary. The two commissioners appointed by him to conduct the negotiation were both Englishmen, Thomas Willett, a merchant of Plymouth, and George Baxter, employed by Stuyvesant as his secretary. His opponents exclaimed at this loudly and vehemently, as treacherous to the colony and an insult to the Dutch.

Negotiation
of the
boundary
treaty of
1650.



Signature of Thomas Willett.

The articles of agreement between the contracting parties left the question of jurisdiction on the South River, the Delaware, undetermined; but the boundary line on Long Island was fixed to run from

the westernmost part of Oyster Bay straight to the sea, east of that line to belong to the English, and west of it to the Dutch; on the mainland the point of departure was on the west side of Greenwich Bay, about four miles from Stamford, the line to run thence up into the country twenty miles, provided it did not come within ten miles of the Hudson River, the Dutch agreeing not to build within six miles of such line. The inhabitants of Greenwich were to remain under the Dutch till some other arrangement was agreed upon — which agreement by a subsequent article of the treaty was modified by transferring them to the jurisdiction of New Haven, — and the Dutch were to retain only such lands in Hartford as they were in actual possession of.¹

Here was ground for fresh complaints with the popular party of New Amsterdam, inasmuch as the Director had first outraged his own countrymen by intrusting so important a negotiation to Englishmen on his behalf, and then by consenting to give away enough territory, which the Dutch claimed as theirs, to make fifty plantations each four miles square. It was the resignation of more than half of Long Island, and nearly the whole of the present States of Connecticut and Rhode Island, even if the Dutch claim was limited to Point Judith. Stuyvesant reported to his masters in Holland that he had made this treaty with the English, and it did not meet with their approval; but as he sent no copy its precise terms were probably unknown there.

It was plain at last to the States-General that temporizing measures with a man of Stuyvesant's despotic temper, unscrupulous will, and fearless disposition, were altogether useless, — they only made him worse. Hitherto all the complaints of the colonists, backed by the energetic efforts of Van der Donck and his colleagues, were incapable of overcoming the influence of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company. But the Chamber yielded in the spring of 1652, when it was evident that if the desired reforms in New Netherland were not made with their consent, they would be made without.

After three years of delay the prayer of the people was listened to in earnest. It was decreed that a "burgher government" should be established; that the citizens of New Amsterdam should have the right to elect their own municipal officers; that those officers should constitute a court of justice, with appeal to the supreme court of the Director and Council; that the export duty on tobacco should be abolished; that emigration should be encouraged by a reduction in passage-money; that the importation of negro slaves, hitherto a monopoly of the Company, should be now free to all citi-

The States-General act on the New Netherland appeal.

Their order.

¹ Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii.

zens ; and Stuyvesant was ordered to return home to give an account of his administration of affairs in answer to the numerous complaints that had been made against him. This last order, however, was presently revoked, for war was declared between England and Holland ; Tromp and Blake were sweeping up and down the English Channel, and it was thought not wise to remove a governor who was, at any rate, bold and energetic, in the probable contingency of an outbreak of hostilities among the American colonies.

These long-delayed concessions were taken to New Amsterdam by Van der Donck himself, and in accordance therewith Stuyvesant pub-

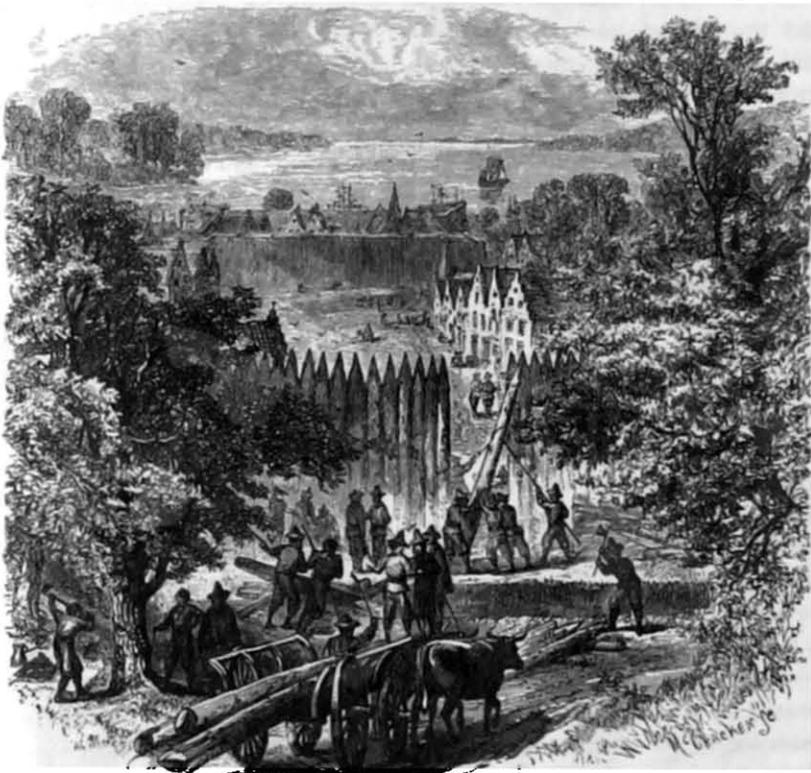
lished a proclamation on the day of the Feast of Candlemas, the 2d of February, 1653. But none knew better than he how to keep a promise to the ear and break it to the hope. The States-General meant to bestow upon New Amsterdam the right of self-government as it existed in their own city of Amsterdam ;— in the election by the people of a schout or sheriff ; of two burgomasters, who were, in effect, the chief magistrates of the town ; and of five schepens, who constituted a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction. Van der Donck might well come home in triumph with this grant of municipal government, as the fruit of his three years' incessant labor in Holland, and the people might well rejoice that they were at last to govern themselves. It was, indeed, the beginning of popular government in New Netherland ; for in the years to come new concessions to the will and rights of the people followed as the inevitable consequence of this first success. But even this first success the Director defeated for a time, by assuming the right to appoint where election was ordered. Such appointments he at once made, and they were all



The Old Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam.

acceded to without objection, except that of Van Tienhoven as schout. Against him there was loud protest, but the rest were accepted, perhaps, because they were unexceptionable, and the people were weary of contest; perhaps, because the fear that the war between England and Holland might involve the colonies in serious difficulties overshadowed, for the present, all internal dissension.

The apprehension, real or feigned, of coming trouble, existed on all sides. Stuyvesant endeavored, and no doubt with sincerity, to avert the danger, by assuring Virginia and the New England colonies of



The Building of the Palisades.

the continued good feeling of the Company and of the colony, notwithstanding the war at home, and expressing the hope that their friendly relations would not be interrupted. At the same time he did not neglect prudent preparations for defence, for New England he heard was arming. The people of New Amsterdam for once agreed with him, and submitted cheerfully to a tax for the digging of a ditch from the North to the East River, and the erection of a breastwork and palisades to secure the town from attack.

On the other hand the belief — or at least the assertion — among the English, was that it was they who had cause for dread, and that Stuyvesant was secretly preparing for their destruction. Uncas, the cunning Mohegan chief, alarmed the New England colonists along the Sound, with a story that the Dutch had persuaded the Indians of that part of the country to conspire for the massacre of the English people, and that the Sachems, Ninigret, Pessicus, and Mixam, were the leaders in this plot. Stuyvesant had, indeed, said that he should avail himself, if possible, of an alliance with the Indians in the event of hostilities between the Dutch and the English, and this may have been the origin of the report of Uncas; or, perhaps, the wily chief hoped to benefit himself and his tribe by stirring up strife among the whites.

Further
trouble with
the English.

But the story, no doubt, was untrue. Stuyvesant, when he heard of it, promptly and indignantly denied that he had any hostile intentions against his neighbors; and the Indians whom the story of Uncas implicated, when carefully cross-questioned by order of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, denied any knowledge of such a plot. "Do you think we are mad?" they said. They knew well enough how much stronger the English were than the Dutch. "Do not we know," they declared, "the English are not a sleepy people? Do they think we are mad to sell our lives and the lives of our wives and children and all our kindred, and to have our country destroyed for a few guns, powder, shot, and swords? What will they do us good when we are dead?" Why, Ninigret asked, was he treated even with indignity by the Dutch governor, if he had made a league with him against the English, his friends? He had made a visit recently to New Netherland. "I stood," he said, "a great part of a winter day knocking at the governor's door, and he would neither open it, nor suffer others to open it to let me in. I was not wont to find such carriage from the English my friends."¹

Stuyvesant
denies con-
spiring with
the Indians.



Portrait of Ninigret.

Some of the Long Island Indians, nevertheless, confirmed the story of Uncas, and consternation spread through the towns along the

¹ Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 207-209.

Sound and among the English of Long Island. A delegation from the United Colonies sent to New Netherland, returned with this unfavorable report, and the commissioners of Connecticut and New Haven proposed that a force be raised at once and war declared against the Dutch. But the Massachusetts magistrates were wiser and more moderate. Perhaps it was because they were so far removed from the scene of any possible danger that they could better sift the character and weigh the value of Indian testimony; at any rate they did not believe in the existence of any plot, or that the Dutch were so rash as to provoke hostilities from their stronger neighbors. Massachusetts, therefore, refused to contribute her quota of troops for such a war, maintaining the right of independent action, in such a case, on the part of any one of the United Colonies. She was strong enough to stand alone if need be, and the rest were not strong enough to act without her. The fear of the Dutch was not, after all, so great as the fear of a dissolution of the New England Confederacy.

In troubled waters no head was so sure to come to the surface as that of John Underhill. He is soon heard of as being lodged in jail in New Amsterdam, for asserting within their own towns, that the Dutch were in league with the Indians against the English. He was soon released, however, without trial, perhaps because his conduct had a kind of official sanction, inasmuch as Governor Eaton and the agents of the New England Confederacy had sent him to Long Island to gather evidence of this alleged conspiracy. The captain was not a man to waste his time in searching for facts to justify violent measures when such measures could be provoked just as well without the facts. If New England was not ready for a war with the Dutch, that was no reason why John Underhill should not declare it on his own account. He hoisted the colors of the Parliament at Flushing and Heemstede; issued a manifesto in which great crimes, such as the unlawful imposition of taxes, the appointment of magistrates over the people without election, the violation of conscience, the conspiring with the Indians to murder the English, the hampering of trade, and other acts of tyranny, even to the striking an old gentleman of his Council with a cane, were charged upon the administration of Peter Stuyvesant; and both Dutch and English were called upon "to throw off this tyrannical yoke." It shows how far Stuyvesant was from wishing to provoke a collision with the English, that instead of hanging Underhill for this second offence, he only banished him.¹

As the other New England colonies had not admitted the Provi-

¹ Underhill's Manifesto may be found in full in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, vol. ii., pp. 225 *et seq.*

dence Plantations into their confederacy, that colony was, perhaps, the more willing to show its zeal for the Parliament in its war with Holland. It was not, however, without some opposition from the mainland towns, that the people of the island of Rhode Island, whose interests were more commercial than maritime, carried in the General Assembly a declaration of war against New Netherland. In consideration of "the servile condition" which the English on Long Island were "subjected to by the cruell tirannie of the Dutch power at the Manathoes," and the danger, should they "be cutt off and murdered," that would fall upon Providence Plantations, the General Assembly issued commissions to Captain John Underhill, to be commander on land, and to Captain William Dyre and Edward Hull, to be commanders at sea, "to bring the Dutch to conformitie to the Commonwealth of England." Some cannon and small arms and twenty volunteers were provided to carry on the war, and a court of admiralty was appointed for the trial of prizes which were to be taken into Newport.¹

Action of
Rhode
Island.

Underhill took the field. Marching to Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut, once held by the Dutch, but now empty, he posted upon the door a notice that he, "Io. Underhill [did] seaze upon this hous and lands thereunto belonging, as Dutch goods claymed by the West India Company in Amsterdam, enemies of the Commonweal of England." Having done this much for the Commonwealth and the conquest of New Netherland, the commander-in-chief of the land forces of Rhode Island disbanded his army of twenty volunteers. The conquered territory — being about thirty acres — he sold, on his own account, first to one man for twenty pounds sterling, and two months' later to another, giving a deed to each.²

Underhill at
Fort Good
Hope.

Operations at sea were, at least, less farcical, but not much more damaging to the enemy. Captain Hull captured a Frenchman, which certainly did no harm to the Dutch, and served to aggravate the difficulties already existing between Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The latter complained, with some reflection upon Parliament, that the act was illegal; Rhode Island retorted by using the reflection as lending strength to her other charges against Massachusetts.³ One Thomas Baxter,⁴ however, did better service. He sailed under a letter of marque from Rhode Island, and actually took

The conflict
at sea.

¹ O'Callaghan. Hazard. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*.

² *Hartford Records*.

³ Arnold's *Rhode Island*.

⁴ Arnold — *History of Rhode Island* — confounds him with George Baxter, who took another way, as will appear presently, to show his enmity to the administration of Stuyvesant.

two or three Dutch vessels. But as he also captured English vessels, under an expansive rule of his own making as to what constituted contraband of war, it is questionable to which side he did the most damage.

Perhaps it would have been better for Stuyvesant if the threatened trouble from without had not been so easily and speedily dispelled. The fortifications of New Amsterdam were not half completed when the citizens, no longer afraid of an attack from the English, refused to be further taxed to finish the work. The new officers, whom Stuyvesant had appointed, refusing to submit their selection to a popular



Underhill at Fort Good Hope.

election, arrayed themselves on the side of the citizens, and constrained the Director to share his power in some respects — particularly with regard to the excise upon wine and beer — with the city.

The discontent on Long Island, both among Dutch and English, took a more formidable shape. In the contest with Van der Donck, Stuyvesant had had no more useful or zealous partisans than the English settlers of that portion of New Netherland. But now, alarmed at the continuance of Indian hostilities, and disgusted at the want of

prosperity generally, which they attributed to the arbitrary and unwise rule of the Director, they united with the popular party in opposition to his administration. A meeting of delegates under the leadership of two Englishmen, George Baxter and James Hubbard, assembled at the Stadt Huys in New Amsterdam, in November. On the plea of the necessity of devising some means for the general welfare, Stuyvesant had been consulted with regard to this meeting, and two of his council, La Montagne and Van Werckhoven, took seats in it, as the representatives of that body and the Director General. But the presence of Van Werckhoven especially was objected to. The delegates from the towns declared they would have nothing to do with him, and that neither the Director-general nor any of his council would be permitted to preside over the convention. As the object of the meeting was to provide for the common defence, they were willing to unite with the municipal government of New Amsterdam — which was also represented in the body — and to continue under the rule of the States-General and the Company; but they would not submit to the Director and Council who could not protect them. “We are compelled,” they said, “to provide against our own ruin and destruction, and therefore we will not pay any more taxes.”

Affairs on
Long Island.

Convention
of the
towns.

All this, Stuyvesant said, “smelt of rebellion, of contempt of his high authority and commission,” which certainly was true. Not that he objected to an alliance of the towns for their mutual protection, but in such an alliance all the towns, Dutch as well as English, should, he thought, be included. To such a proposition there could be no reasonable objection; indeed, it seems to have come first from the delegates themselves, and they determined, therefore, “that they should meet on the tenth of next month; he might then do as he pleased, and prevent it if he could.”

At the appointed time another convention assembled. There were present representatives from the four Dutch towns, New Amsterdam, Breuckelen, Amersfoort or Flatlands, and Midwout or Flatbush; and the four English towns, Flushing, Middleburgh or Newtown, Heemstede, and Gravesend. Ten of these delegates were Dutchmen, and nine were Englishmen; but they were of one mind.

A second
meeting.

The memorial in which they set forth their grievances was drawn up by Baxter. Six years before he was the English secretary to the colony, and it fell upon him to do that which he, better than anybody else, was fitted to do. It was a good point, nevertheless, for Stuyvesant. “Is there,” he asked in his reply, “no one among the Netherlands nation expert enough to draw up a remonstrance to the Director and

Council . . . that a foreigner or an Englishman is required to dictate what ye have to say?" The Director was not wanting in skill to play upon the prejudices of his countrymen. But it was useless; the burghers were too much in earnest to be moved by any such appeal. To the memorial, which complained of the government as both arbitrary and incompetent, Stuyvesant could make no satisfactory answer, and the end of the discussion that followed between him and the convention was a denial, on his part, of the right of the people to self-government, or even to hold a public meeting; on the part of the convention a sturdy and persistent assertion of their rights, and the dispatch of an agent to Holland with an appeal to the West India Company for protection and redress.

Renewed appeal to Holland.

The colonies of Southern New England, meanwhile, were living in a state of perpetual agitation and dread of the Indians, persisting in the assertion that the Dutch were at the bottom of these troubles, and that the safety of the English lay in the conquest of New Netherland. There was, at least, this much ground for their fears, that Ninigret and his band were all the while on the war-path against the Indians of Long Island, who were in alliance with the English. The savage thirst for blood might easily enough take a new direction, and the frontiersmen, whether living in their isolated clearings in the forest, or gathered into small and feeble hamlets, could feel no certainty that the appalling war-whoop of the Indian might not at any moment come as the swift warning of sudden death to all their households. The terrible suspense in which these people lived is enough to explain the intense feeling toward the Dutch. As reports of Indian outrages on Long Island spread through the Connecticut towns, it was almost inevitable that they should be supposed to be instigated by the Dutch, and that the Connecticut colonies were safe from such calamities only so long as Ninigret was prevented from re-crossing the Sound. That safety, it was obvious, would be permanent and absolute, if the Dutch themselves could be brought into subjection to English rule.

English feeling in Connecticut.

So intense was this feeling in the border towns of Stamford and Fairfield, that their people accused their own government of want of courage and energy, and were almost at the point of open rebellion. The general court at New Haven, — although it had resolved that "the Massachusetts had broken their covenant with them in acting directly contrary to the articles of confederation," in the refusal to declare war — knew better, perhaps, than the affrighted people of the border towns, how little real reason there was to apprehend any alliance between the Dutch and the Indians. It is quite possible that the dread of a savage massacre was used to inflame animosity against

the Dutch, and as a pretext for the invasion of New Netherland; and the real grievance on the part of the other colonies against Massachusetts was that she would not be led into a war of annexation under a false pretence.

But Stamford and Fairfield were in deadly and earnest fear of the Indians, to whose hostility they were more exposed than any of the other towns along the Sound, and they firmly believed the Dutch were as dangerous as the savages. Fairfield especially had been alarmed by the appearance of two Dutch vessels sent out by Stuyvesant in pursuit of Baxter during his cruise in the Sound, though they were deterred from venturing within the harbor by a proclamation of the New England Commissioners, prohibiting any Dutch vessels from entering the ports of the English colonies. In the autumn that town determined that there must be war, and that the way to bring it about was to begin. One of the principal magistrates

Hostile preparations at Fairfield.



The Gathering at Fairfield.

of the colony, Mr. Ludlow, was appointed commander in chief, and volunteers were called for. The step was a bold one, and might have been successful but for the lateness of the season; for the governments of Connecticut and New Haven were compelled by this insubordination in the border towns to consider seriously whether they would not declare war against the Dutch even without Massachusetts.

But the coming winter settled the question for the present, and in the meantime they awaited an answer to an appeal that had been

made to the Protector and to Parliament for aid. A special agent was sent to England on this errand, but Governor Hopkins of Connecticut was then in London, and great reliance was properly placed upon his diligence and ability as the representative of New England interests.¹

Had the New Netherland been a Puritan colony, the Puritans would have rejoiced to see how, in the events of the year, she was the evident object of the protection of a special Providence. In the beginning of these troubles, had not Massachusetts so firmly refused to unite with the other members of the confederacy in a declaration of war, the province would probably have been thus early annexed to New England, for the Dutch were altogether too weak to have successfully resisted an attack from the combined power of the English colonies. Had Fairfield and Stamford moved a little earlier, New Haven and Connecticut would have been unable to resist the popular hostility to the Dutch and the popular determination to acquire their territory, aggravated and intensified now by an Indian panic. That New England was dilatory was the salvation of New Netherland thus far, when delay again averted a danger more threatening than any that had yet menaced her.

The prayers of New Haven and Connecticut were listened to by Cromwell, and he wrote to the governors of the colonies urging them to zeal and activity, and promising the help of four well-manned ships. All the colonies, except Massachusetts, responded. Connecticut was to raise two hundred men, to be increased, if necessary, to five hundred; New Haven promised a hundred and thirty-three; Plymouth promised fifty, to be under the command of the old soldier, Miles Standish, and that Captain Willetts, who was one of Stuyvesant's commissioners on the boundary question four years before. But Massachusetts declined to furnish her quota, though she permitted a force of volunteers to be recruited in Boston. The ships sent by Cromwell were to be under the command of one Major Sedgwick and a Captain Leverett, and in good season they sailed from England. Three of the four, however, consumed four months in a voyage by way of the Western Islands, and news of the peace between England and Holland, concluded in May, 1654, received soon after their arrival in New England, put an end to the proposed expedition. Its only result was the seizure of Fort Good Hope—in spite of Underhill's former capture,—which was the final dispossession of the Dutch of any territory on the Connecticut River.

Great were the rejoicings at the reception of this news at New Amsterdam, where the formidable preparations in New England for

¹ Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.

New Eng-
land pre-
pares for
war.

an invasion of the Dutch colony had aroused such alarm as to bring about some temporary harmony between Stuyvesant and his opponents, and had united them in some preparations for defence. The Director appointed a day of public thanksgiving. "Praise the Lord," he said in his proclamation, "praise the Lord, O England's Jerusalem; and Netherland's Sion, praise ye the Lord! He hath secured your gates, and blessed your possessions with peace, even here, where the threatened torch of war was lighted; where the waves reached our lips, and subsided only through the power of the Almighty!"¹



Arrest of Baxter.

There came at the same time other tidings hardly less gratifying to the Director. The agent, Le Bleeuw, who was the bearer of the remonstrance to the West India Company, had been received with great coldness and severity, and he was forbidden to return to New Netherland. The directors wrote to Stuyvesant that the complaints of the citizens were unreasonable, and that they had nothing to object to in his administration of affairs, except, indeed, that he was too lenient in his dealings with these seditious persons; that he "ought to have acted with more vigor against the ringleaders of the gang, and not

¹ *Albany and New Amsterdam Records*, cited by O'Callaghan.

have condescended to answer protests with protests." They commanded him now to punish them as they deserved, and especially those delegates from Gravesend, the Englishmen Baxter and Hubbard. The only concession made by the chamber at Amsterdam to the popular party was that the offices of city schout and provincial fiscal should not be held by the same person, and a commission for the former office was sent to Kuyter, who, more fortunate than his old companion, Melyn, had long before been forgiven for his past offences. He had, however, been recently murdered by the Indians somewhere on Long Island, and Stuyvesant permitted his friend, Van Tienhoven, to still remain both schout and fiscal without regard to the orders of the directors of the Company. The other injunction for the punishment of ringleaders he observed more faithfully, for he visited Gravesend and ejected Baxter and Hubbard from the magistracy. Baxter fled to New England, but returned again within two months, and not long after he and Hubbard were arrested in the act of raising the English flag and reading a proclamation declaring Gravesend to be subject to the laws of the Republic of England. Van Tienhoven, who had gone from New Amsterdam to quell the disturbance, arrested both and threw them into prison, where they remained for months.

During all these busy and turbulent years the Director-general had had little leisure to bestow upon affairs on the South River. It was not till 1651 that he took any decisive steps to exercise his power as governor of New Netherland over the Company's territory on the Delaware. Printz's Hall on Tinicum Island, at that time still knew its lord and master; its timbers still creaked under his massive tread, and its windows rattled at his stentorian voice. But Printz returned soon after to Sweden. There might have been some lively and entertaining passages of history had the two hot-headed and imperious governors known each other earlier; but it was only when peace between England and Holland released Stuyvesant, for a season, from internal dissensions and perils from without, that events on the South River demanded his active interference.

For years the few Dutch settlers of that region were left to an almost hopeless contest with their neighbors. Their fort — Fort Nassau — about four miles below the present city of Philadelphia, and a little more above the mouth of the Schuylkill,¹ was too far up the river to be of any practical use, even had its garrison been larger than the usual number of about half a dozen men. The only Indians whose trade was of much value were the Minquas, and they were on the Schuylkill. But that river was com-

The Swedes
on the
Schuylkill.

¹ A Dutch word signifying Hidden-creek or Skulk-creek.

manded by the Swedes by a fort built by Printz on an island near its mouth, as well as by Fort Gottenburg on Tinicum Island, — the present quarantine station of Philadelphia, — whence vessels could sail to the Schuylkill by a short passage over meadows, then under water, extending southward from the point now known as Bartram's Botanical Garden. The fort on the Schuylkill was on a cluster of rocks, at that time an island, near where a deep cut is made through the bluff in front of Bartram's Garden for the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad.¹ The Dutch commissioner Hudde, who commanded at Fort Nassau, complained that the Swedes had obtained "command over the whole creek." For, he adds, "this kill or creek is the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, and without this trade the river (*i. e.* the Delaware) is of little value."²



Mouth of the Schuylkill.

The Dutch were not numerous enough to dispute the possession of the river with the Swedes with any success; they were not even strong enough to maintain the dignity of being held as enemies. The Swedes treated them as trespassers rather than as foes; as troublesome neighbors rather than as the representatives of another nationality. Hudde put up a house near the banks of the Schuylkill, which he called Fort Beversrede, that he

Contentions
between the
Dutch and
Swedes.

¹ Ferris's *Original Settlements on the Delaware*, pp. 70, 71.

² Hudde's Report. From the Dutch Colonial Records, republished in *N. Y. Hist. Sec. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i.

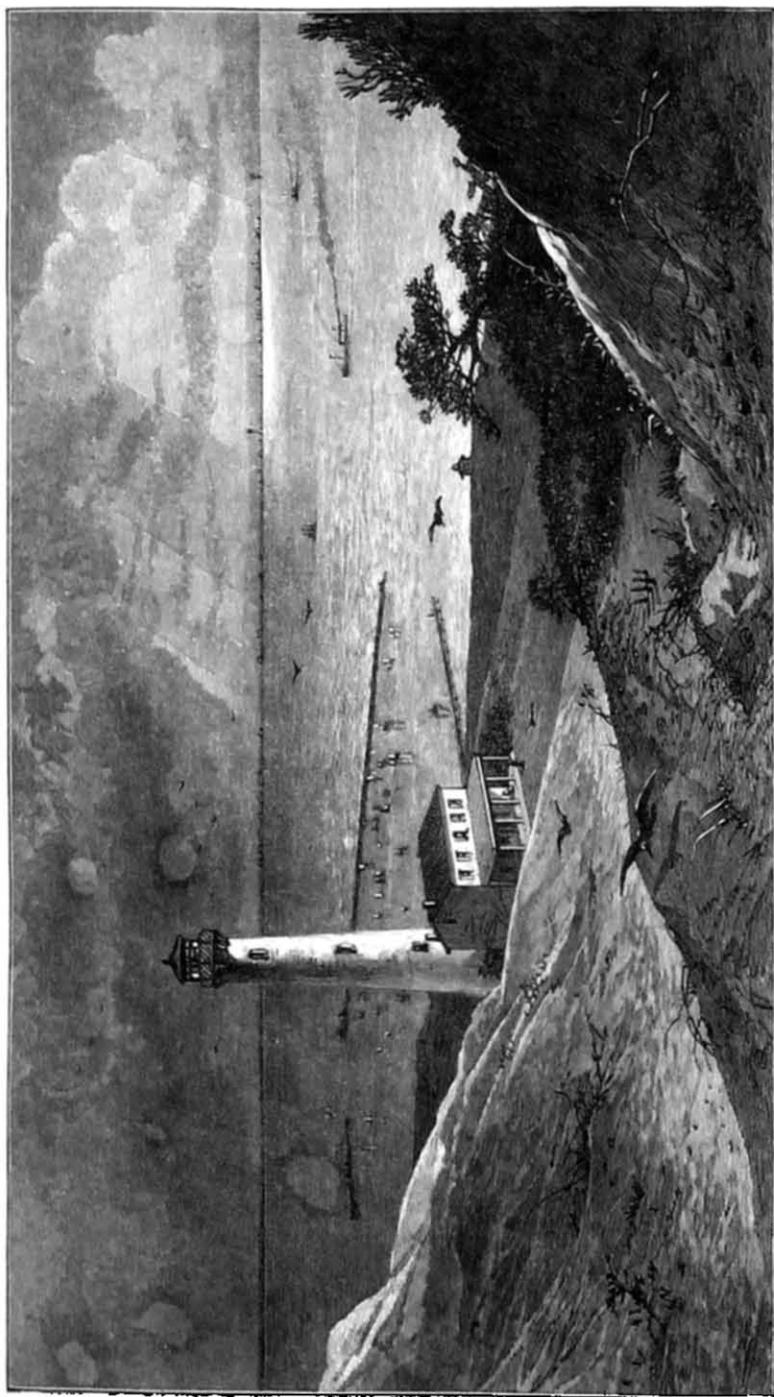
might share in the trade with the Minquas; the Swedes contented themselves with cutting down the trees around it, including the fruit trees which Hudde had planted, and built another house directly in its front between it and the river. All such assertions of sovereignty were treated with like contempt. Any attempt to erect a building by the Dutch, the Swedes met by sending upon the ground sufficient force to destroy the material, threatening the repetition of the offence with "a sound drubbing." It was the power of the constable rather than of the military arm, that was relied upon to sustain the right of the Swedes to the territory. No severer measures than these threats of personal chastisement were needed to keep the Dutch in subjection.

Among all the early colonial governors none held more undisputed sway than was exercised by Printz over the broad waters of the Delaware, from the muddy banks at the mouth of the Schuylkill to the low capes of Henlopen and May, where the vexed and shifting sands contend in endless strife with the winds and waves of the Atlantic. It was all New Sweden for a hundred miles along both banks of the noble river — a rich and lovely country, its broad, round hills covered with forests of great trees, the growth of many centuries, sweeping down with gentle undulations to the green meadows through which the quiet streams of many creeks wound gracefully in tortuous channels on their way to the wide waters of the Bay. "Printz's Hall" on Tinicum Island, was the capital of this noble principality. Besides the fort — New Gottenburg — on that island; another, not far off, at the mouth of the Schuylkill; another — Elfsborg, or Elsingborg — at the mouth of Salem Creek; and still another, Fort Christina, were the strongholds whereby the Swedish governor overawed the natives of the country, and kept out intruders.

The Dutch, however, never forgot their claims, by right of prior discovery, to the South River and the beautiful region watered by its many affluents. Hudde, from his fort a mile below Gloucester Point, could only watch the growth and progress of the Swedes, and by his presence bear witness against their occupation of territory belonging to the Company. If Stuyvesant could do little else for several years than support his subordinate by protest, with such aid, at least, he was always ready to sustain the title of the Dutch. But when, in 1651, he found leisure for a visit southward, his quick intelligence and the eye of the soldier detected at once an error in the policy of the past, and where an advantage could be gained in the future. Fort Nassau, he saw, was too far up the Delaware, and was powerless against the Swedes, who, with wise forethought, had taken possession of the mouth of the Schuylkill.

Extent of Swedish possessions.

Visit of Stuyvesant to South River.



THE CAPES OF THE DELAWARE.

The trade of the country, even at that day, found its natural centre at this confluence of the rivers. Printz was shrewd enough to see this. To command and absorb this trade he built his forts on the river and at Tinicum, and barred the approach to that point by his forts further down the Delaware. The wisdom of the Swedish governor has been justified by modern commerce, which concentrates at Girard Point, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, the shipping trade of Philadelphia, loading for all parts of the world from its elevators and warehouses, the corn and wheat of the West, and the petroleum from the central counties of Pennsylvania, while the products of her mines are turned into iron ships in the yards of Newcastle, a little further down the Bay.

Fort Nassau — as too far out of the way for defence, where there was nothing to protect, and too far out of the way for offence, where nobody came to be attacked — Stuyvesant ordered to be destroyed and abandoned. From the Indians, who were always friendly to the Dutch, he easily purchased all the land from the Christina to Boontje's or Bambo Hoeck, — now corrupted into Bombay Hook. Within this territory, about four miles below the mouth of the Christina, is a bold promontory, commanding a wide view of the Delaware, both above and below, then named Sandhuken. On this point, where now stands the town of Newcastle, the Dutch built a fort which they called Fort Casimir.

Printz protested against this act as an invasion of soil belonging to the Swedes. But Stuyvesant apparently had brought force enough with him to defy interference, otherwise it is not likely that the uniform policy of past years, — the prompt suppression of any attempt of the Dutch to gain some vantage-ground for offence and defence on or below the Schuylkill, — would have been pretermitted. Printz certainly was not unmindful of the advantage he was losing. He no longer commanded the Delaware, and his fort at the mouth of Salem Creek (Elsingborg) was abandoned as useless. It was pretended that it had become uninhabitable because of the mosquitoes, and that it was named therefore Myggenborg (Mosquito Fort); but the real reason was, no doubt, the absurdity of attempting to blockade a river of which the Swedes were not strong enough to hold possession. Both parties, moreover, dreaded the occupation of the disputed territory by the English more than they feared each other; and it was agreed, therefore, between Stuyvesant and Printz, that they should not indulge themselves in hostilities, but that they would "keep neighborly friendship and correspondence together, and act as friends and allies."

Both, no doubt, meant to keep this compact till they were strong

Fort Nassau abandoned, and building of Fort Casimir by the Dutch.

The Swedes abandon Fort Elsingborg.

the Delaware. But stopping at New Amsterdam, to inform Stuyvesant in a friendly way of their purpose, and to secure his acquiescence, he arrested them without ceremony,¹ and would only release them on condition of their immediate return whence they came.

Printz, nevertheless, sent messengers to Sweden to complain of the intrusion of the Dutch, and had he waited long enough would have received the aid he asked for. But either tired of waiting, or impelled by a growing unpopularity which his arbitrary rule had provoked, he sailed himself for home late in 1653, before his messengers could be heard from. Their mission, however, was not unsuccessful. Before Printz reached Sweden a ship was dispatched with a deputy governor on board, John Rysingh, with a force of about three hundred men, whose first act was the capture of Fort Casimir.

Printz
leaves New
Sweden.

Rysingh was to supersede Printz in case Printz should wish to retire, as he had asked leave to do. Having already gone to Sweden there was no question of Rysingh's position, though Printz had left his son-in-law, John Pappegoya, as his representative at Tinicum. It seems, however, that Rysingh did not wait to communicate with his countrymen before exercising his power; for he found none of them below Fort Casimir, as Elsingborg, on Salem Creek, had been abandoned. His instructions from the government at home were pacific; he was not to break the peace with the Dutch; as to Fort Casimir—he was to leave it in their hands, unless there was danger of its falling into the hands of the English—a danger not imminent, as there was hardly an Englishman then on the banks of the South River.

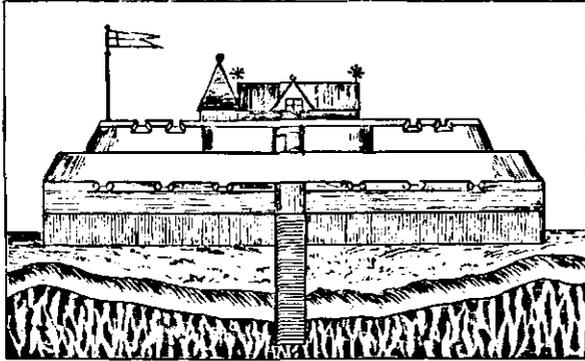
He paid no regard, however, to his instructions, not waiting even, apparently, to learn the situation of affairs on shore, or that his superior, Printz, had gone to Sweden. "On the last day of May," wrote Gerrit Bikker, the commandant of Fort Casimir, to Stuyvesant, "we perceived a sail, not knowing who she was or where from." On the 27th of May, 1654, Rysingh himself wrote to Stuyvesant: "I cannot refrain giving you notice that a few days ago I arrived here safe in the government ship the *Aren*, with a considerable number of people from the kingdom of Sweden;" and in his report to his own government² he fixes the date of his arrival as "a few days before the 27th of May."

Whatever the date of his arrival, which is thus left uncertain, the fort was taken without resistance. Bikker sent messengers to the ship to ask who she was and what was her purpose. Adrian van Tien-

¹ See the petition for redress for this outrage of "Jasper Graine, William Tutill, and many other the inhabitants of New Haven and Sotocket." Hazard, vol. ii., pp. 192 *et seq.*

² *Holland Doc.* cited in Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*.

hoven — a brother of the New Amsterdam fiscal — reported on his return that she was Swedish, and that a new governor was on board who demanded the surrender of the fort. Van Tienhoven and others counselled defence. "What can I do?" said Bikker, "there is no powder." There was no time for deliberation. The captain of the ship immediately landed at the head of twenty or thirty men, marched into the fort and, at the points of their swords, compelled submission. Bikker "welcomed them as friends," he says, and asked a parley,¹ but, he adds, "the soldiers were immediately chased out of the fort, and their goods taken in possession, as likewise my property, and I could hardly by entreaties bring it so far to bear that I, with my wife and children, were not likewise shut out almost naked." Van Tienhoven hurried back to the ship to ask of Rysingh his commission and the reasons for this summary proceeding. It was by order of the Queen, the governor said, whose ambassadors at the



Fort Trinity (fac-simile from Campanius).

Hague had been told by the States-General and the directors of the West India Company that they had not authorized the erection of this fort on Swedish territory, the directors adding, "If our people are in your Excellency's way, drive them off." It

was all a lie, no doubt; but Rysingh slapped Van Tienhoven on the breast, and said, with a hearty and confident familiarity, "Go, tell your Governor that!"¹

The Swedes were again in undisputed possession on the South River. All the Dutch in and about the fort were required either to take the oath of allegiance to Sweden or to leave that part of the country. To make the event the more significant the name of the fort was changed to Trefalldigheet (Trinity fort) because it was taken on Trinity Sunday, or more probably, because that festival of the church was within a week of its capture.²

When the news reached New Amsterdam the town rocked with

¹ *Hol. Doc.* cited in O'Callaghan and Hazard's *Annals*.

² It is usually said that the fort was so named because the capture was on Trinity Sunday. It was probably taken two or three days before Trinity Sunday.

excitement and indignation from the Battery to Wall Street. Stuyvesant seized an opportunity that occurred presently to retaliate, though it produced no other result than private injury. A Swedish ship, bound for the South River, ran into the Kill behind Staten Island, and sent a messenger to New Amsterdam for a pilot. Stuyvesant imprisoned the messengers and dispatched a file of soldiers to the vessel to seize her and her crew, to be detained till Fort Casimir was restored. The captain lost ship and cargo, but Rysingh was not moved thereby to give up his capture. He disregarded all the messages from Stuyvesant, who invited him to New Amsterdam, with the assurance of a safe conduct, that they might come to terms in regard to the fort and the question of jurisdiction on the Delaware. The Swedish governor preferred possession to negotiation, and declined to discuss the subject, either in person or by deputy. Stuyvesant had nothing to do but wait, and his anger was not of a kind that cooled by waiting.

Indignation
of Stuyvesant.

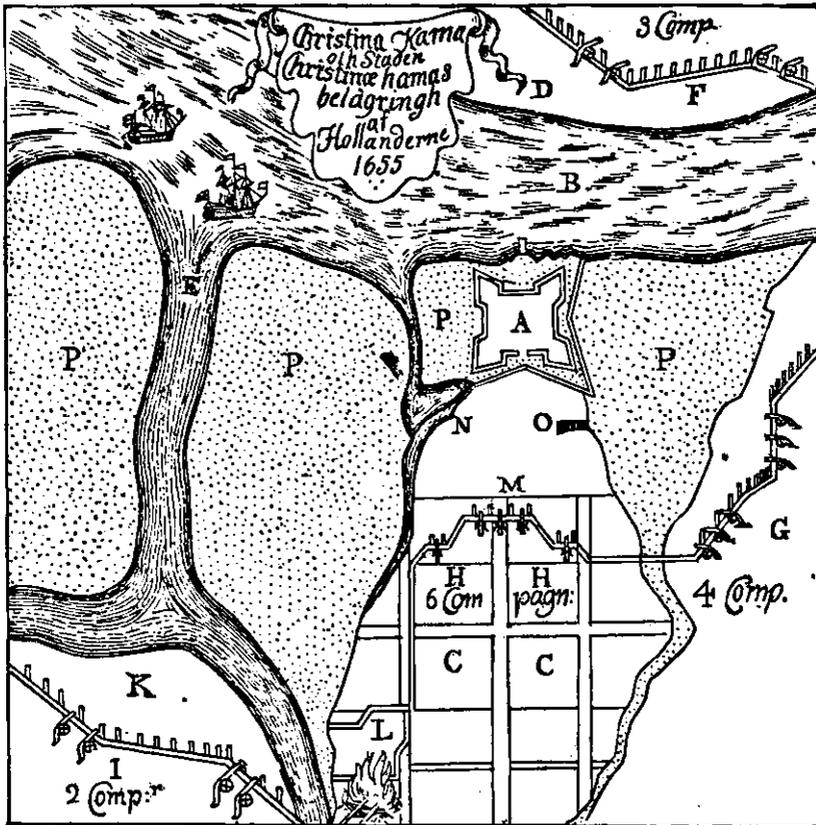
But his indignation was no greater than that of the Company's directors in Holland. In their letters to Stuyvesant they denounced the surrender of Casimir as "infamous," as "scandalous," and as "cowardly;" the conduct of the commandant, Bikker, was declared to be in that "shameful transaction," "unfaithful, yea, treacherous," and his apprehension was earnestly insisted on; and it was, they urged, the Director's duty, "to exert every nerve to revenge that injury, not only by restoring affairs to their former situation, but by driving the Swedes from every side of the river as they did with us." They were much in earnest, and meant to put it in the Director's power to obey their orders.

Communication between the colonies and Europe was so slow and infrequent that winter was near before Stuyvesant could hear from Amsterdam, and all action was necessarily delayed. The Director availed himself of this interval of quiet in the affairs of his government to visit the West Indies, where he remained some months in the hope of advancing the interests of the colony. But in this he was thwarted by Cromwell's expedition under Sir William Penn. "We have mett the Dutch governor of New Netherlands, with three ships under his command," wrote the commissioner, Edward Winslow, from Barbadoes. "This man's business was to settle a faire trade between the Netherlands and this place; but we spoiled the sport." In this project Stuyvesant spent more than half a year, and had hoped great things. So serious a disappointment, we may be sure, did not make him the less inclined for another expedition in another direction, when soon after his return a ship of war arrived from Holland with orders that he should move against the Swedes on the South River.

Preparations to reconquer New Sweden. New Sweden was to be reconquered, and the Director set on foot the most active preparations. The company had sent from Holland a single ship, the *Balance*, a man of war; such other vessels as were needed were chartered, or impressed without the consent of the owners; and patriotic volunteers were invited to join the expedition. Measures were taken to keep it secret, that the enemy might be taken by surprise. The fleet numbered seven vessels, and they were manned by a force of from six to seven hundred men. It is not unlikely that many of these were volunteers attracted by the alluring aspects of an expedition which might, after a pleasant voyage of four-and-twenty hours, appear before the stronghold of an enemy unprepared for their coming, and whom they outnumbered probably by ten to one. If there was no fighting, there might at least be a chance of plunder, and there was the prospect of a charming excursion. There was certainly nothing to fear, for all the people of the South River country, both Swedes and Dutch, scattered about in the different forts and the neighborhoods, from the Schuylkill to the capes, were not more than half the invading force.

Fort Trinity taken by the Dutch. It was, therefore, only a handful of men that on the 10th of September saw Stuyvesant's formidable fleet of seven vessels with six or seven hundred men on board come to anchor just above Fort Trinity. A force was landed; an earthwork was thrown up; a detachment was sent forward to command the road from Fort Christina four miles above; and then a surrender was demanded. Resistance, of course, was useless, but the Swedish commandant, Swen Schute, nevertheless, contrived to protract the parley through the day and delay capitulation till the next morning. Then he evacuated the fort with all the honors of war, and the Dutch marched in. Such of the garrison as chose to take the oath of allegiance to "the high and mighty lords and patrons of this New Netherland province" were permitted to remain as "Freemen on South River." Twenty, two thirds of the whole number, accepted these terms. "About noon," wrote Stuyvesant to the magistrates at New Amsterdam, "our troops with flying colors marched into the fort;" Domine Megapolensis, the New Amsterdam minister, who had come as the chaplain of the expedition, preached a sermon "with our imperfect thanksgivings," continues the Director, "as God's hand and blessing was so remarkably visible with us as well in the weather and prosperous success, as in the discouragement of our enemies." And as a day of fasting had been held in New Amsterdam before the fleet had sailed, so now he directed that there should be a day of thanksgiving set apart that "the all-wise and good God should be openly thanked and praised" for granting him the victory.

Rysingh, who was in command at Christina, could see the Dutch ships at anchor between his fort and Trinity, and knew what he had to expect. He had sent ten men to reinforce Schute, before he had heard of the surrender, but these were met by the Dutch and all but two taken prisoners. It was a serious loss, as it reduced the garrison of Fort Christina to only about thirty men. Stuyvesant pushed forward to its investment the day after Trinity capitulated.



Map of the Siege of Ft. Christina (from Campanus).

The fort was at the confluence of the Fishkill (now Brandywine) and Christina Creek, on low land overlooked by all the neighboring heights. Its builder had evidently thought that no enemy would ever be so ungenerous as to take advantage of its situation and approach it on the land side from the rear, when the clear intent was that it should only be attacked in front from the river. Stuyvesant paid only so much deference to this confidence in the probable mode of attack as to erect his first battery on the opposite bank of the

Christina; then moving his vessels up the Brandywine he landed his men and threw up four other batteries, one on Timber Island, another directly in the rear of the fort, two more to the west of it, and all commanding it. On each of these and on Rysingh's shallop, which the Dutch had captured, they hoisted the flag of the States-General, "all which hostile acts, injuries, and insults," says the indignant Swedish commander, "we were to our great mortification compelled to witness and suffer, being unable to resist them by reason of our want of men and of powder, whereof our supplies scarcely sufficed for a single round for our guns."

The siege lasted, nevertheless, for twelve days. Shots were once or twice exchanged, one from the Swedes doing no other damage than to frighten some of the Dutchmen into the woods, while those from the batteries went wide over the fort. The time was consumed not in fighting but in negotiation, though the invaders destroyed the little village of Christinaham, where they planted a battery in the rear of the fort, despoiled and razed to the ground the houses of the Swedes, killed their cattle and swine, and abused their women. These depredations were carried on as far up the river as New Gottenburg, where, among those robbed of their possessions was Printz's daughter, the wife of the ex-governor, Pappogoya. Stuyvesant, perhaps, was unwilling to shed blood; Rysingh, evidently, could only delay the inevitable result by protest and expostulation. When at last, as he says, his "few and hastily collected people were getting worn out, partly sick, and partly ill-disposed, and some had deserted," and all who were left were inclined to mutiny, then he surrendered.

By the articles of capitulation the garrison was permitted to march out of the fort "with beating of drums, fifes, and flying colors, firing matches, balls in their mouths, with their hand and side-arms;" the property belonging to the Swedish crown, the Swedish company, and to individuals was to be unmo-
Taking of
Fort Chris-
tina.

lest; and the Governor, Rysingh, and all who chose to go with him, were to be transported, free of expense, to Europe.¹ Not that there was any wish to expel the Swedes from the country, but only to give facilities to those who chose to go. It was the order of the Company that they should be permitted to retain possession of Christina on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the States-General; Stuyvesant made the offer to Rysingh, but he declined it.

This was the end of Swedish rule in America. Though the events

¹ *Albany Records* cited in Hazard and O'Callaghan; Ferris's *Original Settlement on the Delaware*; Campanius' *Description of New Sweden*; Rysingh's *Report* in *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., and Hazard's *Annals*.

we have related continued to be the subject of diplomatic correspondence between Sweden and Holland for years afterward, and Rysingh labored long and zealously to induce his government to reinstate him in the possession of the South River, no measures were ever taken to that end.¹ Some Swedes remained along the banks of the Delaware; and being devoted to agriculture, while the Dutch cared more for trade with the Indians, they did much by their industry and thrift to develop the best resources of that fertile region.

At the fall of Christina Stuyvesant returned to New Amsterdam, and soon after appointed Johan Paul Jaquet as governor over the southern territory of the West India Company. The undisputed possession of that territory, however, was rather a burden than a benefit to a corporation already embarrassed with enormous debts.

A portion of it, therefore, was conveyed to the city of Amsterdam in consideration of advances its burgomasters had made the Company. This Colony of the City, as it was called, extended from the west side of Christina Creek to Bombay Hook on the Delaware; the remainder of the territory belonging to New Netherland was known as the Colony of the Company.²

The new colony was to be called Nieuwer Amstel (New Amstel)

¹ In removing a portion of the foundation wall of the old Fort Christina in March, 1755, a hundred years after its capture by the Dutch, there was found buried a quantity of cannon-balls, grenades, and other articles, which it was supposed were concealed there by Rysingh with reference to his possible return. *Acrelius. Ferris.*

² *Acrelius (New Sweden, or the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware; New York Hist. Soc. Coll., New Series, vol. ii.)* reverses these boundaries, giving to the Colony of the Company the territory from Christina Creek to Bombay Hook, and to the Colony of the City that extending from the creek to the extent of the Dutch settlement northward. Ferris accepts this as correct notwithstanding it would include Fort Casimir, — which was unquestionably ceded to the burgomasters of Amsterdam, — within the bounds of the Colony of the Company. It is undoubtedly wrong, strange as it is that *Acrelius*, usually so accurate, should have made such a mistake, and that *Ferris*, who is always careful, should have followed him. O'Callaghan, Brodhead, Bancroft, and others give the division we have adopted in the text. There can be no question of its accuracy. *Smith (History of New York)* quotes from the commission to Jacob Alricks — who was sent out by the burgomasters of Amsterdam as director-general of their colony — the limits of his jurisdiction as "beginning at the west side of the Minquaas or Christina Kill, in the Indian language Suspecough, to the mouth of the bay, or river, called Bompt Hook (now Duck Creek or Little Duck Creek), in the Indian language Cannaresse; and so far inland as the bounds and limits of the Minquaas land with all the streams, etc., appurtenances and dependencies." In the "transfer and cession" of the colony from Stuyvesant to Alricks (cited in full from *Albany Records*, vol. xv., in *Hazard's Annals*) the boundaries are defined in almost the same terms as "beginning at the west side of the Minquaas or Christinakil, named in their language Suspecough, to the mouth of the bay or river included, named Bompjeshook, (Trees Corner), in the Indian language Cannareses," etc., etc. The northern boundary of New Amstel, then, was Christina Creek, and its southern at the island which has been called Bompt Hook, Bomptjeshoeck, Boomtes Hook, Bambo Hook, but is now known as Bombay Hook Island.

from a suburb of the city of Amsterdam;¹ and Casimir, where a town began to grow, to be known in later times as Newcastle, took the name of the colony. Fort Christina became Altona, and New Gottenberg the Island Kattenberg. The burgomasters of Amsterdam were warmly interested in their new possession, and offered large inducements to all who would emigrate thither. The directors of the Company were full of confidence, and evidently looked upon the establishment of a new colony under such favorable auspices as the



Newcastle, Delaware.

assurance of fresh prosperity to themselves. The exiled Waldenses, then numerous in Holland, it was thought, would be a large and valuable accession to New Netherland, and that there might be room enough for the expected increase in population the directors ordered Stuyvesant to "endeavor to purchase, before it can be accomplished by any other nation, all that tract of land situated between the South River and the corner of the North River," by which was meant, all that portion of the present State of New Jersey whose coast line extends from Cape May to Sandy Hook.

But these sanguine anticipations were never to be fulfilled under Dutch rule on the South River. The first company of emigrants sent out from Amsterdam for the city colony, with Jacob Alricks at their

¹ Brodhead.

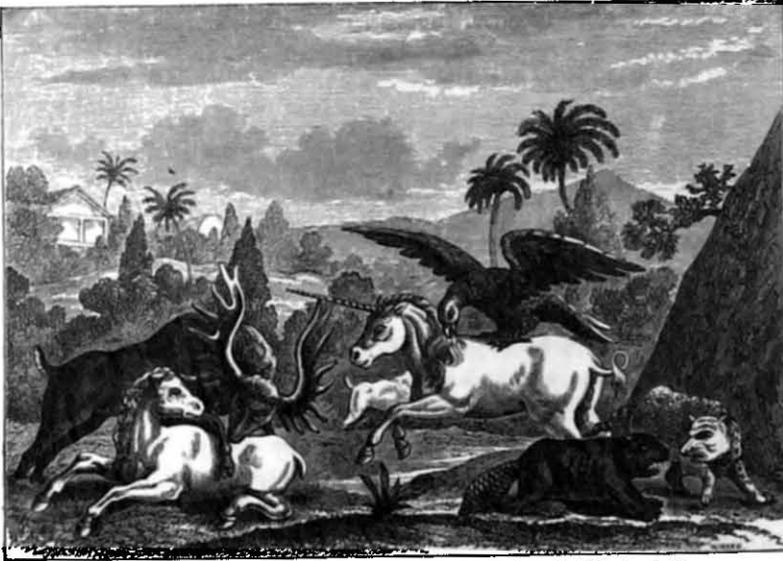
head as director-general of New Amstel, were wrecked on the south side of Long Island near Fire Island inlet—a neighborhood where so many good ships have since laid their bones. Though no lives were lost, and the people, more than a hundred in number, were sent forward, with others from other ships that arrived safely, to their new homes, the misfortune was only the first of many to follow.

The first two years were years of sickness, privation, and discontent. The pleasant climate tempted the ignorant emigrants to carelessness and exposure, while the virgin soil was as ^{Distress in} _{the colony.} rank with miasm as it was rich in fertility. The crops were full of promise, but before the time of harvest came worms and other insects devoured the ripening grains, and what they left the enfeebled settlers, stricken with fevers and with agues, were too weak to gather. Nature resented, as she always does, the intrusion upon her savage solitude; to the ploughing of every field, to every encroachment of the clearing upon the forest, she attached a penalty, and for every seed that was sowed she provided an enemy; if she could not destroy the intruders by disease, she would drive them away by depriving them of the fruits of their labor. In this inevitable strife of the pioneer with the forces of nature the unhappy settlers were reduced to extremity. Many died, among them the surgeon of the colony, the wife of Director Alricks, and later the Director himself; but the greatest mortality was among the children.

To add to their other misfortunes it was announced, the second year, when the sickness was at its worst, and the failure of the harvest had compelled them to use their seed-corn for food, that the Amsterdam Company would no longer supply provisions, as it was originally agreed they should, for a certain length of time, to all the emigrants; taxes on their lands, from which it was promised they should be free, were exacted; and restrictions upon trade, from which they were to be exempt, for a term of years, were to be enforced at an earlier period. The stimulus of hope for the future, which might have sustained them in their present distress, was taken away; discontent made hunger the harder to bear, and to sickness was added despair.

William Beekman, one of the schepens of New Amsterdam, was appointed vice-director over the colony of the Company. Perhaps it was impossible that any administration of affairs should be satisfactory with a people reduced to a condition so wretched; at any rate, between the governors there was no harmony, each accusing the other of a want of wisdom, and the colonists sustaining the charges that were made against each. Those who could returned to New Nether-

land or to Holland; those who by their contracts with the companies were bound to remain fled from evils they could bear no longer to Maryland and Virginia, or wherever else they could find a refuge. The burgomasters of Amsterdam more than once proposed to reconvey to the Company their interest in a colony which had become a burden and a reproach, for it was said of New Amstel that it gained "such a bad name that the whole river would not wash it out."



Animals of New Netherland (fac-simile from Van der Donck's "Vertoogh.")

CHAPTER VIII.

QUAKERISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.—GEORGE FOX.—HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND TEACHINGS.—BELIEFS OF THE FRIENDS.—THEIR MANNER OF LIFE AND SPEECH.—THE FRIENDS AND THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.—ORIGIN OF NAME "QUAKERS."—ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST FRIENDS AT BOSTON.—ACTION OF THE BOSTON MAGISTRATES.—THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS BEGUN.—ACCESSIONS TO THEIR NUMBER.—THE FIRST GENERAL LAWS AGAINST THEM.—REFUSAL OF RHODE ISLAND TO JOIN IN THIS LEGISLATION.—MARY DYER.—BANISHED FRIENDS RETURN TO BOSTON.—INCREASED STRINGENCY OF THE LAWS.—PROCEEDINGS AT NEW HAVEN AND ELSEWHERE.—THE DEATH PENALTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.—CASES OF PERSECUTION.—MARY DYER AND HER COMPANIONS AT BOSTON.—THEIR TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT.—OTHER TRIALS.—INTERFERENCE OF THE KING.—END OF THE PERSECUTIONS.

AFTER the Rev. John Clark and his companion Crandall had been punished in 1651, for their visit to Lynn, and the Rev. Obadiah Holmes had been whipped for the same offence, the church of Boston enjoyed rest for a season. Perhaps the word enjoyment carries with it a flavor too positive to be associated with the men whose temper tasted a fierce delight in controversy, and who might therefore be imagined as pining while heresy was inactive. At any rate they were not long left without a fresh and peculiarly grateful opportunity. This came with the first appearance of Quakerism in Massachusetts; and the facts must be prefaced by a brief account of the origin and purport of that form of religion.

A lull in the religious controversies.

Quakerism appears in Massachusetts.—Its origin.

In the summer of 1651 Cromwell was getting ready to win the battle of Worcester against Scotch Presbyterians, royalists, and Charles Stuart. George Fox was lying in the House of Correction at Derby, committed, as Justices Bennet and Barton said, for the "avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions contrary to a late act of Parliament." While there in durance he was pestered by Justice Bennett to enlist and take part in the coming campaign. There seems always to have been a great opinion of his steadiness, power of command, and sway over men. The Parliament soldiers were once very angry with him because he

George Fox.

declined their offer of a colonelcy; and it led to his being thrown into a vile hole in a jail. But he would not purchase his liberty of Justice Bennett on those terms. "I told him that I was brought off from outward wars. After a while the constables fetched me up again, and brought me before the commissioners, who said I should go for a soldier." Probably a general jail-delivery was going on at this time of all promising subjects, debtors and otherwise, not absolute malefactors, to recruit the army. "But I told them that I was dead to it. They said I was alive." Truly, never was any man more so, and more valiant with all the essential qualities of a soldier. We shall see that disciples of his brought over his stiffness and heroic patience to America.



Village Church at Drayton, Leicestershire.

George Fox was born at Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire, in 1624. His father's name was Christopher, and the neighbors for good reason called him "Righteous Christer." The son George described himself as a grave and staid child, rather disliking that lightness and gayety of demeanor which he was always disposed to consider wanton. His youth was pure and righteous. They tried to make a minister of him, but, like Jacob Behmen, he became a cobbler. It was a habit of his to say "Verily" in all his dealings; so that people said, "If George says Verily, there is no al-

Fox's life
and charac-
ter.

tering him."¹ At nineteen he was, with a cousin, drinking beer in a company which insisted that he who refused to drink healths should pay the whole score. Fox refused the wanton drinking, and retired, and from that day he broke off all familiarity with his relations, old and young, and fell into great despondency and spiritual trouble which lasted for some time. "I went," he said, "to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them." One of them advised him to get rid of his megrims by singing psalms and smoking tobacco. But Fox had neither ear nor voice, and took no pleasure in "drinking the shameful," as the Wahabees style the custom which Raleigh imported into England. He went to see a very experienced adviser in spiritual matters, and "found him only like an empty hollow cask." Walking in the garden with another minister, imparting the secret ailment to him, he happened to put his foot into a flower-bed, whereupon the man of God fell into a great rage, and dispensed with the use of consolatory phrases. Another minister thought he needed physic and blood-letting, but Fox says that no blood could come out of him, so dried up was his body with sorrow. He avoided Christmas gayeties and marriage feasts, and began to seek out the company of widows and poor persons, to minister to their low estate.

Walking in a field on a Sunday morning the Lord opened to him that a man need not be bred at the University in order to be a minister of Christ. It was a new idea to him; as new as The dawn of his new belief. it was to the great majority of Englishmen. It struck at the whole hierarchy of ministers. At another time he was impressed that God dwelt in people's hearts and not in the "steeple-houses." From that time forward the sound of the Sunday bells struck at his life "at the very hearing of it," and he obeyed its summons to go to church for the purpose of clearing his conscience to the priest and the parish. He fasted, wandered in solitary places, sat with his Bible in hollow trees where it was too lonesome for mankind; walked at night, and gave himself up to the workings of that mingled imagination and spiritual feeling which he perceived to be the direct working of the Lord. "I saw the great love of God, and I was filled with admiration at the infinitude of it." "When at any time my condition was veiled" — as it frequently was by the conflict between his old conventional beliefs and this new spontaneity — "my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its Bishop, causing it to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests, and temptations are."

¹ *Journal of George Fox*, edited by Wilson Armistead.

Then everything that was carnal and unrighteous was manifested to him in this inner light which dawned beyond his ordinary mornings. And he saw the mountains burning up, "and the rubbish, the rough and crooked ways and places, made smooth and plain, that the Lord might come into his tabernacle." People soon began to come from far and near to listen to his prophecy. He dealt largely in symbols, and seemed to be endowed with an imagination like that of William Blake, the poet and artist, who earned, in our time, the reputation of insanity by believing in the external reality of his inward visions. Like Blake, Fox had an eye which translated into instantaneous solidity the imagery of his feeling. Sitting in a friend's house, he saw there was a great crack about to split the earth, and "a great smoke to go as the crack went," and a great shaking to follow the path of the crack. It was the earth in people's hearts. Walking through the main street of Litchfield he saw a channel of blood running down, and the market-place a pool of blood. Once he met Cromwell riding into Hampton Court, and before he came to him he saw a waft of death go forth against him, "and when I came to him he looked like a dead man." No doubt the Protector did so look, about a fortnight before his death in 1658, when George Fox met him.

So John Woolman saw one day "a mass of matter of a dull, gloomy color, between the south and the east," and was informed that it was the misery of all human beings, and that he formed a part of it. Afterward he heard a pure and ravishing voice, as of an angel speaking to other angels, and saying, "John Woolman is dead;" but knowing perfectly well that he was alive, he greatly wondered what the heavenly voice could mean. But it meant, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." It was the death and surrender of his own will.

No mystics of the Middle Ages ever believed more profoundly than the early Quakers in that absolute self-abnegation and annihilation of the individual which secured to the Divine will a free course through their souls. This was a prime doctrine of Quakerism. In the strength of it they abjured all personal preferences, hazarded the prejudice and wrath of their opponents, breathed sweet air in the foulness of dungeons, where they had to lie with the mouth close to the crack beneath their cell door, to keep the beatified life in their bodies; the doctrine dulled the smart of the lash, made the hangman's noose sit lightly, and soothed the bruises of stonings and cudgellings.

With this lively outwardness of George Fox's imagination there was combined a sense of inward discernment, a spiritual touch for the

Beginning
of his
preaching.

The Quaker
doctrine of
self-abnega-
tion

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moral condition of the people whom he met, which could hardly fall in his times to be regarded as having a supernatural origin. He perceived that some persons in his congregations were possessed by unclean spirits. He told them so; sometimes they left the room, sometimes they were converted to a cleaner life. He said that the Lord had given him a spirit of discerning. It is certain that, as in the case of Heinrich Zschokke, the Swiss novelist and historian, who could recall, without effort, and very much to the astonishment of the persons implicated, their words and sometimes the incidents of their lives, never having seen or heard of them before, but never laying claim in consequence to any preternatural gift, — so Fox felt the veiled presence of irregular dispositions. “As I was going to a meeting,” said Fox, “I saw some women in a field, and I discerned an evil spirit in them; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions.”

Character
of Fox's
teaching.



Fox reproves the Women.

“There came also at another time another woman, and stood at a distance from me, and I cast mine eye upon her, and said, ‘Thou hast been an harlot,’ for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman.” This is the test of a soul which is so chastely separated from all evil that it detects the lines which evil etches upon the face and person, and also feels an unwholesome effluence. It is not at all strange that, in these days of witchcraft, and of delusion concerning special providences, the people should accredit miracu-

lous power to Fox, of whom certain stories of healing are also reported.

Fox's journal, like Winthrop's, abounds with cases of judgments that befell their enemies and withstanders. For it was a mental fashion of the times, belonging to the established church as well as to all the sectaries, though specially to the Boston Puritans. A rude butcher had sworn to kill Fox, and was accustomed to thrust out his tongue whenever a Friend passed him. So it fell out that one day his tongue swelled, he never could draw it in again, and died so. The judgments against Fox's enemies were so many that they would "be too large to declare. God's vengeance from heaven came upon the bloodthirsty, who sought after blood; for all such spirits I laid before the Lord, and left them to him to deal with them, who is stronger than all." This is not more sombre and inconsequent than the ordinary Puritan spirit of the times.

But the truly characteristic doctrine of the Friends exalts the intuitive feelings, and all spontaneous movements of the mind, above scholarship, instruction, Scriptures, and ordinances. This is the true Light which lighteth every man: if so, it anticipates all forms and texts, tries them all, interprets the divine Word, and tests the customs of society. When this doctrine was so consistently held, as by Fox, it became hostile to the sacraments of the church, and to the church itself with its hierarchical scale of paid clergy; hostile to governments which rested upon force, hostile to the application of force in any form. It is not at all wonderful that Fox's courageous and persistent logic should have involved his life in difficulties, and made it an almost unbroken career of imprisonment and contumely. Hireling priests did not like to be withstood in their own "steeple-houses;" justices of the peace could hardly relish Fox's superb disdain for their authority, and the cool equanimity of his answers as he stood before them with his hat on till it was knocked off his head. Many a term in jail did he serve to gratify the anger of judges excited by a demeanor which was all the more aggressive because it was so imperturbable. And he did not mince his English: his invective could assume all the power and authority of Scripture.

Fox mentions that when he went to Whitehall to speak to Cromwell, the Protector did not object to his hat. The early Friends loved to use symbolic gestures and fashions. Even modest women would sometimes violate their natural feeling and appear in a state more or less like that of Godiva when she rode through Coventry, because it was so borne in upon them from the Lord, that they must protest against the nakedness of ordinances. But these were occur-

Fox's belief
in divine
judgments.

The doctrine
of an inner
light.

rences of rare fanaticism belonging rather to individuals than representing the whole body of Friends. There were only two or three such cases in Massachusetts, while, on the other hand, women when publicly whipped were stripped naked to the waist — “shall be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and shall be openly whipped until his or her body shall be bloody ;” were the words of the English law. The wearing of the hat was a symbol of human equality with principalities and powers. Even the Almighty could not be honored by uncovering the head. Penn wrote,¹ “The first and most pressing motive upon our spirits to decline the practice of these present customs of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets, in our salutations and addresses, was that savor, sight and sense that God, by his light and spirit, has given us of the Christian world’s apostasy from God, and the cause and effects of that great and lamentable defection.”

The resistance of the Friends to outward ordinances.

That is the moral ground of the first protest of the Friends, and the just explanation of those habits and manners for the sake of which they endured with humility such scorn and ill-treatment. Said Penn, “honor was from the beginning but hat-respects, and most titles are of hate.” George Keith, a contemporary of Fox, and for a time a disciple, till he lapsed and took orders, ridiculing the fashion of uncovering the head, wrote, “The preachers in Germany, and especially at Hamburgh — which I have seen with my eyes — use such gross partiality in their salutations, that commonly they have two caps under their hat ; and the poor, except extraordinarily, they pass by without any notice ; to others they doff the hat ; others more rich in the world, they salute with doffing the hat and one of the caps ; and to those whom they most honor, or rather flatter, they doff the hat and both caps. What degrees of partiality are here !” George Fox said, “Do not the very Turks mock at the Christians in their proverb, saying that ‘the Christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and showing their bare heads to each other.’”

Their belief as to wearing the hat.

The plain garb and the plain speech well became the righteous dissent of plain livers and spiritual thinkers from the world’s hypocrisies. The Quakers assumed the plain garb of a uniform color in order to be clothed in a daily protest against the gayly slashed doublet, the ribbon-knots, rapier, and trunk-hose which, as it all went ruffling through the streets of England, seemed to them to be an anti-symbol to their own, and to express the folly, dissoluteness, and subservience of the times. Samuel Fothergill wrote to a

Their dress and life.

¹ *No Cross No Crown*, Am. ed., pp. 83, 85, 91, 92.

young man "who had laid aside the dress of the Society, and with it some of the moral restrictions which it imposed: 'If thou hadst appeared like a religious, sober Friend, those companions who have exceedingly wounded thee, durst not have attempted to frequent thy company. If thou hadst no other inducement to alter thy dress, I beseech thee to do it to keep the distinction our principles lead to, and to separate thee from fools and fops. At the same time that by a prudent distinction in appearance thou scatterest away those that are the bane of youth, thou wilt engage the attention of those whose company will be profitable and honorable to thee.'"

Plainness of speech—theeing and thouing—was as tenaciously held to as the plainness of apparel.¹ But Fox's suit of leather, which subjected him to so much ridicule, seems to have been assumed by him in no spirit of ostentatious meanness, but because he found it more convenient on those incessant journeys which he took from place to place to deliver his message. It was also a protection against the foulness and dampness of the numerous cells which he tenanted; for if there was one hole in the jail more loathsome than the rest, the jailer might be depended upon to put Fox in it, and not only Fox, but many a brave, protesting woman, who had been delicately reared, to whom foul air was as poisonous as hireling doctrine.

The Friends did not subject themselves to persecution merely because they insisted upon speaking in the established churches. It was not unusual at that time, and the minister would sometimes accord the favor even to women who signified a desire to address his congregation after the close of service.² Nor was an interruption of the sermon by some remark

Their manner of speech.

¹ This mode of address seemed to have some peculiar aggravation in it. People hated it worse than the doctrine. 'They would cry, "Thou me! thou my dog! If thou thouest me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy throat." (*Penn's Preface to Fox's Journal.*) And Fox wrote, "Oh, the storm, heat, and fury that arose; oh, the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent, for not putting off our hats to men! Some had their hats violently plucked off and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this account is hard to be expressed; besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter."

² "But have there not been women among the Presbyterians, who have spoke in the presence of many, both men and women, of their experiences of the things of God? I suppose T. M. may have heard of Margaret Mitchelson, who spoke to the admiration of many hearers at Edinburgh as concerning her experience, in the time of Henry Rogne, preacher there, who is said to have come and heard her himself, and to have given her this testimony (being desired to speak himself), that he was to be silent when his Master was silent (meaning Christ in that Presbyterian woman). There is a relation of her speeches going about from hand to hand among professors at this day; and I myself have heard a Presbyterian woman speak in a meeting of Presbyterians, which were a church or convention of men and women. Yea, hath not T. M. in such meetings, and consequently in assemblies of churches, invited some woman to speak and pray, and declared solemnly (whether he did it merely

of dissent unprecedented in those heated times when all men's minds were so occupied with the discussion of religious matters; and for this an arrest was seldom made. The Puritan in America could not consistently prevent that custom of speaking in meeting which he used to indulge in the old country. But the trouble lay less in the desire of the Quaker to free his conscience in the "steeple-houses" than in the substance of the message. It was also frequently couched in Anglo-



Swarthmore Hall. Residence of George Fox.

Saxon of terrific emphasis. Ministers could hardly brook the invective, particularly when it was directed against the paying of tithes. George Fox held a meeting of his own at Carlisle one day, the Abbey having been granted to him for the purpose. After the meeting, a Baptist pastor, "a high notionist, and a flashy man, came to me, and asked me, 'what must be damned.' I was moved immediately to tell him, 'that which spoke in him was to be damned.' This stopped his mouth."

The Quakers
and the
Established
Clergy.

A vigorous episode to divine service occurred in a Yorkshire steeple-house. The preacher had chosen a most unfortunate text for himself,

in his ordinary customary way of complimenting, (that is best known to himself) that he was edified thereby? And if some of those women formerly in that respect so much applauded by T. M. be of those that now open their mouths in the Quakers' meetings, how comes it now to be Popish and heretical, more than in the days of old when T. M. did use to frequent the chamber conventicles, unless that he now hath forgotten these, because fear hath made them out of fashion with him?" — George Keith's *Quakerism no Popery*. Excerpt in Southey's *Common-Place Book*.

“Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price.” Fox could not wait to hear the sermon through. “Come down, thou deceiver! Dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them? Mayest thou not blush for shame, etc.” The preacher was so confounded at the closeness of this message that he left the pulpit, went out, and Fox spoke to the people. Such primitive evangelism touched the pocket too closely to be long tolerated.

There was a meeting at Leicester for a dispute in the church, attended by all kinds of sectaries, the minister of the parish being in the pulpit. When he checked a woman who desired to speak, Fox was wrapped up, “as in a rapture, in the Lord’s power, and I stepped up and asked the priest, ‘Dost thou call this a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?’ For the woman asking a question, he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. But instead of answering me, he asked me what a church was? I told him, the church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of; but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on fire; the priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred.” That sentence furnishes us at once with the pith and the offence of Quakerism. And here is one more paragraph to illustrate the interior states and processes of the early Friends. “One morning as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; but I sat still. And it was said, ‘all things come by nature;’ and the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. But as I sat still, and silent, the people of the house perceived nothing; and as I sat still under it, and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice, which said, ‘there is a living God who made all things.’ And immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all; my heart was glad, and I praised the living God.”

How pure and sweet is the tone, and so different from that of the Ranters of that period with whom the Quakers were unjustly identified. Of them but short notice need be given. Probably the reports of their extravagant and indecent doings found their way over to Boston, and helped to confirm the minds of elders and magistrates against the Quakers when they appeared.¹

The Ranters
not allied
with the
Quakers.

¹ “I have a collection of several Ranters’ books in a thick quarto,” says Leslie, “and

But the Quakers disowned the Ranters. Fox said that he heard of persons who were imprisoned on account of their religion. Of course he went to visit them. "And as I walked toward the jail, the word of the Lord came to me saying, 'My Love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail, where the prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me, and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said they were God; but we (the Quakers) could not bear such things. After I had reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away; for I perceived they were Ranters."

Speaking at another time of some noted Ranters, he shows the true sobriety of his own spiritual motions. "I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on truth's account; for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company, had true openings at first, but getting into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from truth."

And here is his first notice of the notorious James Naylor, who revived in England some of the worst extravagances of Munzer and the German Anabaptists. "The night we came to Exeter, I spoke with James Naylor, for I saw he was out and wrong, and so was his company." "The next day I spoke with James Naylor again; and he slighted what I said, and was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said, 'since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness.'" Alluding to another set of people who had been cast into jail, he said, "though they were Ranters, *great opposers of Friends*, and disturbers of our meetings, yet in the country where they came, some people that did not know them, would be apt to say they were Quakers."

Fox's dealings with the deluded Ranters, and the explicit testimony left by him and his closest followers, quite overcome the scandal which migrated to America and set the minds of the chief men against Quakerism. Ann Hutchinson, whose principles sprang from

though I am pretty well versed with the Quaker strain, I took all these authors to be Quakers, and had marked some quotations out of them, to show the agreement of the former Quakers with the doctrine which their later authors do hold forth; till, showing this book to a friend who knew some of them and had heard of the rest, he told me they were Ranters, and that I could not make use of these quotations against the Quakers." This was written frankly enough, by a determined and bitter foe of Quakerism. But, after conceding the point, he hopes to cancel the concession by contradicting himself; "but though I cannot do it" — *i. e.*, make use of the quotations — "in the sense I intended, yet it may serve to better purpose, *viz.*, to show the agreement 'twixt the Ranters and the Quakers."

the same root as Fox's, had a fairer hearing. But the clearness of Fox's tone on this vexed subject reminds us of his experience when he was in jail at Carlisle under a brutal jailer. "While he struck me, I was made to sing in the Lord's power; and that made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler, and brought him in where I



Fox in Prison.

was, and set him to play, thinking to vex me thereby; but while he played I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, and struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their way."

The Friends were first called Quakers by Justice Bennet of Derby, in 1650, because Fox bade the people tremble at the word of the Lord. The first use of the epithet in the records of parliament was made in the Journal of the House of Commons for 1654. Whenever Fox appeared the cry went abroad, "The

Origin of
the name
"Quakers."

man in leather breeches is come ;” and it was a grievous salute to the ministers.

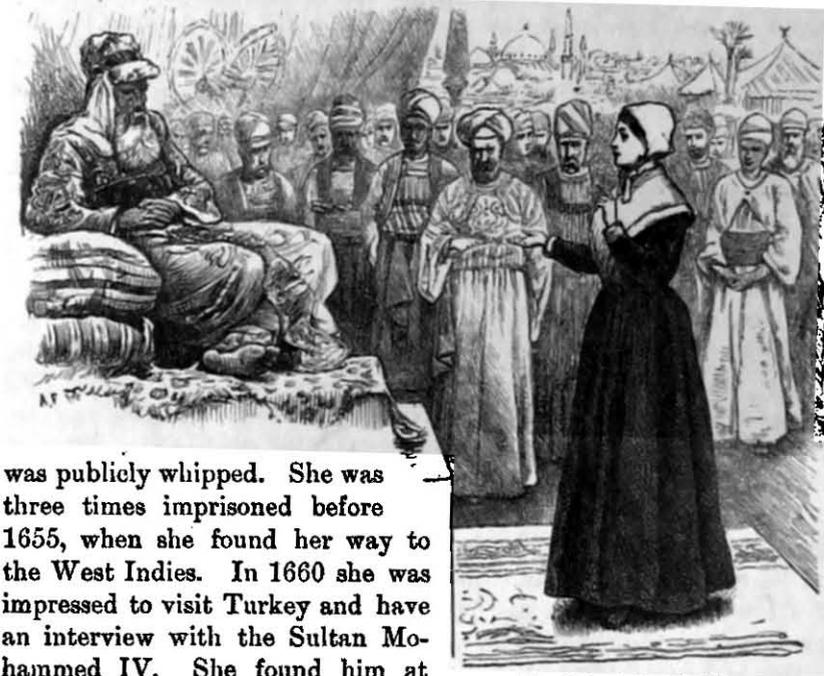
One of the most interesting notices which we have of Fox is connected with his enforced visit to London in 1654 as a prisoner, when he was lodged at Shakespeare’s and Ben Jonson’s old tavern of the Mermaid, whence he wrote a paper to Cromwell against the drawing of a carnal sword. It was a document of the principle of non-resistance which has always been cherished by the Friends. Soon after he was brought before the Protector at Whitehall, and made a great impression by his speaking, Cromwell, it is said, being moved to tears, and desiring to know him more intimately. Then he was brought into a hall where the gentlemen of the palace were gathered for the noonday meal, and was invited to dine with them. “I bid them let the Protector know, I would not eat of his bread nor drink of his drink. When he heard this, he said, ‘Now I see there is a people risen and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honors, offices, or places, but all other sects and people I can.’ It was told him again, ‘that we had forsaken our own, and were not likely to look for such things from him.’”¹

This was the style of the people whose sufferings symbolized the same sentiment in New England. Even before they came, New England held them in dread. In May, 1656, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a day of humiliation, “to seek the face of God” on behalf of England, “abounding with errors, especially those of the Ranters and Quakers,” — whom they thus confounded. Then there came two months later to Boston, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, having shipped for that port at Barbadoes. This easternmost of the West India islands, first colonized by the English in 1625, seems to have been a refuge and starting-point for various opinions. The Quakers were not molested there. Henry Fell, an eminent minister of the Society, writing to Margaret Fell, who afterwards married George Fox, mentions the refreshing meetings that were held freely over the island, and adds, “Truly Mary Fisher is a precious heart and hath been very serviceable here: for here are many

¹ Thomas Elwood, the loving friend of John Milton, describes himself as having once been “free, debonair and courtly.” But he became in habit and discipline a strict convert of Quakerism. He first copied out Fox’s journal for the press. Here is his portrait of Fox: “Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, free from affectation in speech or carriage: a severe reprovcr of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings; not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries, but zealously earnest where the honor of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church, were concerned; very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; the common butt of all apostates’ envy; whose good, notwithstanding, he earnestly sought.”

people convinced of the truth, who meet together in silence, in three several places in the island."¹

Mary Fisher was born in 1623. We find her convinced of Quakerism, and addressing a congregation after service at Selby, in 1652. For this she underwent imprisonment in York Castle for sixteen months. In the autumn of 1653 she, with a female companion, preached to the Cambridge students "at Sidney College gate." The mayor interfered, and they were taken to the market-cross and soundly whipped, because they despised the sacraments and the ministry. Mary Fisher was the first member of the Society who



Mary Fisher before the Sultan.

was publicly whipped. She was three times imprisoned before 1655, when she found her way to the West Indies. In 1660 she was impressed to visit Turkey and have an interview with the Sultan Mohammed IV. She found him at Adrianople, and was kindly received

by him, and was everywhere through the East well treated. Of her numerous toilsome journeys by sea and land to bear her testimony we need not speak. She was unmarried at the time of her arrival in Boston; but Anne Austin was the mother of five children, and well advanced in years.

When it was known that Simon Kempthorn, master, had these two pestilent women on board his vessel, Bellingham, the Deputy Governor, Endicott being absent, refused to let them land; their baggage was searched and all their books and tracts confiscated. And at a council which was held July 11, 1656,

Action of
the Boston
magistrates.

¹ Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, i., 37.

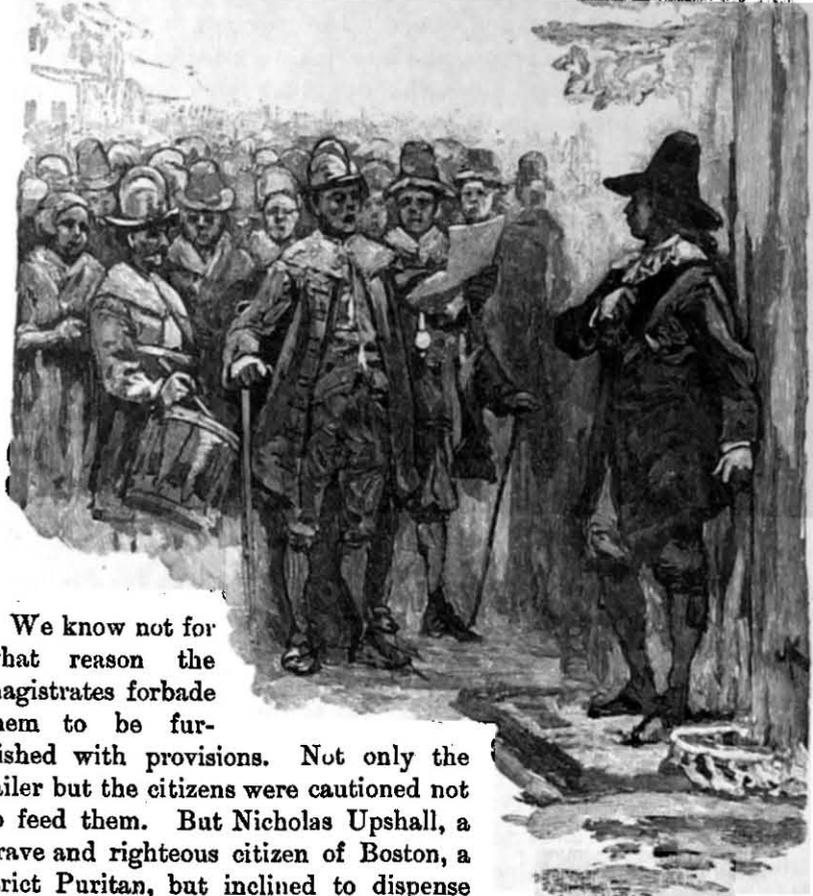
the following order was issued, which deserves to be put upon the historical record:—

“Whereas, there are several laws long since made and published in this jurisdiction, bearing testimony against heretics and erroneous persons; yet, notwithstanding, Simon Kempthorn of Charlestown, master of the ship *Swallow* of Boston, hath brought into this jurisdiction, from the island of Barbadoes, two women, who name themselves Anne, the wife of one Austin, and Mary Fisher, being of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Quakers, who upon examination are found to be not only transgressors of the former laws, but to hold very dangerous, heretical and blasphemous opinions; and they do also acknowledge that they came here purposely to propagate their said errors and heresies, bringing with them and spreading here sundry books, wherein are contained most corrupt, heretical and blasphemous doctrines, contrary to the truth of the gospel here professed among us. The Council, therefore, tendering the preservation of the peace and truth, enjoyed and professed among the churches of Christ in this country, do hereby order: First, that all such corrupt books as shall be found upon search to be brought in and spread by the aforesaid persons, be forthwith burned and destroyed by the common executioner. Secondly, that the said Anne and Mary be kept in close prison, and none admitted communication with them without leave from the Governor, Deputy Governor, or two magistrates, to prevent the spreading their corrupt opinions, until such time as they be delivered aboard some vessel, to be transported out of the country. Thirdly, the said Simon Kempthorn is hereby enjoined, speedily and directly, to transport or cause to be transported the said persons from hence to Barbadoes, whence they came, he defraying all the charges of their imprisonment; and for the effectual performance hereof, he is to give security in a bond of £100 sterling, and on his refusal to give such security, he is to be committed to prison till he do it.”

This is the first legislation of Massachusetts against the first Quakers who ever reached the colony. The root of heresy was the same in all sectaries: it was an assertion of the individual conscience and the right of private interpretation. Since the days of Ann Hutchinson of the nimble tongue and distracting wit, the magistrates instinctively felt that any setting up of private reason was likely to turn out so far irrational as to defy their politics as well as their religion. But it was rather hard upon Simon Kempthorn, who innocently gave passage to these two formidable women, and had to pay their expenses in jail and carry them back again. It was a judicious hint to all shipmasters to be more cautious in assorting their cargoes for the future.

The two women were transferred to Boston jail, and the window of their cell was boarded up to prevent intercourse with the inhabitants; for the same reason they were, deprived of writing materials. Their persons were stripped and examined for the supposed signs of witchcraft, but fortunately there was not a birth-mark, scar, or mole to be discovered, otherwise they might have gone the way of Governor Bellingham's own sister-in-law.

Anne Austin
and Mary
Fisher im-
prisoned.



Upshall's Protest.

We know not for what reason the magistrates forbade them to be furnished with provisions. Not only the jailer but the citizens were cautioned not to feed them. But Nicholas Upshall, a grave and righteous citizen of Boston, a strict Puritan, but inclined to dispense with the ceremonies of his own church, was much attracted by the arrival of these

women. When the new law was proclaimed by beat of drum before his door, he uttered a protest, desiring to wash his hands of such a transaction. The magistrates cited him to appear before them. He warned them to take heed lest they be found fighting against God. For a conclusive reply to that they fined him £20, imprisoned him four days, ordered him out of the

Upshall's
punishment
for befriending
them.

colony in thirty, and fined him £3 additional for each absence from worship during that time. His real offence was in giving the jailer privily five shillings a week to provide food for the prisoners. He was a weakly and delicate old man. Late in the autumn he took wife and children and proceeded on his exile, first to Sandwich in the Plymouth colony, whose magistrates, hoping to emulate the zeal of Boston, forbade any one from receiving him. But the prescript of nature proved stronger than the one that was issued by warrant, and for awhile he found shelter and succor. The governor at Plymouth tried to get him within his power, and issued a warrant for his appearance there. Upsball pleaded ill health; the inhabitants would not permit the constable to take him on the warrant. When, however, the next year opened, the Governor's pressure was so great that the good people of Plymouth were forced to send him forth into the wilderness. At last he found his way to Newport. While wandering the Indians fed and sheltered him: one of them said "Come and live with me and I will make you a good warm house." Another chief reflected, "What a God have these English, who deal so with one another about their God!"

The Indians naturally pitied the men who were the victims of a system which also encroached upon themselves. Apart from that, they always appear to have found some temper in the Quaker which enlisted their native sense of justice and drew forth a feeling of brotherhood. When, for instance, Christopher Holder and a companion "felt it required of them" to leave Rhode Island for Martha's Vineyard, the Governor of that island hired an Indian to take them away, to be paid for the service by the Friends themselves. The Friends not having a clear call to do this, refused to go. The Governor insisted that the Indians should remove them. The natives declined this office of the constable, and kept the Friends for several days during stormy weather, treating them with the utmost hospitality. The Friends offered to pay them, but they refused, saying, "You are strangers — we are taught to love strangers." So John Taylor travelled alone among Indians, holding meetings with them in the woods, exhorting and teaching, always welcomed with kindness, and finding the best in the wigwams at his disposal. And John Woolman, also, many years afterward, preaching to Indians in Pennsylvania through interpreters, received kindly treatment and hearing; one of the chief men said, "I love to feel where words come from."¹

After five weeks' imprisonment Mary Fisher and her companion were put on board the *Swallow* to be returned to Barbadoes, the

¹ Fox's *Journal*, ii., 115, 169. Woolman's *Journal*, 119.

The Friends
and the In-
dians.

jailer confiscating their beds and Bibles for his fees. On the whole this was good fortune for the women; for Endicott, who was absent, hearing of this comparative lenity, avowed, "If I had been there I would have had them well whipped."¹

Hardly was the *Swallow* out of sight when a vessel from London came into the harbor, with eight Friends aboard: "four from London and four from Bristol; pretty hearts; the blessing of the Lord is with them, and his dread goes before them."² When, as usual, the captain submitted a list of his passengers to the Governor, and it was learned that eight of them were Friends, officers went on board with a warrant, "to search the boxes, chests, and trunks of the Quakers for erroneous books and hellish pamphlets," and to bring the Quakers before the court. Four of them were women. After a long examination upon their belief in God and the Scriptures, they were sent to jail. The examination was renewed the next day, the Friends declining to reply, and simply asking for the reason of their arrest. Endicott only deigned to say, "Take heed ye break not our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter." They were sentenced to be returned by the same vessel which brought them, and to be kept in jail till it was ready to sail. The jailer received an order to search their baggage as often as he saw fit. The master of the vessel was ordered to give bond in the sum of £500 to take them to England at his own cost! This at first he refused to do, not being conscious of any infraction of law; but he thought better of it after a few days in prison. After lying in jail for eleven weeks, during which their bedding and most of their effects were seized, to discharge the jailer's fees, they were put thus stripped and unprovided for on board the vessel. Some of the inhabitants, touched with pity and indignation, redeemed their goods, so that they reached London in comparative comfort.

All these proceedings were so clearly arbitrary and illegal, and the discontent of the people was so marked, and even threatening, that the magistrates took measures to procure the sanction of law for future proceedings. So in July a letter was addressed to the commissioners of the four Confederate Colonies, who were about to meet at Plymouth, asking that they would grant authority for framing a particular law against Quakers and heretics. Procuring this, a law was passed at a General Court in Boston, October 14, 1656, enacting that any master of any kind of craft who should bring Quakers to New England should be fined

The first general law against Quakers in New England.

¹ Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, i., 36.

² Caton's collection of MS., quoted by Bowden.

£100, in default of payment to be imprisoned till the money was forthcoming: that he should carry them back, or upon refusing be imprisoned till he consent; that any Quaker who might arrive should be committed to the house of correction, be severely whipped, kept at constant labor, and forbidden from communication and discourse with any one; that whoever should import Quaker books, or "writings concerning their devilish opinions," shall be fined £5 for each book or pamphlet; that whoever should undertake to defend those writings and opinions shall be fined for the first offence forty shillings, for the second, £4; if they continue in that way they shall be put into jail till there be an opportunity to convey them into banishment; and that whoever should revile the persons of magistrates and ministers, after the fashion of the Quakers, shall be whipped, or pay £5.

This law was adopted by the four federate colonies, and Rhode Island was urged to do the same; but the Assembly replied that they could not undertake to punish any man for declaring his mind with regard to religion; that no doubt the Quakers were very inconvenient, and their doctrines disorganizing; but that they seemed to court controversy, and persecution, and that the better policy would be to let them alone. "These people," they said, begin to loathe this place for that they are not opposed by the civil authority," — a psychological law which was beyond the comprehension of the Massachusetts Puritans. Roger Williams afterwards endeavored to get rid of Quakerism by challenging their Society to a public disputation. It lasted several days, and ended to the satisfaction of both parties, each being convinced of a triumphant refutation. Williams wrote "George Fox digged out of his Burrow," and Fox replied with "A New-England Firebrand quenched, being an Answer to a lying, slanderous Book by one Roger Williams, confuting his blasphemous Assertions."

But the bit of parchment on which the law was engrossed could not keep Quakers out of New England. Early in 1657, Mary Dyer and Anne Burden sailed into the Bay. Mary Dyer and Anne Burden. — a woman "of a comely and grave countenance, of a good family and estate, and a mother of several children" — belonged to Rhode Island, but came this time from England. So also did Anne Burden, to collect some debts contracted in Boston to her husband now deceased. They had both been disciples of Ann Hutchinson, and banished on that account. Of course they were immediately arrested and strictly confined. Anne Burden pleaded lawful business, but only received for reply that she was a plain Quaker and must abide the law. After three months of suffering she was transferred to ship-board. Some pitying citizens collected a portion of the money due to

her, and invested it in goods that would find a market in Barbadoes, hoping that she might be carried thither. The magistrates refused this, and sent her to England, advising the reluctant master to get his pay out of her goods. He was bold enough to decline; whereupon the magistrates distrained her goods to cover her passage money, and ordered that the remainder should not be shipped. This act of delicate consideration robbed the widow of everything but six shillings,



Departure of Anne Burden.

which a debtor slipped into her hand. Mary Dyer's husband, William Dyer, the secretary of Rhode Island, came to take his wife home; and the magistrates held him in a heavy sum not to stop with her in any town of the colony, and not to allow any person to speak with her on the way. Nothing but intense bigotry could inspire such abject dread.

While Anne Burden was thus sailing back to England, six of the eight Friends who had been banished were fully impressed that their duty was to return. At the same

time five others agreed to join them. Of these eleven persons four were women. What conviction, deep as the human heart, must have rested in these persons, who knew to a certainty the reception they would meet. No vulgar love of notoriety, or itch to invite persecution, sent them bearing their testimony across stormy seas. "They were," wrote William Dewsbury to Judge Fell's wife Margaret, "in their measure, bold in the power of God: the life did arise in them." The little, uncomfortable vessel sailed from London in April, 1657,

and in consequence of rude weather put into Southampton, whence William Robinson also wrote to Margaret Fell: "Dear Sister, my dear love salutes thee in that which thinks not ill, which was before words were, in which I stand faithful to him who hath called us, and doth arm us against the fiery darts of the enemy, even in the fear and dread of the Almighty. I know thee and have union with thee though absent from thee."

Robert Fowler, who built the little vessel and proposed to carry its cargo of Quakerism across, has left an interesting account, entitled, "A True Relation of the Voyage undertaken by me ^{Return of the banished Friends.} Robert Fowler, with my small vessel called the 'Woodhouse'; but performed by the Lord, like as he did Noah's Ark, wherein he shut up a few righteous persons and landed them safe, even at the hill Ararat." His crew, besides himself, consisted of two men and three boys. While he waited in Southampton for a fair wind, he says, "the ministers of Christ were not idle, but went forth and gathered sticks, and kindled a fire, and left it burning." He was, of course, all through the voyage in the mood to attribute his own tact and seamanship to the Lord. Several escapes were due to divine intervention. "The sea was my figure, for if anything got up within, the sea without rose up against me, and then the floods clapped their hands." "We see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head." In two months the little vessel landed its passengers at New Amsterdam, five of them waiting there, while the rest, taking passage again, reached Rhode Island. Of these, Mary Clark felt impelled to go to Boston. It is singular what keenness on the trail of Quakerism the magistrates possessed. She was arrested, and imprisoned after a severe whipping, inflicted with a three corded whip, "laid on with fury."

We have already mentioned Christopher Holder, who went to Martha's Vineyard. He was one of Fowler's passengers. The Indians put him ashore at Sandwich, much to the confusion and dismay of that settlement. Thence he and a companion found their way to Plymouth. A warrant was issued against them "as extravagant persons and vagabonds." A man at whose house they held a meeting was fined ten shillings, and they were reconveyed to Rhode Island.

Now Boston became seriously alarmed at the influx of Quakers into Rhode Island, which became a kind of port for repairing and refitting, whence Quakerism could sally out to desolate the land. Commissioners sent a remonstrance to the Governor of that colony, dated September 12, 1657. It contained a ^{Alarm in Boston at the increase of Quaker immigration.} vague menace in these words: "We apprehend that it will be our duty seriously to consider what provision God may call us to make

to prevent the aforesaid mischief." The General Assembly of Rhode Island, meeting in January, 1658, returned a prudent reply, but it was based upon the statement that "freedom of different consciences, to be protected from enforcements, was the principal ground of our charter" — "which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world," and more noble words of like import, embedded in which was the politic proposition to refer all difficulties that might arise from the presence of Quakers to the supreme authority of England. A letter was also dispatched to the agent of the colony in England, stating that "for the present we have no just cause to charge them (Quakers) with the breach of the civil peace." The agent was instructed "to have an eye and ear open, in case our adversaries should seek to undermine us in our privileges granted to us, and to plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbors about us do frequently practice, whereof many of us have large experience, and do judge it to be no less than a point of absolute cruelty." Sweet and solid words, showing that the Rhode Islanders were capable of appreciating Friends, and fit to protect and entertain them.

Rhode Isl-
and and the
Commiss-
sioners' pro-
test.

In the mean time Holder and Copeland felt a call to go to Salem, where they arrived in July, 1657. They made converts there, though when Holder attempted to speak after service in the meeting house, he was held violently down by the hair and a glove and handkerchief thrust into his mouth. A man, Samuel Shattock, whose feelings were shocked into a conviction of the truth of Quakerism, interfered. He was arrested with the two Friends and sent to Boston. After the usual subtle and protracted examination, the Friends were sentenced to receive thirty lashes each. The executioner, with that notorious three-corded and knotted knout which was used on these religious occasions, "measured his ground and fetched his strokes with all his might." Then with lacerated flesh they were sent to jail, without even straw to lie upon, and kept for three days without food. There they remained nine weeks. Shattock was released on bail to answer afterward. Two other sympathizers, Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, were also arrested; Cassandra was kept seven weeks in jail. Another member of the party of eleven was discovered in Dedham: he received thirty lashes and was sent to prison to join his friends.

They are
sent to Bos-
ton and pun-
ished.

During Holder's confinement he wrote a Declaration of Faith, and also a paper setting forth the unscriptural nature of the persecution against Friends. This so enraged the magistrates that, at the instance

of Endicott, they resolved that all Quakers who were then in prison should be soundly thrashed twice a week, to begin with fifteen lashes and add three each time!

But all this starving, this compendious brutality and flourishing of whips, availed nothing. Already there were many secret converts. It was plain that the first law of 1656 failed to keep foreign Quakers out of New England, and threatened to create native ones. Then, with curious short-sightedness, the men—whose historical vista was crowded with images of the pillory, the branding-iron, the whipping-post, the ear-shears, from whose expansive cruelties they had escaped beyond the sea—concluded to repeat the experiment which they had proved to be a failure by outliving and subduing it. Another law was ^{A new law passed.} passed in August, 1657, in effect as follows: that whoever shall bring into the jurisdiction, or cause to be brought, any member of the "cursed sect" of Quakers, shall forfeit £100, and be put in jail till the money is paid: that whoever shall entertain or conceal a Quaker, or other blasphemous heretic, shall forfeit forty shillings for every hour of such entertainment, and be imprisoned till all the reckoned forfeitures are paid; that every male Quaker who shall presume after commitment by the previous law to come into the jurisdiction shall have one ear cut off and be kept in jail till a chance occurs to get rid him; that for a second offence the other ear shall be cut off, and he "kept at the house of correction as aforesaid;" that every woman Quaker, previously committed, who shall appear again, shall be severely whipped, and kept in the house of correction till she can be sent away "at her own charge;" that every Quaker, "he or she," who shall offend for the third time shall have the tongue bored with a hot iron and then be kept at hard labor in the house of correction until they can be got rid of "at their own charge." And furthermore it is ordered, "that all and every Quaker, arising from amongst ourselves, shall be dealt with and suffer the like punishment as the law provides against foreign Quakers." "You are to take with you the executioner"—runs a warrant to the marshal, signed Edward Rawson, Secretary, in pursuance of this law—"and repair to the house of correction, and there see him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers."

Endicott's private and illegal luxury of having the imprisoned Quakers whipped twice a week so shocked and excited the inhabitants that the heretics had to be discharged. The new law was read to them, and they were exiled from the colony.

A growing popular sympathy for the Friends appeared also in Plymouth, and drove the magistrates into an imitation of the Boston method. A law was passed that no person should entertain a Quaker

under a penalty of five pounds for each offence, or to be whipped for it. If he could declare on oath that the person entertained was not known by him to be a Quaker, he would be free of the penalty.

It would be superfluous to mention each individual case of suffering and persecution of members of the Society, and to dwell upon its features. In fact the cases were too numerous for that. In New Haven a key was tied in Humphrey Norton's mouth to prevent his speaking; he was sentenced to be whipped in the stocks,

Proceedings
at New
Haven.



Norton's Punishment.

to be branded in the hand with the letter H for heretic, to be fined ten pounds, and to be banished. Every detail of this sentence was carried out with an alacrity and heartiness that disgusted the bystanders. Norton had no money, but a Dutch settler paid his fine and prison fees. Afterwards Norton and a companion venturing to visit Plymouth, the authorities, baffled in their efforts to convict them on

the charge of heresy, laid a trap by demanding of them to take the oath of allegiance. This, George Fox would never do; and no Friend after him could be induced to recognize thus a carnal authority. Norton and Rous were both severely whipped. The barbarous action made converts among the spectators.

And so the ineffectual work of the colonial authorities went on. Women were stripped for a whipping; one of them was whipped with a lately born babe clinging to her breast; the record of fining, starving, imprisoning, banishing, and miscellaneous cruelty becomes monotonous. The whole spirit and disposition of the sufferers were so prayerful, so forgiving, so lifted apparently beyond the reach of pain, yet so resolved to endure unto the end, that a profound impression was made upon the people. But the magistrates, though secretly alarmed at this, showed no sign of relenting, but rather sought to stamp out the rising sympathy by redoubled severity. Meetings of Friends sprang up in many towns, and notably the largest gatherings were made in places where the application of the law had been severest. And all these people refused henceforth to attend the regular public worship.

Spread of the Friends' doctrines.

Something more decisive must be done. The ministers, with John Norton at their head, persuaded the magistrates to pass a law holding the penalty of death over Quakers once banished. The law, however, was only passed by the accident of the absence of a deputy who was ill. He was a deacon, but would have voted against it. Hastening to the Assembly he besought that his vote might still be received. The magistrates, however, had procured what they wanted, and were in no humor to gratify the deacon. This Massachusetts law was passed October 20, 1658. It also included a provision for imprisoning sympathizers, publishers of Quaker opinions, truants from church assemblies, attendants upon Quaker meetings, and also for banishing obstinate recusants upon pain of death.

The death penalty enacted against banished Quakers in Massachusetts. 1658.

But what shall we say of the action of the General Court in the case of the two children of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick? Their parents had been banished under penalty of death. The children, who stayed behind in extreme poverty, could not pay the fine levied on them for non-attendance upon regular worship. That fine must somehow be paid; and this was the way that Massachusetts men expected to secure their pound of flesh, — namely, under this order: "Whereas, Daniel Southwick and Provided Southwick, son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, having been fined by the courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates, and resolving not to

The case of the Southwick children.

work, the Court, upon perusal of a law which was made upon account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolves, That the treasurers of the several counties are and shall be fully empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines." This brother and sister, it was hoped, might bring ten pounds each, and the treasury incur no loss. But let it be remembered that there was not a sea-captain in the port of Boston who would turn slave-dealer to suit the General Court. One of them objected that such passengers would spoil the ship's company. Of that the officer assured him he need have no fear, for, he said, "They are poor, harmless creatures, and will not hurt anybody." "And will you" — was the sailor's retort — "offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?" So the children lingered in their poverty till a more favorable opportunity might offer.

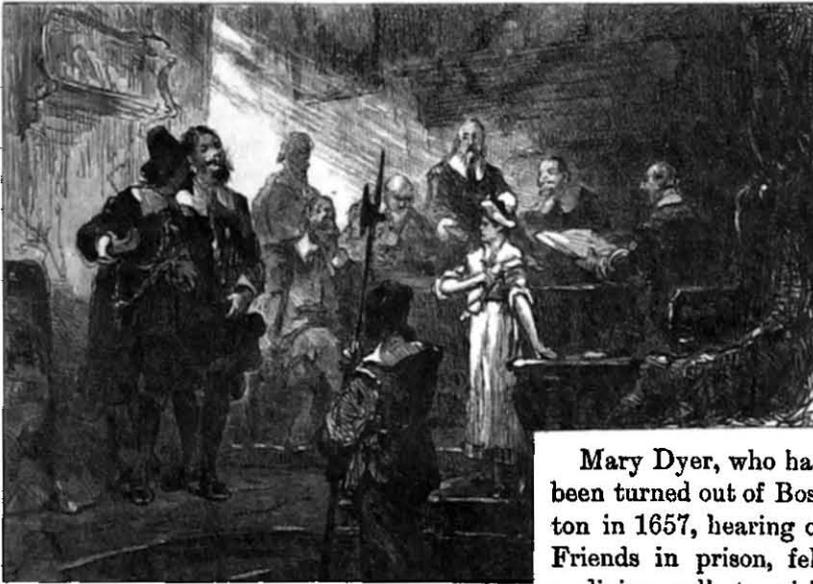
Later an attempt was made to dispose of a mature person in the same way, who was fined for non-attendance on public worship, and was too poor to discharge it. Again no vessel could be found to transport him to a market. Notwithstanding these hints of the popular displeasure, the General Court drafted its intention into a law, as follows: "That all children and servants and others, that for conscience sake cannot come to their meetings to worship, and have not estates in their hands to answer the fines, must be sold for slaves to Barbadoes or Virginia, or other remote parts." Thus the record stands.

But if death be a darker and more piteous fate than slavery we shall now see the record darken. About the middle of April, 1659, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson arrived in Boston, under a deep feeling of religious duty, to protest against the intolerance of rulers. It was a day of public fast, and the two Quakers attended church and tried to address the people. They were of course arrested and thrown into prison. Two other Quakers, Nicholas Davis and Patience Scott, who were in Boston at the same time, were also arrested and put in the same prison. Davis came to Boston on business; but Patience Scott, a remarkable child, only eleven years old, had come from Providence where her parents lived, thinking that she had a message of the Spirit to bear. After an imprisonment of three months, at her examination she conducted herself with such discretion, and a wisdom far above her years, as quite to baffle the magistrates, who could not help admiring her. It would not do to banish such a child, so the Court considering that "Satan is put to his shifts to make use of such a child," ordered her to be sent home.

In the guileless earnestness of children there was an appeal which

Heretics to
be sold as
slaves.

even those stern, hard men could not always resist. Mary Wright, a child of thirteen or fourteen years, whose sister had been banished from Massachusetts, found her way from Long Island to Boston that she might warn the magistrates to desist from the persecution of the innocent. She appeared before the court and delivered her message. "This saying so struck them at first, that they all sate silent."¹ Perhaps some of them were thinking when and where it was said — "of such are the Kingdom of Heaven." But Secretary Rawson was quick to discern this unwonted mood. "What!" he cried out, "shall we be baffled by such a one as this? Come, let us drink a dram!"



Mary Wright in Court.

Mary Dyer, who had been turned out of Boston in 1657, hearing of Friends in prison, felt a divine call to visit them. Very soon, by

a warrant for her arrest, they all met under one roof. Their examination occurred in September, and they were sentenced to banishment under the penalty of death. Robinson rebuked the Court in terms so galling to its pride that he was gagged with a handkerchief; and when he persisted, the Court, in a rage at his astonishing perversity, had him taken out, stripped to the waist, and well whipped.

Return and
arrest of
Mary Dyer.
Her banish-
ment.

Davis and Mary Dyer went home. Robinson and Stevenson, under an impression of religious duty, went to Salem, where they held meetings in the woods, which many of the inhabitants attended. Thence they went to Portsmouth. While this was going on, Mary Dyer

¹ Sewel's *History of the Quakers*.

could have no peace of her soul unless she returned to Boston to visit a Friend in prison. She was recognized and arrested. Soon Robinson and Stevenson appeared in Boston; coming through Salem a party of Friends, four of whom were women, joined them, and the sad journey was made. One of the women "brought linen to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer." The Salem people understood the temper of Endicott. They were all arrested; Robinson and Stevenson were chained in a separate cell. "There were now," says Bowden, "no less than seventeen persons in the jails of Boston for professing Quakerism."

The three banished ones were brought before the General Court.

Final trial
of Robin-
son, Steven-
son, and
Mary Dyer.

Great was the embarrassment of the magistrates, for indeed they shrunk from inflicting the death penalty. The prisoners all said that they returned in obedience to a divine call.

For that day they were remanded to jail. Next day, however, John Norton preached, and gave the magistrates a piece of his cruel and unrelenting mind; and putting the cases of the Quakers on the ground of the public danger and the damnable injury done to the salvation of souls, he so stiffened up the Court that Endicott, still with some misgiving which, it was said, was betrayed in his voice and on his face, managed to pronounce sentence of death on the three. He recovered his tone when the superb tranquillity of Mary Dyer nettled him, and he cried, "Take her away." "Yea, joyfully shall I go," she said.

The 27th of August, the day appointed for the execution, was a sermon day in Boston; and while John Wilson was keeping up the spirits of his hearers to the standard of the gibbet, a great crowd of amazed and sympathizing people gathered at the prison. Robinson exhorted them from a window till an officer came in and thrust all the Quakers down-stairs and locked them into a room. A company of soldiers could not prevail upon the crowd to disperse.

Preparations
for their
execution.

Now the procession starts for Boston Common, with a great force of soldiers; the drummers receive instructions to rattle vigorously if the Quakers should try to speak, which several times they did. Said Mary Dyer, "This is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in this world. No ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which I now feel." Surely there was nothing feigned or fantastic in her feeling. So lofty was the strain of her soul that when at the last moment she was reprieved, she seemed reluctant to accept the fresh lease of life.

Mary Dyer
reprieved.

Robinson was the first to suffer; and even that penalty did not

exempt him from insult from Wilson, the minister. "We suffer," he said, "not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth." Wilson interrupted him, "Hold thy tongue—thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth." Then came Stevenson, who simply said, "Be it known unto you all, this day, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience sake." How strange it is that the tone of these men did not remind magistrates of the early apostolic days. No—those lay dead and buried in their Bibles.

Mary Dyer stood by and calmly saw these bodies dangle, waiting her turn. The rope was adjusted, her clothes tied around her feet, for the

Robinson
and Steven-
son hanged.



Mary Dyer led to Execution.

General Court is decent. At the last moment the cry of her reprieve came sounding across the Common, extorted by the pleadings of her son; and Wilson will have to wait awhile. The government would not incur the expense for coffins; the bodies were stripped and thrown into a pit unburied, in spite of the remonstrance of many people.

Mary Dyer was only reprieved for two days. But at the end of that time the magistrates saw that it would be more prudent to banish her again, and she returned alone to Rhode Island.

The usual effect followed of a propagation of Quaker sentiment.

Several people were fined, imprisoned, and whipped in consequence.

The other Quakers in the prison were also whipped and discharged. Some of them refused to pay their prison fees, but there were plenty of aggrieved and compassionate citizens to undertake that charge.

Then Mary Dyer returned again to Boston, as it was required of her, she said, to finish her sad and heavy experience in that bloody town. She came in March, 1660. "Are you the same Mary Dyer that was here before?" asked Endicott. "I am the same Mary Dyer," she answered, "that was here the last General Court." A letter soon followed from her husband, who was not a Quaker, to Governor Endicott. It contained a touching appeal that the life of his wife might be preserved. "If her zeal be so great as thus to adventure, oh, let your pity and favor surmount it, and save her life." "I only say this, yourselves have been, and are, or may be, husbands to wives: so am I, yea, to one most dearly beloved. Oh, do not deprive me of her, but I pray give her me once again. Pity me! I beg it with tears, and rest your humble suppliant."

But Endicott asked — "You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?" "I own myself to be reproachfully called so," was her answer. Then the Governor pronounced the sentence of death against her before the General Court. "This," said she, "is no more than thou saidst before." "But now it is to be executed: therefore prepare yourself for nine o'clock to-morrow." And as she spake concerning the motives for her return, Endicott impatiently ordered her away. So next day, with a strong body of soldiers, for fear of the people, and with drummers before and behind to drown the dreadful, accusing voice, she reached Boston Common again. There she refused to purchase her life at the expense of not performing her present mission from the Lord. She declined the prayers of any elder; this was offered gratis to her. Wilson called out to her not to be so deluded by the devil. "Nay, man, I am not now to repent," she answered. Some one taunted her with having said that she had been in Paradise. "Yea, I have been in Paradise several days," Then came the end. "She did hang as a flag," said one of her judges scoffingly, "for others to take example by."

In this year monthly meetings of the Society were set up in many places in New England. Quarterly meetings were established a few years later.

William Leddra was a banished Quaker who dared to return in the same year. Early in 1661 he was brought before the Court, bound with chains to a log which he dragged behind him. His examination

Effect of
these meas-
ures.

Mary Dyer
resentenced
by Endicott.

Her execu-
tion

swarmed with trivial questions and absurd replies to his responses. But the court tried to persuade him to recant his opinions and save his life. "What! join with such murderers as you are! Then let every man that meets me say, Lo, this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation." So on a day when a sermon was to be delivered he was sentenced to be executed. After the conclusion of it he too found his way to Boston Common, and died there as tranquilly as his predecessors.

This was the last execution in Boston for cause of religious opinion. A great many Quakers were still languishing in prison; among them was Wenlock Christison, a returned banished Quaker, and liable to be hanged. He happened to return on the day that Leddra was sentenced and entered the Court at the moment of pronouncing the sentence. His presence struck dumb the magistrates. But he was soon brought to the bar, briefly questioned, and sent to prison. On the day when Leddra was hanged, he was brought to the bar again, the magistrates hoping to frighten him into a recantation. They offered him that or death. He preferred the latter, in such a style of speech and sweetness of temper as greatly to confuse his persecutors, which being noticed by Endicott much disturbed him. He was remanded until the next General Court, when a strong minority appeared against the death penalty; but Endicott passionately sentenced him. And he prophesied: "If you have power to take my life from me, the which I question, I believe you shall never more take Quakers' lives from them. Note my words." Sure enough; and they were notable; for about this time the news of the Restoration reached Boston, and there was no Cromwell of any name to countenance the doings of the Puritan. This, coupled with the growing anger of the people, led to a general jail delivery of Quakers, including Christison. A new law was passed, substituting for the death penalty banishment on pain of a whipping from town to town; and several were so treated. Josiah Southwick — an elder brother of the two children who were sentenced to be sold as slaves — said, on hearing his sentence, "Here is my body; if you want a further testimony to the truth I profess, take it and tear it in pieces; it is freely given up; and for your sentence I matter not. It is no more terrifying to me than if ye had taken a feather and blown it in the air." Then he was whipped through Boston, Roxbury, and Dedham, and cast off into the wilderness.

It seemed advisable to enlighten Charles II. upon the opinions and practices of the Quakers, to make it appear that they were of such a nature as to justify the General Court in its exercise of the late severities. An address was prepared and sent to the King,

Execution of
Leddra.

Trial of
Wenlock
Christison.

The Restora-
tion. The
Imprisoned
Friends re-
leased.

An address
to the King.

setting forth the necessity of extreme measures against those enemies of religion and government. The Friends in London furnished the King with a counter-declaration which took up severally the charges in the address, and showed how unlikely to be true they were, and how contrary to the principles of the Society. A book, entitled "New England Judged, written by a Friend, giving a minute account of the persecutions in the colony," was also put into the hands of the King, who was particularly struck by a passage that reported remarks by a prominent enemy of the Society, to this effect: "This year ye will go



Shattock's Commission.

and complain to the Parliament; and the next year they will send to see how it is; and the third year the government is changed." Whether or not this was accurately repeated, it had a great effect upon the King. "Lo, these are my good subjects of New England, but I will put a stop to them." And when about this time the news of the execution of William Leddra reached England, it was plain to the Quakers that they might count upon the royal interposition.

At the personal solicitation of Edward Burrough, a prominent and

influential member of the Society, the King put into his hands an order "To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, Esq., and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations," etc., commanding them to forbear to proceed any further against their prisoners, but to send them over to England, with the charges against them. With excellent policy and fine irony the order was entrusted to Samuel Shattock, a Quaker, banished under penalty of death; the Society hired a vessel and sent him over with dispatch.

It was a pardonable and not unnatural weakness in Shattock if he felt some satisfaction when he came into the presence of Endicott with his hat on and that order in his pocket. The captain of the vessel, also a Quaker, accompanied him. Endicott ordered Shattock's hat to be removed, and was proceeding to make the old brutal interrogations preparatory to sending him to prison, when Samuel presented his credentials and the order. A sight of the Governor's face at that moment might have atoned for a good deal of persecution. In his amazement he handed back Shattock's hat to him, and took off his own in deference to the presence of the King's authority, then slowly read the papers. He withdrew awhile to collect himself, then took Shattock with him to the Deputy Governor, Bellingham. After a brief conference with him, Endicott simply said, "We shall obey his Majesty's commands."

Charles incorporates to protect the Friends.

Shattock presents the King's order to Endicott. Its results.

But should the prisoners be sent to England? That would be to send loud and swift witnesses against their own doings. How, then, should the exigency be met? Simply by not having any prisoners! William Salter, keeper of Boston jail, was at once ordered to release and discharge all the Quakers in his custody.

When soon after John Norton, the minister, and Simon Bradstreet were sent as commissioners to England to assure the King of the loyalty of Massachusetts — which there was good reason for doubting — the question of the treatment of the Quakers was one pretty certain to confront and trouble them. They were met in London by Friends, among them John Copeland, whose mutilated ear was a swift witness against them of the trials and persecutions he and his fellows had suffered in Boston. George Fox himself was present at this conference, and questioned the Commissioners so closely that they soon became confused. William Robinson's father, who was not a Friend, might, it was suggested, institute an investigation as to the death of his son. Some there were who proposed that the Commissioners should be held personally responsible for the persecution of Friends in Massachusetts. When the Commissioners returned to Boston and they were received with marked ill-favor because their

Mission of Norton and Bradstreet to England.

mission was less successful than it was hoped it would be, the disappointment and chagrin was supposed to have caused Norton's death. At any rate he soon died suddenly, and this was of course accepted by the Quakers as a judgment.

But when the magistrates found that the feeling against them was abating, and that no warrant would be likely to issue from England, they revived their exercises against the Quakers, so far as to have them whipped whenever they could be found delivering their message. Men and women were tied to the cart's tail and scourged from town to town; and this happened also in New Hampshire, which then belonged to the jurisdiction of the Bay. Three women preaching in Dover were driven thus from constable to constable through several towns, receiving ten lashes in each town. This was in December, 1662, and the season was inclement also. Two bystanders who expressed commiseration were clapped in the stocks. In Cambridge a woman was thrown into the jail without food, and nothing to lie upon. A Friend brought her some milk; he was fined five pounds and put into the same jail. The woman was whipped through three towns. She returned several times to Boston, and was whipped each time. The last occasion happened in 1665, on the day when Endicott was buried. She attended the funeral, and making, probably, some unpalatable remarks, was imprisoned. She was then sixty-five years old.

The cases of these persecutions are too numerous to mention singly, and they all have a revolting sameness. They lasted ten years, and did not come to an end until the King, offended by the prohibition of Episcopacy and of the reading of the Liturgy, issued sharp injunctions. To Massachusetts he said, "It is very scandalous that any person should be debarred the exercise of his religion, according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession or religion they pleased." To Connecticut he sent, "All persons of civil lives might freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the worship of God in that way which they think best." So it came to pass that Quakerism conquered a life in New England.

"We own," wrote Penn from his cell in Newgate, — "we own Civil Government, or Magistracy, as God's Ordinance for the punishment of Evil-doers and the praise of them that do well; and though we cannot comply with those laws that prohibit us to worship God according to our Consciences, as believing it to be His alone Prerogative to preside in matters of Faith and Worship, yet we both own and are ready to yield Obedience to every Ordinance of Man relating to Human Affairs and that for Conscience-sake."

Severities
against the
Friends re-
vived.

Further in-
structions
from the
King.

Penn's
statement of
doctrine.

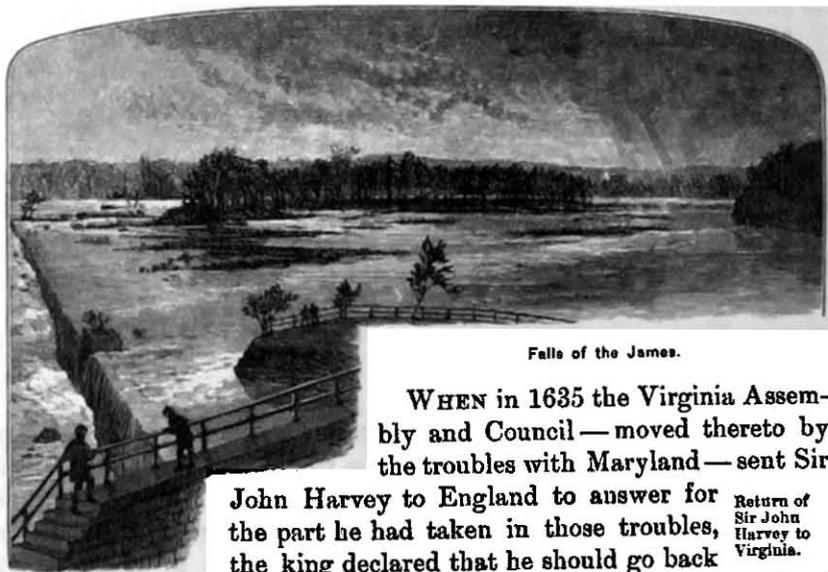
Through long years of suffering and tribulation this was the unvarying rule of the Friends. So even and self-possessed was their temper that it was only in rare instances that outrage and hardship provoked some ill-balanced disciple to extravagance and fanaticism. "To conceit," wrote Penn when a prisoner in the Tower of London, "that men must form their Faith of things proper to Another World by the Prescriptions of mortal Men, or else they can have no right to eat, drink, sleep, walk, trade, be at liberty, or live in This, to me seems both ridiculous and dangerous."¹ Eminent common sense like this was united, in them, with a noble courage and a power of endurance which nothing could overcome. They disobeyed human law only in obedience, as they believed, to the divine law, taking the consequences without resistance. Prisons, loss of worldly estate, scourgings, mutilations, the rage of mobs, ruin and persecution in every form, were visited upon them in the blindness of an intolerant age. But it was only by the Puritans of Massachusetts that they were hanged.

¹ *Select Works of William Penn.*

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

RETURN OF SIR JOHN HARVEY TO VIRGINIA. — HIS NEW ADMINISTRATION. — SUCCEEDED BY WYAT. — SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — THE PURITANS AND ROYALISTS OF VIRGINIA. — LAWS AGAINST THE FORMER. — INDIAN INSURRECTION IN 1643. — DEATH OF OPECHANCANOUGH. — GROWTH OF THE COLONY. — EMIGRATION OF CAVALIERS TO AMERICA. — SURRENDER OF VIRGINIA TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS. — REDUCTION OF MARYLAND. — CHARACTER AND CAREER OF WILLIAM CLAYBORNE. — ATTEMPTS OF LORD BALTIMORE TO RETAIN MARYLAND. — GOVERNOR STONE'S PROCEEDINGS. — FIGHT ON THE SEVERN. — THE CONTROVERSY ENDED. — RESTORATION OF BERKELEY IN VIRGINIA. — NEW LAWS UNDER THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT. — SLAVERY. — THE TOBACCO TRADE AND THE NAVIGATION ACT. — NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INTERESTS.



Falls of the James.

WHEN in 1635 the Virginia Assembly and Council — moved thereto by the troubles with Maryland — sent Sir

John Harvey to England to answer for the part he had taken in those troubles, the king declared that he should go back

Return of
Sir John
Harvey to
Virginia.

again to rule over the insolent colonists, if it were only for a day.¹ The threat was made good, and within two years Harvey returned, bringing with him as colonial treasurer, Jerome Hawley, one of Calvert's first councillors, and Richard Kemp as colonial secretary.

¹ Vol. i., p. 504.

Both men were fit coadjutors for Harvey, who showed in his conduct of affairs for the next two years the same overbearing temper which before had made him so obnoxious. The records of his new administration are meagre, for he permitted no assembly to be called, and took all power into his own hands, except so far as he chose to share it with the treasurer and secretary. In the differences between Maryland and Virginia his sympathies were unchanged. Hawley, he permitted, while still treasurer and councillor of Virginia, to sit as a member of the Maryland Assembly of 1637-8,—that Assembly which tried Thomas Smith for piracy and murder, and condemned him to be hanged for acting as second in command to Warren in the fight between him and Cornwallis;¹ and which passed, at the same time, a bill of attainder against Clayborne, and pronounced a forfeiture of all his property in Maryland.

Kemp was also the friend of Lord Baltimore, and soon became equally unpopular with Harvey and Hawley; for there was no abatement of feeling among the Virginia people as to the Maryland controversy. The official acts, however, which made the secretary disliked, are not so well remembered as that he built the best brick mansion-house in the colony, and that it was “the fairest ever known in this country for substance and uniformity.”

Harvey's administration continued for about two years only, when Sir Francis Wyatt succeeded him for the two years following. The best known of all the Virginia colonial governors, ^{Wyat succeeds Harvey.}—whose occupation of that office was the longest, and the events of his administration the most important and interesting of that period,—Sir William Berkeley, followed Wyatt, arriving at Jamestown early in 1642.

His appointment was popular and his reception enthusiastic, though there was nothing in his instructions to warrant the hope of any



Signature of Berkeley.

change for the better in the government of the colony. Indeed, so far as the royal orders differed at all from those which had been given to preceding governors, they were inimical to the best interests of the colony in proposing some new regulations in regard to the trade in tobacco. The Governor, however, seems not to have given offence by any serious attempt to enforce a royal command, which, a few years later, became an imperative law in the far more stringent and injurious measures of the Navigation Act of the Long Parliament.

But no shadow of coming trouble darkened the beginning of Berke-

¹ Vol. i., p. 507.

ley's administration. The Assembly was soon convened, and entire harmony was assured between the royal governor and the colonial legislature. One of its first acts was to send a protest to England against a project to revive the old charter and reestablish the old Company. Against so unpopular a measure Governor, Assembly, and councillors were cordially united. The proposition had been urged upon Parliament by George Sandys and others, and a petition in its favor had even been sent forward from Virginia, signed, however, by only a few persons. The Assembly remonstrated with great earnestness, contrasting the condition of the colony when under the rule of the Company, with its condition when delivered from that rule. The king gave a prompt and positive assurance that there should be no change.

Charles was at York when he sent this answer. The remonstrance to which it was a reply was full of assurances of the loyalty of Virginia and of devotion to his own person. He was, at that moment, arming for the struggle which was to cost him his throne and his head, and this interchange of cordial feeling probably helped to confirm that fidelity to the royal cause which Virginia, alone of all the colonies, maintained to the last.

There was, nevertheless, a growing Puritan, as well as a Royalist party in Virginia, and hostility between the two soon made itself manifest. In New England religious zeal had often determined purely political measures; in Virginia the order was reversed; political causes produced the first decided action ever taken in the colony upon the question of religious observance. Up to the time of Berkeley the laws for enforcing conformity to the Church of England were practically a dead letter. But the Puritan was now a political as well as a religious dissenter. A royalist province, ruled by a governor whose devotion to the king had the earnestness of a religious faith, was ready to resort to any measure for the punishment of disloyal citizens.

In March, 1643, the Assembly enacted that "for the preservation of the purity of doctrine and unity of the church," . . . "all ministers whatsoever, which shall reside in the colony, are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England and the laws therein established; and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach, either publicly or privately; and that the governor and council do take care that all non-conformists, upon notice of them, shall be compelled to depart the colony with all convenience."

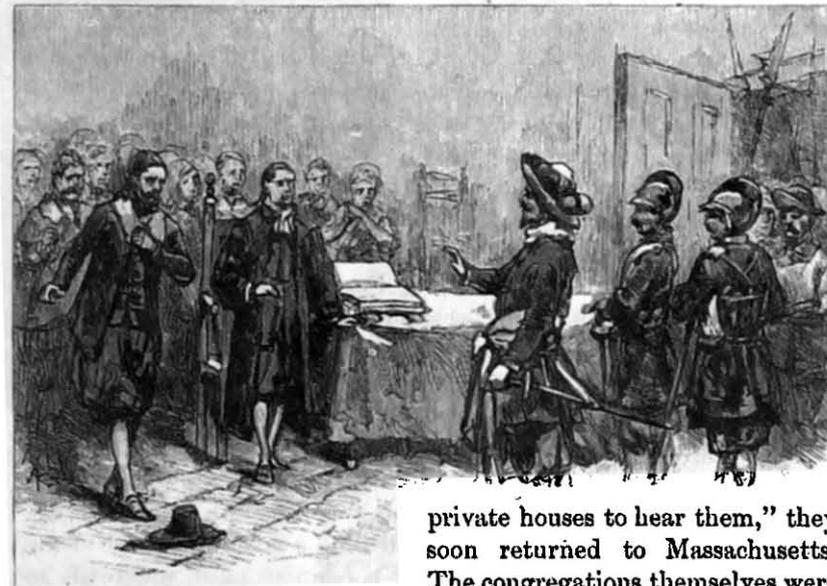
In the preceding year a number of Puritans living in Virginia had begged of the Boston elders that ministers might be sent to them from New England. In accordance with this request three Massachusetts

Sir William
Berkeley
Governor.

The Puritans persecuted.

clergymen had gone down to Jamestown, and had been settled over goodly congregations in different parts of the province. This was not without objection from the authorities, though they were commended by the government of Massachusetts to that of the sister colony. But it was enough for the preachers that they found "the hearts of the people much inflamed with desire after the ordinances."

It was upon these men and their churches that the Assembly's prohibition, speedily reinforced by a proclamation from the Governor, fell with its first force. Their congregations were broken up; and though for a time (according to Winthrop) "the people resorted to them in



Breaking up of a Puritan Meeting.

private houses to hear them," they soon returned to Massachusetts. The congregations themselves were soon dispersed, some passing the

Maryland border to become there ere long a cause of serious dissensions; others taking refuge in New Netherland. It was only the most stout-hearted that remained, hoping for Parliamentary successes in England to ameliorate their condition. Such successes, indeed, were already near, and Marston Moor was soon to lend new courage to American as well as to English Puritans.

Hardly a twelvemonth had passed, however, after the passage of the Act of March, 1643, when there came upon Virginia that sudden and terrible calamity of which Winthrop says, many, even of Virginia, were forced to give "glory to God in acknowledging that this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among

Trouble
with the
Indians.

them." For twenty years the peaceful relations between the English and the natives had been, for the most part, unbroken. But the great massacre of 1622 was remembered as a fearful era in the history of the colony, and the more exposed settlements never forgot to be cautious nor ceased to be anxious at the approach of any large body of savage guests or traders. Not long before the coming of Sir William Berkeley, some Indian outrages upon some of the frontier farms, and an increase of theft and treachery among the natives who hung about the villages, increased the general apprehension and mistrust. The Assembly, at length alarmed, as these signs of coming trouble grew, declared in 1643, that "no peace" should be maintained with the Indians, and that they should be treated as enemies. Thus made an outlaw, a savage might anywhere be shot by the whites with impunity.

It was an ill-judged and cruel measure, certain to give fresh intensity to the longing for vengeance among the Indians, already alarmed and exasperated by the increasing encroachments of the white men upon their hunting-grounds. They knew that a great war was waging among the English at home; they saw that the colonists were divided among themselves; and their venerable chief, Opechancanough — over whose head had passed nearly a hundred winters — summoned them to rid the land of their hated enemies.

On the 18th of April, 1644,¹ an attack planned with all the cunning that had everywhere distinguished Indian massacres, was made upon the outlying settlements, and from three hundred to five hundred of the English slaughtered. For some unexplained reason, but probably the sudden recollection of the sharp vengeance that would be sure to overtake them, the Indians were seized with a panic. The massacre ceased when it had barely begun; the savages hurriedly retreated to the woods before even an attempt at resistance had been made.

The blow was a terrible one; yet in the condition the colony had now reached, it was light as compared with the similar outbreak of twenty-two years before. Such a calamity, in a province of more than thirty years' standing, well-organized for defence and with rulers prepared to act promptly, was a different matter from the annihilation of a great part of a struggling settlement of scattered planters, under the unpopular and inefficient government of a feeble Company. Sir William Berkeley turned upon the savages with all the forces of

¹ The date of the massacre is only guessed at by the older historians — some of them putting it in one year, and some in another; — but it is fixed by Winthrop's *Journal*, ii. 166, and Savage's note, and by Henning's *Statutes* for 1645. See also Campbell, 203.

the colony; and after driving them from one point to another, severely punishing all such as could be actually met in battle, he succeeded, with a troop of mounted men, in capturing Opechancanough himself and bringing him in triumph into Jamestown. He is taken prisoner.

The Indian king was altogether broken and enfeebled by his great age. He hardly lived,—except in that vigor of will and in that hostility to his English foes which could end only with his life. He could no longer walk; his captors carried him in a rough litter made of branches. Partial paralysis had robbed him of his strength; he could not even uncloset his eyes to look about him at the people who came



Death of Opechancanough.

crowding around his bed. Those who attended him were accustomed, when he asked it, to lift up his eyelids so that his rapidly failing sight could show him what was passing; but, with true savage stoicism, he seldom made the request, and passed the greater part of his time in an apparent stupor. He was imprisoned in the town, and it was said that Berkeley intended taking him to England, to show the English a man who had been for years the terror of their colony. But he had hardly been placed in confinement when one of his guards, perhaps irritated by some remembered injury, wantonly shot the wretched prisoner through the back,¹ giving a wound that His death. soon proved fatal, and saved the dying savage the misery of a death away from his own country. As he lay dying—the tradition runs—

¹ Beverley, 57. Burk, ii., 53, note.

he asked for the last time that his eyelids should be raised; and looking dimly at the crowd about him, said indignantly to the Governor, that had it been his fortune to have taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, "he should not meanly have exposed him as a show to his people."

Opechancanough was the last of the great chiefs who ruled in absolute and undivided sovereignty over the confederation of Virginian tribes which had formerly called Powhatan their king. His successor, Necotowance, after two years of unavailing warfare, made formal submission to the whites by a treaty in the autumn of 1646. From that time Virginia suffered, like other colonies, only from the hostilities of scattered tribes, or from the sudden raids of independent bands, never from a great organized attack of a whole savage nation, aroused, as Opechancanough had aroused them, by the hope of a complete extermination of the strangers.

In the early summer of 1644, Sir William Berkeley sailed for England for a year's visit, and left Richard Kemp as his deputy in charge of the province. It was a time when an Englishman of property and influence at home — a courtier and a soldier, as well as a member of a family which had every interest at stake, — could hardly sit quietly in his colonial governorship, and watch from beyond seas the conflict for life in which his king and his brothers were fighting. The storm of the Civil War was sweeping over his own county of Gloucestershire when Berkeley reached it; and before he returned again to Virginia — to which he seems to have hurried back with the conviction that he could serve the king better there than in the field, — the battle of Naseby had been fought, and the royal cause was lost. There was little leisure now in the Parliament for any attention to colonial affairs; in the four years that followed, the American province was left to govern itself in its own way. It could hardly have had a better ruler than the vigorous cavalier Governor.

These four years saw an unusual addition to the population of the colony — unusual both in numbers and in character. At a time when emigration to New England had greatly fallen away, — the English Puritans seeing a better day in their own land and having few of the old motives to leave it, — precisely opposite reasons brought to Virginia companies of royalists whose fortunes the war had wrecked, or who had with difficulty saved a little competence from the impending ruin. They came by hundreds to the one spot in the new world in which their king, their traditions, and their church were still respected; and they brought with them their old way of life, — the way of court and camp; the careless luxury and the careless morality which were abominations to their Roundhead adver-

saries. The death of Charles sent many even of his most persistent adherents to America; "for," — writes one of them, Colonel Norwood, — "if our spirits were somewhat depressed in contemplation of a barbarous restraint upon the person of our king in the Isle of Wight, to what horrors and despairs must our minds be reduced at the bloody and bitter stroke of his assassination at his palace of Whitehall? . . . The sad prospect of affairs in this juncture gave such a damp to all the royal party who had resolved to persevere in the principle which engaged them in the war, that a very considerable number of nobility, clergy, and gentry, so circumstanced, did fly from their native country as from a place infected with the plague."¹



Cape Hatteras.

This Colonel Norwood left a narrative of his own and his companions' perilous and eventful voyage away from "so hot a contagion," that is as vivid and as entertaining as the story of the wanderings of a new Ulysses. "The cavaliers changed their clime but not their habits,"² wrote a Virginian historian; and one sees how true this was in reading the adventures of this exiled royalist, with his jollity in the midst of adversity, and his characteristic mixture of bravery, sentiment, and cynicism. How the voyage began merrily enough (after the ship had kept them waiting "until our money was almost spent at Deal"); how they touched at Fayal for water, and caroused there for days together over their Madeira and "handsome plenty of fish and fowl;" how they met with a wonderful Portuguese beauty, whom Norwood describes with glowing eloquence, and with whom they drank the health of their respective kings "with thundering peals of cannon;" how finally they sailed away westward — their ship barely escaping a water-spout which would have "made her do the supersalt;" — all this is probably not unlike many another

The narrative of Colonel Norwood.

¹ Norwood's Voyage, in Force's *Hist. Tracts*, iii., 10th paper, p. 1.

² "Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt." — Horace.

Virginian voyage. But as they neared the American coast their troubles began. Escaping by a lucky chance from the Shoals off Hatteras, where they were aground for a little time, they beat to sea again, only to be driven far out by "mountainous tow'ring northwest seas" and a furious gale, their ship dismasted, their provisions and water nearly exhausted. For nearly sixty days they beat about, until, after many adventures, they came to anchor off the mouth of a creek in an unknown region.

Here Norwood and a large party going ashore for water, were basely abandoned by their comrades. They were in reality upon an island on the coast of Virginia; though some distance from the main; and for ten days or more they endured the extreme horrors that fall to the lot of shipwrecked men and women. The living devoured the bodies of those who had "the happiness to end their miserable lives;" and "terrible storms of hail and snow at northwest" beat upon their wretched bodies in the bitter January weather. Finally, about the tenth day, Indians came to them from the shore, who proved friendly, took them to the main land, and brought them to an Indian village where they were feasted royally. All manner of strange things happened to them among the savages, no word of whose language they could understand; and they were almost doubting whether this friendliness was not a cover for intended treachery, when suddenly an English trader from Jamestown appeared among them. Norwood, from the beginning the acknowledged leader of the party, who had held them together throughout with his unwearied courage and readiness in expedients, now hurried southward with a guide, to the hospitable settlements along the Chesapeake. He was everywhere received with great hospitality as he went from plantation to plantation, and on arriving at the house of Captain Wormly, not far from York River, he found "feasting and carousing," his old friends Sir Thomas Lundsford, Sir Henry Chichely, Sir Philip Honeywood, and several more, all recently come from England, but with better luck than he. The next morning, on a good horse, he was on his way to Jamestown, to his kinsman Berkeley.

Apart from the interest of his narrative there is no account of so early a date, that gives so clear a picture of the class of men which, at this time, went to Virginia. Each substantial manor was filled during these years with guests enjoying the liberal hospitality of a time when crops were plenty, and the abundance of fish and game had not been diminished.¹ For a while the little capital of Jamestown was lively with these shabby cavaliers, their pockets as empty, their swords

¹ A Virginia law ordered that "if any inhabitant received any stranger Merchant, or border into their houses, and did not condition in Writing with him or them so entertained

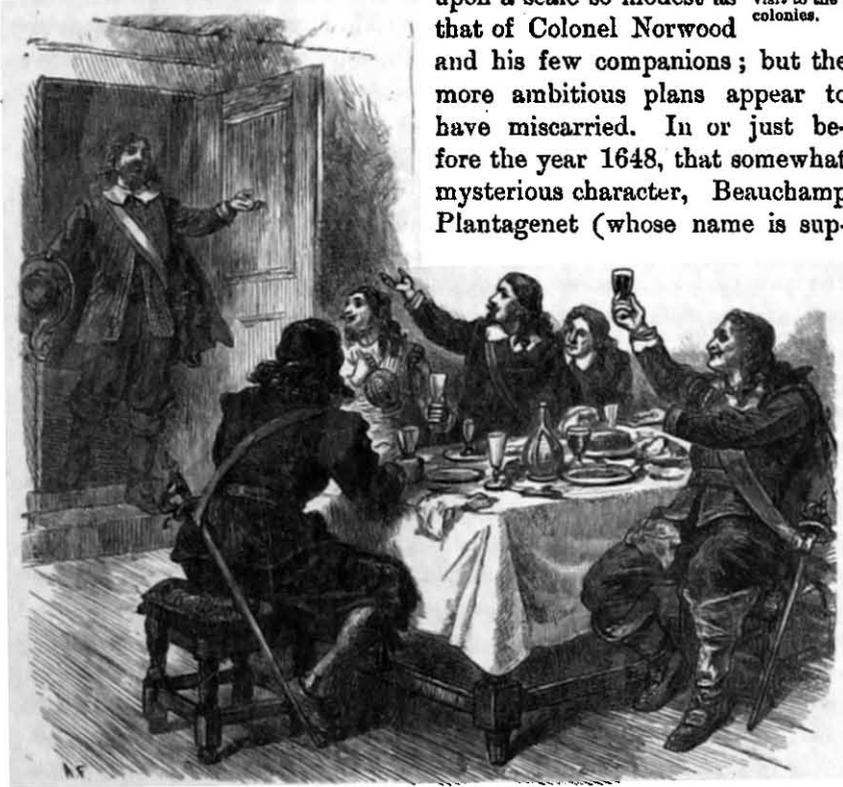
as ready in a brawl, their hands as averse to labor, and their spirits as irrepressible as the most reckless and most worthless of their kind at home. Some at length took up plantations for themselves, waiting the more prosperous days of the Restoration, while others who were altogether as ruined in purse as in reputation became dispersed among the ordinary people of the province.

All the projects for the emigration of distressed cavaliers to America during these years of their adversity, were not conceived

upon a scale so modest as that of Colonel Norwood

Plowden's
visit to the
colonies.

and his few companions; but the more ambitious plans appear to have miscarried. In or just before the year 1648, that somewhat mysterious character, Beauchamp Plantagenet (whose name is sup-



The Cavaliers at Wormly's house.

posed to be a pseudonym of Sir Edmund Plowden or Ployden) visited Virginia and Maryland to look for a desirable site whereon the "New Albion Company" could plant a colony; but finding one spot too wet and another too dry, one too exposed to savage attack and another to diseases, he went further north to continue his search.

Widely different was the scheme of the English poet, Sir William on what terms he received them, it should be supposed an invitation, an no satisfaction should be allowed or recorded in any Court of Justice." — *Leah and Rachel*, in *Force's Hist. Tracts*, iii., 14th paper, p. 15.

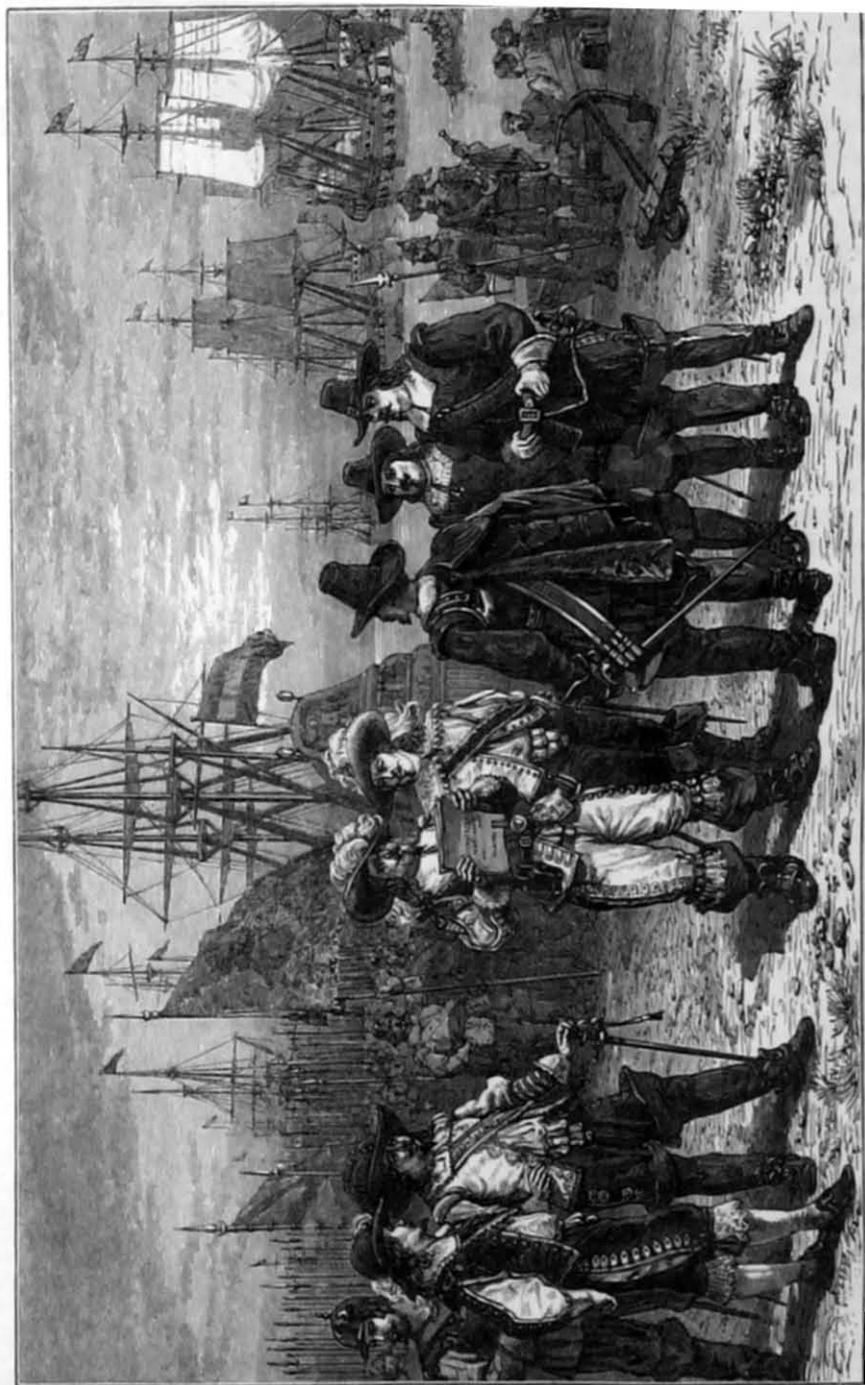
Davenant, for leading a colony to the one province which seemed to him faithful to the king and cause for which he had suffered and been exiled. This was a true poet's scheme — to take out from France a little company of French artisans, vine-growers, and silk makers, and to plant a new Arcadia, where there should be no more noise of wars and overthrow of thrones, but peace, and pleasant toil, and pastoral simplicity. He had, no doubt, thoughts of a pure and patriarchal government, made up (to take a line from one of his own old poems) from "the assembled souls of all that men held wise."¹ The exiled royal family and the French government aided him in carrying out his plan; his company was brought together, and the expedition sailed for America with high hope of success. But a short distance off the coast the vessel was discovered by the English fleet, captured, and taken to an English port. Davenant, well known as a prominent and staunch royalist, would, it is said, have been condemned to death by the Puritan rulers, had it not been for the intercession of Milton, who pleaded successfully for the lesser poet's life.

Virginians were by no means calm spectators of the bitter strife among their countrymen at home, but the great body of the older settlers, whose chief interests were in Virginia, did not let political excitements interfere with the steady progress of the colony. Trade was comparatively unrestricted, for there was laxity in enforcing regulations while the rights of conflicting parties were in question. More than thirty vessels annually brought out English goods and took back cargoes of native products. Men did not cease to smoke Virginian tobacco because they were passing through a great political convulsion; and that continued to be the great staple of the colony, though the price had sunk to threepence the pound. As the planters increased in wealth they added to their plantations, and attached themselves to their homes by building spacious mansions, and surrounding them with all the appliances of generous and luxurious living at their command. There was no lack of skilled labor, for among the fifteen thousand English² who made up the population of the colony in 1648, there were workmen in every branch, and new experiments were making in all directions — in smelting iron, in hemp and flax cul-
Condition of the colony. ture, in vine-raising, in the making of indigo, and the manufacture of brick. There are few years in the early colonial history of Virginia more marked by general activity and prosperity than those four during which England was convulsed with civil war, and the province was left practically to its own devices.

The Long Parliament turned, at length, when some signs of tran-

¹ Davenant's *Gondibert*, book ii., Canto v.

² *A Perfect Description of Virginia, etc.*, in *Force*, ii.



THE SURRENDER OF JAMESTOWN.

quillity at home permitted, to the subjection of those distant colonies which hitherto had remained faithful to the royal cause. Barbadoes, Bermuda, and Antigua had refused to recognize the government of the Commonwealth; the Assembly of Virginia had openly denounced the execution of the king, and enacted a law, making it treason to asperse his memory or question the lawful succession of his son. The neighboring province of Maryland was looked upon with suspicion, though Lord Baltimore had spared no effort to gain the favor of the party in power. In October, 1650, Parliament had decreed the prohibition of trade with the uncompliant colonies, and appointed commissioners to bring them to obedience.

Sir George Ayscue was sent to the islands with a formidable fleet; soon after, in September 1651, Captain Robert Dennis was ordered to sail with a smaller squadron to the Chesapeake. Parliamentary commissioners sent to Virginia. The expedition carried a regiment of soldiers and a hundred and fifty prisoners from the battle of Worcester, who were to be sold as servants in Virginia. Dennis found Ayscue at Barbadoes, and with his regiment, assisted by the prisoners, enabled him to take the island where for two months his landing had been bravely resisted.

When the fleet arrived in the James River, early in March 1652, it was under the command of Captain Edward Curtis, also a commissioner, for Dennis in his ship the *John* had been Surrender of Berkeley. lost at sea, and with him Stagg, the third commissioner. Jamestown was at once summoned to surrender. Berkeley, it is said, sought to arouse his fellow-officials, but this is improbable, as such resistance would have been useless, though perhaps the sturdy cavalier vented his feelings in some last defiant speech to his more vacillating council. At all events, the colony's submission was not long delayed, and on the twelfth of March the Governor signed articles of capitulation, and handed over the affairs of the province to the Parliamentary Commissioners.

The terms of the surrender were liberal, including an act of amnesty and oblivion for past offences; liberty to the Governor and Council to refrain for a year, if they desired to do so, from swearing allegiance to the Commonwealth; a confirmation of the right of assembly, and a promise that no taxes should be imposed upon the province without its consent; and a provision that all land grants, deeds, debts, and rights in private property, should be unimpaired by the change of government. With a liberality rare in Puritan dealings with religious matters, it was also set forth in the capitulation that "the use of the book of common prayer" should be permitted for one year ensuing, provided that such parts as related to "Kingship" and the royal government should not be used in public. To Berkeley and his officers

great courtesy was shown; liberty was granted them to sell their estates and remove from the colony whither they pleased within a year; meanwhile their property was exempted from examination or seizure, and protection and "equal justice" were promised to them under the new government.

Besides the commissioners who sailed from England in the fleet — Dennis, Stagg, and Curtis (or Courteis) were two others — Rich-



Supposed Portrait of William Clayborne.

ard Bennett, a Virginia Puritan whom persecution, it is said, had driven to England, and William Clayborne, already distinguished in the history of the colony. Curtis probably soon returned in his ship to England, and the power and responsibility therefore devolved upon Bennett and Clayborne, who established a provisional government with Bennett at its head. That both men were highly esteemed by all the colonists seems evident in the ready acquiescence with which their rule was accepted.

No Virginian was more deserving of such esteem, or more fit to be entrusted by Parliament at this time with the conduct of

affairs, than Clayborne. If his career had hitherto been turbulent, it was so in the maintenance of the rights of the colony; if he had been unfortunate, it was because of the injustice of the king. His

Character of
William
Clayborne.

family, of the county of Westmoreland,¹ was an ancient and influential one, and was zealous, perhaps distinguished in the north of England, in upholding the Protestant faith. It is neither improbable nor impossible that there should have been enmity between such a family and that of the Calverts, of the neighboring county of York, so devoted to the church of Rome. Clayborne certainly opposed the settlement of a colony of Catholics on Chesapeake Bay, before any question arose as to the possession of Kent Island. The desire to secure this small portion of his grant seems hardly an adequate motive for the hostility which Baltimore showed to Clayborne.

¹ He was the second son of Sir Edmund — not Edward as Neill says in his *English Colonization of America* — Cleiburne (or Clayborne) of Cleiburne Hall. The portrait is that of William or his son — it is not quite certain which.

They may have simply hated each other with that fervor then thought so becoming to all good Christians travelling different roads to Heaven; but there is, besides, the suspicion of a tenderer influence in the conduct of Calvert. He had failed in his suit for the hand of Agnes, the lovely daughter of the rich and powerful Sir Richard Lowther of Lowther, where Thomas Clayborne, William's elder brother, was successful.

At any rate Clayborne's ancient grievance was well grounded. Kent Island was within the boundaries of the patent of the Virginia company; he, who was the secretary of the colony, and its surveyor general, had taken possession of this island and established there a trading-post by virtue of a royal commission for trade and discovery, and a similar permit from the Company. There was not only priority of date in his favor, but he could enforce that plea — afterward used so successfully by the Dutch and the Pennsylvanians in relation to the region on Delaware Bay — that the grant to Lord Baltimore, whatever might be its nominal boundaries, limited him to the possession only of lands hitherto uncultivated — *hactenus inculta*. In the course of that long and bitter controversy the Governor and council of Virginia had declared in 1634 that they were in duty bound to maintain their right to the Isle of Kent, and a royal order had decided in Clayborne's favor and against Lord Baltimore. Whatever may have been his motives, the influence of Baltimore at court was strong enough to procure a reversal of this decision in spite of Clayborne's complaint that the royal order was disregarded, and his offer to pay a large rental for the lands which were his by right of discovery and occupation.¹

It was not in Clayborne's nature to be a lukewarm partisan, even if he had not had the remembrance of such wrongs, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, to influence him. But he was a Parliament man both from religious and political convictions, and not that

Signature of William Clayborne.

he might gain his personal ends. That he did not permit his private griefs to shape his public acts is clear from the moderation of his conduct now that Maryland was, in a measure, in his power. It was fortunate for both colonies that the conduct of affairs was entrusted to two such men as he and Bennett, for the latter, as Governor of Virginia, seems never, for his part, to have remembered that under Sir William Berkeley he had been compelled to escape persecution by flight.

¹ MS. notes upon Clayborne, collated in England by Mr. C. J. Hubbard of Portsmouth, N. H. — *English State Papers*.

The commission from Parliament empowered them to reduce "all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake," and there is nothing in all the negotiations to which the subsequent troubles gave rise to suggest that this commission was not meant to embrace Maryland. The commissioners assumed that it did, and after the submission of Jamestown they sailed on board the *Guinea* for Saint Mary's, the capital of Maryland, and demanded of Governor Stone (the successor of that Thomas Green whom Leonard Calvert had appointed on his death-bed),¹ an oath of conformity to the laws of the Commonwealth. If this were given, they declared, they would not interfere in any way with the government of the Lord Proprietary or disturb his officers. This, at first, Stone refused, and the Commissioners deposed him and his council, and appointed a provisional council in their place. But on a subsequent visit of the Commissioners the Maryland governor reviewed his former decision, and was restored to office on condition that he should issue his writs and other official papers "in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England by authority of Parliament," while he was still "to reserve and save to himself" his oath to Lord Baltimore as proprietor of the province, till "the pleasure of the state of England be further known."

It would have been impossible for the Commissioners to be more moderate and considerate, and to have obeyed at the same time, in any degree, the instructions, as they understood them, of Parliament. Indeed, the advantage was on Stone's side, so far at least as to gain time, for he held in reservation the right of Lord Baltimore. The expedient, as might have been foreseen, led in due season to inevitable trouble.

Before those troubles came, however, one act of tardy justice was done. At the first sitting of the court after the return of Stone to his office of governor, a commission was appointed — consisting entirely of residents of Maryland with the exception of Governor Bennett of Virginia — to conclude a treaty of peace with the tribe of Susquehanocks. Its first article conveyed to the English the country from the Patuxent to the Susquehanna, on the west side of Chesapeake Bay, and from the Choptank to the Elke on the east side, with the islands, rivers, creeks, etc., etc., "and whatsoever else to the same belonging, excepting the Isle of Kent and Palmer's Island which belong to Captain Clayborne." The acknowledgment may have been an act of political expediency, but it was none the less one of simple justice.

There were grievances and differences enough still remaining. Lord Baltimore, when tidings of events in Maryland reached him, appeared

¹ Vol. i., p. 514.

by petition, in August, 1652, before the Long Parliament, setting forth his claims to the colony and asking for redress.¹ From that body he obtained little consideration, though he urged on his own behalf that while Virginia had adhered faithfully to the king, Maryland, like New England, had not declared against the Parliament. Humble as this submission was from one who had been so devoted a friend to the late king, it availed nothing; for nearly eighteen months later (January, 1654) the Governor and Assembly of Virginia are advised by the Council of State that the Lord Protector, to whom, with successive parliaments, the government of the Commonwealth was now intrusted, had taken upon himself the settlement of the differences between Lord Baltimore and the Virginians.²

It may be that the hope of redress either from Parliament or Cromwell, induced Lord Baltimore to submit, for a while, to the compromise which Stone had made with the Parliamentary Commissioners. As late as November, 1653, the Governor of Maryland gives as the reason for not holding a general court that it was requisite that "some directions out of England touching the government here," should be received before there could be anything for a general court to do;³ and, he says, there had been no arrival of English ships.

Instructions from the proprietary were on the way. Satisfied, no doubt, that however much he might abase himself he could gain nothing of the Long Parliament, nor of Cromwell himself, when he had dispersed that body and assembled its successor, Baltimore wrote to Stone, reproaching him for submitting to the Commissioners, accusing him of cowardice, ordering him to restore the proprietary government, to issue all public papers in the name of the lord proprietor, and to demand the oath of fidelity to him from the land-holders of the province. In January, 1654, Stone issued a decree in accordance with these instructions.



Oliver Cromwell.

Lord Baltimore protests.

Fresh instructions from Lord Baltimore.

¹ Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 338.

² Sainsbury's *Calendar*, p. 412.

³ Bozman's *History of Maryland*.

The unhappy Governor found it hard to serve two masters. Not many weeks after he had thus reversed the order of affairs in obedience to Baltimore, tidings arrived of the dispersion by Cromwell of his second Parliament. Thereupon Stone issued, early in May, another proclamation acknowledging Cromwell as "the lord protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging," and declaring the government of Maryland under the lord proprietary to be therefore "subordinate unto and dependent upon" that commonwealth. In commemoration of this solemn event he proclaimed a general pardon for all offences committed in the province with certain exceptions. But these exceptions he declared, before the month had expired, were — beside murder, treason, and unsatisfied forfeitures — "rebellion, conspiracy, combination, or endeavour used at any time heretofore by any person against the lord proprietary's right and dominion over this province."

Such a declaration could only have been meant to be a defiance of Bennett and Clayborne, the Parliamentary Commissioners. That there should be no doubt, however, on this point, Stone issued, a few weeks later, another proclamation relating to affairs in Calvert County, — where, by Lord Baltimore's express order, he had removed the Puritan sheriff from office, — in which he charged the Commissioners with leading the people into "faction, sedition, and rebellion" against the lord proprietor.

Bennett and Clayborne, however, were not men to be frightened by proclamations. They in their turn issued a manifesto, and by authority of commands which, they declared, they had "lately received" from Cromwell, brushed away with little ceremony all that Stone had lately done on behalf of the proprietary government, removed the Catholic officers, and appointed a board of commissioners to govern Maryland in the name of the Protector.¹ Stone yielded without resistance, though not without some "opprobrious and uncivil language," and resigned his office.

Under the new Commissioners there followed some months of undisputed Puritan rule, and of that peace which Puritans so often secured by tolerating no religious faith but their own. Lord Baltimore again protested, however, when the tidings reached England, against this infringement of his rights, again reproached Stone with faithlessness and cowardice, and sent an agent to the colony to make this protest and these reproaches the more emphatic. Stone, yielding as usual to the influence last brought to bear upon him, resolved upon another revolution.

In January, 1655, he issued military commissions and rallied his

¹ Neill's *Terra Marica*, p. 121.

forces. The Commissioners had removed the archives from St. Mary's to their new capital, the house of a Mr. Preston on the Patuxent. Stone's first object was to recover and bring them back. At Preston's house there was deposited a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, which Stone also seized. It

Military
preparations
by Governor
Stone

is said¹ that he issued at the same time a proclamation to persuade the people of Patuxent and of Providence — now Annapolis — that in restoring the proprietary government he had no unfriendly purpose toward them, who were Puritans. He, nevertheless, searched other houses than Mr. Preston's for arms and ammunition, and when the Commissioners sent messengers to ask the meaning of his acts he threw them into prison.

His force in March had reached the number of about two hundred men, and then he abandoned all pretence of a peaceful return to power.

He resolved to compel the Puritans of Anne Arundel County by arms to submit to his government, and to that end embarked his men on board twelve boats to go up Chesapeake Bay to the Severn opposite Kent Island. It was in this neighborhood that the Puritan settlements had chiefly been made, as those of the Catholics were about St. Mary's.

The fleet of boats was met on its way up the Bay by messengers who protested against this hostile approach, and declared, if no terms of settlement could be agreed upon, that those who sent them were ready to "die like men rather than live like slaves." Stone seized these men and their boat, but a part of them escaped



Stone at Preston's House.

¹ Bozman.

Expedition
up the Bay.

and returned to report the character of the expedition. Somewhere on the Bay he chased and fired into a New England vessel.¹ At Herring Creek he captured one of the Commissioners and detained him as a prisoner. From this point or near it he sent forward one



Posting the Notice on the "Golden Lion."

Dr. Barber and a Mr. Coursey, to demand the surrender of the Puritans and to publish a proclamation to the people of Anne Arundel County, declaring that he came with no hostile intent, but that he sought to reclaim them by fair means only.² Nevertheless the fleet proceeded, and on the 24th of March, twelve days after its departure from St. Mary's, anchored at the mouth of the Severn.

In the Severn lay a large merchant-

ship, the *Golden Lion*, and on her mainmast, William Durand, the Puritan secretary of the Colony, had affixed an official order requiring her commander in the name of the Protector to aid in the defence of the people against the approach of Stone. A shot from the ship met the advancing fleet as they came into the outer harbor, and another fell among the boats as Stone ordered his men to land on Horn Point, a part of the present city of Annapolis, between the Severn and a creek which is the southern boundary of the peninsula. Stone took his vessels further up the

The battle
on the
Severn.

¹ Papers relating to Maryland in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. v.

² Barber's letter to Cromwell in Bozman. Neill's *Terra Mariæ and English Colonization in America*. McSherry's *History of Maryland*. There are incongruities in the different narratives which it is difficult to reconcile. It is said that Barber was promised the governorship, if Stone did not obey the orders of Baltimore, while on the other hand he is represented as being a friend of Cromwell, as having been attached to his family, and serving in the Parliament army. Apparently his sympathies were with Stone.

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creek, and landing his men marched inland, probably out of reach of the guns of the *Golden Lion*, whose captain, Heamans, returned a defiant answer to Stone's remonstrance.

The invading party were elate and confident, making their landing "with drums and shōutings," calling out for the "Round-head dogs and rogues," threatening them with "whole bagfuls of chewed Bullets rolled in powder," and crying "The Devil take him that spares any."¹ But Stone had blundered. In the course of the night the *Golden Lion*, with several smaller vessels, had sailed up the creek, and when day broke they opened fire across the point upon Stone's force and compelled them to march still further up the peninsula.

But when they had put themselves out of the reach of this attack in the rear, they suddenly found themselves confronted by a hundred and twenty men, who had marched out from Providence to intercept their advance. Retreat was useless, even if it were possible in the face of the fire from the ships, for one John Cutts, in a small New England vessel, had taken possession of all their boats and the provision and ammunition left on board.² The enemy confronting them on land was under the command of Captain Fuller, the head of the board of Puritan commissioners. He ordered his men, it is said, not to strike the first blow.³ But the first blow had been struck already when Captain Heamans of the *Golden Lion* had fired upon Stone's men and killed one of them. There seemed nothing else to do but fight or surrender. Should they lay down their arms before a force they outnumbered? At least they were not cowards.

With the cry of "Hey, for St. Mary's!" they rushed on the enemy. The Puritans met blow for blow, and cry for cry, shouting "In the name of God fall on! God is our strength!" The battle was furious while it lasted, but it did not last long. The Puritans were always good fighters; religious zeal was stronger than numbers. They were inspired with a belief in "the glorious presence of the Lord of hosts, manifested in and towards his poor oppressed people."⁴ Against men so inspirited the Catholics "could not endure, but gave back." Fifty were slain and wounded; four or five only escaped by flight; the rest were taken prisoners, and the whole field "was strewed with Papist beads." On the other side two only were killed in the fight, and two died afterwards from their wounds.

This success was followed up with more vigor than mercy. A

¹ *Virginia and Maryland* in Force's Tracts, vol. ii.

² *Leah and Rachel*. Force's Tracts, vol. iii.

³ *Babylon's Fall in America*, the fullest narrative of these occurrences. It was written by Leonard Strong, who was one of Fuller's associates on the Board of Commissioners, and meant to tell the best story possible for his own side.

⁴ *Ibid.*

court-martial was speedily summoned, and four of the leaders, one of them a councillor, were sentenced to death, and so also was Stone.¹ The four were executed, but Stone's life was spared at the intercession of some who had fought against him. The lives of the rest of his councillors were saved by the petitions of the women and some other friends.²

The battle was fought, the Catholics were deposed, and Puritan government firmly established in Maryland, before a letter was re-



The Battle at the Mouth of the Severn.

ceived from Cromwell, which, had it come sooner, might have prevented these events. The Protector, moved by the entreaties and representations of Lord Baltimore, had written in January
Letter of Cromwell to Governor Bennett. to Governor Bennett of Virginia, forbidding any intercourse with the affairs of Maryland till all questions in regard to the boundaries between Virginia and Maryland had been settled in England. "We . . . will and require you," said the latter, "to forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his officers, or people in

¹ *Leah and Rachel.*

² Letter of Mrs. Stone to Lord Baltimore in Neill's *Terra Maria*, p. 124.

Maryland, and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you.”¹

Though the question of boundaries was the point specially referred to, it might be doubted whether the Commissioners had not been ignorantly acting against the wishes of the Protector. It was, no doubt, to justify himself, and to explain the condition of affairs to the Protector, that Governor Bennett went to England, soon after the fight on the Severn, as agent for Virginia with Captain Mathews. The exigency was quite serious enough for a personal explanation. English subjects had been killed in battle; officers appointed under Lord Baltimore's patent had been ignominiously hanged; the proprietary government of Maryland had been completely subverted; and all the while a letter from the Lord Protector was on its way which perhaps was intended to forbid any interference whatever in the affairs of that colony. The turbulence of the times, indeed, might make such things seem comparatively of little moment; but disobedience to the orders of one who had never brooked opposition to his will might well excite the gravest apprehensions. It was for this reason, no doubt, that the Council of Virginia made haste, after the departure of Bennett, to disavow all responsibility for what had been done in Maryland.

Bennett, nevertheless, was so far successful in his mission that Cromwell wrote in September another letter, explaining that of the previous January. It was intended only, he said, “to prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the plantations of Virginia or Maryland from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds,” but did not mean to intimate that a stop should be “put to the proceedings of those commissioners who were authorized to settle the civil government of Maryland.” That the Commissioners had not exceeded the power entrusted to them to reduce “all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake” to obedience to the Commonwealth of England seems conclusively settled by this letter.

But the civil government of Maryland was not settled, notwithstanding the success of one party and the defeat of the other, for a doubt still prevailed for a time as to the right of either. While Bennett and Mathews were pleading their case before the Protector, Baltimore sent out to Josias Fendall a commission as his deputy governor. Fendall had been in the fight on the Severn, under Stone, and the commission found him just released from prison, even if he was not still within the walls of a jail. He made good use of his lib-

¹ This letter, which Bosman thought was lost, has been recovered, and is published by Campbell.

erty, however, when he gained it, and attempted, with more or less success, to establish the authority of the proprietor, with the assistance of Philip Calvert, an illegitimate son, it is said, of the first Lord Baltimore, as secretary. On the other hand, Captain Fuller, on the part of the Commissioners, asserted their jurisdiction, called a meeting of the General Assembly, enacted laws, and assumed the control of the affairs of the colony in the name of the Protector. The Puritans on the Severn and the Patuxent recognized and obeyed one government; the Catholics about St. Mary's recognized and obeyed the other.

Meanwhile the questions at issue were under consideration and debate in England. Cromwell referred them to the Council of State, and the Council of State handed them over to the Commissioners of Trade. It was two years before any conclusion was reached; but in November, 1657, an agreement was entered into, in England, between Lord Baltimore and the agents, Bennett and Mathews. This, in March following, was first modified and then ratified in Maryland by Fendall on the one side, and Fuller and his council on the other, and the leading men among both Catholics and Puritans, as the representatives of the people at large. It was provided that all past offences be condoned; that there never should be, with the assent of Lord Baltimore, any interference with the liberty of conscience; that from those then resident in the colony no oath of fidelity to his lordship should be required, but simply a promise of submission to his authority, which was again paramount as Lord Proprietor; that land warrants should be granted, and acts of past assemblies held to be legal, without regard to the differences and disturbances of recent years.

When Bennett resigned the office of Governor of Virginia, in 1655, to take that of agent in England, Edward Digges, who was also a member of the Parliamentary party, was chosen by the Assembly to take his place. He remained in office, however, only a year, when he also went to England as agent, where his influence proved to be potent in bringing about the final settlement of affairs in Maryland. Mathews succeeded him as governor, and continued in that office, it is supposed, till his death, in 1659, though he seems to have been in England in 1657, when his signature appears to the agreement between Lord Baltimore and the Virginia agents.

For an interval of several years the colony has no history except in the quiet enactment of laws which show, in their aim at regulating the ordinary conduct of the citizens, that no great affairs of state engaged their attention. Thus the keeping of the Sabbath was enjoined by law; a penalty was pronounced upon those

Settlement
of disputes
between
Virginia and
Maryland.

Edward
Digges
chosen gov-
ernor of Vir-
ginia.

Succeeded
by Mathews.

Legislative
acts.

who invented or spread untruthful reports; attorneys at law were expelled from the courts and prohibited from taking fees; the weight and dimensions of a hogshead of tobacco were limited by statute, and an export duty upon that staple levied when in foreign bottoms or shipped to foreign ports; the food, the clothing, and the good treatment of servants were cared for; servitude as a legal penalty was abolished; the right of suffrage was secured to all who paid taxes; the Indians were protected in the possession of their lands, and the kidnapping of their children was prohibited.¹ Such legislation marked a period of tranquillity and progress.

Puritanism, which had never made any very deep impression in Virginia, gradually lost its influence and control after the death of Cromwell. A cause that was declining in its strong-^{Decline of Puritanism} hold at home, could hardly gain in the colony where it had little strength of its own. During the year in which England was preparing itself for the restoration of the King by putting aside the new Protector, Richard Cromwell, the assembling and dispersion of the old House of Commons and the election of a new one, and the march of Monk from Edinburgh to London, Virginia was without a governor. From the death of Mathews, in the spring of 1659, till the spring of 1660, the people-awaited events at home.

In March the General Assembly, after declaring that as the state in England had no acknowledged head, and that the government of the colony vested in itself, elected Sir William Berkeley governor, afterward confirmed by a commission^{Sir William Berkeley recalled.} from the King. Though this was in some sense a triumph of his party, the address of the old royalist was cautious and conciliatory. "I do, therefore," he said, "in the presence of God and you, make this safe protestation for us all, — that if any supreme settled power appears, I will immediately lay down my commission, but will live most submissively obedient to any power God shall set over me, as the experience of eight years has shewed I have done." He candidly confessed that he had unwillingly surrendered to the Parliament, — "God pardon me!" he said, as he recalled it, — and that he "would not voluntarily have made choice" of those who had been set over him "for his supremes;" but he wished to make "this truth apparent," that he had lived like a good citizen "under all these mutable governments of divers natures and constitutions." That he would not have held office under the Commonwealth, and would not now if it continued, was the tenor of his speech; but he left his hearers to infer the unexpressed hope, which doubtless a considerable majority of them shared, that the house of his "ever honored master" would

¹ Heing's *Statutes*, *passim*.

soon regain the throne. Two months later this wish was fulfilled, and the news of the restoration of the King was welcomed generally in Virginia with as much joy as it was received by the Governor himself.

When the new commission was sent by Charles II. to Sir William Berkeley, the faithful cavalier in reply sent a delighted letter, Address to Charles II. saying that he had only held office during the interregnum, as one who had leaped "over the fold to save your Majesty's flock, when your Majesty's enemies of that fold had barred up the lawful entrance into it and enclosed the wolves of schism and rebellion." The Assembly also voted an address to Charles; and referred in bitter terms to the Commonwealth that had governed them so well, as "that



Berkeley's Address to the Assembly.

execrable power that so bloodily massacred the late King Charles the First of ever blessed and glorious memory" — a memory that should now be kept alive in the colony, as they decreed, by an annual fast upon the thirtieth of January, the anniversary of his execution. Perhaps the Puritans of the Assembly were reconciled to these proceedings by the personal consideration that was otherwise accorded them. Bennett, the late Puritan Governor, was first named in the Council of State, and Clayborne, who had been secretary under Bennett, Digges, and Mathews, was continued in that office by Berkeley.

A considerable change in the character of the government of the colony was, however, soon made apparent. The new Assembly of 1661, which was almost exclusively royalist, empowered the Governor and Council to levy taxes for three years, dispensing, thereby, with the necessity of calling the House together oftener, except in case of some unusual emergency. At the same session the right of prorogation was granted, and as a consequence there was for the next fifteen years no popular election. Hitherto, the representatives had been paid by the counties that elected them; but the Assembly, which had provided for its own permanence, fixed also the rate of remuneration of its members at about two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco a day, or about nine dollars. The salary of the Governor, which was in the same tobacco currency, was not less exorbitant according to the money value of the time, and was equal to the whole annual expenditure of the colony of Connecticut.¹ The virtual monopoly of the trade with the Indians was also given him by prohibiting any traffic in furs except under his commission. The colonial laws generally, were from time to time revised, and on the third revision in 1662, under the direction of Francis Morrison and Henry Randolph, it was ordered that all those which "might keep in memory our forced deviation from his Majesty's obedience" should be erased from the statutes. The laws relating to the Indians, however, aimed more than any laws had hitherto done to secure their well-being. Encroachment upon, or even purchase of their lands was forbidden. None were to be sold as slaves, though they could be indented as servants for a limited period, as the English themselves were; and while they were generally to be responsible to the law, they were to be under its protection.²

Character of the new government.

Laws relating to negro slaves.

Legislation upon the slavery of the blacks had no such humane purpose. The common law of England, that the children of mixed parentage should follow the condition of the father, was reversed and the maxim of the Roman law adopted, that the children should be bond or free according to the condition of the mother — *pars sequitur ventrem*. All of mixed blood, therefore, — and the hybrid race began to be manifest from the first introduction of African women — were born slaves for life. If there were any exception, it was in the case of the offspring of free white women and slave fathers, and that may seem in our time too improbable to be noticed. But it should be considered that the antipathy to the African, — no deeper naturally than that which always exists between different races — has been intensified by two centuries of servitude. It exercised but little influence two hundred years ago, when whites

¹ Bancroft.

² Hening's *Statutes*.

as well as blacks were slaves in Virginia, and where the larger proportion of these white slaves were from the lowest dregs of English society,—from the gutters, the jails, and the brothels,—and were hardly more than half civilized. That the women of this large class of the population should intermarry with negroes was not merely possible; it was common enough to become in Maryland the subject of legislation. It was provided in that colony, in 1663, that any free-born English woman who should marry a slave should serve his master during the life of her husband, and that all her issue should be “slaves as their fathers were.”¹

The spirit, if not the letter of the law, however, in regard to black mothers, was undoubtedly the same then in the two colonies as it was in later times in all the slave-holding portion of the country. Servitude was the penalty for any admixture of African blood on the mother's side. Literally the sins of the fathers were heavily visited upon the children, while it soon ceased to be a question whether there could be any serious immorality in a relation which legislators were careful, without condemning, to turn into a source of so much worldly wealth.

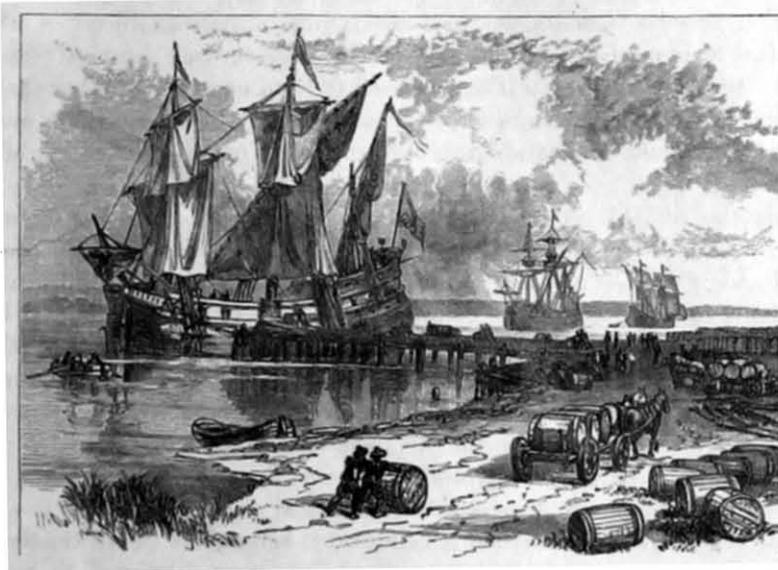
By the revised code it was provided that the Church of England be the established church of the colony. But there was at the same time some pretence of toleration. It was declared that no man was to be “molested or disquieted in the exercise of his religion, so he be content with a quiet and peaceable enjoying it;” yet the oaths of obedience and supremacy—those parts of which relating to the establishment the Puritans could not conscientiously take—were exacted, and the non-conformist was not permitted to teach even in private.² In 1662 a fine of two thousand pounds of tobacco was imposed upon all “schismatical persons” who, “out of their averseness to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions,” refused to have their children baptized; and those attending meetings of Separatists were heavily fined for the first and second offence, and banished on its repetition a third time. Such penalties had long been enforced against the Friends, whose presence in Virginia had been no more tolerable to the Puritans than it was now to the Established Church. Many of these persecuted people were driven into North Carolina, for the laws were enforced against them with much more severity than against any other class of dissenters.

Much uneasiness and alarm was aroused when the news arrived

¹ *A Sketch of the Laws Relating to Slavery in the Several States in the United States.* By George M. Stroud, 1827.

² Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church.*

that the first Parliament of the restored king had made the Navigation Act more than ever obnoxious to the interests of the colonies, and that it was to be rigidly enforced. This was The Navigation Act. a grievance about which Royalist and Puritan were of one mind. Sir William Berkeley went to England in May, 1661, to represent how seriously the prosperity of the colony was hindered by the enforcement of such a law against its trade. He remained in England more than a year, Francis Morrison acting as governor in his absence; but his mission, so far as the Navigation Act was concerned, was fruitless, though he was more fortunate in the advancement of his own interests, for he obtained a grant for himself and others of that part of Virginia territory afterward known as North Carolina.



Tobacco Ships in the James.

The interests of the colony, nevertheless, were stronger than acts of Parliament, for its prosperity depended largely upon free trade in the one great staple, tobacco. Even without interference from Parliament, there was enough to contend with, Trade in and cultivation of tobacco. for the supply of that staple usually exceeded the demand. To regulate its production—to force by penalties the raising of more corn and less tobacco—was from the beginning of these settlements the constant aim of legislation in Virginia and Maryland; but the attempt to set aside the natural law of political economy by statute was as futile here as the attempt to prevent the trade to foreign ports when the tobacco was ready for shipment. Equally futile was it to expect

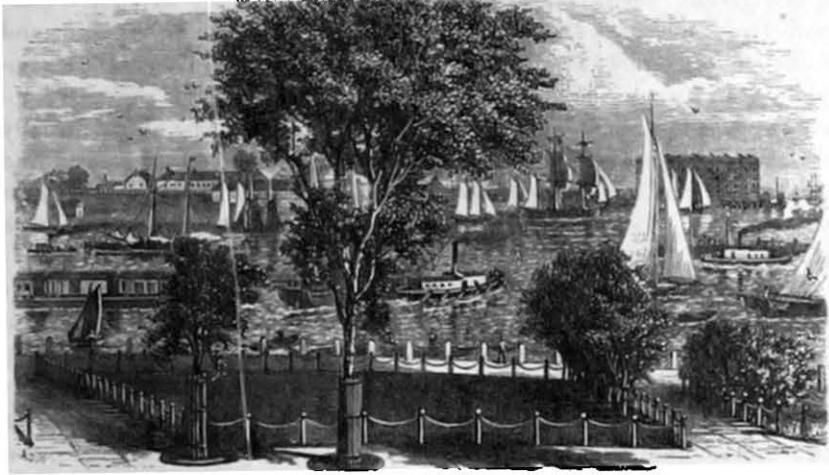
to create by legislative act towns into which the people should gather. The people were planters, and, with their servants and slaves, were scattered on the great plantations along the banks of the James and other rivers. The planters with these large grants of land were comparatively few; the slaves and servants many. To live in towns and to be supported by diversified industry was impossible to such a people, for slaves can be devoted only to unskilled labor. To raise tobacco, therefore, to be shipped directly from the river-bank — usually the water-front of the plantation — was the chief employment and support of the colonial planters, and it was equally difficult to limit production by local laws or to confine the foreign trade to an English channel.

The last especially, it was found impossible to do, so long as the Dutch Colony of New Netherland offered every facility for a contraband commerce which English law could not reach, and in which both English and Dutch vessels could so easily engage. The grant to the Duke of York of the territory of the Dutch was not merely a royal gift to the brother of the King. It was meant to add to the revenues of the King himself, by making it possible to enforce the Navigation Act, and to control the tobacco trade of Virginia. That the Dutch province on the Hudson should belong to the English was sure in the end, whatever might be the ulterior purposes of Charles, to be a benefit to New England. To the people of Virginia, it was of no territorial advantage, but a direct interference with their freedom of trade and an immediate injury to their prosperity. It was the inevitable antagonism of free and slave labor.

The severity of the laws in the early years of the restored royal government, and perhaps, the evident intent of the colonial Assembly to grasp at irresponsible power, caused much discontent among the people. In 1663, after the return of Berkeley from England, a plot was discovered to overthrow the government. But as it seems to have been confined to some of Cromwell's soldiers who had been sent out and sold as servants — a disposition of prisoners to which both parties resorted — it had its origin, probably, in a general political and religious discontent, rather than in any special complaint of particular laws. It was suppressed, however, without much difficulty, though it was thought to be serious enough to warrant the execution by hanging of four of the ring-leaders, and for setting apart the 13th of September, the day fixed for the insurrection, as a day of annual thanksgiving.

Northern
and South-
ern inter-
ests.

A plot dis-
covered
among
Cromwellian
soldiers.



Governor's island and the Battery.

CHAPTER X.

THE LATTER YEARS OF NEW NETHERLAND.

NEW AMSTERDAM INVADDED BY INDIANS. — DESTRUCTION OF PAVONIA. — MASSACRE AND DEVASTATION ELSEWHERE. — JUDICIOUS POLICY OF THE DIRECTOR. — CONTRAST IN FRENCH AND DUTCH TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES. — THE RESULT. — THE ESOPUS WAR. — STUYVESANT'S DETERMINATION TO ESTABLISH RELIGIOUS UNIFORMITY. — PERSECUTION OF THE LUTHERANS AND QUAKERS. — INDIFFERENCE OF THE DUTCH TO RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY. — STUYVESANT REBUKED BY THE AMSTERDAM CHAMBER. — CRUEL PUNISHMENT OF A QUAKER. — BANISHMENT OF JOHN BOWNE AND HIS TRIUMPHANT RETURN FROM HOLLAND. — GROWTH OF NEW NETHERLAND.

A MORE prudent ruler than Stuyvesant would have hesitated to take between six or seven hundred men from New Amsterdam, even for so important a purpose as the reduction of New Sweden. However confident he might feel that the New Englanders would be faithful to the terms of the recent treaty of peace, he would have known how little reliance could be placed upon any promise of friendship from the Indians. It needed only the smallest pretext at any time to arouse the savages, eager for plunder and thirsty for blood, to carry desolation and death into the villages and farms of the whites; and the more certain they were that their victims would be defenceless, the shriller would be their war-cry and the louder their boasts of their own prowess and bravery. When Stuyvesant sailed for the South River with so large

a proportion of the fighting men of New Netherland, it does not seem to have occurred to him how imminent a danger he left behind.

While he was busy before Fort Christina, New Amsterdam was aroused one September morning to find its streets swarming with nearly two thousand naked warriors, gathered of several tribes from far up the North River, from the extremity of Long Island, and from the mainland of Connecticut. All day they roamed through the town, breaking into houses on the pretence of seeking for northern Indians, and hinting at redress for the death of a squaw whom Van Dyck, the late Attorney-general, had shot at his farm on Staten Island, for stealing fruit from his garden. Persuasion was wiser than resistance against so large a body, many of whom were well armed, and the frightened burghers with their wives and children submitted for hours to insolence and outrage they did not dare, or thought it more prudent not to resist.

The invaders agreed at last to leave the town at sunset, to paddle over to Nutten (Governor's) Island, and there await the result of a conference to be held between their chiefs and the magistrates. But a conflict could only be delayed, not avoided, even if the savages meant anything more by their promise than to gain time for the advantage of confusion in a night attack. Either the Indians grew bolder or the Dutch less prudent, for a fight was begun by one side or the other, and there was an end then of all talk of peaceful negotiation.

Van Dyck was brought down with an arrow in the breast; Captain Van der Grist was cloven to the ground with an axe. Shouts of alarm and cries of murder rung through the streets, and the timid and the feeble ran to put themselves under the protection of the stronger and bolder, or to hide themselves in some place of safety. The military, who had been prudently ordered to the fort to be ready for an emergency, marched to the rescue of the citizens. An organized attack was too much for the savages; they were driven to their canoes, but their defence was so desperate that they left three dead warriors upon the beach. In the assault, two of the Dutch were killed and three others wounded. Mobs are dispersed now with results quite as serious; it was a respectable Indian fight in the seventeenth century that counted even less than half a dozen dead.

The fleet of canoes pulled out into the stream. They did not go to Nutten Island, and were lost to sight in the darkness, though over the water came out of the night their yells of vengeance and defiance. The people of New Amsterdam, relieved from the terrible fear of an immediate massacre, watched anxiously along the shore, straining their eyes and ears to catch any sign of the purpose of the enemy. They had not long to wait.

Over Pavonia and Hoboken sprung a sudden light. Along the beach of Manhattan Island the pitying people gathered, dreading what next the night might bring forth, watching the forked flames as they shot into the reddening sky, listening helplessly for the mingled shrieks of agony and despair, the whoop of savage hate and fury, the crackling of the fire as it leaped from house to house, the moans and cries of terror from maddened beasts. Pavonia in a little while was a heap of burning coals and ashes; not a house was spared; save in a single family not a man was left alive; the cattle were all dead, the crops destroyed; with a rare mercy only the women and children were spared and carried off as prisoners.



Destruction of Pavonia.

It would be easy to see from the shores of Staten Island, over whose beautiful hills were scattered many pleasant boweries, the burning village of Pavonia. But the cause of the fire may not have been known. When its work was done, the savages, drunk with success and blood, sprung to their canoes and paddled across the Bay straight for the Island. In the farm-houses on the peaceful hill-sides slept ninety people, men, women, and children. The paddles of between sixty and seventy canoes broke the silence of the night; the alarm was given in time for many to escape; others were too late or lost their lives in a vain attempt at defence. Twenty-three were killed, and the morning sun rose upon the new silence of death and desolation, upon ruined homes, on desolate hearth-

Raids upon
Staten Isl-
and, and
elsewhere.

stones, on dead cattle lying among the trampled grain, where the night before smiled peace, and plenty, and content.

For three days bands of exultant savages harried the villages and farms about the Bay and along the river. At Gravesend lived a Lady Moody, — an English lady whom religious intolerance had driven out of Massachusetts more than a dozen years before, and to whom Kieft had made a grant of lands for the bravery of her followers in defending themselves against the Indians in the war of that period. Her house was now again attacked, though discrimination usually was made in favor of the English, for it was the Swannekins — the Dutch — who in the other English towns were threatened with massacre; a new settlement at Esopus, on the North River, was so sore beset that its people abandoned all their possessions and fled to New Amsterdam to escape from death; on all Manhattan Island no farm was safe, and their owners sought refuge in the town; consternation and ruin spread with this savage outbreak over all New Netherland; many plantations with their buildings, crops, and cattle were destroyed; three hundred of the people were reduced to want; one hundred were killed; one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners.

A summons was sent to Stuyvesant to hasten back from the South River to the defence of New Netherland. Prompt and energetic in action, though often unwise and rash in judgment, he was always ready to meet an emergency. His very presence inspired confidence in the panic-stricken people. All who had not already sought refuge in the town he ordered to leave their farms till peace could be restored. The citizens were enrolled in a military organization; new defences were added to the fortifications of New Amsterdam; military detachments were sent out to meet and drive off the Indians wherever they appeared most formidable, and effectual measures were taken to meet the additional expense incurred by all these measures.

But when some of the more rash and hot-headed of the colonists urged that war be declared against the tribes who had brought such calamities upon the colony, the Director counselled moderation. He advised that friendly relations be cultivated with the savages, while the settlers should keep nearer together in villages, with a block-house, capable of defence, to fly to in the event of an attack. It was better,

The savages pacified. he thought, to subdue the Indians if possible, by kindly treatment, rather than exasperate them by declaring a war of extermination, which the Dutch were not strong enough to bring to a successful issue. So judicious was the course he pursued that in a few months the unfriendly tribes again made promises of lasting peace, and the prisoners taken in the recent raids were all released, though heavy ransoms were paid for them in gunpowder and lead.

At Rensselaerswyck they did not wait for the suggestion of this policy from Stuyvesant, and escaped, therefore, the calamity which fell upon other parts of New Netherland. When the tidings of the atrocities committed by the Indians in the neighborhood of New Amsterdam reached the Patroon, his people looked at once to their own safety. By timely gifts and promises they induced the Mohawks to renew the old treaty of amity and peace which for many years had been advantageous to the whole province of New Netherland and profitable especially to themselves. It may have been because theirs was the frontier settlement that the people of Van Rensselaer's manor had always aimed to maintain friendly relations with the powerful tribes who occupied that vast region on the west as yet almost unknown to the white men. But whether the policy was one of choice or of necessity, they determined to keep on good terms with the savages for the sake of trade, and the result justified at least their worldly wisdom.

Where the Dutch had succeeded in gaining and in keeping the good-will of the Indians, the French, with a far higher purpose to the same end, had signally failed. For years the missionaries of the French, sometimes singly, sometimes in companionship, had sought the Iroquois in their remotest villages in friendly contest for their friendship with the Dutch. The desire to bring these benighted heathen within the pale of the church took precedence of any political or commercial aim with the government of Canada. It was not that trade and territorial acquisitions were esteemed by them as of little value; that treaties were not made to secure both; that well-appointed expeditions were not sent out to gain a foot-hold within the territory of the present State of New York; but that it was above all and before all made almost a reason of state that the cross should mark every advancing step of the white man, and that the subjugation of the savages should be the triumph of the Church.

But the trader was received as the missionary of peace and good will where the servant of religion provoked only strife. The Five Nations, whose domain was south of the St. Lawrence, extending from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and whose most powerful tribe was the Mohawk,¹ were in almost perpetual hostility with the French of Canada through all the years that New Netherland was a Dutch province. More than one of the gentle and devoted Jesuits died deaths of torture or privation in return for their zeal for the salvation of the souls of their unrelenting enemies. In the little box in which Father Jogues carried the simple furniture for an altar in the wilderness

¹ Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes*, Coll. Am. Ant. Soc., vol. ii.

the savages believed the "black gown" concealed an Evil Spirit. To save themselves from the dire disasters that would come with its release, they tore the flesh from his arms in strips before they could be merciful enough to end his torments with death.¹ But they were slow to detect the devil in the brandy, the

Fate of
Father
Jogues.

gunpowder, and the lead which the Dutch trader brought, and they welcomed him as a friend.

The trader and his wares the Indians understood; the crucifix and the missal appealed only to their superstitions and their fears. At times the enthusiastic missionaries were persuaded that the light of the gospel had penetrated into the dark recesses of those savage souls. No such pious aspiration disturbed the minds of the dealers in peltries. The Dutch were careful to cultivate the friendship of the Mohawks, to be kind to them in the way of strong waters and fire-arms, and the colony on their borders on the upper Hudson increased in wealth and strength. But the handful of Frenchmen who at length, in 1655, clustered about the bark chapel of the Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon, near the Salt Springs of Onondaga, were glad in less than three years to escape with their lives, leaving all their possessions behind them, while the Indians, who had come to massacre them, lay in a drunken sleep.²



*Voshe bien humble scla et
obéissant serviteur en N.S.*

Isaac Jogues

Portrait and Signature of Father Jogues.

¹ Father Jogues was treacherously murdered, in 1646, by the Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley, called thenceforth in the annals of the Jesuits "The Mission of the Martyr." An interesting sketch of the singularly devoted and romantic life of this Father is given by J. G. Shea in his edition of the *Novum Belgium*, written by Jogues, in 1644. He was the first European, probably, to explore Lake George, which he named Saint Sacrament in commemoration of the festival of *Corpus Christi*, the day on which he reached it. The Indian name was Andintarocte.

² Le Moyne, a Jesuit Father, discovered the Salt Springs of Onondaga in 1654, and on a visit to New Amsterdam four years later told the Dominie Megapolensis of a spring at the source of a little lake which the Indians did not dare to drink, because, they said, there was a devil at the bottom of it. The Father tasted it and found it as salt as the water of

The conflict between Stuyvesant and the authorities at Rensselaerwyck had little intermission till in the latter years of his administration the supremacy of the company was acknowledged in the payment of a fixed subsidy in wheat by the Patroons. But the Director always had reason to be grateful to them for their steady adherence to that policy which preserved friendly relations with the Five Nations. In 1658 trouble again broke out with the river Indians, which might have been far more disastrous had not the Mohawks remained neutral.



Totem or Tribe-mark of the Five Nations
(from La Montan).

The Director had persuaded the people of Esopus, when they returned to their farms, after the massacre of three years before, to find mutual protection in a compact village surrounded with defences. The confidence that very precaution gave may, perhaps, have made them careless of provoking the hostility of the savages. A band of these, who had been engaged to assist in the harvest, were fired upon by the villagers, for no greater offence than being noisy and offensive in a drunken revel for which the Dutch themselves had supplied the means. Retaliation followed, and the whites, as usual, suffered in the devastation of their farms and in loss of life.

This Esopus war, as it was called, continued intermittently till 1664, and might have been ruinous to the settlements along the banks of the Hudson had not the Mohawks been persuaded to continue faithful to the peaceful and friendly relations which had been so long maintained. Even without the aid of that tribe the Esopus Indians were a formidable enemy. In the course of the war some of those who had been taken prisoners by the Dutch were sent to the plantations of Curaçoa as slaves. The wrong was one not to be forgotten nor forgiven. In June, 1663, the village of Wiltwyck or Wildwyck — as Esopus was then named — was almost totally destroyed. Although the ostensible cause of this particular attack was the building of a new Ronduit, a little fort, at the neighboring village, — thence known ever since as Rondout, — in every blow that fell from the tomahawks of the savages was the memory of the slaves, their brothers, across the sea.

It was at high noon, while Stuyvesant was conferring, in the open sea. The Dominie repeated this in a letter to the Classis in Amsterdam, but adding "whether this be true or whether it be a Jesuit lie, I do not determine." — *O'Callaghan*.

fields outside the town, with the chiefs who had agreed to meet him on pretence of making a treaty, that the warriors, scattering themselves through the village apparently in friendly mood, suddenly fell upon the unsuspecting people. The houses were plundered and set on fire; some were killed, and some were seized and carried off as prisoners; men at work in the fields, hurrying in at the sight of the burning houses, to protect their wives and children, were shot down from within their own doorways. When, after a fierce and desperate fight, the savages were driven off, they left behind them a heap of ruins in which were the charred bodies of twenty-one of the murdered villagers, but they carried away more than twice that number of women and children as prisoners. It was, however, the last event of the war; the Indians were vigorously pursued and punished; and in the course of the next few months a treaty was concluded, the last ever made between the Dutch and the Indians.

But notwithstanding these Indian wars and massacres, from which no colony was altogether free, New Netherland slowly grew and prospered. At New Amsterdam Stuyvesant yielded, when longer resistance was useless, to fresh innovations upon the prerogatives of the Director-general, though none of them took much from his power, or added much to the power of the people. Whatever gain there was to popular government came not through any such well-defined purpose as existed in New England, of deriving the right of governing from the will of the governed; but only that the privileges belonging to citizenship in the fatherland should be preserved in the new home. So far as popular freedom existed in Holland it was to be maintained in the New Netherland; but wherever a limit or a barrier had been set

Progress of
New Nether-
land.



New Amsterdam in the middle of the Seventeenth Century (from Vischer's Map in Asher's New Netherland)

up at home it was also to be set up in the colony. The burgher government, which was wrested from the unwilling hands of the company, was limited subsequently, by a division of burghers into Great and Small, giving certain exclusive privileges to those who were rich enough to buy admission into the first rank, and denying those privileges to the poor. It was the system of Amsterdam, and was therefore adopted by the colonists, though peculiarly burdensome to the people of a new country; it was not long, however, before it was modified by an experience of its inevitable evils.

But whatever concessions Stuyvesant made to the popular will and to the rights of the people he made upon compulsion, not conviction. It was his most firm conviction that the powers that be are ordained of God. He governed in that belief, and his temper was not one to mitigate the severity of a rule that appealed to such authority. Naturally he was as intolerant of any approach to religious freedom as he was jealous of any encroachment upon the authority and privileges of the company whose viceroy he was. As a rigid and zealous Calvinist he was impatient and scornful of any other doctrinal belief, or any other form of ecclesiastical government. No Boston Puritan could be more positive than he that there was but one road to the Heavenly Kingdom, though he was equally sure that the road the Puritan had chosen was the wrong one.

For the Lutherans — the Dutch non-conformists of New Netherland, — the Director had little mercy. Aided by the Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, he determined upon their suppression so soon as they asserted their difference of faith.

The right they asked for, of public worship among themselves, he denied, not only because such worship was not in accordance with that sounder belief and better rule which belonged to the Reformed Church, but also because if the door were once opened to one set of schismatics it would be hard to close it upon others. The Independents of the English towns would be only too glad to avail themselves of a new pretext for insubordination. In religious as in civil affairs there should be, the Director determined, uniformity and obedience to the established order.

The duty of this uniformity and obedience he enforced upon the Lutherans, so soon as they were numerous enough to attract attention, by proclamations. He refused to grant them a meeting-house of their own in New Amsterdam. When the more zealous among them preferred the dictates of their own consciences to the commands of the Director, he punished them by fines and imprisonments. When they sent to Holland for a minister of their own persuasion, he was soon made to see that a proper discharge of his duties was impossible, and he was driven out of the colony.

The policy
of the Di-
rector.

Persecution
of the Lu-
therans.

This policy, however, was the policy of Stuyvesant himself, and his allies, the New Amsterdam clergymen, rather than of the West India Company. In this, as on so many other occasions, the Director-general ran before he was sent. The Amsterdam Directors were governed by that spirit which had made Holland an asylum for all, of whatever faith and whatever country, who were sufferers and exiles for their religious convictions. Stuyvesant was rebuked by his superiors for his want of charity as well as for his want of judgment. There might be, they thought, a "needless preciseness" as to the formulary of baptism, which was the essential point of difference between the Calvinists and the Lutherans, and the Directors hinted that the Company would feel constrained to permit the Lutherans to have a church of their own, if the harsh measures toward them should be continued.

That zeal for religion, which so absorbed the New Englanders had far less power over the Dutch. Stuyvesant and his clerical advisers were earnest enough and strong enough to prevent the Lutherans from having a place of their own for public worship, so long as New Netherland was a Dutch colony. But the fervor of the Director and the clergymen seems to have had as little support in popular sympathy as it had from the Company's Directors in Holland. The people at large were not much disposed to the rigid method of enforcing uniformity of belief and religious observance in which Stuyvesant was inclined to follow the example of the New England Puritans. This difference between them and their New England neighbors was one of race rather than the result of a more humane disposition or a wider intelligence; but to that difference it was due, no doubt, that there were fewer heretics among them. A novel doctrine loses much of its attractiveness if no penalty is attached to entertaining it, and the preacher of that doctrine is sure to avoid a people among whom he cannot command even attention enough to be controverted.

The outward observances of religious duty could hardly have been of paramount interest among a people who did not build on all Long Island, for the first thirty years of its occupation, a single church, or settle among them a single minister of their own faith. For that long period they were content to depend, for such spiritual comfort and instruction as they required, upon occasional visits to New Amsterdam, or occasional services in the rural districts from her clergymen. Whether such a state of things showed contentment or indifference, in either case it was plain that this was stony ground for the sowing of the seed of new doctrine. It was not so much, probably, that the Director feared the people might be led away from a faith they professed so coldly, as from a sincere

Disapproval
of the Am-
sterdam
Chamber.

Dutch indif-
ference to
novel relig-
ious doc-
trines.

disapproval of what he believed to be error, that he visited heretics with punishment.

The prohibition of public worship, meant at first for the Lutherans only, was extended to others. At Flushing, among the English, in 1656, were a few Anabaptists. A poor shoemaker, from Rhode Island, one William Wickendam, felt himself called upon to expound the Word, and to give new baptism to his disciples in the river. William Hallett, the sheriff, permitted his house to be used for the conventicles of these people, where Wickendam preached and administered the sacraments. Stuyvesant commanded that the ordinance be enforced against them, and both the sheriff and the shoemaker were fined and banished, though Wickendam, because of his poverty, was permitted to go without payment of the fine.

The next year a ship arrived at New Amsterdam, having on board several of the "cursed sect of heretics" — as they were called in the Massachusetts statute — of Quakers. Some of this company had been banished from Boston the year before, and were now on their way to Rhode Island, "where all kinds of scum dwell," wrote the



Quaker Women preaching in New Amsterdam.

Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, "for it is nothing else than a sink of New England."¹ Among them were two women, whose names, "after the flesh," as they said, were Dorothy Waugh and Mary Witherhead. Both were of that number who, the autumn before, had been first imprisoned in Boston, and then compelled to reëmbark for Barbadoes; both, no doubt, had listened with stern approval to Mary Prince, as from the window of the Boston jail she bore her testimony against Governor Endicott, as he passed by in the street, crying unto

The Quakers
in New
Netherland.

¹ Letter to the Classis in Holland, cited by Brodhead.

him, "Woe unto thee, thou art an oppressor"¹ When they landed at New Amsterdam they emulated the example of that zealous woman. They asked neither for a place of public worship nor for permission to preach, but going from street to street, through the town, they announced the new doctrine, and declaimed against the steeple-houses, the hireling priesthood, and their pernicious teachings. To many of the gaping, and probably amused crowd of Dutchmen who followed them, they spoke in an unknown tongue, and upon questions which gave them little concern, even if they could have understood the preachers. But the preaching nevertheless was a defiance of authority and law which the Dutch Director was as little disposed as any Puritan governor to brook. The women were seized, and thrown into separate prisons — "miry dungeons" they are called — infested with vermin. After eight days' endurance of this punishment, their hands were tied behind them, and they were sent back to their ship to finish their voyage to Rhode Island.²

With another of the company, Robert Hodgson (or Hodshone), it fared still worse. He proposed to remain in New Netherland, and was welcomed at Heemstede by a few of his own way of thinking, with whom he soon held a meeting. He was arrested and word sent to Stuyvesant, who ordered him to be brought to New Amsterdam. His knife and his Bible, the latter with him the more dangerous weapon, were taken away from him. Tied to the tail of a cart in which rode two young women, one with a baby at her breast, offenders like himself, and under a guard of soldiers, he was driven, pinioned, in the night-time and through the woods, "whereby he was much torn and abused," to the city. On his arrival the gentle Friend was led by a rope, like some dangerous criminal, to the prison, "a filthy place full of vermin."

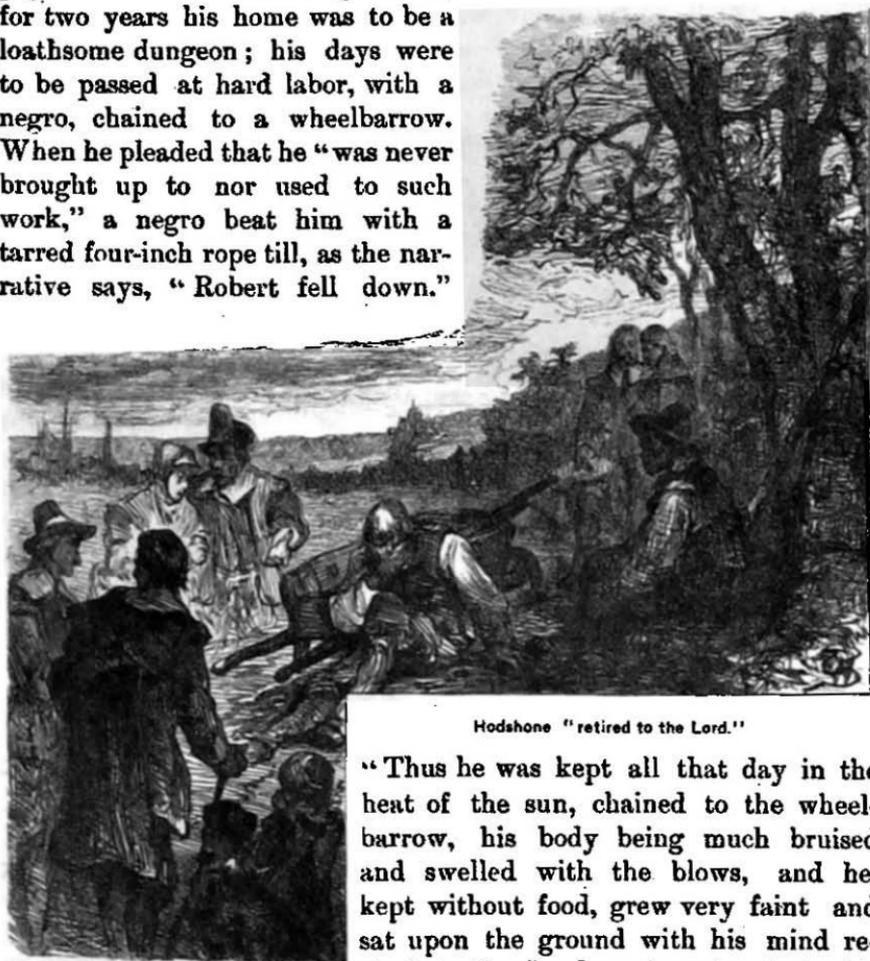
What was done with the young women does not appear, but not being preachers they were probably dismissed without further punishment. Hodshone's principal accuser seems to have been Captain Willett, again apparently an influential adviser of Stuyvesant, though three years before he was appointed to the command, with Standish, of the Plymouth troops in the proposed invasion of New Netherland. He "had much incensed the governor" against the prisoner, it is said, though it is easy to conceive that Stuyvesant's rage would need no prompting in an encounter with one of that sect who feared no wrath but the divine wrath, and respected no authority but the authority of

¹ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*.

² Notwithstanding her sentence of banishment from Massachusetts, Dorothy Waugh went back to Boston, where she and Sarah Gibbons were imprisoned and whipped for speaking in the meeting-house after the lecture.

God. A prisoner who would not even remove his hat in the presence of the court would seem to such a judge as the Director as hardly deserving of other consideration than that hat and head should come off together.

The forms of law werē of little moment with an offender of this kind. No defence was permitted him, and his sentence was read to him only in Dutch. Its meaning, however, was not long left in doubt; he was to pay a fine of six hundred guilders; for two years his home was to be a loathsome dungeon; his days were to be passed at hard labor, with a negro, chained to a wheelbarrow. When he pleaded that he "was never brought up to nor used to such work," a negro beat him with a tarred four-inch rope till, as the narrative says, "Robert fell down."



Hodshone "retired to the Lord."

"Thus he was kept all that day in the heat of the sun, chained to the wheelbarrow, his body being much bruised and swelled with the blows, and he, kept without food, grew very faint and sat upon the ground with his mind retired to the Lord, and resigned to his

will, whereby he found himself supported."

So "retired to the Lord," so resigned and so supported, he endured such punishment for three days, — the dungeon at night, the barrow and its chains, the negro and his tarred rope, by day. Again he was taken before the Director, less able than ever to work, as little disposed as ever to submission. "What law have I broken?" he

demand. He should work, he was told, or be whipped every day. Again he was chained to the barrow and threatened with even worse punishment if he dared to speak to any one. But the threats did not move him; "he did not forbear to speak to some that came to him, so as he thought meet and convenient." The worse punishment followed. Hung up by the hands, his feet tied to a log, his bare back was torn with rods till he became almost insensible to torture. A country-woman was permitted to enter his prison to wash and dress his wounds and nurse him back to life; others interceded with the authorities on his behalf, for many even among the Dutch were moved with pity. Some would gladly have paid his fine, but he refused



Friends' Meeting-house in Flushing.

mercy on such terms, lest it should be construed into an acknowledgment on his part of conscious wrong.

When sentence was first pronounced upon him it was displeasing to many of the Dutch, as "did appear by the shaking of their heads." More scandalous and inhuman it seemed to many of them when, after the cruel and repeated punishment of one whose sole offence was obedience to his own conscience, he was again led out, still chained to his barrow, to labor upon the public highway. Some openly expressed their sympathy, at least for his sufferings if not for the cause for which he suffered. Among those who exerted themselves on his behalf was the widow Anna Bayard, a sister of the Director. She was full of compassion, perhaps of indignation, and at her prayers and expostula-

tions her stern brother relented. Hodshone was released at length, and the fine remitted, but he was banished from the colony.¹

To the interference of the good Mrs. Bayard the Friends owed more, probably, than the release of a single one of their number from the severe treatment of the Director. No others of that sect were subjected to such cruel persecution as had been visited upon Hodshone, though meetings were held, and the obnoxious doctrines preached, at Jamaica, Flushing, Heemstede, and Brooklyn, from the first appearance of Friends in New Netherland. Neither imprisonment, fines, nor an act forbidding all persons to entertain a Quaker for a single night under a penalty of fifty pounds, could abate the zeal or enforce the silence of these people. If no house was open to them, they assembled in the woods for worship after their manner. They were willing to endure whatever should be inflicted upon them, for conscience' sake; but happily after the release of Hodshone, they seemed no more obnoxious to the Director than other dissenters. In 1663, even the comparatively mild persecution of enforcing the law against those who most persistently defied it ceased.

Intercession
of Madam
Bayard.

One John Bowne, of Flushing, had in that year become a convert to the doctrines of Friends and had opened his house for their meetings. There was, perhaps, something more than usually exasperating in the quiet and patient firmness with which the sturdy English farmer endured three months' imprisonment, and refused to pay a fine, for the council ordered that he should be sent out of the province by the first ship ready for sea. He went as a prisoner to Holland, Stuyvesant writing to the Directors in Amsterdam that if others did not take warning by his banishment they would be even more severely dealt with.

Banishment
of John
Bowne.

Bowne defended himself before the Amsterdam chamber with complete success. So far from approving what Stuyvesant proposed to do, the Directors rebuked him for his previous course. Though they preferred that there should be neither Quakers nor any other dissenters in the colony, they doubted the wisdom of attempting to suppress them by vigorous measures. It was poor policy, they thought, in a commercial colony to repel men by persecution for opinion's sake. "Let every one," they said, "remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government." This "maxim of moderation" had been the rule of the magistrates of Amsterdam. "Tread thus in their steps," they exhorted the Director, "and we doubt not you will be blessed." Stuyvesant had the grace to accept this wise

¹ Sewall's *History of the Quakers: An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers for the Testimony of a Good Conscience.* London, 1733.

and humane counsel. The Friends were not again molested. Bowne returned to New Amsterdam, and, when they met, the Director "seemed ashamed of what he had done."¹

But these religious persecutions had little to do with the material progress of New Netherland. They neither helped nor hindered it, and they were rather individual than national — less the outgrowth of the character of the people than indications only that Stuyvesant was as earnest and passionate on the religious as on other sides of his nature. If the ordinary Dutchman cared little what his neighbors might think or do about the affairs of the life to come, it was because he was not prone to trouble himself very much about affairs of any



Bowne's House.

kind. His temperament led him to live, so long as he lived in this world at all, a quiet, not over-anxious nor over-active life, and to accept without question and without much thought the teachings of established authority. If he was more tolerant than his English neighbor of differences of opinion on sacred as well as civil subjects, more merciful in punishment when punishment seemed to be called for, it was not so much that he was more just, but that he was less susceptible. It came to pass therefore, that his own province of New Netherland was indebted for whatever progress it made very much to the English, whose restless energy, much more than any diplomatic policy, urged them to "keep crowding the Dutch."

¹ *Alb. Rec.*, cited by O'Callaghan and Brodhead.

It was not till 1661 that any serious efforts were made to extend the border settlement at Fort Orange. In that year the "Great Flat" stretching from the fort to the Mohawk country was conveyed to Arendt Van Curler, one of the earliest settlers of Rensselaerswyck, and the commissary and secretary of the first Patroon. But it was three years later before the first settlement was made upon the tract at Schaenhechstede, now Schenectady.

In the same year of this purchase by Van Curler, Melyn finally parted with his manor of Staten Island, the whole of which became the property of the West India Company. A new village — still called New Dorp — soon sprung up a few miles south of the Narrows; grants of land were made in other parts of the island to some of the French Waldenses who were among the earlier emigrants, and to Huguenots from Rochelle, whose descendants have clung tenaciously from generation to generation to the soil which their fathers first cultivated. In 1656, Jamaica — a corruption of the Indian name, Jimeco — was settled by Englishmen, though the Dutch name was given it of Rust-dorp, or Quiet Village. Westchester was reluctantly recognized as Oost-dorp, or East village, for this also was settled by Englishmen, between whom and Stuyvesant there was frequent conflict. One Thomas Pell was the first English purchaser of land within the boundaries of the present Westchester County; the tract he bought of the Indians included the spot where Ann Hutchinson and her family sought a last refuge from Puritan persecution and became the victims of an indiscriminate savage ferocity. New Haerlem was large enough in 1660 to be entitled to a village government. The next year two new towns, New Utrecht and Boswyck — now Bushwick — were incorporated on Long Island, on the south side of the bay; and on the other side, the first municipality in the present State of New Jersey was established at Bergen. Gradually the number of farms was enlarged, and agriculture became a more important element in the industry of the province. Among a people with whom beer was a necessary of life breweries were never wanting; but to those other manufactures had from time to time been added, especially of brick and delft. In 1660 New Amsterdam contained three hundred and fifty houses, which was an increase of two hundred in four years.

It was about this period that the trade in African slaves began to assume some activity. A free trade in slaves was among the privileges which the colonists had long thought the Company should grant them, for only with such laborers was it deemed possible that agriculture could flourish. A promise of aid of this sort had more than once been given, but the number of negroes in the province, till after the middle of the seventeenth century, was probably small. In 1648, an attempt

was made to encourage an exchange of colonial products with Brazil for slaves, apparently with small result. In 1652, permission was granted for direct importation from the African coast; but two ships only seem to have availed themselves of this privilege. It was not, indeed, till two years later that the trade became established, and the slaves after that date were brought chiefly, if not entirely, from Curaçoa,—the principal Dutch depot for this traffic in the West Indies. The importations to New Netherland were chiefly in the interest of the Company, though some share in them was granted to the municipality of New Amsterdam. Those brought on account of the Company were sold on arrival at public auction for beaver-currency, or its equivalent in provisions, with the proviso that they should not be exported from the colony. Stuyvesant was among the few who had the privilege—limited, perhaps, to official persons—of importing slaves for his own use. Director Beck of Curaçoa, writes him in August, 1659, that he had purchased for him two boys and a girl, who, according to the bill of lading, were shipped on the *Spera Mundi*, “all dry and well conditioned, and marked with the annexed mark.” In February of the next year Beck writes again that he hopes soon to send him some “lusty fellows.” Four or five years later, ships counted their living freight by hundreds. Though the Dutch were the first to bring the African slave to this continent,¹ and the trade was thus successfully established in their colony,² slavery was earlier made an important element of their social system by the English in Virginia.

¹ See vol. i., p. 302.

² *Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam, 1659, 1663; together with additional Papers illustrative of the Slave Trade under the Dutch. Translated from the Original Manuscripts.* By E. B. O'Callaghan.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SURRENDER OF NEW NETHERLAND.

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE ENGLISH.—THE SOUTH RIVER COLONY.—LORD BALTIMORE'S CLAIM, AND CONTROVERSY WITH MARYLAND.—A NEW PATENT GRANTED TO CONNECTICUT.—DISSATISFACTION OF NEW HAVEN.—OTHER ENGLISH TOWNS ACCEPT THE PROTECTION OF CONNECTICUT.—CONFEDERACY OF LONG ISLAND TOWNS UNDER JOHN SCOTT.—HIS ATTEMPTS TO COERCE THE DUTCH.—NEW NETHERLAND AND PART OF NEW ENGLAND GRANTED TO THE DUKE OF YORK.—THE NICOLLS COMMISSION.—NEW NETHERLAND INVADED.—ITS SURRENDER.—NICOLLS PROCLAIMED GOVERNOR.—CHANGE OF NAMES.—NEW AMSTEL TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.

THESE later years of Dutch rule in America were anxious years to Stuyvesant. Notwithstanding the growing prosperity of his own province he watched with jealous eyes the encroachments and increasing influence and power of the English, even if he had not actual prevision of their ultimate supremacy over all New Netherland. Massachusetts, who claimed that her patent extended indefinitely westward, proposed to settle a colony on the upper waters of the Hudson, and claimed the right of navigation upon that river to reach her alleged possessions. The right was denied on the ground of priority of discovery, but the claim was none the less a source of anxiety to the Director. By the treaty of Hartford a large proportion of Long Island was ceded to the English, and both there and in Westchester they were pressing hard upon the Dutch, with no very strict observance of boundary lines. "Place no confidence," wrote the Director to the Amsterdam Chamber in 1660, "in the weakness of the English government and its indisposition to interfere in affairs here. New England does not care much about its troubles, and does not want its aid. Her people are fully convinced that their power overbalances ours tenfold; and it is to be apprehended that they may make further attempts, at this opportunity, without fearing or caring for home interference." Nor was there much in the relations of the mother countries to lead him to hope that in colonial affairs the interests of his colony would be protected. Holland was not left long in doubt as to how much reliance there

might be upon the acts of the restored king, Charles II., for the fulfilment of the promises of an exiled prince.

On the South River the Director was beset by never-ceasing perplexity and anxiety, relieved by no perspective of general prosperity. No increase of population, no extension of agriculture, no growth of manufacturing industry cheered the company and encouraged to fresh exertions on behalf of that colony. The absence of all healthful energy and enterprise in that portion of New Netherland was due to conditions under which all such energy and enterprise were well-nigh impossible. A wilderness lay between it and the capital of the colony, and none of the advantages which might come from nearness to the seat of power could influence its affairs. It was only the province of a province, governed or misgoverned by the deputy of a deputy, claimed now by one nation, now by another, a bone of contention gnawed by each in turn. Half of the community had almost always been in the wretched position of a subjugated people. The strength and vitality without which the work of the pioneer must be an irremediable failure were paralyzed by contention, dependence, and uncertainty.

Not the least of the difficulties which Stuyvesant had to meet in the management of the affairs of this portion of his government was that which confronted him everywhere in fending off the English. The enterprising New Englanders pitied, no doubt, the distresses and hardships which beset the people on the South River, so far as they came from natural causes. But they were not unmindful, nevertheless, of the good chances for trade which those distresses opened to them. Beeckman, whom the Director-general had appointed as governor of the company's colony, purchased of the Indians the territory south of the Boomtjes (Bombay) Hook to Cape Henlopen, and established at Horekill a trading-post, putting in it a small garrison, near the spot where De Vries and Godyn had planted their colony of Swaanendael a quarter of a century before. This gave to the Dutch a valid claim to the whole river from the capes to the Schuylkill; but the New Englanders gave no heed to the few Dutch soldiers who guarded, or attempted to guard, the passage of the Delaware, and defied the laws which prohibited their trading along its banks. Where ships of all nations now ride safely at anchor off the quaint little village of Lewes, under the lee of the Delaware breakwater, awaiting orders for the great staples of American commerce, or seeking a refuge from the storms outside the capes of Henlopen and May, more than two centuries ago the little vessels of New England lingered for wind and tide with their cargoes of peltries gathered along the shores of the Delaware, and laughed at the handful of Dutch soldiers



on the Horekill, who were powerless to resent this infringement on the territorial and commercial rights of the West India Company.

Trouble from another direction was even more threatening. The rendition of the fugitives to Virginia and Maryland was demanded by Stuyvesant as Director-general, and a contro-^{Contest with Maryland.}versy was provoked which came near producing a quite unlooked-for result. These people who had fled, not only from legal obligations, which they considered unjust and oppressive, but from trials and afflictions which were the natural consequences of their settlement in a new country, must, nevertheless, have represented that country as one worth possessing. The English from the southward began quietly and gradually to encroach upon the Dutch boundaries, and in reply to Stuyvesant's demand that the fugitives should be compelled to return to the jurisdiction from which they had fled, Lord Baltimore renewed his claim, that the whole South River region was included within his patent, the northern boundary of which was the fortieth parallel.

A delegation from Maryland, at the head of which was Colonel Nathaniel Utie, appeared at New Amstel, with a summons from Governor Fendall for the surrender of the province. The official gentlemen had reason enough to be alarmed at such a summons, for there were not more than twenty-five soldiers at their command in the whole province, and two thirds of these were stationed at Horekill; but possibly the people had little share in these apprehensions. Worn out with sickness and sullen with discontent, they were in a state of mind to listen to Utie, whose instructions were to "insinuate unto the people there seated" that they should have "good conditions," and "have protection in their lives, liberties, and estates."¹ Alrichs, in his letter to Stuyvesant, on the arrival of the Maryland delegation, says "the citizens are few in number, and unwilling to fight, because, as they say, the city has not kept its conditions, but curtailed them,"² and he reports Utie as saying: "We [that is the Dutch] ought to take hold of this opportunity, as our men had chiefly deserted us, and they who are yet remaining will be of little or no aid; therefore it is our intention to take hold of this occasion, as we will not let it pass by, convinced as we are of your weakness."

There was no hope in resistance, and the Dutch wisely resorted to protracted negotiation, which they carried on with great skill. Alrichs and Beeckman replied courteously — much to Stuyvesant's disgust when he heard of it — but firmly to the Maryland envoys, representing that the right of the Dutch to the South River was founded

¹ Proceedings of Council of Maryland; in Hazard's *Annals*, p. 257.

² *Albany Records*, cited by Hazard.

on priority of discovery and occupation; that such "procedures and treatment by Christians and Protestant brethren "appeared" unexpected and strange;" that they were contrary to the peace and harmony existing between the republic of England and the States General; that such a question should be submitted to their respective rulers; and, finally, that they ought to have three weeks to communicate with the Director-general at New Amsterdam. Utie acceded to the latter proposition and returned to Maryland to await the event.

Stuyvesant's anger when he received the tidings from Alrichs and Beeckman was more than usually intemperate. "I did see," he says, "with no less regret than surprise . . . the frivolous conclusion of Nathaniel Utie, and your not less frivolous answer, and further proceedings with him on such a frivolous fabricated instructions . . . much more so yet, that you permitted the aforesaid Utie to sow his seditious and mutinous seed among the community, . . . who rather deserved to have been apprehended as a spy and conducted hither, than to have obtained an audience upon such a frivolous fabricated instruction without a commission." There was no limit to the absurdities into which his ungovernable temper would not hurry the Director. He must have known that Utie's instructions were from Governor Fendall of Maryland; that the mission was undertaken by order of Lord Baltimore himself; that there was ample power behind it, — five hundred men, it was soon reported, being ready to move upon the Dutch; and, on the other side, he well knew that the whole force on which Alrichs and Beeckman had to rely consisted of five and twenty men, two thirds of whom were at a distance of seventy miles, and that the colony generally, if they did not welcome a change of government, would look upon it with the coolest indifference. But Stuyvesant's anger was not merely absurd; it became outrageous when, to punish the governors of the South River for conduct which under the circumstances was altogether judicious, he insulted them by sending his secretary, Cornelius Van Ruyven, and Captain Martin Kregier, to take charge of affairs.

But, as usual, however unreasonable Stuyvesant was in temper, he was rational in action. On the same day that he so berated his subordinates who received Utie, he wrote to the governor of Maryland, and appointed two commissioners, Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron, as bearers of the letter, and with power to enter into negotiation upon the subject of Utie's mission. He was not so blinded by anger as not to see that the only course open to him was precisely that for adopting which he so blamed Alrichs and Beeckman. They knew that if the claim presented on behalf of Lord Baltimore could be defeated at all, it could only be by an appeal, not to arms, but to

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reason and argument. Stuyvesant knew they were right, and, while he humiliated them with reproaches he justified their conduct by resorting, as they had done, to pretexts for delay and offers of negotiation. Though he made a show of armed defence by sending sixty soldiers to the South-River with Captain Kregier, his real reliance was upon his ambassadors, Heermans and Waldron, who were to push on to Maryland, armed only with his letter of remonstrance.

The negotiation with the governor and council of that province was conducted, on the part of the Dutch commissioners, with a good deal of ability and tact. The invasion of the rights of the Company, they contended, was contrary to the law of nations and to treaties existing between England and the States General; that the colony of the city of Amsterdam, which Maryland specially claimed had intruded upon Lord Baltimore's patent, was a colony

Arguments
of the com-
missioners.



The Maryland and New Netherland Ambassadors.

within the jurisdiction of New Netherland, and that the West India Company had planted the colony in the South River region from thirteen to fifteen years before any grant of lands along that coast was made to Lord Baltimore; and while they professed a strong desire to live in peace and amity with their neighbors, they firmly avowed the determination to submit to no wrong.

In the course of the discussion the Baltimore patent was shown to the commissioners, who at once detected and fastened upon that clause which limited the grant to lands "*hactenus inculta*" (hitherto

uncultivated), and inhabited only by the Indians. On this point the Dutch commissioners immediately presented a supplementary declaration, confining themselves to the single argument that the South River region was distinctly excluded from Lord Baltimore's patent by its own terms, inasmuch as when the grant was made that country no longer belonged to the Indians, but had been bought of them by the Dutch, who were in possession of it, and had been for years, at the date of Lord Baltimore's patent.

To this presentation of the case there seems to have been no answer. It was unanswerable, indeed, as between the contending parties, if the assumption of the Dutch was admitted,—that early and long occupation carried with it the title to the country. But one party chose to ignore, and the other did not know or unaccountably forgot, that if by possession something more than mere military tenure was meant, there was still a third nationality whose right was better than any that could be given by royal patent or company's charter.

It perhaps occurred to the Dutch commissioners that the English might make use of the fact that the Swedes had so long maintained jurisdiction over the South River as an argument against the claim of the West India Company; for they allude in their first declaration to the Swedes as "Dutch Swedes," who in common with the Dutch had settled in several places on that river, and when Governor Fendall of Maryland asked what was meant by "Dutch Swedes," the commissioners answered that "they had been partners and associates residing for a time under jurisdiction of the Company, or rather connived at, but who became more insolent, so as at length, in a traitorous manner, they surprised Fort New Amstel, before called Fort Casimir, by which director-general and council in New Netherland were compelled to cleanse that neighborhood of such a vile gang."

This ingenious misrepresentation of the order of events of more than twenty years on the South River seems to have been accepted as true by the English. Either they did not know or did not choose to assert that the "vile gang" was still the larger though now a subject portion of the people of the province, and that during the long administration of John Printz at least, so far from being "connived at" as associates and partners under the jurisdiction of the Company, they were the masters of the Dutch, whose presence they had hardly tolerated. The commissioners were as careful to present all the argument in their own favor as they were to anticipate any possible rejoinder on the other side. While they thus ignored the Swedes, whose jurisdiction could be used as a strong point against them, they reminded the English of that Sir Edmund Plowden who called himself earl palatine of New Albion, and claimed that New Albion was granted

to him by James II., and extended from the North River to Virginia. The title of Lord Baltimore to the Delaware was, they said, no better than this of Plowden, who "in former time would make us believe he hath unto, when it afterward did prove and was found out, he only subreptiff and obreptiff-hath something obtained to that purpose which was invalid." It was a shrewd reminder to the Maryland people that their own rights were not undisputed, and that among rival claimants possession was the better title.¹

The difficulties of the question, and the able presentation of it by Stuyvesant's ambassadors, quite confounded the Maryland magistrates. The subject was referred to Lord Baltimore, then in England, for further consideration. The consideration was not wanting, but no adjustment of the conflicting claims was ever reached. In 1660 we hear of Captain James Neal, the attorney of Baltimore, demanding of the College of XIX at Amsterdam the cession of New Amstel, and of the reply of the college that "they will use all the means God and nature have given to protect the inhabitants." Two years later Beeckman writes to Stuyvesant that he hears of the arrival of



Swedish Soldier of the Seventeenth Century.

the son of Lord Baltimore in Maryland, and that "nothing further is mentioned there of any intentions upon this district."

Apprehension of trouble from that quarter, nevertheless, increased in the Amsterdam Chamber. In less than a year from the time of Beeckman's hopeful letter, the Company transferred all their posses-

¹ The Plowden patent has been the cause of a good deal of controversy. The truth about it seems to be that Sir Edmund Plowden asked for a grant from King Charles of the country from Virginia to the North River, to be called New Albion, but the request was refused by the king, and a worthless patent was obtained from the viceroy of Ireland, who had no authority to give it. *A Description of the Province of New Albion, etc., etc., etc.*, by Beauchamp Plantagenet (a supposed assumed name for Plowden). Hazard's *Annals*. Note by Henry C. Murphy in his translation of the *Vertoogh*, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii.

sion on the South River to the city of Amsterdam; and the reason given is that the colony may be protected, without expense to the Company, against encroachments from the English on the south. For, from the English on that side, the Directors declare, as little favor is to be expected as from the English on the north, and that these "are continuing in their usurpations." It was the shadow of the coming event. In less than a year thereafter New Amsterdam became New York, and New Amstel, Newcastle, and the Dutch, except for a brief subsequent interval, ceased to contend with England for colonial power in North America.

But these later years of Dutch possession on the South River were not otherwise years of prosperity or of peace. Alrichs died while the controversy was going on between Stuyvesant's commissioners and the magistrates of Maryland, and was succeeded by D'Hinoyossa. The administration of this new governor of the Colony of the City was marked by little else than quarrels with Beeckman and intrigues against him. "He feels himself again pretty high," Beeckman writes of his rival, "and is strutting forward in full pride. He is boasting that he will recover all the effects of the deceased Alrichs, and sings already another tune." This was when D'Hinoyossa was appointed Director, and the antagonism it shows between the two men had from that moment no abatement. A struggle for supremacy in the colony left little time to look after its real interests; industry was crippled by constant fear of Indian hostilities; idleness and the want of a good example in the rulers led to general immorality and lawlessness.¹

D'Hinoyossa, probably, as well as fear of the English, had something to do with the transfer of the South River to the city of Amsterdam. The governor had sometime before gone secretly to Holland, and when he returned it was as sole governor where hitherto he had held only a divided command. But his triumph over Beeckman was short-lived.

At the north events were hurrying on the inevitable conclusion.

After the restoration of Charles II., John Winthrop the younger was sent by the general court of Hartford as the agent of that colony to England, with instructions to procure a new charter from the king, whom Connecticut had hastened to acknowledge. Mr. Winthrop was successful. The boundaries of the

¹ There could have been little respect for either law or justice where the wife of the Swedish priest eloped with a young man, and when the priest broke into the young man's room in search of the woman, was compelled by the authorities, because he took an inventory "of a few old stockings," to assume all the debts which his wife's paramour had left behind him. The priest sought consolation by marrying himself immediately to another woman, though this was pronounced illegal till he had obtained a divorce.

Transfer of
the colony
to the city.

Last years
of the Dutch
colony on
the Dela-
ware.

A new pat-
ent granted
to Connecti-
cut.

original patent, conveyed by the Earl of Warwick to Lord Say and Seal and others, which the colony had afterward purchased of Fenwick, were confirmed in April, 1662, by new letters patent with enlarged privileges. It gave to the patentees one hundred and twenty miles from the Narragansett River along the coast "toward the south-west, west and by south," and from that line westward in its full breadth to the Pacific, or, as it was then called, the South Sea, with all the islands along the included coasts of both oceans.¹

New Haven and other English towns along the Sound and on Long Island, which had hitherto been independent, were thus brought under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Some of them submitted cheerfully; those, especially, near the bound-<sup>Dissatis-
faction of
New Haven.</sup>ary line of New Netherland gladly welcomed the protection of such a union. But these were the weaker towns. New Haven, strong and self-reliant, protested with vehemence against this disregard of her rights by purchase and settlement. Her legislature called the act "the great sin of Connecticut," as one "contrary to righteousness, amity, and peace." The magistrates of that colony were accused of bad faith in the measures they took to procure the new patent; of treachery in the course they pursued in arousing discontent and animosity among the people, that New Haven might be disorganized and become the prey of Connecticut. Whether the charges were true or not, the assertion of jurisdiction was the source of perpetual trouble for the two years that the controversy lasted; it was so easy to evade the payment of taxes within the boundaries of New Haven by the plea that allegiance was due to the new government only.

Consanguinity and common interests were sure to heal such political dissensions among the English in the end. It was quite otherwise with the Dutch. The new patent covered not only Long Island but all Northern New Netherland. Stuyvesant saw and comprehended the situation. Years before he had conceded the line of the Hartford treaty to these encroaching English. Even within that line

¹ At the time of Winthrop's presentation of the petition of Connecticut for a new charter, Lord Say and Seal held the privy seal, and the Earl of Manchester, another warm friend of the colony, was chamberlain of the royal household. Both, says Trumbull (*History of Connecticut*) were instrumental in forwarding Winthrop's purpose. It is also said that Winthrop presented to the king an extraordinary ring, given by Charles I. to Winthrop's grandfather, which the king was glad to recover. There is another tradition that the king, Charles II., gave his miniature to Winthrop. The miniature, however, — now in the possession of Miss Elizabeth W. Winthrop, a descendant of the governor, — is undoubtedly the portrait, not of Charles, but of the Chevalier St. George, the "Old Pretender," who was not born till twenty-six years after this visit of Winthrop to England. Such traditions are to be received with caution. That about the ring may have as little foundation as the story of the portrait. Adam Winthrop, John's grandfather, was a plain country gentleman, unconnected with the court, who died before Charles I. became king.

there were English towns which he could only with the greatest difficulty hold in subjection to Dutch rule. That difficulty now was immensely increased by the assertion of English title to the whole of Long Island and the North River region by a new patent from the English king. The Dutch could hardly fail to see the end that was coming.

Embarrassment of Governor Stuyvesant.



The right of those towns on Long Island, hitherto independent by virtue of the Hartford treaty of 1650, to accept the protection of Connecticut, could not be questioned, however much their strength might be increased and that of the Dutch lessened by a union with that colony. But Stuyvesant was not the man to submit without a struggle to the assertion which Connecticut hastened to make of such a right, under the new patent, as belonging also to other English towns

The English Agitators re-naming the Towns.

within the boundaries of New Netherland. For two years he carried on a hopeless struggle, cheered sometimes by temporary success, but on the whole gradually and certainly losing ground. A visit to Boston and a conference with the commissioners of the united New England colonies availed him nothing; he was defeated by that old policy

of delay with which the New Englanders had always met the Dutch in any attempt at negotiation. He sent commissioners to Hartford only to be baffled by a similar result.

Meanwhile, within the limits of his own province the English were steadily aggressive. One Captain John Talcott was sent from Connecticut, in the autumn of 1663, to Westchester to encourage the people in their hostility to Dutch rule. He bettered his instructions by fostering discontent in all the English towns on the west end of Long Island. Two months later Anthony Waters and John Coe, at the head of a considerable force, marched from town to town, changed the names of several of them, calling Flushing Newark, Newtown or Middelburgh Hastings, Jamaica Crafford, and Oyster Bay Folestone; deposed the magistrates and appointed new ones; and proclaiming Charles II. king, declared these places to be part of his dominions. The Director was glad now to accept the compromise which his commissioners had rejected in Hartford only a few weeks before, — that there should be mutual forbearance, the Dutch and English towns to be free respectively from interference from either government.

English proceedings in New Netherland under the Connecticut patent.

It was a virtual surrender on the part of Stuyvesant, but he had no alternative. The treasury was empty; help from the Company there was none till it was too late; an assembly of the people could devise no remedy with which to arrest the encroachments of the English. And it was while the Director was thus made almost desperate with troubles from without, destroying the integrity and threatening the existence of his colony, that he was called upon to defend the settlements on the North River from the renewed attacks of the Esopus Indians.

In the earlier differences between New Netherland and the New England colonies, one John Scott had been conspicuous on Long Island in efforts to unite his countrymen of the English towns against the Dutch, and had been punished by imprisonment. He claimed to have purchased of the Indians large tracts of country, and returning to England at the restoration he petitioned the king to bestow upon him the government of the whole of Long Island. He was not without a valid claim to the royal favor, for he had served in the army under Charles the First, and his father had spent his fortune, and at last laid down his life, in the cause of that unhappy king. The Committee of Foreign Plantations, to whom his petition was referred, gave him a commission to return to America, arming him with large powers, but in conjunction with George Baxter, another well-known opponent of the Dutch, and Samuel Maverick of Boston.

Attempted revolt of John Scott.

The commissioners were instructed not merely to examine into English titles upon Long Island; they were ordered to look into the question of the "intrusion" of the Dutch; their power, commerce, government; their disregard of English law, especially of the Navigation Act, that early protective policy which proposed to shut out all foreigners from trade with the English colonies; and finally of the means whereby this people could be brought most readily to submission, or failing that, to expulsion. As Scott bore royal letters of commendation to the colonial governors, such instructions if carried out would be almost tantamount to a declaration of war.

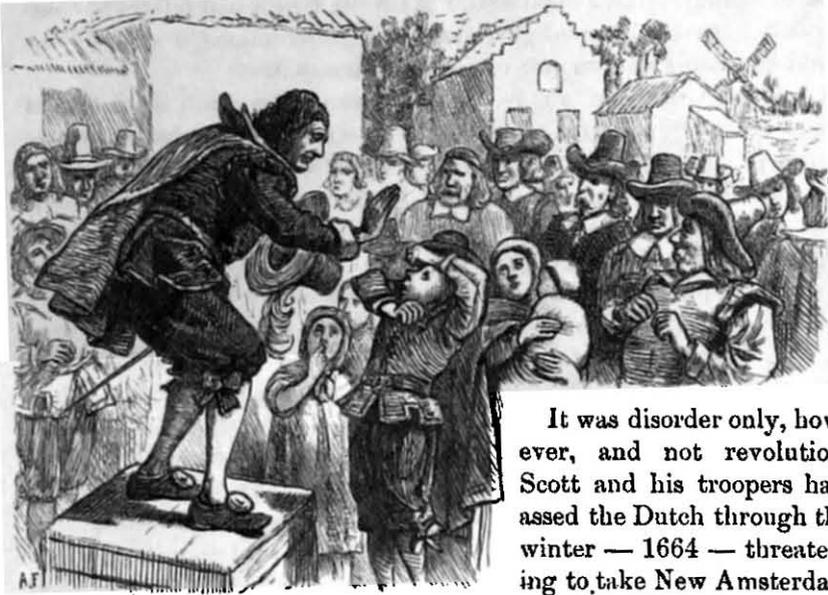
On his arrival, Scott was joined in a commission, with Talcott and others from Connecticut, to annex all Long Island to that province. To accept such an office seems hardly compatible with the instructions from the Committee of Plantations; but as he needed force to back his pretensions, he was ready, perhaps, to accept aid from any quarter.

Circumstances favored him. The towns on the western side of the Island, within the boundaries of New Netherland, had become, by the agreement between Stuyvesant and the magistrates at Hartford, free from allegiance either to Connecticut or the Dutch. But the people were divided among themselves. They were glad to be no longer counted as Dutch colonies; but the Baptists, Quakers, and other dissenters among them, dreaded coming under the Puritan rule of New England. "Wee ware put," they wrote to Scott, "uppon proclaiming the King by Capt. John Youngs, who came with a trumpet to Heemstede, and sounded in our ears that Conecticot would do great things for us." But the promise had been redeemed by nothing but "if so bees and doubtinghs." On the other hand the Dutch authorities threatened, some actually abused them, and they appealed, therefore, to Scott to come to their aid.

He came, and came with the unexpected announcement that the king had granted all Long Island to his brother the Duke of York. It was welcome news to the English, and harmonized all differences. Heemstede, Gravesend, Flushing, Newtown, and Jamaica, at once united for their mutual protection, choosing John Scott as their president, until the Duke of York or the king should establish a permanent government. At the head of a force of a hundred and fifty men, President Scott took the field to reduce the Dutch towns to obedience to the English king. At Breukelen he addressed the people, telling them they were no longer Dutch subjects. He was asked to wait upon the Director-general. "Let Stuyvesant come here with a hundred men," he answered; "I shall wait for him and run a sword through his body."¹ Perhaps he meant it, for turning round he gave a blow to a lad —

¹ O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*.

knocked off his hat, probably — for refusing to uncover to the English flag. "He had better strike men, not boys," shouted one of the crowd. The remark, however just, was ill-timed, and four of Scott's men immediately fell upon the new offender and put him to flight. The "usurper," as he was soon called, marched from town to town, everywhere proclaiming Charles II. as the rightful sovereign of New Netherland, and creating disorder wherever he went.



Scott at Breukelen.

It was disorder only, however, and not revolution. Scott and his troopers harassed the Dutch through the winter — 1664 — threatening to take New Amsterdam in the spring. Stuyvesant

called a meeting of delegates, for such a threat was more serious than any lawlessness in the outlying villages. The Stadt-Huys and the fort of the capital in possession of the English, a Director-general and his council overawed or imprisoned in the name of Charles II., would be actual revolution. The emergency was met with promptness and energy. Money was raised and measures taken for defence, though there was hot dispute whether the city was bound to do more than take care of itself, leaving the rest of the province to the protection of the Company. Scott's career, at any rate, was checked. A conference was held between him and the Director, and affairs, it was agreed, should be restored to the old order: the English towns to remain under such government as they should deem fit, the Dutch to be unmolested for a twelve-month, while the question of jurisdiction and boundaries should be referred to the home governments.

For a brief period it seemed to the Dutch that better days were coming. In the spring the war with the Esopus Indians was brought

to a successful end, and Stuyvesant made with them that treaty of peace and amity which proved to be his last. The commissioners, who had been sent the autumn before to Holland, returned with assurances of protection from the States-General, and letters to the English towns enjoining them to return to their allegiance to the Dutch.

But it was a deceitful lull in the storm. The magistrates at Hartford imprisoned Scott, but it was for asserting his own authority and disregarding theirs, not for high crimes and misdemeanors in the peaceful province of an unoffending neighbor. The letters of their High Mightinesses of the States-General to their English subjects



Portrait of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

were disregarded, — in some instances were not even opened. The copies that were sent to Hartford were pronounced to be forgeries, as a convenient way of paying no heed to them. Winthrop openly visited the English towns to induce them to submit to the rule of Connecticut, and in an interview with Stuyvesant and the burghers of New Amsterdam firmly maintained that under the new charter all Long Island belonged to her. By virtue of that charter, Pell bought

of the Indians all the country lying between Westchester and the North River, including Spuyten-Duyvil Creek, which the Dutch had purchased fifteen years before.

The overwhelming calamity was already certain. In March the king granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, a large portion of the province of Maine, and the country from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay. This grant included Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, all Long Island, and the whole of the territory of New Netherland. The next month a fleet of four ships, with a force of three or four hundred men, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, as the lieutenant-governor of the Duke, sailed for New England. With Nicolls were joined as commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, with extraordinary

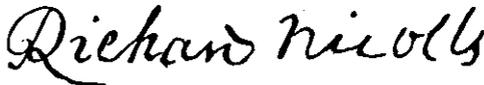
Grant of territory to the Duke of York by the king.

powers for settling all difficulties in the New England colonies, as well as to take possession of the Dutch province and reduce its inhabitants to obedience.

A rumor of the coming of this fleet, and its purpose, reached New Amsterdam in July. Captain Willett was the first to hear it, and he hastened to inform Stuyvesant, who proposed at once the most energetic measures for defence. The fortifications were to be repaired and enlarged; money was to be raised, ammunition to be brought from New Amstel, provisions to be stored, and the city put in a condition to withstand a siege. But before those preparations could be made, dispatches came from the Company's directors in Holland. It was, they said, to reduce the New England colonies to obedience and uniformity in state and church, that the fleet was sent; New Netherland had nothing to fear. Willett, who had done so much to arouse alarm, now did all he could to quell it. Stuyvesant, with restored tranquillity, left the city for Fort Orange, on some official business.

The Directors of the Company were so far right, that the commissioners had almost plenary powers bestowed upon them in regard to all the affairs of the New England colonies. The English government had no doubt taken care that this should be well known in Amsterdam. But Nicolls and his associates were also enjoined to reduce New Netherland; and though this was not known in Amsterdam, the commissioners, on their arrival in Boston, were anxious to have it understood that this part of their mission was of primary importance. The conquest of New Netherland

Purpose of
commission-
ers sent by
the duke.



Signature of Nicolls.

would be the easier, if the Dutch were kept carefully ignorant of such a purpose. When New England was gratified by that conquest, it would be time to develop the ulterior purposes in regard to those colonies. This astute policy was entirely successful so far as New Netherland was concerned. She was not in the least prepared to meet the impending calamity. The dispatches from Amsterdam allayed all fears and put aside all precautionary measures.

On the arrival of the commissioners in Boston, late in July, they made known their designs against New Netherland to the governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and asked for their coöperation. Connecticut was ready to render at once every aid in her power; but the Governor of Massachusetts, who probably knew that the commissioners had a private letter of royal instructions as well as the public letter which they presented, was less disposed to lend

assistance.¹ Her people had never, like those of the other New England colonies, been eager for the conquest of the Dutch province, and if the Governor knew the character of the private instructions to the commissioners he knew that Massachusetts had more to dread than to hope from their visit.

There was a delay of nearly a month after the arrival of the fleet at Boston before the expedition sailed for New Amsterdam. Some preparation for a resistance that would, at least, have delayed the catastrophe, might in that interval have been made had not the assurances of the Company's Directors removed all sense of danger. The flag-ship was sailing up the bay before Stuyvesant, who had been recalled by a hasty message, could reach the city from Fort Orange; he had been at home only three days before the whole squadron was at anchor in Nyack Bay, just below the Narrows on the Long Island side. The block-house on the opposite shore of Staten Island was at once seized by the English; the harbor was effectually blockaded; the people of the neighborhood were forbidden to carry supplies to New Amsterdam; and proclamation was widely made that none should be molested who submitted quietly and acknowledged allegiance to the king of England.

Stuyvesant met the emergency with his usual energy. Every third man was ordered out to work upon the defences of the city; additional guns were mounted; a requisition was made upon Fort Orange for help, and all the soldiers were called in from the outlying posts. But the requisition on Fort Orange was disregarded: the farmers on Long Island refused to come in to the defence of the city, on the plea that their own homes were in danger. The Director was left with only about a hundred soldiers and the panic-stricken citizens of New Amsterdam to rely upon. From the outset it was evident that there could be no effectual resistance.

Nevertheless, on Friday, the 29th of August, a deputation was sent to Nicolls, demanding his purpose, and by what authority he made this invasion. The next day came a formal summons for the surrender of the town and all the forts belonging to it, with a proclamation promising protection of life and property to all who would submit "to his majesty's government, as his good subjects ought to do."

It was with great reluctance that Stuyvesant consented that this answer of the English commander should be made public. It would "discourage the people," he said; but the principal burghers and other magistrates, and the officers of the guard had already met, and had shown themselves to be utterly destitute of any manly courage.

¹ Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. ii., p. 583.

An English
fleet in the
bay of New
Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant's
resistance to
the sum-
mons for
surrender.

The most spirited resolution to which they could bring themselves was, that they would make some pretence of defence, in the hope that the enemy would think it worth while to propose more favorable conditions. But protection to life and property were already offered by the proclamation; what could be expected, if this were known, from a populace ready to surrender even without that promise? The Director



Stuyvesant and the English Letter.

was compelled to yield to the public clamor and give up the dispatches, but he must not, he said, be held "answerable for the calamitous consequences."

This conclusion had been reached on Monday, when Governor Winthrop — who had joined the fleet with a reinforcement of Connecticut volunteers — came up the bay under a flag of truce and presented

another letter from Nicolls. Stuyvesant read it in the presence of the council and the burgomasters. The terms it offered were still more favorable. Trade with Holland in Dutch vessels would not be interfered with; emigrants from the mother-country could come and settle in New Netherland as hitherto; the colony would be under English jurisdiction, instead of that of the Company, but otherwise the condition of the Dutch colonists would hardly be interfered with. Those who favored surrender were all the more anxious that the people should see this second letter; Stuyvesant all the more dreaded the effect it would have upon them. The debate was hot and furious, till Stuyvesant in a rage ended it by tearing the letter in pieces and scattering the fragments upon the floor, — “dilacerated” it, exclaimed the indignant and baffled burgomasters.

Hitherto there had been some show of labor upon the fortifications, but now they were abandoned, and an exasperated mob surged about the Stadt-Huys. They demanded to see the Governor; to offer resistance to such a force as threatened them would be, they said, “as idle as to gape before an oven.” When Stuyvesant appeared he was greeted with shouts of “The letter! the letter!” Reproaches and curses were showered upon him and the Company. Defeated and helpless he returned to the council chamber; the fragments of the “dilacerated” document were gathered up and put together, and a copy delivered to the burgomasters to do with it what they would.

The question of surrender was, nevertheless, still in the hands of the Director. He sent to Nicolls a long answer, defiant, didactic, and argumentative. He defended the rights of the Dutch to the country by discovery, settlement, and possession; he protested against this infringement of the treaty between England and the States-General; he urged the agreement between himself and Scott which was to stand good for a twelvemonth: he feared no threats, and he trusted in God, who could as well preserve with a small force as with a great army.

Nicolls, nevertheless, though he may have been quite as pious as the Director, had great reliance on superiority of force. A company of regular cavalry and the Connecticut militia were already encamped on Long Island just below Breukelen; these he ordered should be reinforced with all the troops of two of the ships, in readiness for an attack by land and in the rear, while the two other frigates were to sail up in front and bring their broadsides to bear upon the town.

Standing on the walls of the fort, by the side of a gun, the gunner ready with his lighted match, Stuyvesant watched the ships as they

Conflict between the Director and the people.

Preparations for the assault of the city.

came up the harbor, and then swung to their anchors in the channel between Nutten (Governor's) Island and the fort. Had he ordered the gunner to fire, the ships would at once have bombarded the city. He gave no such order. Perhaps his own prudence restrained him, for though a violent man, his good judgment — as we have sometimes seen — often controlled his anger; perhaps he was restrained by the Dominies Megapolensis, father and son, who begged him not to be the first to shed human blood in such a contest. At any rate he gave no order, and no shot was fired. The city was quietly put under the guns of the two ships, and Stuyvesant left the fort with a hundred of the garrison to be prepared to resist a landing. The Directors of the West India Company afterward reproached him that he permitted himself to be influenced by the two clergymen and “other chicken-hearted persons,” and allowed himself “to be led in from the bulwarks between two preachers” while the hostile frigates passed the fort and the mouths of twenty pieces of cannon. But he did, no doubt, the best he could; he alone could not serve the twenty guns; and not another man, save he, in fort or city, seems to have thought of resistance.

Again he wrote to Nicolls, and again declared he should stand an assault, but sending at the same time a deputation of magistrates to come, if possible, to some agreement with the English commander. Nicolls would listen to no proposal but that of surrender; he should come, he said, the next day with ships and soldiers, and he would be a bold man who came on board unless the white flag was hung out from the fort.

When this answer was known the utmost panic spread through the town. The Director was beset with weeping women and children; in the City Hall a tumultuous assembly met, and a remonstrance was adopted, signed by all the principal citizens — among them Stuyvesant's son — begging that the terms offered by the English might be at once accepted. The fort, they said, could not stand a three days' siege; the offer of the enemy was generous; their conduct had been forbearing; unless now there should be an immediate surrender they could foresee nothing but “misery, sorrow, conflagration, the dishonor of women, murder of children in their cradles, the absolute ruin and destruction of about fifteen hundred innocent souls.” Still Stuyvesant declared “he had rather be carried a corpse to his grave” than yield.

The situation was, in truth, desperate. The town on the north was defended only by an embankment three feet high, surmounted by a fence of rotten palisades; this was overlooked by the hills outside within gunshot range commanding all the houses; and on both sides

Stuyvesant
beset by
popular tu-
mult.

the town was open to the rivers. The fort itself a council of war declared was untenable; there was not powder enough to last a day; there was no store of provisions for a lengthened siege. Moreover and worse than all, the garrison was mutinous. "Now we hope," they cried, "to pepper those devilish traders who have so long salted us; we know where booty is to be found, and where the young women live who wear gold chains!"

Nicolls came as he said he would, yielding nothing of his conditions, except that he promised the fort and city should be restored "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,"—a promise most safe to make. The terms of surrender, which were merciful to the Dutch—the protection of life and property, a guaranty of religious liberty, freedom of trade, of emigration, of the public debt, of the laws of inheritance and contracts, and of a representative government—were agreed upon on Saturday by a board of commissioners. On Monday the articles were ratified by the Director-general.

And on Monday morning, the 8th of September, 1664, there marched out of Fort Amsterdam on the Beaver Street side, at the head of the poltroons who knew where the young women lived who wore gold chains, the stern old wooden-legged soldier who would rather have been carried out a corpse to his grave. As they went on board ship in the East River for Holland, six columns of English soldiers filed through the streets of the city; English soldiers mounted guard at the Stadt Huys and at the city gates, while over the fort floated the English flag which a corporal's guard had hoisted as Stuyvesant passed out from beneath the shadow of the walls he would have so gladly defended.

The surrender of New Amsterdam.

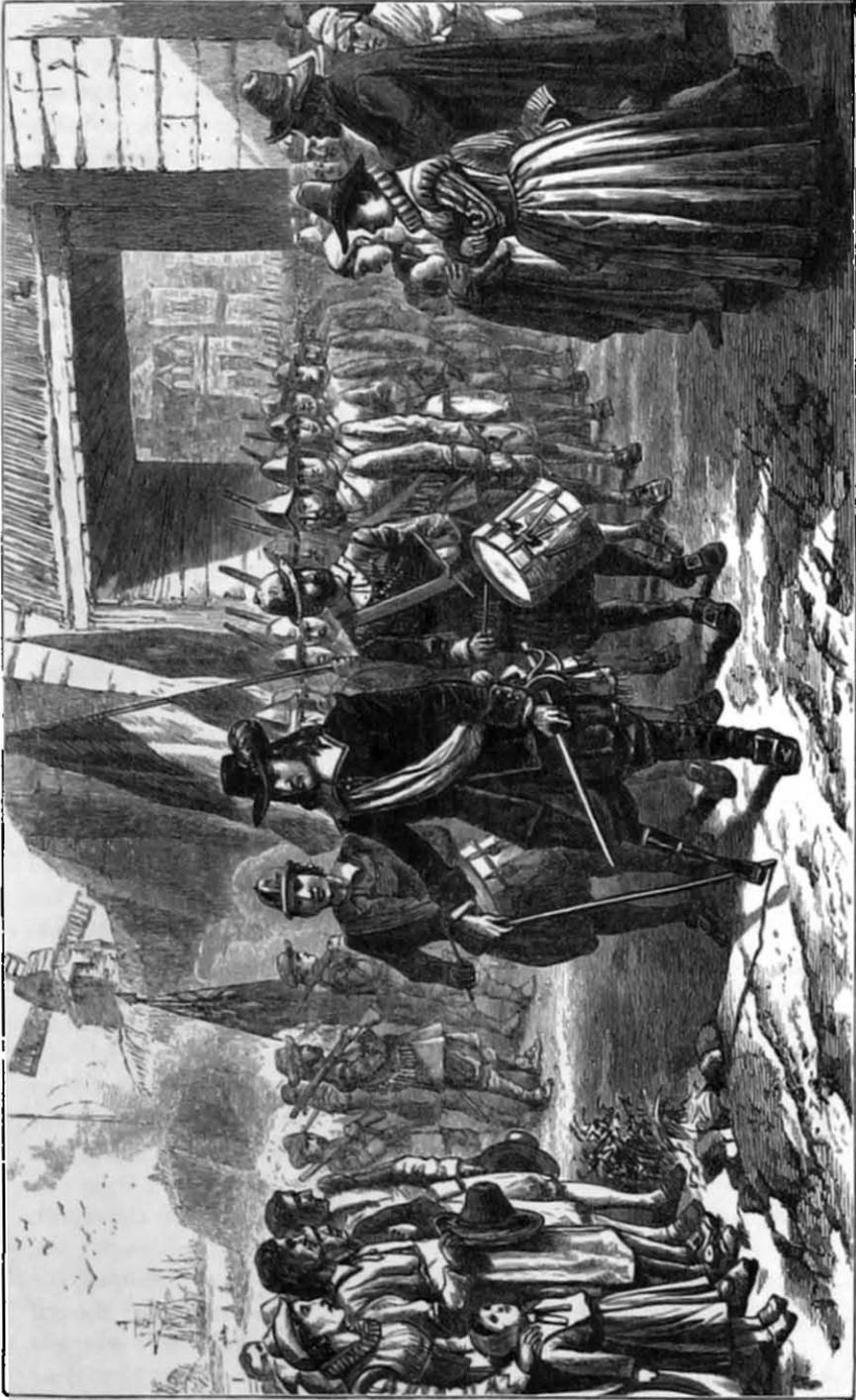


Signature of Sir George Cartwright.

The obedient burgomasters proclaimed Nicolls as Governor; Fort Amsterdam was named Fort James; New Amsterdam was changed to New York; twelve days later Fort Orange surrendered without resistance to Sir George Cartwright, and the name of Albany, the duke's second title, was given to it.

New Amstel was still to be reduced, and in the course of the month Sir Robert Carr sailed with three ships and a body of troops for the Delaware. This display of force only was necessary. On Sunday, the first day of October, Fort Casimir surrendered, and though there was no resistance and almost no parley, there was less consideration shown to the Dutch than there had been in New Am-

New Amstel taken.



THE SURRENDER OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

sterdam. Arms and amunition, live stock, stores, provisions, and their crops were taken from the people. Some were permitted to return to Holland; others were seized as prisoners of war and sold into bondage in Virginia. D'Hinoyossa, the Governor, was sent back to Holland, but his estate—consisting in part, if not wholly, of one hundred and fifty acres of meadow-land on the Delaware near the fort, and of an island called Swarton Natton of about three hundred acres at the mouth of Christina Creek—was confiscated to the use of Carr. Beeckman and others went back to New York,



Signature of Sir Robert Carr.

where he is afterward heard of as an alderman of the city. Many, both Dutch and Swedes, remained in the colony, and the Swedes, especially in and about Newcastle and Wilmington, long preserved their national characteristics in language, habits, and religion, though faithful in their allegiance to the English, as they had been peaceful citizens before when finally brought under the rule of the Dutch.



Seal of New Amsterdam.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAROLINAS.

THE CAROLINA PATENTS OF 1663 AND 1665. — THE PATENTEES. — EARLIER GRANTS AND PROJECTED SETTLEMENTS. — FIRST SETTLERS ON ALBEMARLE SOUND. — NEW ENGLAND MEN AT THE MOUTH OF CAPE FEAR RIVER. — THE COLONY UNDER YEAMANS. — ORGANIZATION OF THE ALBEMARLE COLONY. — LOCKE'S "FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS." — INDEPENDENT LEGISLATION AT ALBEMARLE. — GOVERNORS AND PROGRESS OF THE CAPE FEAR SETTLEMENT. — JOSEPH WEST. — DISSENSIONS IN THE NORTH UNDER CARTEBET AND MILLER. — THE PASQUOTANK INSURRECTION. — GOVERNOR SOTHEL.

By the capture of New Netherland, that "New English Nation" which Raleigh had hoped to see, stretched for the first time in an unbroken line along the Atlantic coast, from James River, in Virginia, to Nova Scotia. And nearly half a century had passed away, after Raleigh was led to the scaffold, before a permanent colony was planted in the more southern region, where his first attempts had so unhappily failed.

Only the year before the King bestowed upon the Duke of York that munificent gift of a province which not only was not his to give, but did not even belong to England, either by right of possession or by right of discovery, the same generous monarch granted to some other gentlemen about the court a patent of a wide tract of country south of Virginia. The grant extended from about the thirtieth to the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, — or from the St. John's River, in Florida, to nearly the present southern boundary of Virginia, — and from the Atlantic to that vague South Sea, still thought to be within reach of a moderate journey. One of its early governors wrote of this region that "it was indeed the very Center of the habitable Part of the *Northern Hemisphere* . . . lying parallel with the Land of *Canaan* . . . not being pestered with the violent Heats of the more Southern colonies, or the extream and violent Colds of the more Northern Settlements."¹ And another of its earliest historians says that from its latitude and situation Carolina must needs be "a delicious country, being placed in that girle

¹ *Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina, etc., etc.* By John Archdale. [London, 1707.] In Carroll's *S. C. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii.

First grant
of Carolinas.
1663.

of the world which affords wine, oil, fruit, grain, and silk, with other rich commodities, besides a sweet air, moderate climate, and fertile soil . . . blessings that spin out the thread of life to its utmost extent, and crown our days with the sweets of health and plenty.”¹ There is something of that love of hyperbole which belongs to the writers of that period in these descriptions, — something of an evident desire to attract emigration by means not unknown in later times. Much may be pardoned to these influences, even as we pardon the want of strict scientific accuracy in the author of the history we quote from, who, in the list of “Insects” of Carolina, gives the first place to alligators and rattlesnakes.

The first charter was dated (old style) the 24th of March, 1663 ;



Portrait of Shaftesbury.

two years later this was amended The Second Charter. 1665. by a second, —

June 30, 1665, — which extended the boundaries a degree southward, and a half degree further north.

The patentees on whom the king thus bestowed a territory including The patentees. all of the present

States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, with its indefinite Western boundary of the South Sea, were Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor; Monk, the Duke of Albemarle, the

leader in the Restoration; the Earl of Craven; Lord Berkeley; Lord Ashley (later the Earl of Shaftesbury) Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkeley, of Virginia, Lord Berkeley's younger brother. Shaftesbury was the leader in this enterprise, and he was chiefly responsible for all that the proprietors did, or left undone. Home affairs occupied his associates; but they never entirely diverted him from the affairs of the colony. Almost every document connected with it shows traces of his influence, and he hoped to find in it an opportunity for carrying out those political ideas which were otherwise impracticable in his time.

¹ *The History of Carolina, containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country, etc., etc.* By John Lawson, Gent., Surveyor General of North Carolina. [London, 1714.]

The territory thus defined as Carolina had not been altogether neglected while colonies were planted in other places. As early as 1630, the attorney-general of England under Charles I., Sir Robert Heath, had secured a grant of almost the same region, under the name of the Province of Carolana, on condition that he should "in a reasonable time" colonize it,¹ "and Christianize the native Indians." But neither he, nor Lord Maltravers (afterwards the Earl of Arundel), to whom Heath transferred his title, succeeded in making any permanent settlements. This claim, and another by the heirs of Sir Richard Granfield, were revived when the grant of 1663 was made to Clarendon and his associates, but the patents were recalled, on the ground that their terms had never been fulfilled.²

Companies of adventurers had, at different times, scattered themselves along the coast and on the banks of rivers not far distant from the parent colony of Virginia. Some of these were in pursuit of Indian trade; others were restless spirits to whom even the lax discipline of Jamestown and its neighborhood was irksome; and some, perhaps, were of those whose religious beliefs exposed them to annoyance, if not persecution, in a region where the Established Church was formally maintained. As early as 1609 there were outlying plantations about the Nansemond River, and doubtless many unrecorded expeditions, if not settlements, were made in the territory to the south of this district, in the twenty years following, before the grant was made to Heath. In the winter of 1621-2 John Pory, sometime Secretary of Virginia, a great traveller, and the friend of Hakluyt,³ explored as far as the Chowan, where he found "a very fruitful and pleasant country, yielding two harvests in a year, and much silk grass."⁴

In 1643, the Virginia Assembly, without regard to Heath's patent, made trading grants to a company which purposed to traffic along the Roanoke; though perhaps their design included only the upper part of the stream, which was outside the patent, for they described it as the river lying southwest of the Appomattox.⁵ Later attempts and grants of the same kind are also obscurely mentioned; but there is no record of their results, and it seems probable that nothing more

¹ See vol. i., p. 487, note.

² Letter of the Lords Proprietors to Sir William Berkeley, in Chalmers' *Annals*.

³ Pory visited Plymouth in 1622, and Bradford says of him, "Himselſe after his returns (to England) did this poore plantation much credite amongst those of no mean ranck." He was a scholar, and a man of a good deal of influence among the early adventurers, but became at last a penniless and rather disreputable vagabond. See a sketch of him in Neill's *History of The Virginia Company*.

⁴ Smith's *History of Virginia*.

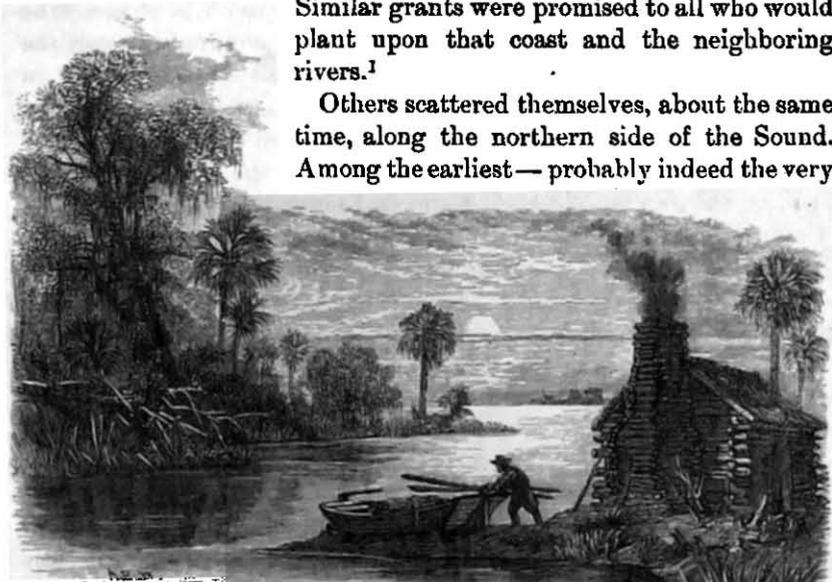
⁵ Hening's *Virginia Statutes*, i., 552.

than a fair knowledge of the upper part of North Carolina was gained through all of them until 1653. In July of that year, Roger Green, a clergyman, and a party from the Nansmond region, penetrated to Albemarle Sound, and a grant of land was made by-Virginia to Green himself of a thousand acres.

Settlements
of Green and
Durant.

Similar grants were promised to all who would plant upon that coast and the neighboring rivers.¹

Others scattered themselves, about the same time, along the northern side of the Sound. Among the earliest — probably indeed the very



A Carolina Settlement.

first — was one George Durant, a Quaker ; and "Durant's Neck," about midway between the Chowan and the sea, commemorates his name as one of the founders of the State. That this was sometime before 1662 is shown by the records of the Court of Chancery of North Carolina.

A suit was tried in 1697 between the heirs of George Durant and the heir of one Edward Catchmaid, for possession of the lands first occupied by Durant. Catchmaid, who was entrusted by Durant to procure for him a grant of these lands from Governor Berkeley of Virginia, treacherously took out the patent in his own name. The deed of restitution which he was compelled to make, and which was produced in evidence on the trial, bore the date of March, 1662 (new style, 1663). Catchmaid must therefore have been in the country for some time previous to that date ; and the record further shows that when he came it was by Durant's

Probable
date of the
Chowan set-
tlement.

¹ Hening's *Virginia Statutes*, i., 380.

invitation, who was then in the occupation of lands, having "come in with the first seaters," and "did for the space of two years bestow much labor and cost in finding out the said country."¹ By "first seaters" were evidently meant the first in the province of Carolina,—not merely the first in that particular neighborhood; and it is to them, probably, that Lawson refers when he says: "A second settlement [second, that is, after Raleigh's time] of this country was made about fifty years ago, in that part we now call Albemarl County, and chiefly in Chuwon precinct, by several substantial planters from Virginia and other plantations." Lawson's visit was in 1700.

There were probably few bays or rivers along the coast, from the Bay of Fundy to Florida, unexplored by the New Englanders, where there was any promise of profitable trade with the Indians. The colonist followed the trader wherever unclaimed lands were open to occupation. These energetic pioneers explored the sounds and rivers south of Virginia in pursuit of Indian traffic, contrasted the salubrity of the climate and the fertility of the soil with that region of rocks where they had made their homes, and where winter reigns for more than half the year. In 1660 or 1661, a company of these men purchased of the natives and settled upon a tract of land at the mouth of Cape Fear River. Their first purpose was apparently the raising of stock, as the country seemed peculiarly fitted to grazing, and they brought a number of neat cattle and swine to be allowed to feed at large under the care of herdsmen. But they aimed at something more than this nomadic occupation, and a company was formed, in which a number of adventurers in London were enlisted, to found a permanent colony. Discouraged, however, either by the want of immediate success, or for want of time to carry out their plans, or for some less creditable reason, the settlement was soon abandoned.

On this point there is sufficient evidence. In 1663, some persons from Barbadoes were on the coast in search of a suitable place for the planting of a colony. They visited the spot where the New Englanders had been, and their report is that they found "a writing left in a post at the point of Cape Fear river by those New England men that left cattle with the Indians there, the contents whereof tended not only to the discouragement of the land about the said river, but also to the great discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those parts to settle."² So, also, the London associates of this New England Company declared, at a meeting held in August, 1663, "that at the pres-

Explorations and settlement by New Englanders.

Abandonment of the New England settlement.

¹ Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, vol. ii., p. 132.

² Lawson's *History of Carolina*.

ent the undertaking of the plantation of the said Charles River lieth under some obloquy, that hath given a check to it; some that were sent from New England thither, in order to the carrying on the said settlement, being come back again without so much as sitting down upon it; and for the better justification of themselves in their return, have spread a reproach both upon the harbour and upon the soil of the river itself."¹

Was there sufficient ground for this "reproach both upon the harbor and the soil?" The explorers from Barbadoes, at least, did not think so. "In answer to that scandalous writing," as they called it, found affixed to the post, they affirm, "that we have seen, facing both sides the river and branches of Cape Fair aforesaid, as good



Finding the Message of the New England Men.

land, and as well timbered, as any we have seen in any other part of the world, sufficient to accommodate thousands of our English nation, and lying commodiously by the said river's side." It was a quite sufficient answer, as the future showed.

It is not impossible, however, that justification was sought for to cover up the real reason for failure. Lawson, in commenting upon the report of the Barbadoes men, — which he preserved in his history, — gives as a reason why the New Englanders "did not only take off themselves, but also their stocks of cattle,"

Reasons for
its failure.

¹ *Hutchinson Papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., 3d series.

that there were "irregular practices of some of that colony against the Indians, by sending away some of their children (as I have been told) under pretence of instructing them in learning and the principles of the Christian religion, which so disgusted the Indians, that though they had then no guns, yet they never gave over till they had entirely rid themselves of the English by their bows and arrows." Perhaps this was the "obloquy" to which the London associates referred.

The New England Company, nevertheless, asserted their right to the lands in question by virtue of their purchase from the Indians. Their friends in London, at the meeting in August, 1663, just referred to, presented their views upon this claim for the consideration of the new patentees. The New England colonies, they said, have ever had "full liberty to choose their own governours among themselves; to make and confirm laws with themselves; with immunity also wholly from all taxes, charges, and impositions whatsoever, more than what is laid upon themselves by themselves." But unless these privileges were "preserved entire to them," it was "feared that all thoughts of further proceeding in the said river will be wholly laid aside by them."¹

A month later, — September, 1663, — the Proprietors wrote to Governor Berkeley, informing him that they had received their charter from the King. They empowered him to appoint a governor, or governors, for the people who, they understood, were already settled on both banks of the Chowan. In response to "a paper from persons that desired to settle near Cape Fear," — by which they meant the New England Company, — the only proposals they have to make with special reference to that company relate to the allotment of land, declaring it to be "our resolution and desire that you persuade or compel those persons to be satisfied with such proportions as we allot to others."²

The character of the government had already been decided at the first meeting of the Proprietors in the preceding May. There was to be full liberty of conscience; the governor and assembly were to be chosen by popular election; and duties from customs were not to be enforced.³ In the proposals sent with this letter to Berkeley in September, these conditions were repeated. This repetition was intended, doubtless, for the instruction and assurance of emigrants from New England, or anywhere else, who should choose to avail themselves of such an offer. But that they were not a concession to the demand of the New England claimants is manifest, as

Action of
the Carolina
proprietors.

Character of
their pro-
jected gov-
ernment.

¹ *Hutchinson Papers*, as above.

² Letter from the Lords Proprietors to Sir William Berkeley. *Chalmers' Annals*.

³ *Chalmers' Annals*. *Martin's History. Papers in State Paper Office*, London; cited in *Coll. Hist. Soc. of South Carolina*, vol. i.

their remonstrance to the Proprietors could not at the time of this meeting in May have been received, — was not, probably, even written.¹

Nothing more is heard of the New England Company. If any influence was exerted from that region upon the new province, it was through individual citizens, who chose to make it their home. Of these there were many in the early settlement of North Carolina, — more, however, probably upon the Chowan than the Cape Fear River. “Make everything easy to the people of New England,” wrote the Proprietors to Sir John Yeamans, in 1665, “from which the greatest emigrations are expected, as the southern colonies are already drained.”²



Landing of Yeamans.

Yeamans came with a colony of several hundred persons, and landed at Cape Fear River on the 29th of May, 1664.³ The party

¹ The abortive attempt to settle a New England colony at the mouth of Cape Fear River, and its influence upon the character of the constitution of the new province, have been a source of much controversy and misunderstanding. The mistake in regard to it seems to have originated with Chalmers, who, assuming that the “proposals” sent to Berkeley in September were made “at the desire of the New England people,” overlooked the fact that they were simply a repetition of the form of government decided upon by the proprietors at their first meeting in May. Their charter then was only a little more than a month old, and no protest in regard to it could at that time have reached England from America.

² Chalmers.

³ *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina, on the Coasts of Florida.* London, 1666. Republished in Hawks' *History*. The colonists landed on the 8th of June, new style.

sent from Barbadoes to explore the coast of Carolina, — whose indignation was so aroused by the warning put up by the New England herdsmen on the Cape Fear River, — had bought of the Indians a tract of thirty-two miles square, and the proprietors were asked to confirm the purchase by a grant. Though this was refused, the terms granted to the colonists were satisfactory. Their settlement, which was “up the river, about twenty or thirty miles”¹ they called Charles-town. The province or county of which Yeamans was appointed Governor, was named Clarendon, and extended from Cape Fear to the St. John’s, in Florida.

Meanwhile Sir William Berkeley, in accordance with the instructions given by the Proprietors in their letter of September, 1663, established a government on the Chowan. He appointed a governor — William Drummond — and a council of six, who, with an assembly chosen by the people, were to enact laws, subject to the approval of the proprietors; possessions of lands were confirmed, and new grants were made, with an allowance of three years for the payment of quit-rents. In 1666, however, the Assembly protested against the payment of these quit-rents, and prayed that the tenure of lands should be the same as that established in Virginia. The petition was granted with regard to those who then held possession, but the rule was enforced upon all subsequent entries.² An Assembly was probably convened as early as 1663,³



Portrait of Locke.

though Albemarle County was not included within the boundaries of Carolina till after the issue of the second charter, in 1665.

In the elaboration of a Constitution for the new province Lord Shaftesbury called to his aid the great philosopher and statesman, John Locke. It was not till 1669 that the first of these “Fundamental Con-

¹ *A Brief Description*, etc. It was, Hawks says, “in Brunswick county, at or near the junction of Old Town Creek with the Cape Fear.”

² Chalmers’ *Annals*.

³ Hawks.

stitutions" was finished. By it the eight Lords Proprietors were constituted supreme rulers, the eldest to be Palatine of the province, and upon his death the eldest of the survivors to succeed him. The seven other offices, of admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, chief justice, high steward, and treasurer, were to be divided among the others, the eldest always to have choice of a vacant place. To the proprietor was given the privilege, until the year 1701, to relinquish or dispose of his proprietorship to any other person. All his rights were hereditary in the male line; in default of direct male heirs, male descendants through the female line succeeded, and after them "heirs general;" in default of any heirs, the surviving proprietors filled the place by election from the next of the orders of hereditary nobility. Of these orders there were two — Landgraves and Cassiques, each Landgrave possessing four baronies, and each Cassique two. The domains of the Proprietors, on the other hand, were called seigniories; and eight seigniories and eight baronies, with twenty-four "colonies" which could be owned by "the people," made up a county. Each seignior, barony, and colony contained twelve thousand acres; each county, therefore, consisted of 480,000 acres, of which twenty-four parts (or three fifths) were to be owned by the people, and sixteen parts (or two fifths) by the hereditary nobility — "that so in setting out and planting the lands," say the constitutions, "the balance of the government may be preserved." There would thus be, of course, just as many Landgraves as counties, and only twice as many Cassiques; but every member of both these classes of nobles was to be, "by right of his dignity," a member of the parliament, whereas every "colony" was not to have a member — only every "precinct" which was still another division formed for convenience of six colonies. There were but four popular members to a county, therefore; and the further restriction was made, that "no man should be chosen a member who had less than five hundred acres of freehold within the precinct;" while only those who had fifty or more acres of freehold could take part in electing him. The parliament thus chosen was to sit "all together in one room, and have every member one vote."

The privileges thus given to the hereditary nobility were further hedged about with provisions absolutely prohibiting the entrance of others into the titled class. The highest dignity attainable under them was the lordship of a manor, which must consist of not less than three thousand, or more than twelve thousand acres; and even such a freehold could only constitute a manor "by the grant of the Palatine's court." Under the nobility

John
Locke's
"Fundamental
Constitutions."

Officers and
orders of nobility.

Divisions of
the country.

The Parli-
ament.

Lords of
manors and
leet-men.

and lords of manors were "leet-men," and these were "under the jurisdiction of the respective lords of the said seigniory, barony or manor, without appeal from him." "All the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations."

There were to be eight supreme courts, — the highest consisting of the Palatine and the other proprietors, the others each of a
The Courts. proprietor, six councillors, and a college of twelve assistants chosen by the Palatine's court, and by Parliament from the nobility. Nobles could only be tried by the chief justice's court. The Palatine's court had a veto power over all parliamentary measures; and each of the other courts had its special controlling functions, — the chancellor's having power over land grants, treaties, etc.; the chief justice's over all civil and criminal appeals; the constable's over military matters; the admiral's over matters of marine; the treasurer's over finance; the high-steward's over public works, etc.; the chamberlain's over "all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, reception of public messengers, pedigrees, the registry of all births, burials, and marriages," and also over the regulation of "all fashions, habits, badges, games, and sports!" The happy province was to be governed even down to the amusements of its children, and the fashion of its women's gowns. Finally, the proprietors, and the forty-two councillors of the other courts, were to constitute a "Grand Council," or final court of appeal, in case of any dissensions among the rest.¹

Of the hundred lesser offices, or of the detailed regulation of civil, military, and judicial affairs, it is not necessary to speak; yet some minor provisions still remain to be cited, without which no sketch of the Constitutions could be complete. Other provisions of the Constitutions Lands, for instance, could not be subdivided even at the death of the Proprietor, but must descend entire. Proprietors need not live in Carolina to exercise their rights, but might, in carefully prescribed ways, appoint their deputies, who could not, however, confirm laws, or appoint Landgraves or Cassiques. A singular regulation prescribed that "to avoid multiplicity of laws," all statutes should, "at the end of an hundred years after their enacting," become null and void, and to avoid "multiplicity of comments," the publication of any commentary on the "Fundamental Constitutions" was prohibited. In trials by jury a majority was to decide. It was forbidden to take pay for pleading in courts of law. "Absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion whatsoever," was given to every freeman.

Finally there were some remarkable provisions as to religion and

¹ Grahame, *History of the United States* (ii., 87), says the functions of this body were like those of the Scotch "Lords of the Articles."

the liberty of conscience. They were singularly contradictory; for, against the wishes of Locke,¹ some of the chief proprietors inserted, in the second draft of the Constitutions, an article making the Church of England alone entitled to maintenance, and pronouncing it the "only true and orthodox" religion. Yet fortunately ^{Religion.} his own provision was also left as he had written it; and had the form of his scheme of government been left unchanged, this would undoubtedly have been the only reference to religious matters to be found in it. "In the terms of communion of every church or profession," he wrote, "these following shall be three; without which no agreement or assembly of men, under pretence of religion, shall be accounted a church or profession within these rules:—

"1. That there is a GOD.

"2. That GOD is publicly to be worshipped.

"3. That it is lawful and the duty of every man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to truth; and that every church or profession shall, in their terms of communion, set down the external way whereby they witness a truth as in the presence of GOD, whether it be by laying hands on or kissing the Bible, as in the Church of England, or by holding up the hand, or any other sensible way. . . . No person above seventeen years of age shall have any benefit or protection of the law," etc., "who is not a member of some church or profession."

Even earlier in the Constitutions it had been prescribed that "no man 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 and solemnly to be worshipped." Locke returns to this with frequent insistence; yet this one point granted, he concedes, in a long subsequent article, that all other distinctions form no justification for the interference of the state; and prescribes further that no man shall interfere with or "use any reproachful, reviling or abusive language against the religion of any church or profession — that being the certain way of disturbing the peace, and of hindering the conversion of any to the truth."

It is a significant commentary on this complicated piece of political machinery, that while it was assuming definite shape, the people of Albemarle had taken the matter of law-making ^{Legislation of the Albemarle people.} for the new country into their own hands. All unconscious that they were to be only "leet-men," or at best "lords of manors," amid a magnificent prospective population of seigniors, landgraves, and cassiques; and ignorant of the vast system of councils, courts-

¹Locke's *Works*, folio ed., vol. iii., p. 676, note, as cited by Grahame, ii., 89, and as quoted in note to Carroll, ii., 384.

leet and courts-baron which was to regulate their lives, amusements, and dress down to the smallest detail, these practical pioneers had quietly drawn up such simple regulations as their situation seemed to need.

Since Berkeley's visit to the Albemarle region it had received several additions, and now there were settlements all the way along the north shore of the Sound. The original Virginian plantations had been supplemented by several made by New-Englanders, and as far east as the Pasquotank River a colony of Bermuda people had taken up lands. Drummond had been succeeded in October, 1667, in the governorship by Samuel Stephens, and the proprietors in England, pending the completion of their great scheme, had authorized a temporary government of a council of twelve, half of them to be chosen by an assembly of the settlers.

It was such an assembly which now sent to London the simple code which it believed to have become necessary for the increasing population — or perhaps it should rather be said, needful to secure its further increase. Exemption from taxation for a year was secured* to every new settler; but, to guard against a monopoly of lands by absentees, it was declared necessary to live in the country two years before such land-grant should form a complete title. The traffic with the neighboring Indians was reserved to the people of the district; stringent means were to be used against the participation of traders from outside. In addition to these inducements to emigration, the proposed laws gave to the country the very questionable advantage of forming a virtual asylum for runaway debtors; no debt contracted outside of Albemarle could be sued for within five years, nor could any colonist accept a power of attorney to demand such a debt from another. A tax of thirty pounds of tobacco on every lawsuit, while it provided for the expenses of the Governor and Council, was also intended to check the litigation so likely to arise in a new country where titles to land were a source of frequent dispute. Marriage was declared to be only a civil contract. Parties appearing before "the governor, or any member of the council, or a few of their neighbors, and declaring their mutual consent, were declared to be man and wife." It has been conjectured that such a law was deemed expedient in the scarcity of clergymen, in a widely scattered community. Perhaps it was also meant to encourage matrimony and the emigration of women. A contemporary pamphlet, written in the interest of the proprietors, holds out as an inducement to such an emigration, that, "if any Maid or single Woman have a desire to go over, they will think themselves in the Golden Age, when Men paid

Character of
the Albe-
marle laws

Laws con-
cerning mar-
riage.

a Dowry for their Wives; for if they be but Civil, and under 50 years of Age, some honest Man or other will purchase them for their Wives."¹ This sufficient constitution continued, with all its faults, to regulate Northern Carolina for more than forty years, till in 1715 it was deliberately reënacted by the people.

The Duke of Albemarle was the first Palatine under the Constitutions, and at his death the office passed to Lord Berkeley. But the "Fundamental Constitutions" never became the law of the land. From the time they were first adopted by the Proprietors, in 1669, till they were finally rejected by the Assembly of South Carolina, in 1698, they were four times amended, till their articles were reduced from one hundred and twenty to forty-one. Their onerous and impracticable provisions were so ill adapted to the condition of colonists in a new country, that hardly was respect enough paid to them even to attempt their serious enforcement.

The Proprietors had made, meanwhile, their first direct attempt to plant in the province a colony of their own. Albemarle was an off-shoot of Virginia; Cape Fear of Barbadoes; the new settlement was to be supplied directly from England, and furnished with means by the lords themselves.

In July, 1669, Captain William Sayle, who had already made explorations of the coast in the proprietaries' service, was commissioned governor of that part of Carolina "lying south and west of Cape Carteret" or Cape Romain,² a region which had been especially excepted from the jurisdiction of Yeamans. In 1670 Sayle and Joseph West, a commercial agent of the proprietaries, set sail from England with two ships loaded with emigrants and stores.

They sailed in January. But they touched first at some port in Ireland before they were fairly off on their long voyage for Carolina

¹ *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina on the Coasts of Florida, etc.*, London, 1666.

² Romain was its earliest name; then it became Carteret; now it is Romain again.



Portrait of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

Fate of the
"Fundamental
Constitutions."

William
Sayle gov-
ernor, 1669.

by way of Barbadoes. It was months before they reached Port Royal, to which they were ordered, no doubt because it was the best known point on that coast. Whether they did more than enter that beautiful bay is not certain, though some of the early writers think they attempted a settlement. It is more probable that they thought a port so accessible from the sea was less desirable for an infant colony than a place more difficult of approach. At any rate, they did not remain at Port Royal, but before the year was out, Sayle, who knew the coast, sailed up the present harbor of Charleston, and landed his people about three miles above the mouth of the Ashley River. The place they named Charles-town.

Sayle before long fell a victim to the climate, and Sir John Yeamans, who had been made a landgrave, succeeded him as governor by virtue of that rank, though West would have been preferred by the people. For several years the colony was in a languishing condition; nor did the Proprietaries conceal their discontent at the steady drain it kept up upon their treasury, while the possibility of its becoming self-sustaining seemed to grow no nearer. New emigrants were sent out, but, like the first settlers, they appear to have been of the class least likely to make successful pioneers. The climate discouraged Europeans from the only kinds of planting which could have proved profitable, and the hard labor of clearing and tilling was in great part done by negro slaves, a few of whom had been sent from Barbadoes, or brought thence by Yeamans and his companions to Cape Fear.¹ There was a small number of industrious and experienced men from the northern colonies,² and apparently there were a few English emigrants of more spirit and persistency than the rest; but the great majority was made up from the broken-down and vicious class which was drawn upon so largely by all the proprietary colonies.

The proprietors, not without grumbling, continued for some time to respond to the calls for supplies, for which no return was made in colonial products. But no provision could be made for the proper distribution of what was sent, and supplies were furnished to idle and industrious alike; the founders of the colony found themselves supporting a majority of useless paupers, where they had relied upon returns which the minority of hard-workers was not strong enough to secure. By the beginning of 1674 a heavy debt—some thousands of pounds—had accumulated on account of the plantation. Sir John Yeamans—who appears to have taken advantage of his position to direct what little export trade there was toward Barbadoes, where he could turn it to his own profit—was

Death of
Sayle.—
Yeamans
governor.

Languishing
condition of
the colony.

¹ Hewit, in Carroll's *Hist. Coll.*

² Chalmers.

removed, and, much to the general satisfaction, Joseph West was appointed governor in his place.

Yeamans, broken in health by the climate, but with a large fortune acquired during the years of his administration, retired again to Barbadoes, and the popular and prudent West soon ^{West governor, 1674.} changed the condition of affairs for the better. Emigrants were now willing to go to the province "at their own expense. Men of estate ventured where they were assured of fair dealing," says one of the older historians, and all accounts concur in representing the confidence in the new Governor as giving an immediate impetus to the settlement and progress of the place, while his management seems also to have checked for the time the complaints of the proprietaries. The colonists, it is true, did not pay the large indebtedness already contracted, nor even the Governor's salary, as they promised when his



View of Charleston Harbor.

administration began. But this latter point was settled, in 1677, by the Proprietors' assignment to West of all their stock, unused supplies, and overdue debts in the province, thus giving ^{Improvement in the Colony's affairs.} him a new motive for the improvement of the colony. For themselves, they doubtless considered it a favorable state of things if even the drain on their treasury was stopped. The idea of large profits must have been given up by this time even by the most sanguine "seignior" among them, while the more fortunate landgraves and cassiques, some few of whom had been appointed, must have rejoiced that their barren honors had been so cheaply purchased.

This prosperity, which was to last for several years, was hardly established, when the condition of affairs in their northern colony de-

manded the attention of the vexed Proprietors. The people of Albemarle had become thoroughly discontented. The code of temporary laws sent to them had been openly disregarded, and the Assembly seems to have gone on without paying attention to any other code than its own. All manner of disquieting rumors had been spread abroad concerning the intentions of the proprietors regarding this particular settlement, — how they intended to give it to Sir William Berkeley for his own, separating it from the rest of the province, or how they favored their own colony at the south at the expense of the north. In 1674, to make confusion worse, Stephens, the Governor, died; and Carteret, chosen in his place pending advices from England, proved indifferent to or dissatisfied with his duties, and sailed for home after an administration of little more than a year.

In 1675 the fear of the colonists as to the dismemberment of the province, and Berkeley's dreaded rulership over it, led to an address to the Proprietors. Their prompt denial of the rumor, and their acknowledgment that they had "neglected Albemarle," did not check the excitement. At the same time one Thomas Miller was the object of great suspicion, and was sent to Jamestown for trial, charged with sedition. He was acquitted by a Virginian jury; but this did not allay the popular discontent. That, probably, was increased by the fact that he was taken out of the colony for trial.

In 1676 the Assembly decided to send an intelligent representative to England, to lay before the Proprietors the disorderly condition of the colony, to ask redress for various grievances, and to secure a governor who should understand their necessities, and satisfy their reasonable wants. Thomas Eastchurch, the speaker of the Assembly, was chosen for the duty; and about the time of his setting out, Miller also sailed for England, to demand redress for the injuries done him.

Eastchurch succeeded so well in his mission as to secure his own appointment to the governorship, with a set of instructions which he thought would quiet dissension and satisfy the people. But though Eastchurch was made Governor, Miller was no less successful in obtaining redress for his private grievances. The Proprietors acknowledged that he had been wronged in being taken to Virginia for trial, even if there was any ground for the trial itself. He who had been foremost in denouncing their rule in the colony, now became their servant. He was made collector of the customs, secretary, and Lord Shaftesbury's deputy in Carolina. Nor was this all; for, when the two newly-appointed officers sailed together

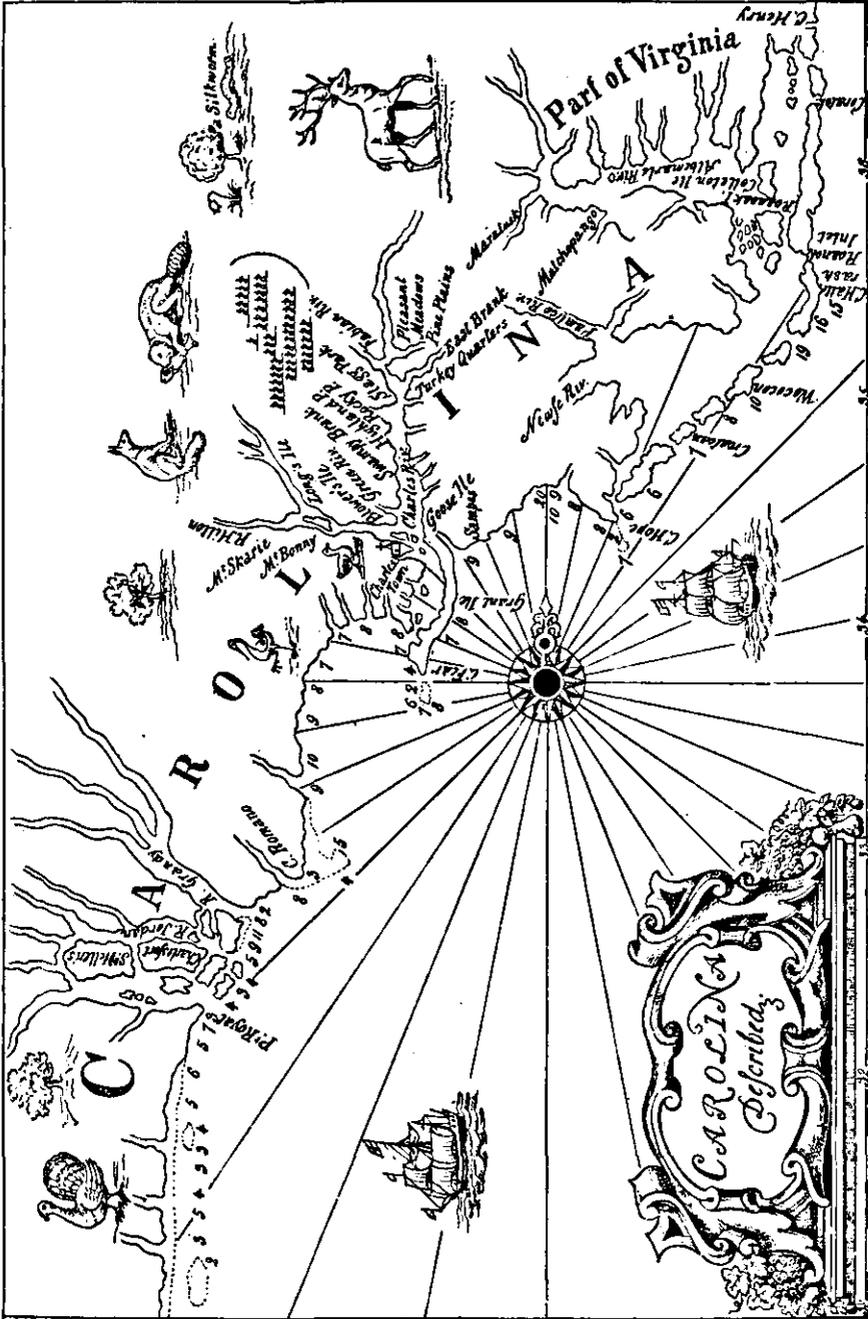
Discontent
at Albe-
marle.

Address to
the Propri-
etors.

The case of
Thomas Mil-
ler.

Eastchurch
sent to Eng-
land.

His success
and appoint-
ment as Gov-
ernor.



FAC-SIMILE FROM THE "DESCRIPTION OF CAROLINA"

for the colony, and landed first in the West Indies, Eastchurch fell in love with a Creole heiress in Nevis Island, and sent his companion to rule at Albemarle, with full powers as his deputy, Miller Deputy-governor. "till the chain that bound him proved too weak to hold him, or strong enough to enable him to draw the beauty who had imposed it." Miller probably did not object to this arrangement, but proceeded promptly to the colony, where, on his arrival in July, 1677, the people received him, no doubt with deep disgust, but with outward signs of submission.

Albemarle had now a population of fourteen hundred "taxables," or persons between sixteen and sixty years of age, one third of them being women, negro slaves, and Indians. How these colonists had been ruled during Carteret's absence does not appear; probably chiefly by their own Assembly, with perhaps an executive named by the Council, whose name has not been recorded. One thing seems certain, however,—that the fourteen hundred colonists had proved themselves as difficult of tranquil government as many populations of ten times their numbers. Affairs had been left "in bad order and worse hands," said the Proprietors; and Miller found the place full of all the elements of turbulence that a combina-Continued disorder.tion of plantation and trading-post could furnish. A degree of anarchy must inevitably have resulted from the uncertainty caused by attempts to enforce first one and then another code of laws; but apart from this, the population was made up of the most diverse classes, among whom quiet would have been impossible. Puritan New Englanders, not feeling themselves at ease under ultra-royalist proprietors of a kind whom all their traditions led them to oppose; adventurers, who saw in any kind of strong government the prospect of taxes and restrictions on their profits; refugees from the political troubles in Virginia, finding safety in a province which refused to give them up,—all these mingled with the original colonists to make up a people peculiarly difficult to control. The principal trade was with New England, and the men who carried it on added to the disorder by a systematic evasion of the English customs-dues, which were perhaps unjust enough, yet which the proprietary governors were instructed to enforce.

It was on the question of this trade that the first open conflict arose between Miller and the colonists. As collector for the king, he assessed a duty of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported to other American colonies. By this tax he collected in the first six months thirty-three hogsheads of tobacco and more than five thousand dollars.¹ The indignation was great, particularly among the New

¹ Martin. See also Williamson and Hawks.

England trading-captains. Every device of smuggling and concealment was resorted to in order to evade the law.

In December, a northern trader named Gillam, commanding an armed vessel from New England, was arrested for violation of the law, and was bound in a thousand pounds to abide his trial. He threatened the people that he would bring them no more supplies at such risk. In the district of Pasquotank, where the arrest took place, the people rose at once, and the insurrection was almost immediately joined by the planters of other districts. Miller and several of the Proprietors' deputies were imprisoned by the insurgents led by one Culpepper, a man who had already been prominent in agitations on Ashley River. The funds of the revenue officers — some three thousand pounds — were seized, and a popular assembly was called, new courts established, and all matters of administration taken under the control of the successful rebels.

The people of Pasquotank published a proclamation or "remonstrance," addressed "to all the rest of the County of Albemarle," in justification of their conduct. Miller was accused of preventing a free election, which deprived them of a free parliament whereby their grievances could be made known to the Lords Proprietors. The chief of these grievances was that the tax on tobacco was enforced, and that trade was interfered with; and they relate with an almost ludicrous pathos the circumstances of Gillam's arrest — who had come "with three times the goods he brought last year," — which, of course, he meant to dispose of in a contraband trade, in tobacco — of Miller's boarding his vessel "with a brace of pistols," and presenting one of them at George Durant's breast, whom he seized as a traitor.

The grievance in truth was serious enough. Their chief production was tobacco. The tax was a heavy burden upon colonists inevitably poor; and the enforcement of the Navigation Act was to shut them off from a trade with New England upon which they were dependent almost for the necessaries of life. The arrest of Gillam was the one thing needed to make a crisis. "Three-times as many goods as the year before," but safely under hatches in Gillam's vessel, and not to be exchanged for the tobacco on which, nevertheless, the tax was inexorably levied — here was palpable oppression to be borne no longer. The insurrection was completely successful.

When Eastchurch arrived — having won his bride at last in the West Indies — he found that the delay had cost him his governorship. He appealed to Virginia for aid, but before he had time to put his plans into operation, he died.

The colonists, however, had no intention of setting the Proprietors

Insurrection
against Miller
in Pas-
quotank.

"Remonstrance" of
the Pasquo-
tank peo-
ple.

Arrival of
Eastchurch.
His death.

altogether at defiance. But it was nearly two years before they thought fit to offer any justification of their conduct in deposing one officer and refusing obedience to another. In 1679, Culpepper and Robert Holden were sent as commissioners to England to lay their grievances before the Proprietors. Miller and his companions in imprisonment succeeded in escaping and in securing passage on a homeward-bound vessel, and appeared in London not long afterward. The majority of the Proprietors seem to have been much puzzled by the contradictory accounts thus simultaneously brought before them. But Lord Shaftesbury, finding that the commissioners were willing to yield every thing to the proprietaries if only Miller should be permanently displaced and the insurgents pardoned; feeling also, perhaps, that the colonists really had grievances which should be redressed; but especially seeing, no doubt, that the successful rebel was much more of a man than the governor he had deposed,—used his influence in Culpepper's favor. No

Action of
the Proprietors.



Arrest of Durant.

thought seems to have been entertained of returning Miller to the government. A commission as governor of Albemarle had been previously issued to Seth Sothell, who had lately become a proprietor by purchasing the share of Lord Clarendon.

Sothell started for the colony probably late in 1678, or early the next year. But he was captured by the Turks on his outward voyage, and taken into Algiers. The Proprietors consequently decreed

that a temporary government should be continued under one John Harvey, to whom a commission for the time being seems to have been granted previously — perhaps because he was already in Carolina, and in a position to govern till a new officer's arrival.¹ But the expedient proved unsuccessful; his power was derided because it was known that it was to last but a little time. Indeed, he seems to have been virtually deposed in the summer of 1680, one John Jenkins succeeding him for a few months. In February, 1681, still another governor was commissioned pending Sothell's coming — Captain Henry Wilkinson, whose credentials call him "governor of that part of the province of Carolina lying five miles south of the river Pamlico, and thence to Virginia."

In the mean time Culpepper, when he was about to reëmbark for the colony after having apparently gained all his ends, had been arrested, at the instigation, it has been suggested, of the proprietors opposed to Shaftesbury,² and brought to trial by the commissioners of customs, for unlawfully acting as collector in the colony, and for high-treason. He begged in vain to be tried in Carolina, where the act was committed; this was refused him on the ground that "by a Statute of Henry VIII., foreign treason may be either tried by special commission or in the King's Bench by a jury of the county, where that court sits."³ He would undoubtedly have been convicted and sentenced by the King's Bench, had not Shaftesbury pleaded for him that there never had been a regular government in Albemarle, and that the rebellion had therefore been only a quarrel between factions of the colonists. Culpepper was acquitted. This trial occurred in Trinity Term, in the summer of 1680, that is, some months after Sothell's appointment, departure, and capture; and there is obviously no ground for the general assumption that Sothell was sent to the colony as a consequence of Culpepper's acquittal.

In the province itself dissensions were far from ended; nor did the conciliatory measures which the Proprietaries now adopted do much good. Instructions were given to the Governor to "pardon" the insurgents; a measure which naturally seems to have been laughed at by a faction which was almost as strong as the one now nominally in power; and as naturally disregarded by the Governor himself, who knew that to keep his place at all he must rule with a strong hand.

¹ State Papers cited in *Coll. Hist. Soc. of S. C.*, vol. i., p. 102.

² Grahame, ii., 107.

³ Ventris's *Reports*, 349. Cited by Chalmers.

Severe measures of punishment, on the one hand, and of retaliation on the other, appear to have kept Albemarle in constant anarchy during a period too turbulent to have left us any clear records; and when Sothell, who had escaped from captivity, arrived in Carolina in 1688, he had every reason to find affairs in as bad a state as ever.



Seal of the Proprietors of Carolina

CHAPTER XIII.

VIRGINIA UNDER BERKELEY.

CONDITION OF VIRGINIA IN 1670. — ABUSÉS AND POPULAR GRIEVANCES. — THE GRANT TO ARLINGTON AND CULPEPPER. — INDIAN HOSTILITIES AND THEIR RESULTS. — INEFFICIENCY OF BERKELEY. — INDIGNATION OF THE COLONISTS. — NATHANIEL BACON TAKES THE FIELD IN DEFIANCE OF THE GOVERNOR. — HIS INDIAN CAMPAIGN. — BERKELEY PROCLAIMS HIM A REBEL. — POPULAR UPRISING. — CONCESSIONS FORCED FROM THE GOVERNOR. — BACON'S ARREST, SUBMISSION, AND ESCAPE. — HE CAPTURES JAMESTOWN. — SECOND INDIAN CAMPAIGN. — RENEWED ATTEMPTS OF BERKELEY TO SUPPRESS THE POPULAR MOVEMENT. — BACON'S RETURN. — HE SEIZES THE GOVERNMENT. — FLIGHT OF BERKELEY. — THE CONVENTION. — AIMS OF THE BACON PARTY. — REVIVING FORTUNES OF THE DEPOSED GOVERNOR. — BACON AGAIN CAPTURES AND BURNS THE CAPITAL. — ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BACON. — CLOSE OF THE REBELLION. — PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELS. — ARRIVAL OF ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS. — RECALL AND DEATH OF BERKELEY.

IN the year 1670, the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, in London, asked of Sir William Berkeley a report upon the condition of his colony. Apart from mere statistics, more may be inferred from his response than he saw fit to tell, — more, perhaps, than he really knew. But even the facts he gives are valuable.

There were forty thousand people in Virginia at this period: of these, only two thousand were negro slaves; but there were six thousand white servants bound to service for a term of years. It is not a violent supposition that these were not contented subjects. The best of them had been soldiers of the Commonwealth, — men who had risked their lives for the sake of political and religious liberty, and were not likely now to submit quietly to personal servitude. Others were of an even more dangerous class, for the Assembly of that year had listened to complaints, from members of the Council and other gentlemen, of the dangers that threatened the colony by the introduction of felons. The annual importation of white servants was fifteen hundred; the Assembly hoped at least to mitigate the evils of such an emigration by prohibiting the landing in Virginia of convicts from the English jails. Upon these indented servants and the negro slaves the colony depended for its labor. That their lives were held cheaply is plain, for four fifths of

Condition of
Virginia in
1670. The
people.

them died when put upon new plantations. It was cheaper to buy new servants than to keep old ones alive by sanitary measures.

Virginia owned but two small vessels of her own, though eighty ships came yearly from England to take away her tobacco and bring in exchange those commodities of luxury or necessity that her people could not do without. Nothing could be exported except to the king's dominions, and nothing, therefore, of much value, could be imported from anywhere but England. No improvement could come, the Governor thought, to the trade of Virginia till she was allowed to sell her tobacco, her staves, her timber, and her corn in the best market, and buy what she wanted in return where it could be bought cheapest. In 1671, she exported sixteen thousand hogsheads of tobacco, on which the export tax was two shillings a hogshead. The price in London ruled the price at which it was put on board the English vessels at the river-banks of the plantations, the planters taking goods in pay. The price of the tobacco was at the lowest, that of the goods at the highest, to which monopoly could bring them. The merchant made an enormous profit on both. More than one old writer says that the remuneration to the planter would hardly find him in clothes; but it was, no doubt, the four fifths of the servants who died that went without the clothes, and not the planters on their great estates, with their generous living and large hospitality.

The militia of the province could muster eight thousand men. On the James were two forts; on the Rappahannock, the York, and the Potomac, one each. They were meant, however, less for protection than as ports where ships should load and unload, that the restrictions upon trade might be the easier enforced than when cargoes were discharged and received at the plantations. For a year only, however, was that regulation obeyed. The great fire in London in 1666 reduced the number of ships that came out that season; and the fear that the plague which followed it might be introduced into the colony and spread by the aggregation of people at these ports, scattered the ships again along the rivers wherever a market could be found. But the forts were kept up, and the taxation for that purpose was a grievous burden for which there was no return.

The religious condition of the colony did not altogether suit Berkeley; with him religion meant conformity to the Established Church, and the church a form of prescribed belief and worship with which the constable should have as much to do as the priest. He hated non-conformity and dreaded any appeal to or reliance upon the human reason. He believed devoutly in authority, and every Puritan that went back to New England, every Quaker

that sought refuge in Carolina, was a good riddance to a ruler who recognized the perfection of human government under Charles I. and Charles II. There were forty-eight parishes in the colony, and in these, Berkeley said, "our ministers are well paid; by my consent, should be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities, so of this, — the worst are sent us, and we have had few that we could boast of, since Cromwell's tyranny drove divers men hither." But some of these parishes were sixty or seventy miles in length, and better authority, perhaps, than the Governor's, asserted that many of them were for years without pastors. Nor were clergymen, when employed, held in much esteem, — in many cases were not deserving of it. Parishioners were often indifferent whether the parsons prayed or preached most, or whether they did neither. Not unfrequently a lay reader was employed at the lowest possible wages for which a substitute for a minister could be hired. This saved a clergyman's salary, and filled at the same time the Governor's requirement of religious teaching, — no preaching and more prayer-book.

But if the Governor was a little doubtful as to the religious state of the colony, he had no misgivings of the perfectly health-
Education. ful condition of the merely secular mind of his people. To this consideration he turns with the keenest satisfaction. "But," he adds, "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best governments. God keep us from both."

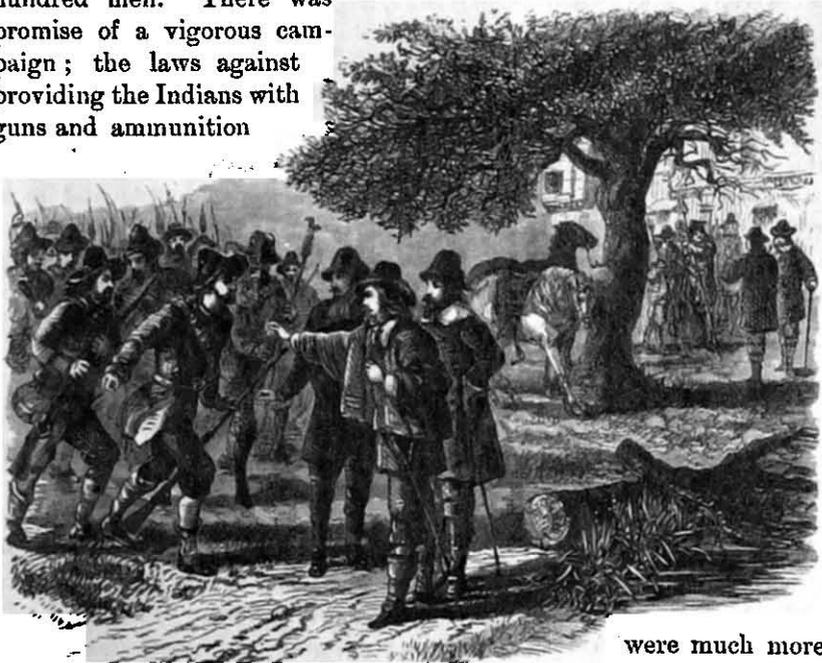
From 1660 to 1676 there was no election of representatives to the Assembly of Virginia. That body preserved its power from year to year by prorogation, and rendered any interference with it the more difficult by restricting the right of suffrage. Industry was paralyzed; the taxes were enormous; official tyranny was intolerable; monopoly absorbed all trade; the people had no voice in the government. In 1673 the whole territory, occupied already by nearly forty thousand Englishmen, was given by the king to two of his favorites, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper, — the former the father-in-law of the king's bastard son, the Duke of Grafton, by the profligate and beautiful Lady Castlemaine, afterward the Duchess of Cleveland. The grant was a new source of taxation to the oppressed colonists, who were compelled to pay heavily for the support of agents in London in vain efforts to procure the restoration of their homes to the rightful owners. The condition of the colony seemed well-nigh hopeless, and only some pretext for revolt was needed to arouse the people to resistance. In 1674 some

Virginia
 granted to
 Arlington
 and Culpepper.

disturbances, which promised to become a revolution, were with difficulty allayed by a proclamation from the Governor and the intercessions of some influential citizens of his party.

But the insurrection, which so many causes combined to make popular and inevitable, was only postponed for about a year. The Indians on the frontier — either the local tribes instigated by Senecas from the north, or the Senecas themselves — became so troublesome that the forts were put in a condition of defence, and Sir Henry Chicheley, the Lieutenant-governor, prepared to march, in the spring of 1675, against the enemy at the head of five hundred men. There was promise of a vigorous campaign; the laws against providing the Indians with guns and ammunition

Indian hostilities.



Gathering of the Virginia Planters in 1674.

were much more stringent; settlers were warned

to take their arms to church; days of fasting were ordered, and the whole colony seems to have been animated with the hope that something was at length to be done whose end was the common good. But when Chicheley and his little army were ready to move, an unaccountable and unexplained order to disband was received from Governor Berkeley.

Whether this was done in the interest of the Indian traders, — which was Berkeley's own interest, — or whether the Governor sincerely believed that the danger from the Indians was exaggerated, and would disappear if let alone, the effect upon the colonists was

unquestionably exasperating. If the Governor would not defend them, they determined to defend themselves.

The occasion was not long in coming. One Sunday morning, in the summer of that year, some persons in Stafford County, on their way to church, found lying at his own door, wounded and dying, a man named Hen, and near him a friendly Indian, quite dead. Hen lived long enough to tell his friends that the Doegs were the murderers.

Alarm was spread through the neighborhood, and thirty men started at once in pursuit. For twenty miles up the Potomac the trail was followed, till, crossing the river, it divided into two paths. The force separated to follow both, — one party under Captain Brent, the other under Colonel Mason. Brent soon came upon a wigwam, which he surrounded with his men. A chief came out at the Captain's summons, who accused him of having murdered Hen, and, as he attempted to fly, shot him down. His companions within the wigwam made some show of defence, and then, as they rushed out to escape, ten of them fell before the fire of the Virginians. They were of the Doeg tribe, and, very likely, the murderers.

The other party, who also reached a wigwam in the woods, waited for no parley. The Indians, aroused by the noise of the firing of Brent's men, rushed to the door, and, as they appeared, fourteen of them were shot dead before the assailants could be made to understand that these were not Doegs, but Susquehannocks. But the murder of Hen was fully avenged. The sun had risen but once over his grave, before — as the Indians believed — twenty-four of their people followed him into the valley of darkness.

Retaliation was inevitable. Susquehannocks, Doegs, Senecas, Piscataways, — all the Indian tribes of the region were aroused by the slaughter in a single day of so many warriors. Two of these tribes mourned for their own; the third was accused of the act that had brought upon them so terrible a calamity. All had now cause to hate the whites; some of them — perhaps all — proved by new atrocities how eagerly they accepted the lesson. In Maryland and Virginia alike, the isolated planters knew that at any moment they might stand face to face with death.

The two colonies united in an expedition, and a thousand men were sent out under Colonel John Washington, — George Washington's great-grandfather, — of Virginia, and Major Thomas Truman, of Maryland. The Susquehannocks had taken refuge with their women and children in a strong fort on the Piscataway, and this the combined force surrounded.

Murder of
Hen.

Punishment
of the mur-
derers.

Attack on a
Susquehan-
nock wig-
wam.

Expedition
against the
Susquehan-
nocks.

Six of their chiefs were summoned from the fort, that negotiations might first be tried. They denied that their people were guilty of any hostile acts against the whites, and charged them to the Senecas, who had already fled northward. Truman accepted their explanations, and promised them protection, but the Virginians were not satisfied.

The next morning, a detachment brought into the camp the mutilated bodies of one Hanson and some members of his family who had been recently murdered. The act was known before, and was one of those now under consideration. But when this visible evidence of Indian atrocity was laid before the

whites, their rage was beyond control. Whether with or without the consent



The Killing of the Chiefs.

of the two commanders, five of the chiefs, who had again come out of the fort for a parley, and

who, under the rules of war, were entitled to protection, were instantly bound and led out to execution.

The act was too atrocious to be sustained even by the public opinion of that time. Truman was brought to trial by the Legislature of Maryland, and found guilty in that he did "in a barbarous and cruel manner cause five of said Indians to be killed and murdered, contrary to the laws of God and of nations." How he was punished does not appear, for the records are lost.¹ When Colonel Washington returned to Jamestown, and took his seat in the Assembly, Berkeley said, in his opening address, "If they [the Susquehannocks] had killed my grandfather and my grandmother, my father, my mother,

¹ For the fullest narrative of all these transactions, see a lecture before the Maryland Historical Society, by S. F. Streeter, published in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. i.

and all my friends, yet, if they had come to treat in peace, they should have gone in peace."

This public rebuke was Washington's only punishment. Their revenge the Indians took into their own hands. Though the fort on the Piscataway was strong and capable of defence, they had laid in no provisions for a long siege. In the night, while the camp without slept unsuspecting of danger, the Susquehannocks, with their women and children — leaving behind only a few old men — crept out silently among their enemies, killing ten of them as they went, and escaped to the forest.

Arousing other tribes, they spread dismay along the Rappahanock and the James. Through the following winter they spread through Virginia, almost to Jamestown itself. Their object was rather revenge than plunder. "In these frightful times," says a narrative written a few years afterward by one of the planters who related what he saw,¹ "the most exposed small families withdrew into our houses of better numbers, which we fortified with pallisadoes and redoubts; neighbours in bodies joined their laborers from each plantation to others alternately, taking their arms into the fields and setting centinels; no man stirred out of door unarm'd, Indians were (ever and anon) espied, three, 4, 5, or 6 in a party, lurking throughout the whole land; yet (what was remarkable) I rarely heard of any houses burnt . . . or other injury done besides murders, except the killing a very few cattle & swine." Sixty of the colonists, before the spring came, had fallen victims to this savage warfare along the York, the James, and the Rappahannock.

In this season of dire distress Berkeley was strangely inefficient or unpardonably indifferent. Even the Susquehannocks, satisfied with their bloody work, made overtures of peace, to which they received no answer; the colonists appealed to him for protection, but he was moved neither by their sufferings nor their prayers. The time had come when they must depend upon themselves for safety. In securing that, came the opportunity to redress much other wrong.

Among the owners of plantations on the James was young Nathaniel Bacon, the cousin and heir of a rich and well-known Jamestown citizen of the same name. Although he was not yet thirty, and had joined his relative in Virginia less than three years before, he was already of sufficient mark in the province to have been appointed member of the council, and to have gained an influence among his neighbors that implied unusual qualities in so

¹ *The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion.* By T. M. Republished in *Force's Tracts*, vol. i.

young a man. He lived upon an estate called Curles, on the river, a little distance below Richmond; but he also owned a plantation near the falls of the James, — perhaps where the place called “Bacon Quarter Branch” still keeps his name.¹ Here, in the late winter or early spring of 1676, a band of savages stole into the clearing, and killed two persons, — a servant, and Bacon’s overseer, whom he held in high esteem.²



Bacon Quarter Branch.

The young man had been already greatly excited by the distresses of the people about him, and it needed only this appeal to personal interest and feeling to move him to action. His neighbors, one and all, looked to him as their leader; and he and they had “sent oftentimes to the Governor, humbly beseeching a commission to go against those Indians at their own charge.” But no commission came. “The mysteries of these delays were wondered at,” and the minds of the people, bitter with other grievances, were filled with “surmizes and murmurings.” The climax came when Bacon himself, struck at last in his own family, swore that he would avenge his overseer’s death,

¹ Campbell’s *History of Virginia*.

² There are several contemporary accounts of Bacon’s Rebellion. The so called “Burwell Account,” found among the papers of Captain Nathaniel Burwell, of Virginia, and published in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. i., is incomplete. That by “T. M.” in Force’s *Hist. Tracts*, i., is the fullest. See also *An Account of our Late Troubles in Virginia*, by Mrs. An. Cotton, of Q. Creeks, in Force, i., 9th paper; *A List of those Erected for the Late Rebellion in Virginia*, etc., *ibid.*, 10th paper; and the documents in the appendix to chap. v. in Burk’s *History of Virginia*, vol. ii.

and that should news of another murder reach him, he would march out against the savages, "commission or no commission."

Such news was but a little while in coming; and he kept his word. A force whose numbers are differently stated at ninety, three hundred, and even six hundred men,¹ gathered about their leader. But even on the eve of their march, they sent once more to Berkeley for authority, warning him that should he not send it by a certain day, they would go without it. It did not come, and at the appointed time the expedition moved. It had gone only a short distance, before it was overtaken by a messenger, bearing in hot haste a proclamation from the Governor, denouncing all as rebels who did not disperse and return to their homes before a given date. This was decisive, and the line must be drawn at once between such as would brave the final threat of the authorities and such as would turn back while it was yet possible. Fifty-seven of his company kept on into the wilderness with Bacon; "those of estates," who feared their confiscation, returned with discontented obedience to save their property.

Bacon and his party had not accomplished that most difficult and dangerous part of Indian warfare, the finding of the enemy, when their supplies began to run low. Coming upon the fortified village of a friendly tribe, they asked the savages for provisions, with offers of pay. If the white men would wait till the next day, they should have what they asked, was his answer. It shows what was the popular opinion of the Governor, that a suspicion at once arose among the Bacon party that these Indians were acting by his direction. It was absolutely necessary that food should be had. Wading "shoulder deep" through the creek that ran before the palisades, they pressed their request. A shot, coming from some unseen enemy as night was falling, killed one of the troop, and aroused a suspicion that the Indians were reënforced. An attack was made, the fort taken and burned, and, according to Bacon's own account, one hundred and fifty Indians were put to the sword. It was the annihilation of the tribe of Susquehannocks. That, it was thought, must put an end to all further trouble from the savages, and the colonists dispersed.

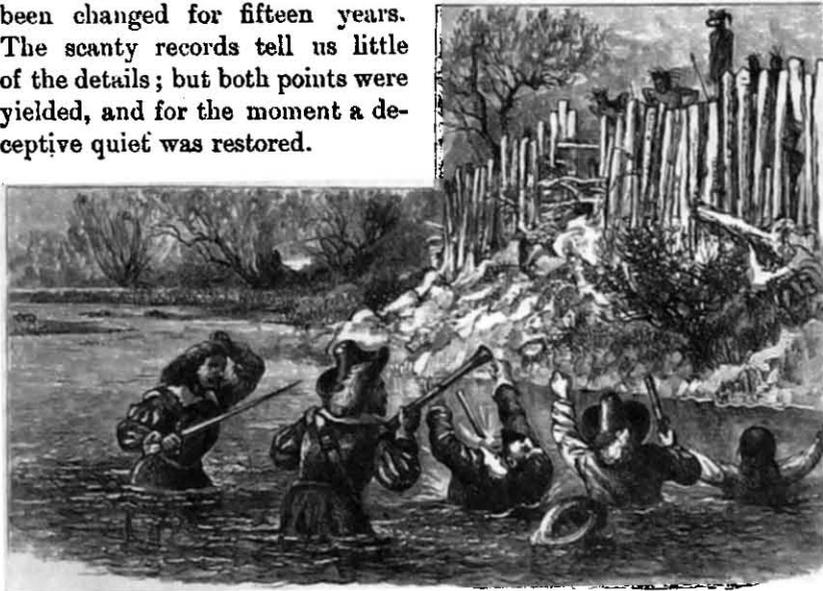
The supposed collusion of Sir William Berkeley and the Indians had this much color of probability, — that the Governor, so soon as he was satisfied of the determined purpose of Bacon and his men, had taken a troop of horse and set out in pursuit. He did not reach them; but his desertion of the capital, at

¹ Burk, ii. 164, says six hundred; Burwell, p. 10, says "about seventy or ninety persons;" T. M., p. 11, says three hundred men.

this critical moment, proved an ill-judged step. No sooner was he well away, than a revolt broke out among the planters to the south. In the absence of the Governor, the Assembly hesitated and temporized, and allowed the rebellion to gain headway. Hurrying back, Sir William found the country everywhere in such commotion that he was compelled to make concessions.

Popular disturbance.
Berkeley's concessions.

Among the first demanded was the abolition of taxes for the useless forts, — their uselessness now doubly shown, — and the dissolution of that long Assembly which had not been changed for fifteen years. The scanty records tell us little of the details; but both points were yielded, and for the moment a deceptive quiet was restored.



Bacon's Troops crossing the Creek.

The elections to the new Assembly, for which writs were immediately issued, resulted almost everywhere, as might have been expected, in favor of the popular party. A great majority of the delegates were men pledged to demand redress of the people's grievances. Bacon, whose great popularity was increased by his action in the Indian matter, was among the new members. Notwithstanding his recent defiance of the Governor, he did not hesitate to start for Jamestown on the day appointed. This audacity even a weaker man than Berkeley might have resented. As Bacon sailed down the river from his home at Curles, on his way to the Assembly's session, his sail-boat was brought to by an armed vessel, and he was carried to the capital under arrest. "Mr. Bacon," asked the old Governor, as the culprit was brought before him, "have you forgot to be a gentleman?" — "No, may it please your honor."

New elections.

The arrest of Bacon.

—“Then,” said the old soldier, with a courtesy not forgotten in severity, “I will take your parole;” and the popular leader took his seat unhindered among the burgesses.¹

The burgesses met on the morning of the 5th of June; and when they had chosen a speaker, the Governor summoned them before him. In “a short, abrupt speech,” as we have already related, he rebuked



Bacon's Submission.

Colonel Washington for the murder of the Susquehannock chiefs. Then, after seating himself for a moment, he rose and surprised the house by saying, “if there be joy in the presence of the angels over one sinner that repenteth, there is joy now; for we have a penitent sinner come before us. Call Mr. Bacon.” “Then,” says an eye witness, “did Mr. Bacon, upon one knee at the bar, de-

Bacon's sub-
mission.

¹ T. M.'s Narrative.

liver a sheet of paper confessing his crimes and begging pardon of God, the king, and the governor." There was a brief silence broken by Berkeley's saying, with real emotion, "God forgive you — I forgive you."¹

There seems to have been in the veteran officer a warm personal regard for the brilliant young man before him. A moment after pronouncing his forgiveness, he started up again from his chair and said, "Mr. Bacon, if you will live civilly but till next quarter court — but till next quarter court — I'll promise to restore you again to your place there," — pointing to Bacon's vacant seat in the council. "And in th' afternoon," says the narrator of the incident, "passing by the court door in my way up to our chamber, I saw Mr. Bacon on his quondam seat . . . which seemed a marvellous indulgence to one whom he had so lately proscribed as a rebell."²

It is not easy to credit the assertion that all this action on Sir William Berkeley's part was treacherous; that his kindness and his emotion were both feigned; and his reception of Bacon a mere device to conciliate the excited planters. Yet Bacon and his adherents believed this, or at least, doubted that Berkeley meant to heed their just complaints. A few days later, while the Assembly was still engaged in a stormy debate upon the Indian question, "one morning early a bruit ran about the town — 'Bacon is fled — Bacon is fled!'"³

The rumor speedily proved true. Leaving no other excuse for breaking his parole, than the insufficient one that he believed he was meeting treachery with treachery, — "having ^{his sight} information that the Governor's generosity . . . [was] no other than previous woadles to amuse him and his adherents and to circumvent them by stratagem," — the young man had left Jamestown to rejoin his neighbors. Some said his cousin had given him "timely intimation to flee for his life;" for that the Governor — "seeing all quiet," and noticing that the turbulent country people who had come to the capital had dispersed again on seeing justice apparently done to their favorite, — had issued "private warrants to take him againe." But it should not be forgotten that the contemporary narratives, on which we must rely for the details of these events, are not impartial and may, therefore, be unjust to Berkeley. Narrow-minded, arbitrary, and destitute of any regard for the rights of the common people, and — as he soon showed himself to be — careless of human life, the whole career of the Governor hardly justifies the belief that he would stoop to gain his ends by deceit and treachery. That Bacon, however, believed him capable of it, is the only justification of his own conduct.

¹ "Thrice repeating the same words," says T. M.

² T. M.'s Narrative.

³ *Ibid.*

Bacon's adherents of course accepted his conclusions, and all hope, therefore, of a peaceful solution of the troubles ended with his arrival among his friends.

Only a few days of excitement and alarm had passed since his escape, when news reached Jamestown that the rebel was marching thither at the head of "an army" of four or five hundred men, who had mustered some thirty miles or more up the river. With almost every hour expresses reached the capital with news of his approach. Berkeley tried vainly to collect the militia for defence; but many of them were already with the insurgents, and no sufficient body could be gathered. On the fourth day after the first news of their coming, the horse and foot under Bacon entered the town without resistance. They were bivouacked upon the green close by the state-house, and the proper disposition made of them to hold all the streets. This done, they disarmed all the inhabitants, and would permit none to enter the town without giving up his weapons.

Amid this confusion the Assembly was called together by beat of drum. Barely had its session been begun, when Bacon, with a double file of fusileers, took up a position near the corner of the state-house. The members of the Assembly crowded to the windows, while the Governor and Council went out to treat with the rebel leader. It was a scene of wild confusion; in the midst of "the hubbub" Bacon raged up and down between his files of men, "with his left arm on Kenbow, flinging his right arm every way;" the crowd about him clamoring with such violence that, says the narrator, "if in this moment of fury that enraged multitude had fallen upon the Governor and Council, we of the Assembly expected the same immediate fate." Berkeley, as excited as Bacon, thrust himself between the lines of troops, and baring his breast to their weapons, cried "Here — shoot me! 'Fore God, fair mark! Shoot!" To which the rebel, still commanding his temper, as it seemed, answered, "No, may it please your honor — we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's; we are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised; and now we will have it before we go!" The Governor turned, and walked toward his private apartments, followed by the Council; and Bacon, now losing his self-command entirely, followed him with "outrageous postures," "often tossing his hand from his sword to his hat," and seeming like one delirious with rage. "Dam my blood!" he shouted, "I'll kill Governor, Council, Assembly, and all, — and then I'll sheathe my sword in my own heart's blood!" — and turning to his men he ordered them to point their fusils at the windows filled with anxious faces.

Bacon
marches on
Jamestown.

His inter-
view with
Berkeley.



BACON AND BERKELEY.

For a moment there was wild excitement; the people clamored for the commission with shouts of "We will have it! we will have it!" and the fusileers cocked their pieces; when a person at the window waved a handkerchief, and called out that they should be satisfied. "T was said," — continues the narrative, — "Bacon had given a signall to his men . . . that if he should draw his sword, they were on sight of it to fire and slay us; so near was the massacre of us all that very minute, had Bacon in that paroxism of phrentick fury but drawn his sword before the pacifick handkercher was shaken out at window!"

Excitement among the people.

Excited as the people were, both they and the fusileers, as well as Bacon himself, had recognized the person who waved the handkerchief as one of the most influential citizens, and believed that he had both will and power to keep his promise. The soldiers lowered their arms, and Bacon, after a moment's consultation, marched them away to the main body of his troops. In an hour he came back alone, and going into the Assembly's room, addressed that body vehemently, demanding that the commission be issued to him at once. A large majority favored his request, but no one dared to act decisively. Bacon's own colleague, Bruce, hesitatingly said, "it was not in their province or power," or any one's save the Governor's. No one else spoke; Bacon retired "dissatisfied," and for the rest of the day comparative quiet reigned.

Bacon addresses the Assembly.

The anxious night that followed seems to have produced a change of policy on the part of both Berkeley and the burgesses. The former saw himself at last forced to another compromise, and the majority of the Assembly came together the next morning with no sign of the hesitancy of the day before. The only difficulty was to restrain the motions for the redress of popular grievances long enough to permit the all-important Indian question to be finally disposed of. Bacon's commission was speedily passed, and was promptly confirmed by Governor and Council. But, in the altered state of feeling, this was not by any means enough. The house was in perfect accord and sympathy with the people, and its boldness increased with every concession. It next passed an Act of amnesty toward Bacon and his followers, and directed the preparation of a letter to the King justifying their action. A letter written by the Governor, in which he complained to His Majesty that he was "encompassed with rebellion like waters," was submitted, and received by the burgesses with due respect; but it was doubted, nevertheless, that "his hono'r sent all he wrote." Other versions of affairs, however, than that of the Governor's, were sent to England by several delegates.

Action of the Burgesses.

little army should be raised in his behalf; ¹ "which no man appearing to do," the prisoner duly suffered death. And it was said that during the whole course of the rebellion this was the only man put to death in cold blood by the insurgents, while not a single house, even of the Governor's immediate and most obstinate adherents, was plundered or molested.

When Bacon issued a call for a convention of the leading men of the province to meet him at Middle Plantation, fifteen miles from Jamestown, it was very widely responded to. A large Convention of the colonists. assemblage gathered in the month of August, and listened to propositions for the reorganization of the government. An oath was to be administered to the people, without distinction. Those who took it were to promise to aid Bacon in a war against the Indians; to oppose Berkeley in any attempt to interfere with them in so doing; and to resist any force which might arrive from England, The new oath of allegiance. until its leaders should grant such terms as would include a hearing in England of the popular complaints against Berkeley's administration. The first two clauses were agreed to without hesitation: but to the third, as an act of flat rebellion against the Mother country, there was a determined opposition, and a "bloody debate" of twelve hours followed.

It is said to have been turned in Bacon's favor, after he had eloquently contended in vain against his opponents, by an unlooked-for incident. While the discussion was at its height, a gunner arrived from Fort York, to report that the Indians had made a raid under the very walls, as it were, of that post; that several persons had been killed; and that others had thronged into the works for protection. Bacon's point was instantly and forcibly made; he asked the gunner how it could be that this threatening aspect of affairs could exist close by the strongest work in that part of the province? The reply was that Berkeley, sailing into the York, had on the very day before the murders removed all the powder from the fort into his own vessel. This turned the scale, and the majority consented to Bacon's oath at once. A clause was inserted in the preamble to the oath setting forth that "Sir William Berkeley, Knight, Governor of the Country," having sought to divert the country's army from its pursuit of the Indians, and having failed therein, had "withdrawn himself, to the great astonishment of the people;" and then followed an explanation of the calling of the convention. Thus introduced, and signed by the members of that body, including some of Berkeley's government, and many of the leading men of the whole province, it was published immediately to the citizens at large. Writs for an Assem-

¹ T. M.

bly were issued, under the names of four members of the Council who took part in the convention's proceedings, and had sided throughout against the Governor.

The feeling among the leaders who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of these decisive measures was that of men who had begun a war of independence. There was no telling to what lengths they might be called upon to go. Their talk was earnest, resolute, and grave, — a forecast of that which, just a century later, was to be heard at Philadelphia in a greater cause. Richard Lawrence and William Drummond, the former governor of Carolina, who appears to have been the brain of the enterprise of which Bacon was the right hand, saw clearly whither their action tended, and guided each step with prudent firmness. Beside them, at a council of which record is preserved, stood Drummond's wife, taking part, with an influence rarely given to a woman of that day and place, in their debates upon the future. The spirited words she spoke seemed half prophetic. "The child that is unborn shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country," she said; and to a cautious gentleman, who warned them of "a greater power from England," that would certainly prove their ruin, she answered, "I fear the power of England no more than a broken straw." "Now we can build ships," she added, "and, like New England, trade to any part of the world." If all she uttered was not to be fulfilled in her own time, her great-grandchildren were to see it carried out with a broader significance.

Berkeley, meanwhile, was gathering at Accomac such of his people as could reach him in his disadvantageous position; but, at the best, the force which he could collect was a very small one, and his prospects seemed almost hopeless until the coming of aid from England, when suddenly accident and the bravery of one of his followers changed the whole current of affairs. The first direct act of hostility which the insurgents attempted against him resulted in giving him the very means he wanted to make head against them.

Giles Bland, collector-general of the royal customs in Virginia, was one of Bacon's warmest partisans, besides being a personal enemy of the Governor. In the zeal which grew out of both these relations, he suggested, and was appointed to carry out, a plan for Berkeley's capture. Taking advantage of his office, he was to board the ship of a certain Captain Laramore, that lay near the mouth of the York River, and, while pretending to examine her cargo, was to put his men in possession and take her commander prisoner. Accompanied by a smaller vessel, under one Captain Carver, he was then to sail for Accomac, where the defenceless Governor could easily be captured and returned to Jamestown.

Spirit and
aims of the
Bacon party
leaders.

Berkeley at
Accomac.

Bland's ex-
pedition.

The plan worked admirably as far as the seizure of the vessel went, and Bland, with his armed men, soon had her captain shut up in his cabin, while they and the captured crew weighed anchor and made ready to set sail. But Laramore, feigning complete submission, assured Bland of his willingness to take part in the expedition, proclaimed himself an enemy of Berkeley, and so won Bland's confidence that he was again put in charge of the ship, and forthwith made himself conspicuous in furthering the preparations. Followed by Carver's vessel and a sloop, all manned by more than two hundred men, the collector — or the lieutenant-general, as Bacon had commissioned him — bore away for Accomac. In the bay he compelled another sloop to accompany his fleet, and so arrived at the eastern shore as the admiral of four well-armed craft.

On the news of the arrival of this hostile force, Berkeley despaired of defence, and proposed to surrender. But while he was debating with his companions, a message was brought to him which changed the aspect of affairs. Laramore had succeeded in smuggling ashore a note, in which he promised, if the Governor would send a force to aid him, to deliver Bland, Carver, and their men, into his hands, and to put the vessels and their crews at his disposal. There was a moment's hesitation, for Laramore's reputation was not of the best, and it was thought that he might be merely acting the decoy. But Philip Ludwell, one of Berkeley's warmest adherents, decided the doubtful question by offering to take charge of the force Laramore proposed, and thus insuring success if the captain were acting honestly, or making at least a stubborn fight if he were treacherous.

At midnight, Ludwell and a company of twenty-six picked men pulled silently alongside the ship. Laramore proved faithful, and the sleeping men on board, waking in confusion and seeing an armed party pouring over the sides, were overpowered before they knew the weakness of their captors. It was only needful to turn the guns of the larger vessel upon her smaller tenders; and without the firing of a shot the formidable little fleet was taken. Berkeley emphasized his triumph by hanging Carver a few days afterward, upon the shore of the bay; and why Bland and the other leaders escaped a similar fate is not clear. Perhaps the Governor — who, while the Laramore plot had been maturing, had sent for Carver under a safe-conduct, and tried to bribe him to desert the Baconites — owed the stout sailor a grudge for turning a deaf ear to all his arguments.

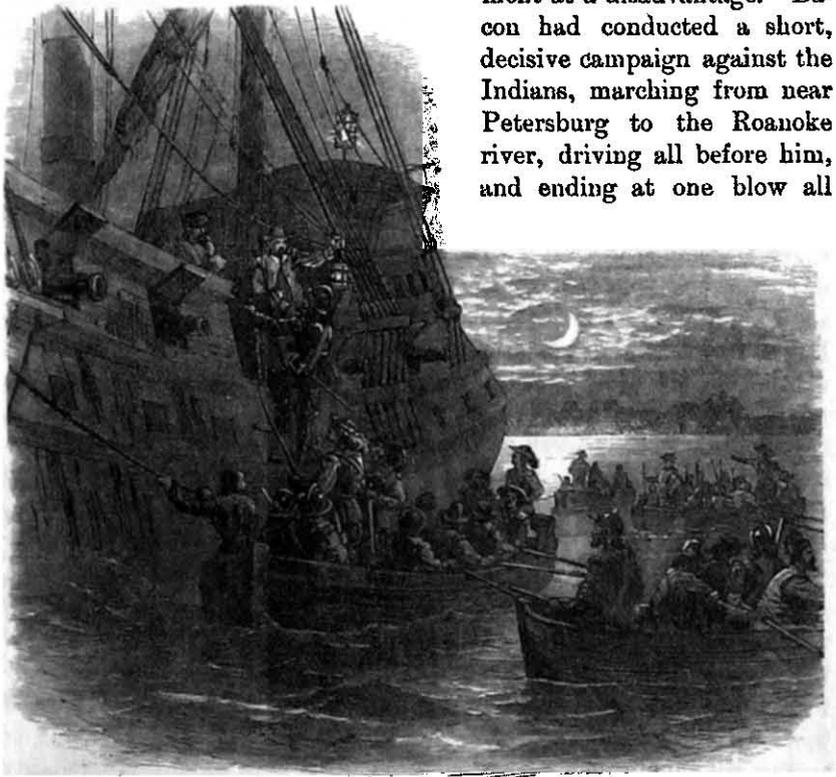
The hesitating loyalists, who had kept prudently aloof while Berkeley was altogether without defence or resources, now rallied, reanimated by Ludwell's exploit. Fourteen sloops and other small craft

Bland's fleet
betrayed
into Berke-
ley's hands.

were soon added to the four captured vessels, and, with six hundred men ready to follow him, Berkeley found himself at the head of a formidable force. Crossing the bay, he took possession of Jamestown, on September 17, without meeting any attempt at resistance, and at once proceeded to restore his friends to their offices, to reestablish his old government, and to issue a new proclamation proclaiming Bacon and his followers, for the third time, traitors, rebels, and outlaws.

Rally of the
Governor's
party.
Jamestown
recaptured.

The Governor's sudden movement caught his opponents for a moment at a disadvantage. Bacon had conducted a short, decisive campaign against the Indians, marching from near Petersburg to the Roanoke river, driving all before him, and ending at one blow all



Taking of Bland's Fleet.

possibility of any formidable Indian war for years to come. His work thus thoroughly accomplished, and regarding Berkeley as now altogether powerless, he returned to the neighborhood of the James and disbanded the main body of his men; and as nearly all of them were planters, they quickly scattered to their homes. He was in this position when the news of the capture of Jamestown reached him through Drummond and others of his adherents who had fled from the place; but acting with his usual energy, he turned at once to the offensive.

Gathering a small force, to which he added as he marched, he came rapidly across the country, and appeared before the capital just as the Governor had finished his hurried preparations for defence by running a palisade across the neck of Jamestown peninsula. Before the besieged enemy knew his whereabouts, — for he had moved “with a marvellous celerity, outstripping the swift wings of fame,” — they heard his trumpet blown from the high ground near the town, and the cannon shot with which he warned them of his presence. It was at sunset that he appeared before the palisades; and by the morning his men were sheltered behind earthworks, which they had finished in apparent carelessness of the “3 grate guns” the Governor had planted on his ramparts, and of the ships, lying “almost close aborde the shore . . . with their broad sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslaute.”

An account hostile to Bacon avers that he made up for “the paucity of his numbers” by a stratagem that was anything but creditable. Sending some of his horse to scour the country near at hand, he ordered them to take and bring to him certain gentlewomen living near by, whose husbands were in the town, that he might hold hostages, as it were, to secure the granting of all his demands. When they arrived, he “sends one of them to inform her owne and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be placed in the fore frunt of his men at such time as those in town should sally forth upon him.” According to the writer of this story, which is not elsewhere confirmed, “these Ladyes white Aprons” naturally “became of grater force to keep the besieged from falling out, than his works (a pitiful trench);” and either “these considerations or some others . . . kep their swords in their scabbards.” Yet he goes on to say that the gentlewomen were after all soon taken out of danger, but that a party sent out by Berkeley to make an attack on Bacon’s works, “went out with heavie harts, but returned home with light heels;” — were, in short, driven back disgracefully by the Baconites, to the disgust of the Governor, “which he exprest in som passionate terms.”

The next day, when Bacon mounted three guns upon his works, actually to begin the reduction of the place, Berkeley and his adherents gave up all hope of a successful defence. Before the rebels had fired a single damaging shot, the fleet dropped silently down the river, under cover of the darkness, carrying Governor, officials, troops, townspeople, and even their household goods, and leaving Jamestown a mere collection of empty houses.

When Bacon entered, the next morning, he found a deserted capital, the guns spiked, and nothing left but a few horses, “two or three

sellers [cellars] of wine, and some small quantity of Indian Corne with a grate many tanned hides." No army could subsist upon such plunder; nor would it have profited Bacon to hold the empty place. A council was called; and though among his people there were many property-holders of the town, it was decided to destroy it, that it might not serve again as a harbor for the enemy. Lawrence and Drummond applied the torch to their own houses, at nightfall; and that night Sir William Berkeley, lying at anchor twenty miles below, saw the dark sky lighted by the flames of the first English town built in America, — the historic settlement of Smith, Newport, and Wingfield. The destruction was complete, "not so much as sparing the church — and the first that ever was in Virginia." Nor was the place ever rebuilt.

Jamestown
taken and
burned.



Bacon and the Jamestown Gentlewomen.

Crossing the long peninsula between the James and York, Bacon now established himself at Gloucester Point, expecting to be attacked there by Colonel Brent, who was known to be approaching from Northern Virginia, at the head of a thousand men. But this attack, says a contemporary, "like the hoggs the devill sheared, produced more noyse than wool;" for Brent's men nearly all deserted before they came in face of the enemy advancing to meet them, and left their leader "mightily astonished." Bacon was thus left free to attempt once more the organization and quieting of the province; and began it by calling a convention of the uncertain peo-

Bacon again
in power.

ple of Gloucester County, to whom he administered the oath before resolved upon. Then, yearning to make his Indian victories even more final and complete, he began to plan another expedition into the interior.

While thus engaged, a trifling illness which he had neglected in the restless energy of his campaign, began to gain upon him. In the high tide of his success he suddenly found himself sinking rapidly; and



Burning of Lawrence's House at Jamestown.

despite all the efforts of his people, nothing checked the course of his disease. And so, says his hostile biographer, not without an unholy exultation, "all his strength and provisions being spent, [he] surrendered up that Fort he was no longer able

Death of
Bacon.

to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death." He died on the first day of October, 1676, in the house of Dr. Pate, near Gloucester. His burial-place was kept a secret that has never been revealed.¹

The command of Bacon's forces passed into the hands of his lieutenant-general, Joseph Ingram; but the dead leader had left no one behind who was precisely fitted to take his place. The insurrection without a leader. Lawrence and Drummond, wise advisers as they had proved themselves, had not the influence of their more active associate over his followers; and the loss of the energetic and brave commander dealt the revolution a blow from which it could not rise. The speedy capture and execution of several leading insurgents, by a party of Berkeley's adherents, served to intensify the despondency and panic that prevailed among the great body of the Baconites; and in the country at large the rebellion suddenly died. A large part of the insurgents scattered quickly to their homes, following the impulse to The closing scenes. save themselves from the fate of a lost cause; and only the leaders, the men who had the courage of their convictions, or for whom pardon was believed to be impossible, were left with a small force to make a final struggle.

Ingram established himself at West Point, on the upper York River, a place which Bacon himself had designed to make his "prime Randevouze, or place of Retreat," because of its natural facilities for

¹ The grief of Bacon's friends and the joy of his enemies have each left a rhymed epitaph, that show the fervor with which he was both loved and hated, and correspond to the two views that have been and are still taken of his action and his restless life:—

"Death why see crewill! what, no other way
To manifest thy spilloene, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety; liberty, our all
Which through thy tyranny, with him must fall
To its late caoes?
. . . . Now we must complaine
Since thou, in him, hast more than thousand slain,
Whose lives and safetys did so much depend
On him there lif, with him their lives must end.
While none shall dare his obseques to sing
In deorved measures; untill time shall bring
Truth crowned with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.
Here let him rest; while wee this truth report
Hee 's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To plead his Cause where he by this doth know
Whether to Ceasar hee was friend or foe."

In the other epitaph is lavished a flood of abuse on "his flagitious name":—

"The braines to plot, the hands to execute
Projected illis, Death Joyntly did nonsute
At his black Bar. And what no Ballo could save
He hath committed Prisoner to the Grave:
From whence there 's no reprieve. Death keep him close,
We have too many Divells still gae loose."

defence. Here the principal insurgents gathered; but there were smaller bodies at Greenspring, a place belonging to Berkeley himself, somewhat further down the river; and at an estate belonging to Bacon's cousin, probably in the same neighborhood. The whole insurgent force remaining under arms to garrison these three final strongholds probably numbered not more than four hundred men; while in the region about them — now that the death of Bacon led to the appearance of a host of concealed adherents of the Governor, and time-servers who wished to seem so — there were at least as many enemies as friends.

Berkeley lost little time in taking advantage of the new turn of



West Point, Virginia.

affairs. His first step, when the news of Bacon's death had reached him, had been the sending out of that party which, as already mentioned, had captured and executed several leading revolutionists. But he was making preparations to return in person when he dispatched this preliminary expedition, — "a winged messenger, to see if happily the Delluge was any whit abated." Then he ventured out from his "Ark" at Accomac, and appeared in the York River with four ships and "two or three sloops," carrying a force of some one hundred and fifty men. From the people along the lower York he met with no resistance; his return appeared to be taken as a matter of course; and his adherents in Gloucester County volunteered in large numbers

to help him drive out the still troublesome "vermin" from "their warm Kennil." A proclamation of amnesty followed, from which, however, most of the Baconite leaders still in resistance to his authority were excepted, while the bitterness of his enmity to Lawrence and Drummond was shown by a special mention of them.

Driving out the last stubborn rebels did not prove easy work. They again and again defeated parties sent against them, until at last their stronghold at West Point was lost through treachery. Two accounts are given of its surrender: one, that the Governor sent a messenger, one Grantham, who by argu-

Final suppression of the Bacon party.

ments and promises persuaded Ingram to deliver up the place; the other, that he wrote to Wakelet, Ingram's second in command, offering him pardon and a reward for the same betrayal of his comrades. Ingram escaped in safety, and Wakelet appears to have received his pay, so that it is probable both were concerned in the matter. But, at all events, the position was given up to Berkeley's officers, together with the



Drummond before Berkeley.

less important strongholds at Greenspring and at Bacon's house. As an organized insurrection, the rebellion was at an end; it lived only in the embittered spirit of the great majority of the people, who had at one time or another been engaged in it, and who, though wanting courage and persistence to carry it on after the death of their leader, still adhered in secret to the cause which he had so nearly made successful.

Of the other chief actors, Lawrence escaped into the wilderness; but Drummond, seeking safety by hiding himself for a time in the swamp of the Chickahominy, was captured there in the dead of

winter, overcome by cold and hunger. On the 20th of January, the day after his capture, he was brought before Berkeley at Bacon's house, the former station of one of the smaller bands of insurgents. The old Governor's triumph had come. This man and Lawrence were regarded by him as his bitterest enemies, and he hated them with a positive ferocity. He greeted the prisoner with a low bow. "Mr. Drummond," he said, "you are very welcome; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour." Drummond answered with courage and dignity, "What your honor pleases;" and when, three hours later, his sentence was carried out at Middle Plantation, he met death bravely. He was, says one of the narratives, a sober Scotch gentleman of good repute, and he left a name which few even of his enemies treated with disrespect, except in the one matter of his political action.

Berkeley used the power that victory gave him without mercy. For a time there was in Virginia an actual reign of terror, and no man knew when he might be seized, condemned, and executed. Drummond's little plantation was seized, and his wife and five children were driven from it "to wander in the woods and deserts till they were ready to starve." It was proposed to expose the bones of Bacon hung in chains upon a gibbet; but his body had been so carefully concealed that all attempts to find it proved useless. Punishments of all kinds—fine, confiscation, imprisonment, banishment, and many ingenious minor penalties—were inflicted right and left, until even the Governor's friends expostulated. Their counsel would perhaps have been in vain, had not a sudden check of a more powerful sort been put upon the angry knight's revenge.

At the end of January, 1677, the tardy assistance sent from England, in reply to Berkeley's petition of many months before, arrived in the James River. But it did not come precisely in the form which the Governor's party wished. In the small fleet that anchored below the ruins of the capital was Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, armed with a commission to succeed Sir William in his office, while he, as well as Sir John Berry, the admiral, and Colonel Morrison, who had been Berkeley's substitute for awhile in 1661, brought appointments as commissioners to investigate the causes of the rebellion, and to attend to the settlement of affairs after its suppression. Berkeley was, it is true, to aid them in this work; but in reality his own conduct was under examination, and he found himself at once in the attitude of a defendant. The instructions of the commissioners authorized them to grant amnesty to those who should submit and give bonds for future good behavior, excepting Bacon,

Fate of the
leaders.

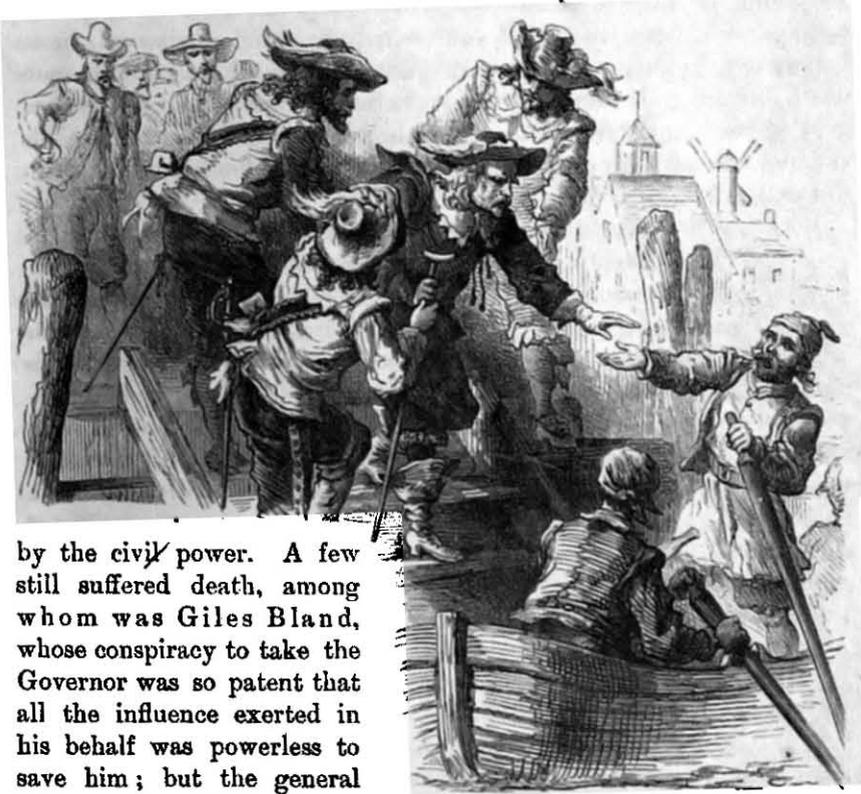
Punishments
inflicted by
Berkeley.

Arrival of
commission-
ers from
England.

whose death was not known, of course, when the fleet left England ; but still, a discretionary power to punish other leaders and those especially obnoxious was left in their hands.

The English officials put a speedy end to the system of drum-head courts-martial, by which the Governor had brought so many of his enemies to execution. From the time of their arrival (soon after which an Assembly met at Green Spring) the trials of Baconite prisoners were conducted with due form and caution

The punishments checked.



Berkeley's Departure.

by the civil power. A few still suffered death, among whom was Giles Bland, whose conspiracy to take the Governor was so patent that all the influence exerted in his behalf was powerless to save him ; but the general reign of persecution and cruelty

ceased with the Commissioners' interference. Local courts winked at the means—sometimes ludicrously ingenious—by which the spirit of ignominious punishments was generally evaded, even when the letter was carried out. John Bagwell and Thomas Gordon wore "small tape," and William Potts "Manchester binding," instead of the halters with which they were ordered to appear in public. Some fifty persons were excepted from the amnesty, including those already executed or banished, and acts of attainder were passed against twenty ; but it does not appear certain that all the measures decided

upon were at all rigidly carried out. In their report, Jeffreys, Morrison, and Berry spoke in the severest terms of Berkeley's course in trying men by martial law after peace had been reëstablished; and their investigation of the charges which the people made against him seems to have been made with a positive leaning toward the side of his accusers. Gradually the country became quieter. Protected by the presence of the Commissioners, the Assembly took a more independent tone, and the Virginians, encouraged for a moment to believe that they had gained something of that redress for which they had hoped, gradually settled back into the quiet life of their plantations. Bacon's rebellion had cost the colony a hundred thousand pounds, the loss of many lives, and months of anarchy; but it had shown the people their own power, and had developed an independence that was to bear fruit long after. When, in October, 1677, the royal Commissioners seized the Assembly's journals for investigation, and that body indignantly protested that "such a power had never been exercised by the King of England, and could not be authorized even by the great seal," they virtually asserted the principle of colonial legislative rights for which their descendants fought a hundred years later.

When the fleet of the Commissioners returned to England in April, Berkeley went with it, leaving Jeffreys Governor. The old cavalier was ill and broken in spirit. The bitter outbreak of his revenge was possibly, as it was urged on his behalf, a result of the "peevishness" and irritability of age. He had one longing left, — to justify his conduct in the eyes of the King, whose approval would have consoled him for all else. But he seems to have been altogether disappointed. Opinion both in Parliament and at court he found to be bitterly against him. It is said by one writer that he was received by Charles with kindness; but it was generally believed that he was treated with entire neglect, and did not see the King at all, — sinking rapidly from the time of his arrival, until, in a few weeks, he died broken-hearted and disgraced. There came back to Virginia one who had been his servant on his voyage and till his death, "from whom a report was whispered about, that the King did say, 'that old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than he had done for the murder of his father.'" This speech, says the gossiping writer who records it, coming to the old Governor's ears, hastened his death: So that "he dyed soon after without having seen his Majesty; which shuts up this tragedy."

The Commissioners' report.

Results of the rebellion.

Berkeley returns to England.

His illness and death.