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OLD VIRGINIA AND  
HER NEIGHBOURS



JOHN FISKE



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Illustrated Edition

OLD VIRGINIA  
AND HER NEIGHBOURS

By JOHN FISKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I











J. D. M. S.

# OLD VIRGINIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS BY JOHN FISKE

ILLUSTRATED WITH  
PORTRAITS MAPS FACSIMILES  
CONTEMPORARY VIEWS PRINTS AND  
OTHER HISTORIC MATERIALS  
IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOLUME I

Οὐ λίθῳ, οὐδὲ ξύλῳ, οὐδὲ  
Τέχνη τεκτόνων αἱ πόλεις εἶσιν  
'Αλλ' ὑποὶ ποτ' ἄν ᾤσιν ἌΝΔΡΕΣ  
Αὐτοὺς σώζειν εἰδότες,  
'Ἐνταῦθα τείχη καὶ πόλεις

*Alcæus*



BOSTON AND NEW YORK  
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To  
MY OLD FRIEND AND COMRADE  
JOHN KNOWLES PAINE

COMPOSER OF ST. PETER, OEDIPUS TYRANNUS, THE "SPRING"  
AND C MINOR SYMPHONIES, AND OTHER NOBLE WORKS

**I dedicate this book**

"Long days be his, and each as lusty-sweet  
As gracious natures find his song to be;  
May age steal on with softly-cadenced feet  
Falling in music, as for him were meet  
Whose choicest note is harsher-toned than he!"



## PREFACE

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IN selecting the illustrations for this book I have followed the same rule as in its predecessors, — to admit nothing for the sake of mere embellishment, nothing which has not, from one point of view or another, some intrinsic historical interest.

In the annotated list of illustrations I have indicated my obligations for various courtesies. Especial thanks are due to Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library, W. G. Stanard of the Virginia Historical Society, W. W. Scott of the Virginia State Library, A. S. Salley of the South Carolina Historical Society, J. K. P. Bryan, Esq., of Charleston, S. C., Dr. Edmund Jennings Lee, President Tyler of William and Mary College, and G. P. Winship of the Carter Brown Library in Providence, R. I.

CAMBRIDGE, November 8, 1900.





## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

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IN the series of books on American history, upon which I have for many years been engaged, the present volumes come between "The Discovery of America" and "The Beginnings of New England." The opening chapter, with its brief sketch of the work done by Elizabeth's great sailors, takes up the narrative where the concluding chapter of "The Discovery of America" dropped it. Then the story of Virginia, starting with Sir Walter Raleigh and Rev. Richard Hakluyt, is pursued until the year 1753, when the youthful George Washington sets forth upon his expedition to warn the approaching Frenchmen from any further encroachment upon English soil. That moment marks the arrival of a new era, when a book like the present — which is not a local history nor a bundle of local histories — can no longer follow the career of Virginia, nor of the southern colonies, except as part and parcel of the career of the American people. That "continental state of things," which was distinctly heralded when the war of the Spanish Succession broke out during Nicholson's rule in Virginia, had arrived in 1753. To treat it properly requires preliminary consideration of many points in the history of the northern colonies, and it is accordingly reserved for a future work.

It will be observed that I do not call the present work a "History of the Southern Colonies." Its contents would

not justify such a title, inasmuch as its scope and purpose are different from what such a title would imply. My aim is to follow the main stream of causation from the time of Raleigh to the time of Dinwiddie, from its sources down to its absorption into a mightier stream. At first our attention is fixed upon Raleigh's Virginia, which extends from Florida to Canada, England thrusting herself in between Spain and France. With the charter of 1609 (see below, vol. i. p. 144) Virginia is practically severed from North Virginia, which presently takes on the names of New England and New Netherland, and receives colonies of Puritans and Dutchmen, with which this book is not concerned.

From the territory of Virginia thus cut down, further slices are carved from time to time; first Maryland in 1632, then Carolina in 1663, then Georgia in 1732, almost at the end of our narrative. Colonies thus arise which present a few or many different social aspects from those of Old Virginia; and while our attention is still centred upon the original commonwealth as both historically most important and in personal detail most interesting, at the same time the younger commonwealths claim a share in the story. A comparative survey of the social features in which North Carolina, South Carolina, and Maryland differed from one another, and from Virginia, is a great help to the right understanding of all four commonwealths. To Maryland I find that I have given 107 pages, while the Carolinas, whose history begins practically a half century later, receive 67 pages; a mere mention of the beginnings of Georgia is all that suits the perspective of the present story. The further development of these southern communities will, it is hoped, receive attention in a later work.

As to the colonies founded in what was once known as

North Virginia, I have sketched a portion of the story in "The Beginnings of New England," ending with the accession of William and Mary. The remainder of it will form the subject of my next work, already in preparation, entitled "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America;" which will comprise a sketch of the early history of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, with a discussion of the contributions to American life which may be traced to the Dutch, German, Protestant French, and Scotch-Irish migrations previous to the War of Independence.

To complete the picture of the early times and to "make connections" with "The American Revolution," still another work will be needed, which shall resume the story of New England at the accession of William and Mary. With that story the romantic fortunes of New France are inseparably implicated, and in the course of its development one colony after another is brought in until from the country of the Wabenaki to that of the Cherokees the whole of English America is involved in the mightiest and most fateful military struggle which the eighteenth century witnessed. The end of that conflict finds thirteen colonies nearly ripe for independence and union.

The present work was begun in 1882, and its topics have been treated in several courses of lectures at the Washington University in St. Louis, and elsewhere. In 1895 I gave a course of twelve such lectures, especially prepared for the occasion, at the Lowell Institute in Boston. But the book cannot properly be said to be "based upon" lectures; the book was primary and the lectures secondary.

The amount of time spent in giving lectures and in writing a schoolbook of American history has greatly delayed the appearance of this book. It is more than five years

since "The Discovery of America" was published; I hope that "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies" will appear after a much shorter interval.

CAMBRIDGE, October 10, 1897.

# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I

### THE SEA KINGS

|   | PAGE   |
|---|--------|
| Tercentenary of the Discovery of America, 1792 . . . . .  | 1      |
| The Abbé Raynal and his book . . . . .  | 2      |
| Was the discovery of America a blessing or a curse to mankind? .  | 4      |
| The Abbé Genty's opinion . . . . .  | 4      |
| A cheering item of therapeutics . . . . .   | 5      |
| Spanish methods of colonization contrasted with English . . .   | 6      |
| Spanish conquerors valued America for its supply of precious<br>metals . . . . .  | 7      |
| Aim of Columbus was to acquire the means for driving the Turks<br>from Europe . . . . .   | 7      |
| But Spain used American treasure not so much against Turks as<br>against Protestants . . . . .  | 8      |
| Vast quantities of treasure taken from America by Spain . . .   | 9      |
| Nations are made wealthy not by inflation but by production .   | 10     |
| Deepest significance of the discovery of America; it opened up a<br>fresh soil in which to plant the strongest type of European<br>civilization . . . . . | 10     |
| America first excited interest in England as the storehouse of<br>Spanish treasure . . . . .  | 12     |
| After the Cabot voyages England paid little attention to America  | 12     |
| Save for an occasional visit to the Newfoundland fisheries . .  | 13     |
| Earliest English reference to America . . . . .   | 14     |
| Founding of the Muscovy Company . . . . .   | 14     |
| Richard Eden and his books . . . . .  | 15     |
| John Hawkins and the African slave trade . . . . .  | 17, 18 |
| Hawkins visits the French colony in Florida . . . . .   | 19     |
| Facts which seem to show that thirst is the mother of invention   | 20     |
| Massacre of Huguenots in Florida; escape of the painter Le<br>Moine . . . . .   | 21     |
| Hawkins goes on another voyage and takes with him young Fran-<br>cis Drake . . . . .  | 21, 22 |

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| The affair of San Juan de Ulua and the journey of David Ingram                                      | 22     |
| Growing hostility to Spain in England   | 24     |
| Size and strength of Elizabeth's England  | 24, 25 |
| How the sea became England's field of war   | 25     |
| Loose ideas of international law  | 25     |
| Some bold advice to Queen Elizabeth   | 26     |
| The sea kings were not buccaneers   | 26     |
| Why Drake carried the war into the Pacific Ocean  | 27, 28 |
| How Drake stood upon a peak in Darien   | 28     |
| Glorious voyage of the Golden Hind  | 29, 30 |
| Drake is knighted by the Queen  | 30     |
| The Golden Hind's cabin is made a banquet-room  | 30     |
| Voyage of the half-brothers, Gilbert and Raleigh  | 30, 31 |
| Gilbert is shipwrecked, and his patent is granted to Raleigh  | 32     |
| Raleigh's plan for founding a Protestant state in America may have been suggested to him by Coligny | 34     |
| Elizabeth promises self-government to colonists in America  | 34     |
| Amidas and Barlow visit Pamlico Sound   | 34     |
| An Ollendorfian conversation between white men and red men  | 35     |
| The Queen's suggestion that the new country be called in honour of herself Virginia                 | 36     |
| Raleigh is knighted, and sends a second expedition under Ralph Lane                                 | 36, 37 |
| Who concludes that Chesapeake Bay would be better than Pamlico Sound                                | 37     |
| Lane and his party on the brink of starvation are rescued by Sir Francis Drake                      | 37     |
| Thomas Cavendish follows Drake's example and circumnavigates the earth                              | 39     |
| How Drake singed the beard of Philip II.  | 40     |
| Raleigh sends another party under John White  | 41     |
| The accident which turned White from Chesapeake Bay to Roanoke Island                               | 41     |
| Defeat of the Invincible Armada   | 43, 44 |
| The deathblow at Cadiz  | 45     |
| The mystery about White's colony  | 45     |
| Significance of the defeat of the Armada  | 46     |

## CHAPTER II

## A DISCOURSE OF WESTERN PLANTING

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Some peculiarities of sixteenth century maps | 47 |
| How Richard Hakluyt's career was determined  | 48 |

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| Strange adventures of a manuscript . . . . .  | 50     |
| Hakluyt's reasons for wishing to see English colonies planted in<br>America . . . . .   | 50     |
| English trade with the Netherlands . . . . .  | 51     |
| Hakluyt thinks that America will presently afford as good a mar-<br>ket as the Netherlands . . . . .                            | 51, 52 |
| Notion that England was getting to be over-peopled . . . . .  | 52     |
| The change from tillage to pasturage . . . . .  | 52     |
| What Sir Thomas More thought about it . . . . .   | 52     |
| Growth of pauperism during the Tudor period . . . . .   | 54     |
| Development of English commercial and naval marine . . . . .  | 54     |
| Opposition to Hakluyt's schemes . . . . .   | 54     |
| The Queen's penuriousness . . . . .   | 55     |
| Beginnings of joint-stock companies . . . . .   | 56     |
| Raleigh's difficulties . . . . .  | 56, 58 |
| Christopher Newport captures the great Spanish carrack . . . . .  | 58     |
| Raleigh visits Guiana and explores the Orinoco River . . . . .  | 59     |
| Ambrosial nights at the Mermaid Tavern . . . . .  | 60     |
| Accession of James I. . . . .   | 60     |
| Henry, Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's friend, sends Bar-<br>tholomew Gosnold on an expedition . . . . .                     | 60     |
| Gosnold reaches Buzzard's Bay in what he calls North Virginia,<br>and is followed by Martin Pring and George Weymouth . . . . . | 61     |
| Performance of "Eastward Ho," a comedy by Chapman and<br>Marston . . . . .  | 61     |
| Extracts from this comedy . . . . .   | 62-64  |
| Report of the Spanish ambassador Zuñiga to Philip III. . . . .  | 64     |
| First charter to the Virginia Company, 1606 . . . . .   | 64, 65 |
| "Supposed Sea of Verrazano" covering the larger part of the area<br>now known as the United States . . . . .                    | 65     |
| Northern and southern limits of Virginia . . . . .  | 65, 66 |
| The twin joint-stock companies and the three zones . . . . .  | 66     |
| The three zones in American history . . . . .   | 67     |
| The kind of government designed for the two colonies . . . . .  | 67, 68 |
| Some of the persons chiefly interested in the first colony known as<br>the London Company . . . . .                             | 68, 69 |
| Some of the persons chiefly interested in the second colony known<br>as the Plymouth Company . . . . .                          | 69-71  |
| Some other eminent persons who were interested in western plant-<br>ing . . . . .   | 72-74  |
| Expedition of the Plymouth Company and disastrous failure of<br>the Popham Colony . . . . .                                     | 74     |
| The London Company gets its expedition ready a little before<br>Christmas and supplies it with a list of instructions . . . . . | 74, 75 |

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Where to choose a site for a town . . . . .  | 75     |
| Precautions against a surprise by the Spaniards . . . . .  | 76     |
| Colonists must try to find the Pacific Ocean . . . . .   | 76     |
| And must not offend the natives or put much trust in them . . . . .                                    | 76     |
| The death and sickness of white men must be concealed from the<br>Indians . . . . .                    | 77     |
| It will be well to beware of woodland coverts, avoid malaria, and<br>guard against desertion . . . . . | 77     |
| The town should be carefully built with regular streets . . . . .                                      | 78     |
| Colonists must not send home any discouraging news . . . . .   | 79     |
| What Spain thought about all this . . . . .  | 79, 80 |
| Christopher Newport starts with a little fleet for Virginia . . . . .                                  | 80     |
| A poet laureate's farewell blessing . . . . .  | 80-82  |

## CHAPTER III

## THE LAND OF THE POWHATANS

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| One of Newport's passengers was Captain John Smith, a young<br>man whose career had been full of adventure . . . . . | 83     |
| Many persons have expressed doubts as to Smith's veracity, but<br>without good reason . . . . .                      | 84     |
| Early life of John Smith . . . . .   | 84, 85 |
| His adventures on the Mediterranean . . . . .  | 85     |
| And in Transylvania . . . . .  | 86     |
| How he slew and beheaded three Turks . . . . .   | 87, 88 |
| For which Prince Sigismund granted him a coat-of-arms which was<br>duly entered in the Heralds' College . . . . .    | 88     |
| The incident was first told not by Smith but by Sigismund's secre-<br>tary, Farnese . . . . .                        | 89, 90 |
| Smith tells us much about himself, but is not a braggart . . . . .   | 90     |
| How he was sold into slavery beyond the Sea of Azov and cruelly<br>treated . . . . .                                 | 90, 91 |
| How he slew his master and escaped through Russia and Po-<br>land . . . . .  | 91, 92 |
| The smoke of controversy . . . . .   | 92     |
| In the course of Newport's tedious voyage Smith is accused of<br>plotting mutiny and kept in irons . . . . .         | 93     |
| Arrival of the colonists in Chesapeake Bay, May 13, 1607 . . . . .   | 93     |
| Founding of Jamestown; Wingfield chosen president . . . . .  | 94     |
| Smith is set free and goes with Newport to explore the James<br>River . . . . .                                      | 94     |
| The Powhatan tribe, confederacy, and head war-chief . . . . .  | 95     |
| How danger may lurk in long grass . . . . .  | 96     |



|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Smith is acquitted of all charges and takes his seat with the council . . . . .   | 98       |
| Newport sails for England, June 22, 1607 . . . . .  | 98       |
| George Percy's account of the sufferings of the colonists from fever and famine . . . . .   | 99, 100  |
| Quarrels break out in which President Wingfield is deposed and John Ratcliffe chosen in his place . . . . .                                     | 101      |
| Execution of a member of the council for mutiny . . . . .   | 101      |
| Smith goes up the Chickahominy River and is captured by Opekan- kano . . . . .  | 102      |
| Who takes him about the country and finally brings him to Wero- wocomoco, January, 1608 . . . . .   | 103      |
| The Indians are about to kill him, but he is rescued by the chief's daughter, Pocahontas . . . . .  | 104      |
| Recent attempts to discredit the story . . . . .  | 104-109  |
| Flimsiness of these attempts . . . . .  | 105      |
| George Percy's pamphlet . . . . .   | 107      |
| The printed text of the "True Relation" is incomplete . . . . .   | 107      |
| Reason why the Pocahontas incident was omitted in the "True Re- lation" . . . . .   | 108      |
| There is no incongruity between the "True Relation" and the "General History" except this omission . . . . .                                    | 108      |
| But this omission creates a gap in the "True Relation," and the account in the "General History" is the more intrinsically prob- able . . . . . | 109      |
| The rescue was in strict accordance with Indian usage . . . . .   | 110      |
| The ensuing ceremonies indicate that the rescue was an ordinary case of adoption . . . . .  | 110, 111 |
| The Powhatan afterward proclaimed Smith a tribal chief . . . . .  | 113      |
| The rescue of Smith by Pocahontas was an event of real histori- cal importance . . . . .  | 113      |
| Captain Newport returns with the First Supply, January 8, 1608 . . . . .  | 114      |
| Ratcliffe is deposed and Smith chosen president . . . . .   | 114      |
| Arrival of the Second Supply, September, 1608 . . . . .   | 114      |
| Queer instructions brought by Captain Newport from the London Company . . . . .   | 115      |
| How Smith and Captain Newport went up to Werowocomoco, and crowned The Powhatan . . . . .   | 116      |
| How the Indian girls danced at Werowocomoco . . . . .   | 116, 117 |
| Accuracy of Smith's descriptions . . . . .  | 117      |
| How Newport tried in vain to search for a salt sea behind the Blue Ridge . . . . .  | 118      |
| Anas Todkill's complaint . . . . .  | 118      |
| Smith's map of Virginia . . . . .   | 119      |

## CHAPTER IV

## THE STARVING TIME

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| How puns were made on Captain Newport's name . . . . .  | 120      |
| Great importance of the Indian alliance . . . . .   | 120      |
| Gentlemen as pioneers . . . . .   | 122      |
| All is not gold that glitters . . . . .   | 123      |
| Smith's attempts to make glass and soap . . . . .   | 124      |
| The Company is disappointed at not making more money . . . . .  | 124      |
| Tale-bearers and their complaints against Smith . . . . .   | 125      |
| Smith's "Rude Answer" to the Company . . . . .  | 125      |
| Says he cannot prevent quarrels . . . . .   | 125, 126 |
| And the Company's instructions have not been wise . . . . .   | 126      |
| From infant industries too much must not be expected while the<br>colonists are suffering for want of food . . . . .                                  | 126      |
| And while speculation and intrigue are rife and we are in sore<br>need of useful workmen . . . . .  | 128      |
| Smith anticipates trouble from the Indians, whose character is<br>well described by Hakluyt. . . . .  | 128, 130 |
| What Smith dreaded . . . . .  | 130      |
| How the red men's views of the situation were changed . . . . .   | 130, 131 |
| Smith's voyage to Werowocomoco . . . . .  | 131      |
| His parley with The Powhatan . . . . .  | 132      |
| A game of bluff . . . . .   | 134      |
| The corn is brought . . . . .   | 135      |
| Suspicious of treachery . . . . .   | 135      |
| A wily orator . . . . .   | 136      |
| Pocahontas reveals the plot . . . . .   | 137      |
| Smith's message to The Powhatan . . . . .   | 137      |
| How Smith visited the Pamunkey village and brought Opekan-<br>kano to terms . . . . .   | 138      |
| How Smith appeared to the Indians in the light of a worker of<br>miracles . . . . .   | 140      |
| What our chronicler calls "a pretty accident" . . . . .   | 140, 141 |
| How the first years of Old Virginia were an experiment in com-<br>munism . . . . .  | 141      |
| Smith declares "He that will not work shall not eat," but the<br>summer's work is interrupted by unbidden messmates in the<br>shape of rats . . . . . | 141      |
| Arrival of young Samuel Argall with news from London . . . . .  | 142      |
| Second Charter of the London Company, 1609 . . . . .  | 142      |
| The council in London . . . . .   | 144      |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| The local government in Virginia is entirely changed and Thomas, Lord Delaware, is appointed governor for life . . . . .  | 144, 145 |
| A new expedition is organized for Virginia, but still with a communistic programme . . . . .                              | 145, 146 |
| How the good ship Sea Venture was wrecked upon the Bermudas   | 146      |
| How this incident was used by Shakespeare in <i>The Tempest</i> . . . . .   | 148      |
| Gates and Somers build pinnaces and sail for Jamestown, May, 1610 . . . . .   | 149      |
| The Third Supply had arrived in August, 1609 . . . . .  | 149      |
| And Smith had returned to England in October . . . . .  | 150      |
| Lord Delaware became alarmed and sailed for Virginia . . . . .  | 150, 151 |
| Meanwhile the sufferings of the colony had been horrible . . . . .  | 151      |
| Of the 500 persons Gates and Somers found only 60 survivors, and it was decided that Virginia must be abandoned . . . . . | 152      |
| Dismantling of Jamestown and departure of the colony . . . . .  | 152      |
| But the timely arrival of Lord Delaware in Hampton Roads prevented the dire disaster . . . . .                            | 152      |

## CHAPTER V

## BEGINNINGS OF A COMMONWEALTH

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| To the first English settlers in America a supply of Indian corn was of vital consequence, as illustrated at Jamestown and Plymouth . . . . . | 154      |
| Alliance with the Powhatan confederacy was of the first importance to the infant colony . . . . .   | 154      |
| Smith was a natural leader of men . . . . .   | 155      |
| With much nobility of nature . . . . .  | 155      |
| And but for him the colony would probably have perished . . . . .   | 156      |
| Characteristic features of Lord Delaware's administration . . . . .   | 157      |
| Death of Somers and cruise of Argall in 1610 . . . . .  | 158      |
| Kind of craftsmen desired for Virginia . . . . .  | 159      |
| Sir Thomas Dale comes to govern Virginia in the capacity of High Marshal . . . . .  | 159      |
| A Draconian code of laws . . . . .  | 160      |
| Cruel punishments . . . . .   | 161      |
| How communism worked in practice . . . . .  | 161, 162 |
| How Dale abolished communism . . . . .  | 163      |
| And founded the "City of Henricus" . . . . .  | 162, 163 |
| How Captain Argall seized Pocahontas . . . . .  | 163      |
| Her marriage with John Rolfe . . . . .  | 164      |
| How Captain Argall extinguished the Jesuit settlement at Mount Desert and burned Port Royal . . . . .   | 164, 165 |

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| But left the Dutch at New Amsterdam with a warning . . . . .   | 165      |
| How Pocahontas, "La Belle Sauvage," visited London and was entertained there like a princess . . . . .   | 165, 166 |
| Her last interview with Captain Smith . . . . .  | 166      |
| Her sudden death at Gravesend . . . . .  | 167      |
| How Tomocomo tried to take a census of the English . . . . .   | 167      |
| How the English in Virginia began to cultivate tobacco in spite of King James and his Counterblast . . . . .                                     | 168      |
| Dialogue between Silenus and Kawasha . . . . .   | 168, 169 |
| Effects of tobacco culture upon the young colony . . . . .   | 169      |
| The London Company's Third Charter, 1612 . . . . .   | 170      |
| How money was raised by lotteries . . . . .  | 171      |
| How this new remodelling of the Company made it an important force in politics . . . . .   | 172      |
| Middleton's speech in opposition to the charter . . . . .  | 172, 173 |
| Richard Martin in the course of a brilliant speech forgets himself and has to apologize . . . . .  | 173, 174 |
| How factions began to be developed within the London Company   | 174      |
| Sudden death of Lord Delaware . . . . .  | 175      |
| Quarrel between Lord Rich and Sir Thomas Smith, resulting in the election of Sir Edwin Sandys as treasurer of the Company .                      | 176      |
| Sir George Yeardley is appointed governor of Virginia, while Argall is knighted . . . . .  | 177      |
| How Sir Edwin Sandys introduced into Virginia the first American legislature, 1619 . . . . .   | 177, 178 |
| How this legislative assembly, like those afterwards constituted in America, was formed after the type of the old English county court . . . . . | 178, 179 |
| How negro slaves were first introduced into Virginia, 1619 . . . . .   | 179      |
| How cargoes of spinsters were sent out by the Company in quest of husbands . . . . .   | 179      |
| The great Indian massacre of 1622 . . . . .  | 180      |

## CHAPTER VI

## A SEMINARY OF SEDITION

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Summary review of the founding of Virginia . . . . .             | 182-184  |
| Bitter hostility of Spain to the enterprise . . . . .            | 184      |
| Gondomar and the Spanish match . . . . .                         | 186      |
| Gondomar's advice to the king . . . . .                          | 186, 188 |
| How Sir Walter Raleigh was kept twelve years in prison . . . . . | 188      |
| But was then released and sent on an expedition to Guiana        | 188, 189 |
| The king's base treachery . . . . .                              | 190      |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Judicial murder of Raleigh . . . . .  | 191      |
| How the king attempted to interfere with the Company's election<br>of treasurer in 1620 . . . . .                         | 192      |
| How the king's emissaries listened to the reading of the charter  | 192      |
| Withdrawal of Sandys and election of Southampton . . . . .  | 194      |
| Life and character of Nicholas Ferrar . . . . .   | 194-196  |
| His monastic home at Little Gidding . . . . .   | 196      |
| How disputes rose high in the Company's quarter sessions . . . . .  | 197      |
| How the House of Commons rebuked the king . . . . .   | 198      |
| How Nathaniel Butler was accused of robbery and screened him-<br>self by writing a pamphlet abusing the Company . . . . . | 199      |
| Some of his charges and how they were answered by Virginia set-<br>tlers . . . . .  | 199-201  |
| As to malaria . . . . .   | 199      |
| As to wetting one's feet . . . . .  | 200      |
| As to dying under hedges . . . . .  | 200      |
| As to the houses and their situations . . . . .   | 201      |
| Object of the charges . . . . .   | 201, 202 |
| Virginia assembly denies the allegations . . . . .  | 202      |
| The Lord Treasurer demands that Ferrar shall answer the charges   | 203      |
| A cogent answer is returned . . . . .   | 203, 204 |
| Vain attempts to corrupt Ferrar . . . . .   | 204      |
| How the wolf was set to investigate the dogs . . . . .  | 205      |
| The Virginia assembly makes "A Tragical Declaration" . . . . .  | 205      |
| On the attorney-general's advice a <i>quo warranto</i> is served . . . . .  | 206      |
| How the Company appealed to Parliament, and the king refused to<br>allow the appeal . . . . .                             | 206      |
| The attorney-general's irresistible logic . . . . .   | 207      |
| Lord Strafford's glee . . . . .   | 207      |
| How Nicholas Ferrar had the records copied . . . . .  | 208      |
| The history of a manuscript . . . . .   | 209, 210 |

## CHAPTER VII

## THE KINGDOM OF VIRGINIA

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| A retrospect . . . . .                                     | 211      |
| Tidewater Virginia . . . . .                               | 211      |
| A receding frontier . . . . .                              | 212      |
| The plantations . . . . .                                  | 212, 213 |
| Boroughs and burgesses . . . . .                           | 214      |
| Boroughs and hundreds . . . . .                            | 216      |
| Houses, slaves, indentured servants, and Indians . . . . . | 217      |
| Virginia agriculture in the time of Charles I. . . . .     | 218      |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Increasing cultivation of tobacco . . . . .   | 218, 219 |
| Literature; how George Sandys entreated the Muses with success . . . . .  | 220, 221 |
| Provisions for higher education . . . . .   | 222      |
| Project for a university in the city of Henricus cut short by the Indian massacre . . . . .                                       | 222      |
| Puritans and liberal churchmen . . . . .  | 223      |
| How the Company of Massachusetts Bay learned a lesson from the fate of its predecessor, the London Company for Virginia . . . . . | 224      |
| Death of James I. . . . .   | 225      |
| Effect upon Virginia of the downfall of the Company . . . . .   | 226-228  |
| The virus of liberty . . . . .  | 228      |
| How Charles I. came to recognize the assembly of Virginia . . . . .   | 230      |
| Some account of the first American legislature . . . . .  | 231, 232 |
| How Edward Sharpless had part of one ear cut off . . . . .  | 233      |
| The case of Captain John Martin . . . . .   | 233      |
| How the assembly provided for the education of Indians . . . . .  | 233, 234 |
| And for the punishment of drunkards . . . . .   | 234      |
| And against extravagance in dress . . . . .   | 234      |
| How flirting was threatened with the whipping-post . . . . .  | 234      |
| And scandalous gossip with the pillory . . . . .  | 234, 235 |
| How the minister's salary was assured him . . . . .   | 235      |
| How he was warned against too much drinking and card-playing . . . . .  | 235      |
| Penalties for Sabbath-breaking . . . . .  | 235      |
| Inn-keepers forbidden to adulterate liquors or to charge too much per gallon or glass . . . . .                                   | 236      |
| A statute against forestalling . . . . .  | 236      |
| How Charles I. called the new colony "Our kingdom of Virginia" . . . . .  | 238      |
| How the convivial governor Dr. Pott was tried for stealing cattle, but pardoned for the sake of his medical services . . . . .    | 239      |
| Growth of Virginia from 1624 to 1642 . . . . .  | 240      |

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE MARYLAND PALATINATE

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| The Irish village of Baltimore . . . . .                                   | 242      |
| Early career of George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore . . . . .             | 242, 243 |
| How James I. granted him a palatinate in Newfoundland . . . . .            | 243      |
| Origin of palatinates . . . . .  | 243, 244 |
| Changes in English palatinates . . . . .                                   | 244      |
| The bishopric of Durham . . . . .  | 246, 247 |
| Durham and Avalon . . . . .  | 247      |
| How Lord Baltimore fared in his colony of Avalon in Newfoundland . . . . . | 248      |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| His letter to the king . . . . .  | 249      |
| How he visited Virginia, but was not cordially received . . . . .   | 250, 251 |
| How a part of Virginia was granted to him and received the name<br>of Maryland . . . . .                  | 251, 252 |
| Fate of the Avalon charter . . . . .  | 252      |
| Character of the first Lord Baltimore . . . . .   | 253      |
| Early career of Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore . . . . .   | 254      |
| How the founding of Maryland introduced into America a new<br>type of colonial government . . . . .       | 255      |
| Ecclesiastical powers of the Lord Proprietor . . . . .  | 256      |
| Religious toleration in Maryland . . . . .  | 257      |
| The first settlement at St. Mary's . . . . .  | 258      |
| Relations with the Indians . . . . .  | 260      |
| Prosperity of the settlement . . . . .  | 260      |
| Comparison of the palatinate government of Maryland with that<br>of the bishopric of Durham . . . . .     | 261-268  |
| The constitution of Durham; the receiver-general . . . . .  | 261      |
| Lord lieutenant and high sheriff . . . . .  | 262      |
| Chancellor of temporalities . . . . .   | 262      |
| The ancient halmote and the seneschal . . . . .   | 262      |
| The bishop's council . . . . .  | 263      |
| Durham not represented in the House of Commons until after 1660 . . . . .                                 | 264      |
| Limitations upon Durham autonomy . . . . .  | 264      |
| The palatinate type in America . . . . .  | 264      |
| Similarities between Durham and Maryland; the governor . . . . .  | 265      |
| Secretary; surveyor-general; muster master-general; sheriffs . . . . .                                    | 266      |
| The courts . . . . .  | 266      |
| The primary assembly . . . . .  | 267      |
| Question as to the initiative in legislation . . . . .  | 267      |
| The representative assembly . . . . .   | 268      |
| Lord Baltimore's power more absolute than that of any king of<br>England save perhaps Henry VIII. . . . . | 268      |

## CHAPTER IX

## LEAH AND RACHEL

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| William Claiborne and his projects . . . . .               | 269      |
| Kent Island occupied by Claiborne . . . . .                | 270, 271 |
| Conflicting grants . . . . .                               | 271      |
| Star Chamber decision and Claiborne's resistance . . . . . | 272      |
| Lord Baltimore's instructions . . . . .                    | 274      |
| The Virginia council supports Claiborne . . . . .          | 274      |
| Complications with the Indians . . . . .                   | 275      |

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Reprisals and skirmishes . . . . .   | 275, 276 |
| Affairs in Virginia; complaints against Governor Harvey . . . . .            | 276      |
| Rage of Virginia against Maryland . . . . .                                  | 277      |
| How Rev. Anthony Panton called Mr. Secretary Kemp a jack-anapes . . . . .    | 277      |
| Indignation meeting at the house of William Warren . . . . .                 | 278      |
| Arrest of the principal speakers . . . . .                                   | 278      |
| Scene in the council room . . . . .  | 278, 279 |
| How Sir John Harvey was thrust out of the government . . . . .               | 279      |
| How King Charles sent him back to Virginia . . . . .                         | 280      |
| Downfall of Harvey . . . . .   | 280      |
| George Evelin sent to Kent Island . . . . .                                  | 281      |
| Kent Island seized by Leonard Calvert . . . . .                              | 281      |
| The Lords of Trade decide against Claiborne . . . . .                        | 282      |
| Puritans in Virginia . . . . .   | 282, 283 |
| The Act of Uniformity of 1631 . . . . .                                      | 284      |
| Puritan ministers sent from New England to Virginia . . . . .                | 284      |
| The new Act of Uniformity, 1643 . . . . .                                    | 284      |
| Expulsion of the New England ministers . . . . .                             | 285      |
| Indian massacre of 1644 . . . . .  | 285      |
| Conflicting views of theodicy . . . . .                                      | 286      |
| Invasion of Maryland by Claiborne and Ingle . . . . .                        | 286, 287 |
| Expulsion of Claiborne and Ingle from Maryland . . . . .                     | 288      |
| Lord Baltimore appoints William Stone as governor . . . . .                  | 288      |
| Toleration Act of 1649 . . . . .   | 288-290  |
| Migration of Puritans from Virginia to Maryland . . . . .                    | 290, 291 |
| Designs of the Puritans . . . . .  | 292      |
| Reluctant submission of Virginia to Cromwell . . . . .                       | 293      |
| Claiborne and Bennett undertake to settle the affairs of Maryland . . . . .  | 294      |
| Renewal of the troubles . . . . .  | 294, 295 |
| The Puritan Assembly and its notion of a toleration act . . . . .            | 295      |
| Civil war in Maryland; battle of the Severn, 1655 . . . . .                  | 295      |
| Lord Baltimore is sustained by Cromwell and peace reigns once more . . . . . | 296      |



## NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

---

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| SIR WALTER RALEIGH ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . . <i>Frontispiece</i><br>From the <i>National Portrait Gallery</i> , after an original painting by Zuccaro. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .  | 3    |
| ABBÉ RAYNAL . . . . .<br>After the frontispiece to his <i>Histoire philosophique, etc.</i> Genève, 1780, tome i.   | 2    |
| FACSIMILE TITLE OF RAYNAL'S BOOK . . . . .   | 3    |
| FACSIMILE TITLE OF THE ABBÉ GENTY'S BOOK . . . . .   | 5    |
| PHILIP II. . . . .<br>From the painting by Titian, in the Prado at Madrid. Autograph from the Dreer collection in the rooms of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.  | 8    |
| WILLIAM THE SILENT . . . . .<br>From the frontispiece to Motley's <i>Rise of the Dutch Republic</i> , vol. i., after an engraving (cir. 1650) by Cornelis Visscher.  | 9    |
| PEDRO CALDERON DE LA BARCA . . . . .<br>From the frontispiece to his <i>Comedias</i> , Leipsique, 1828, tomo i. Autograph from <i>Manuscritos españoles</i> .  | 11   |
| SEBASTIAN CABOT . . . . .<br>After the portrait by Chapman in the gallery of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This portrait is a copy of an original painted, perhaps for Edward VI., after Cabot's return to the English service. The artist is traditionally supposed to have been Holbein, but this is doubtful. The picture hung for many years at Whitehall, whence it disappeared,—probably at the sales which took place after the death of Charles I. See Biddle's <i>Memoir of Sebastian Cabot</i> , Philadelphia, 1831, pp. 317-320. It was afterward bought (it is said for £500) by Richard Biddle, who brought it home and hung it in his house at Pittsburgh, Pa. In 1845 the house and all its contents were unfortunately destroyed by fire. Two admirable copies of the picture, however, had been made, of which Chapman's is one; the other is in the possession of the New York Historical Society. The autograph is from HARRISSE, <i>John Cabot and Sebastian his Son</i> . | 13   |
| EDWARD VI. . . . .<br>From Holland's <i>Herwologia</i> , London, 1620. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .  | 15   |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| FACSIMILE TITLE OF EDEN'S NEWE INDIA . . . . .   | 16 |
| From Winsor's <i>America</i> .   |    |
| SIR JOHN HAWKINS . . . . .   | 17 |
| From <i>Herwologia</i> ; autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .  |    |
| HAWKINS'S ARMS . . . . .   | 18 |
| From <i>Hawkins's Voyages</i> , edited by Sir Clements Markham for the Hakluyt Society, 1878.  |    |
| COLIGNY . . . . .  | 19 |
| From an engraving by Chrétien, in <i>La Galerie Française</i> , tome i., after an original painted in 1571. Autograph from Marcks's <i>Gaspard von Coligny: sein Leben und das Frankreich seiner Zeit</i> , Stuttgart, 1892. |    |
| LE MOINE'S SKETCH OF THE BUILDING OF FORT CAROLINE . . . . .   | 21 |
| From Le Moine's <i>Brevis Narratio</i> , published by De Bry in 1591, in the second part of his <i>Grands voyages</i> . De Bry bought the MS. and drawings from Le Moine's widow in 1588.                                    |    |
| SIR MARTIN FROBISHER . . . . .   | 23 |
| From <i>Herwologia</i> ; autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .  |    |
| SPANISH SHIPS IN PORT . . . . .  | 27 |
| From the "Pagus Hispaniorum" in Montanus's <i>Nieuwe Weereld</i> .   |    |
| SIR FRANCIS DRAKE ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .  | 28 |
| From an original painting attributed to Sir Anthonis Mor, in the possession (1868) of Viscount Dillon, at Ditchley Park. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .  |    |
| CHAIR MADE FROM TIMBER OF THE GOLDEN HIND . . . . .  | 29 |
| From the <i>Western Antiquary</i> , iii. 136.  |    |
| PART OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S MAP . . . . .   | 31 |
| From his <i>Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia</i> , 1576, in Lenox Library.  |    |
| SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT . . . . .   | 33 |
| From <i>Herwologia</i> ; autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .  |    |
| SIR PHILIP SIDNEY . . . . .  | 35 |
| From <i>Herwologia</i> ; autograph from <i>Autographs of Remarkable Personages conspicuous in English History</i> , London, 1829.  |    |
| SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE . . . . .  | 36 |
| From <i>Herwologia</i> .   |    |
| VIEW OF CARTAGENA . . . . .  | 37 |
| From Montanus's <i>Nieuwe Weereld</i> .  |    |
| THOMAS CAVENDISH . . . . .   | 38 |
| From <i>Herwologia</i> ; autograph from <i>Autographs of Remarkable Personages</i> , etc.  |    |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| SPANISH GALLEON . . . . .   | 39 |
| From La Gravière, <i>Les marins du XV<sup>e</sup> et du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> .  |    |
| JOHN WHITE'S MAP OF FLORIDA AND VIRGINIA, 1585 . . . . .  | 40 |
| From Winsor's <i>America</i> , iv. 45. The original is among the De Bry engravings which Henry Stevens secured for the British Museum in 1865. See his <i>Bibliotheca Historica</i> , 1870. |    |
| WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY . . . . .  | 42 |
| From <i>Herwologia</i> . Autograph from the MS. collection of the late Mellen Chamberlain.  |    |
| SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM . . . . .  | 43 |
| After Richard Cooper's engraving of the original painting by Federigo Zuccaro. Autograph from <i>Autographs of Remarkable Personages</i> , etc.   |    |
| THE ARMADA . . . . .  | 44 |
| After the famous engraving by John Pine, 1738.  |    |
| AUTOGRAPH OF RICHARD HAKLUYT . . . . .  | 48 |
| From Brown's <i>Genesis of the United States</i> .  |    |
| FACSIMILE TITLE OF HAKLUYT'S DIVERS VOYAGES . . . . .   | 49 |
| From the original in Lenox Library.   |    |
| QUEEN ELIZABETH ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .   | 54 |
| From a 1632 reprint of the original engraving by the younger Hendrik de Hondt, by kind permission of the Virginia Historical Society.   |    |
| FACSIMILE TITLE OF RALEIGH'S BOOK ON GUIANA . . . . .   | 57 |
| From the original in Lenox Library.   |    |
| JAMES I. . . . .  | 59 |
| After the portrait by Paul Vansomer. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .   |    |
| AUTOGRAPH OF GEORGE WEYMOUTH . . . . .  | 61 |
| From Winsor's <i>America</i> .  |    |
| MICHAEL LOK'S MAP, 1582 . . . . .   | 65 |
| From Hakluyt's <i>Voyages to America</i> .  |    |
| SIR THOMAS SMITH ( <i>photogravure</i> ) . . . . .  | 68 |
| From Brown's <i>Genesis</i> , etc. Autograph from the same.   |    |
| GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY . . . . .  | 70 |
| From the engraving in Lodge's <i>Portraits</i> .  |    |
| SIR JULIUS CÆSAR . . . . .  | 71 |
| From the engraving in his biography by Edmund Lodge, London, 1827. Autograph from Winsor's <i>America</i> .   |    |
| SIR HENRY CARY . . . . .  | 72 |
| After the original painting by Paul Vansomer, formerly at Strawberry Hill.  |    |

- PHILIP III. OF SPAIN . . . . . 78  
 From Brown's *Genesis*, etc., after an engraving by Ogborne from the original painting by Boizet. Autograph from *Manuscritos españoles*.
- MICHAEL DRAYTON . . . . . 79  
 From the engraving by William Hole published as frontispiece to Drayton's works in 1619. Autograph from Elton's *Introduction to Michael Drayton*, printed for the Spenser Society, Manchester, 1895.
- JOHN SMITH'S THREE SINGLE COMBATS WITH TURKS . . . . . 86, 87, 89  
 From the plate in Arber's *Works of Captain John Smith*, Birmingham, 1884, p. 820, after a very rare old print in the library of the University of Cambridge.
- JOHN SMITH (*photogravure*) . . . . . facing 92  
 From the margin of his map in his *Generall Historie of Virginia*, London, 1624. The portrait was originally engraved by Simon van Pass in 1616. The autograph is from a MS. letter of Smith's to Lord Bacon (1618), preserved in the Public Record Office, in London.
- THE INDIAN VILLAGE OF POMEIOCK . . . . . 95  
 From Lewis Morgan's *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*, Washington, 1881.
- THE INDIAN VILLAGE OF SECOTAN . . . . . 97  
 From the same.
- GEORGE PERCY . . . . . 99  
 From Brown's *Genesis*, etc., after an engraving of a portrait in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society. Autograph from Winsor's *America*.
- ANNE OF DENMARK, QUEEN OF JAMES I. . . . . 105  
 From an engraving in *National Portrait Gallery*, after the original painting by Paul Vansomer. Autograph from *Autographs of Remarkable Personages*, etc.
- RESCUE OF SMITH BY POCAHONTAS . . . . . 106  
 After an engraving in Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*, etc., London, 1624.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF SMITH'S TRUE RELATION . . . . . 111  
 From the original in Lenox Library.
- SMITH BEFORE THE POWHATAN . . . . . 112  
 After an engraving in Smith's *Generall Historie*, etc.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF SMITH'S GENERALL HISTORIE . . . . . 115  
 From Arber's reprint.
- SMITH'S MAP OF VIRGINIA . . . . . 118  
 After the engraving in *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith*, Richmond, 1819.

- AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN RATCLIFFE . . . . . 119  
From Brown's *Genesis*, etc.
- ST. CHRISTOPHER CROSSING THE OCEAN . . . . . 121  
After the vignette on the La Cosa map, 1500.
- FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM SIR EDWIN SANDYS TO SIR  
GEORGE YEARDLEY . . . . . 127  
From the original, among the manuscript collections of John Smyth, of  
Nibley in Gloucestershire (1613-1674), presented to the New York Public  
Library by Alexander Maitland.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF HIS MAJESTIES GRACIOUS LETTER, ETC. . 133  
From the original in Lenox Library.
- FACSIMILE OF A RECEIPT SIGNED BY NICHOLAS FERRAR . . 139  
From the "Smyth of Nibley Papers" in New York Public Library.
- ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY . . . . . 143  
From *Heræologia*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF SIR THOMAS GATES . . . . . 146  
From Winsor's *America*.
- SIR GEORGE SOMERS . . . . . 147  
From an engraving after the original portrait by Paul Vansomer.
- AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM STRACHEY . . . . . 149  
From Winsor's *America*.
- A SOMERS OR BERMUDA COIN . . . . . 150  
From Dickeson's *American Numismatic Manual*, Philadelphia, 1860.
- THOMAS WEST, BARON DELAWARE (*photogravure*) . . facing 152  
From a portrait in the State Library at Richmond, Virginia. Autograph  
from Winsor's *America*.
- AUTOGRAPH OF SAMUEL ARGALL . . . . . 158  
From Brown's *Genesis*, etc.
- AUTOGRAPH OF HENRY SPELMAN . . . . . 164  
From the same.
- MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS . . . . . 164  
From McRae's engraving of the painting by Henry Brueckner.
- POCAHONTAS (*photogravure*) . . . . . facing 166  
After the original painting from which Simon van Pass made his engraving. The artist is said to have been an Italian, but I have not been able to ascertain his name. The portrait is in the possession of the Edwin family (related to the Rolfes) at Boston Hall, Norfolk.
- SPECIMEN OF A LOTTERY DECLARATION . . . . . 171  
From Brown's *Genesis*, etc.

- RICHARD MARTIN . . . . . 173  
After the engraved portrait by Simon van Pass.
- ROBERT RICH, EARL OF WARWICK . . . . . 175  
From an engraving by Robinson, about 1827, after the original portrait by Vandyke, in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.
- AUTOGRAPH OF SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY . . . . . 177  
From his signature to a letter of January 10, 1620, to John Smyth; in the "Smyth of Nibley Papers" in New York Public Library.
- HENRY STUART, PRINCE OF WALES . . . . . 185  
From *Herwologia*. Autograph from *Autographs of Remarkable Personages*, etc.
- CHARLES STUART, "BABY CHARLES," AFTERWARD CHARLES I. 187  
From an engraving by Richard Cooper, after an old print by Delaram. Autograph from *Handwriting of Kings and Queens of England*.
- COUNT GONDOMAR . . . . . 189  
From Damman's engraving of the original portrait by Mytens in the palace at Hampton Court.
- TOMB OF QUEEN ELIZABETH . . . . . 193  
From *Herwologia*.
- NICHOLAS FERRAR . . . . . 195  
From Brown's *Genesis*, etc., after Tomkins's engraving (1791) of the original painting by Johnson. For his autograph see page 139.
- SIR EDWIN SANDYS (*photogravure*) . . . . . facing 196  
From Brown's *First Republic in America*, after Powle's engraving of the anonymous portrait preserved at Hanley in Staffordshire.
- AUTOGRAPH OF LORD BACON . . . . . 198  
From Winsor's *America*.
- LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX . . . . . 203  
From Finden's engraving (1830) of the original portrait by Mytens, in the possession of the Duke of Dorset. Autograph from *Autographs of Remarkable Personages*, etc.
- HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (*photogravure*) . . . . . facing 206  
From an engraving by Freeman, after an original painting by Michel Tanoz van Miereveldt, in the possession of the Duke of Bedford. Autograph from Boston Public Library.
- SIR JOHN DANVERS . . . . . 208  
From an old engraving reproduced in Brown's *Genesis*, etc. Autograph from Thane's *British Autography*.
- SEAL OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY . . . . . 209  
From Winsor's *America*.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| MAP OF TIDEWATER VIRGINIA . . . . .   | 210 |
| From a sketch by the author.  |     |
| ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA . . . . .   | 213 |
| After the painting by Michel Tanoz van Miereveldt. Autograph from<br><i>Autographs of Remarkable Personages</i> , etc.  |     |
| FACSIMILE TITLE OF HAMOR'S TRUE DISCOURSE . . . . .   | 215 |
| From the original in Lenox Library.   |     |
| FACSIMILE TITLE OF WHITAKER'S GOOD NEWES . . . . .  | 219 |
| From the original in Lenox Library.   |     |
| GEORGE SANDYS . . . . .   | 221 |
| From Brown's <i>Genesis</i> , reproducing an engraving by Raddon, after a<br>drawing made by Clint from an old painting.  |     |
| FOUR COURT OF MOUNT AIRY, VIRGINIA . . . . .  | 223 |
| From a photograph, by permission of Bates and Guild Company, Boston.  |     |
| CHARLES I. . . . .  | 227 |
| From a painting by Vandyke in Windsor Castle.   |     |
| PART OF DE LAET'S MAP, 1630 . . . . .   | 229 |
| From Winsor's <i>America</i> .  |     |
| RUINS OF BRICK CHURCH BUILT AT JAMESTOWN IN 1639 . . . . .  | 231 |
| From Winsor's <i>America</i> , after a sketch made in 1857 by Miss Catherine<br>Hopley, an English lady travelling in Virginia.   |     |
| FACSIMILE OF SPENSER'S DEDICATION OF THE 1596 EDITION<br>OF THE FAËRY QUEENE . . . . .  | 237 |
| From the original in the library of Harvard University.   |     |
| MAP OF SOUTHERN COAST OF IRELAND, SHOWING THE SITU-<br>ATION OF BALTIMORE . . . . .   | 242 |
| From a sketch by the author.  |     |
| DURHAM CATHEDRAL, EXTERIOR VIEW . . . . .   | 246 |
| From a photograph.  |     |
| DURHAM CATHEDRAL, INTERIOR OF THE NAVE . . . . .  | 247 |
| From a photograph.  |     |
| LORD BALTIMORE'S HOUSE IN FERRYLAND . . . . .   | 249 |
| From Fitzhugh's map of Newfoundland, 1693; British Museum MS. re-<br>produced in Prowse's <i>History of Newfoundland</i> . By kind permission of<br>Messrs. Macmillan and Co. |     |
| HENRIETTE MARIE, QUEEN OF CHARLES I. . . . .  | 253 |
| After an original painting by Vandyke in the Dresden Gallery. Auto-<br>graph from <i>Autographs of Remarkable Personages</i> , etc.   |     |

- GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE (*photogravure*) facing 254  
 After the painting in the State House at Annapolis, presented by the late J. W. Garrett, who had it copied from the original portrait in the possession of the Earl of Verulam. Autograph from Winsor's *America*.
- THE BALTIMORE ARMS . . . . . 257  
 From Winsor's *America*.
- MAP OF MARYLAND IN 1635 . . . . . 259  
 From the same.
- LORD BALTIMORE SIXPENCE AND PENNY . . . . . 263  
 From Dickeson's *American Numismatic Manual*.
- MAP OF THE MARYLAND PALATINATE . . . . . 264  
 From a sketch by the author.
- WILLIAM CLAIBORNE . . . . . 269  
 From Longacre's *National Portrait Gallery*.
- SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER . . . . . 270  
 After an engraving by Richardson, 1795, from the original engraving by Marshall, 1635. Autograph from *Memorials of the Earls of Stirling*, Edinburgh, 1877.
- FACSIMILE TITLE OF HAMMOND'S LEAH AND RACHEL . . . 273  
 From the original in the John Carter Brown Library, at Providence, R. I.
- CECILIUS CALVERT, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE (*photogravure*) . . . . . facing 276  
 After a painting in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. Autograph from the Society.
- THE BAPTISM OF POCAHONTAS . . . . . 283  
 From Chapman's painting in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.
- THE OLDEST COMMUNION VESSELS IN VIRGINIA . . . . . 284  
 From a photograph kindly furnished by Rev. C. Braxton Bryan, Rector of St. John's. The silver chalice and paten were part of a gift by a widow lady, Mrs. Mary Robinson, of London, to a church endowed by her in Smith's Hundred. Some time after that parish was destroyed in the Indian massacre of 1622, the paten and chalice were transferred to St. John's.  
 The Prayer Book in the picture, says Mr. Bryan, "a folio edition of 1739, is opened at the Third Sunday after Trinity, because on that Sunday, June 21, 1607, the Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time" in English America, at Jamestown, by Rev. Robert Hunt.
- AUTOGRAPH OF DANIEL GOOKIN . . . . . 285  
 From the *Memorial History of Boston*.
- ANNE ARUNDEL, LADY BALTIMORE (*photogravure*) . . facing 286  
 Photographed from the original painting by Vandyke in Wardour Castle, by kind permission of Lord Arundel of Wardour. Autograph from the Maryland Historical Society.



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|---|-----|
| ORIGINAL CONTEMPORARY EDITION OF THE TOLERATION ACT . . . . .                                       | 288 |
| SECRETARY PHILIP CALVERT'S INDORSEMENT OF LORD BALTIMORE'S APPROVAL OF THE TOLERATION ACT . . . . . | 291 |
| From Winsor's <i>America</i> .  |     |
| ENGLISH MAN-OF-WAR OF THE COMMONWEALTH PERIOD . . . . .   | 293 |
| From Dudley's <i>Arcano del Mare</i> , 1646.  |     |
| AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM STONE . . . . .  | 295 |
| From Winsor's <i>America</i> .  |     |
| AUTOGRAPH OF JOSIAS FENDALL . . . . .   | 296 |
| From the same.  |     |



# OLD VIRGINIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

## CHAPTER I

### THE SEA KINGS

WHEN one thinks of the resounding chorus of gratulations with which the four hundredth anniversary of the Discovery of America was lately heralded to a listening world, it is curious and instructive to notice the sort of comment which that great event called forth upon the occasion of its third centenary, while the independence of the United States was as yet a novel and ill-appreciated fact. In America very little fuss was made. Railroads were as yet unknown, and the era of world's fairs had not begun. Of local celebrations there were two; one held in New York, the other in Boston; and as in 1892, so in 1792, New York followed the Old Style date, the twelfth of October, while Boston undertook to correct the date for New Style. This work was discredibly bungled, however, and the twenty-third of October was selected instead of the true date, the twenty-first. In New York the affair was conducted by the newly founded political society named for the Delaware chieftain Tammany, in Boston by the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose founder, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, delivered a thoughtful and scholarly address upon the occasion. Both commemorations of the day were very quiet and modest.<sup>1</sup>

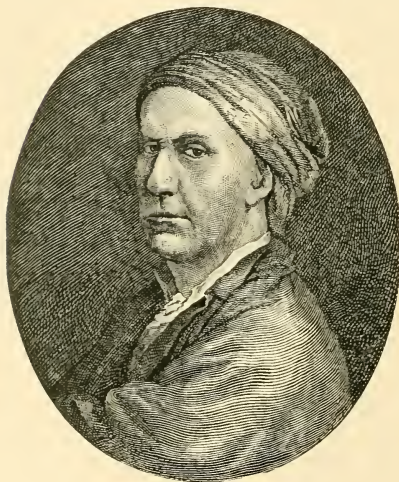
Tercentenary of the Discovery of America, 1792

In Europe little heed was paid to America and its discovery, except in France, which, after taking part in our

<sup>1</sup> E. E. Hale, in *Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc.* N. S. viii. 190-212.

Revolutionary War, was at length embarking upon its own Revolution, so different in its character and fortunes. Without knowing much about America, the Frenchmen of that day were fond of using it to point a moral and adorn a tale.

Abbé In 1770 the famous Abbé Raynal had published  
Raynal his "Philosophical and Political History of the Establishments and Commerce of the Europeans in the Two Indies," a book in ten volumes, which for a time enjoyed immense popularity. Probably not less than one third of it was written by Diderot, and more than a dozen other writers contributed to its pages, while the abbé, in editing these various chapters and adding more from his own hand, showed himself blissfully ignorant of the need for any such



RAYNAL

thing as critical judgment in writing history. In an indescribably airy and superficial manner the narrative flits over the whole vast field of the intercourse of Europeans with the outlying parts of the earth discovered since the days of Columbus and Gama; and at length, in the last chapter of the last volume, we are confronted with the question, What is all this worth? Our author answers confi-

dently, Nothing! worse than nothing! the world would have been much better off if America had never been discovered and the ocean route to Asia had remained unknown!

This opinion seems to have been a favourite hobby with the worthy Raynal; for in 1787, in view of the approaching tercentenary, we find him proposing to the Academy of Lyons the offer of a prize of fifty louis for the best essay

HISTOIRE  
PHILOSOPHIQUE  
ET POLITIQUE

DES ÉTABLISSEMENS ET DU COMMERCE  
DES EUROPÉENS DANS LES DEUX INDES.

---

Par GUILLAUME-THOMAS RAYNAL.

---

TOME PREMIER.



A G E N E V E ;

Chez JEAN-LEONARD PELLET, Imprimeur de  
la Ville & de l'Académie.

---

M. DCC. LXXX.

upon the question whether the discovery of America had been a blessing or a curse to mankind. It was furthermore suggested that the essay should discuss the most practicable methods of increasing the benefits and diminishing the ills that had flowed and continued to flow from that memorable event.

Was the  
discovery  
of America  
a blessing  
or a curse  
to man-  
kind?

The announcement of the question aroused considerable interest, and a few essays were written, but the prize seems never to have been awarded. One of these essays was by the Marquis de Chastellux, who had served in America as major-general in the army of Count Rochambeau. The accomplished author maintains, chiefly on economic grounds, that the discovery has been beneficial to mankind; in one place, mindful of the triumph of the American cause in the grand march upon Yorktown wherein he had himself taken part, he exclaims, "O land of Washington and Franklin, of Hancock and Adams, who could ever wish thee non-existent for them and for us?" To this Baron Grimm<sup>1</sup> replied, "Perhaps he will wish it who reflects that the independence of the United States has cost France nearly two thousand million francs, and is hastening in Europe a revolutionary outbreak which had better be postponed or averted." To most of these philosophers no doubt Chastellux seemed far too much of an optimist, and the writer who best expressed their sentiments was the Abbé Genty, who published at Orléans, in 1787, an elaborate essay, in two tiny volumes, entitled "The Influence of the Discovery of America upon the Happiness of the Human Race." Genty has no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that the influence has been chiefly for the bad. Think what a slaughter there had been of innocent and high-minded red men by brutal and ruthless whites! for the real horrors described by Las Casas were viewed a century ago in the light of Rousseau's droll notions as to the exalted virtues of the noble savage. Think, too, how most of the great European wars since the Peace of Westphalia had grown out of quarrels about colonial em-

Abbé  
Genty

<sup>1</sup> Grimm et Diderot, *Correspondance littéraire*, tom. xv. p. 325.

pire! Clearly Columbus had come with a sword, not with an olive branch, and had but opened a new chapter in the long Iliad of human woe. Against such undeniable evils, what benefits could be alleged except the extension of commerce, and that, says Genty, means merely the multiplication of

human wants, which is not in itself a thing to be desired.<sup>1</sup> One unqualified benefit, however, Genty and all the other writers freely admit; the introduction of quinine into Europe and its use in

Quinine averting fevers. That item of therapeutics is the one cheery note in the mournful chorus of disparagement, so long as our attention is confined to the past.

In the future, perhaps, better things might be hoped for. Along the Atlantic coast of North America a narrow fringe of English-speaking colonies had lately established their political independence and succeeded in setting on foot a federal

government under the presidency of George Washington. The success of this enterprise might put a new face upon

<sup>1</sup> Genty, *L'influence de la découverte de l'Amérique*, etc. 2<sup>e</sup> éd., Orléans, 1789, tom. ii. pp. 148-150.

L'INFLUENCE  
DE LA DÉCOUVERTE  
DE L'AMÉRIQUE  
SUR LE BONHEUR  
DU GENRE-HUMAIN.

PAR M. l'Abbé GENTY, Censeur Royal, Correspondant de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris & de celle de Toulouse, Secrétaire perpétuel de la Société Royale d'Agriculture d'Orléans, Professeur Emérite de Philosophie au Collège Royal de la même Ville & Secrétaire Provincial de l'Orléanois.

SECONDE ÉDITION,  
Revue, corrigée & augmentée par l'Auteur.

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Sævior armis  
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.  
Juv. Lib. II, Sat. 6.

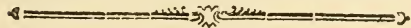
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TOME PREMIER.



A O R L É A N S,

De l'Imprimerie de JACOB l'Aîné, rue Saint-Sauveur.



M. DCC. LXXXIX.

Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi.

TITLE OF THE ABBÉ GENTY'S BOOK

things and ultimately show that after all the discovery of the New World was a blessing to mankind.<sup>1</sup> So says the Abbé Genty in his curious little book, which even to-day is well worth reading.

If now, after the lapse of another century, we pause to ask the question why the world was so much more interested in the western hemisphere in 1892 than in 1792, we may fairly say that it is because of the constructive work, political and social, that has been done here in the interval by men who speak English. Surely, if there were nothing to show but the sort of work in colonization and nation-making that characterized Spanish America under its Old Régime, there would be small reason for celebrating the completion of another century of such performance. During the present century, indeed, various parts of Spanish America have begun to take on a fresh political and social life, so that in the future much may be hoped for them. But the ideas and methods which have guided this revival have been largely the ideas and methods of English-speaking people, however imperfectly conceived and reproduced. The whole story of this western hemisphere since Genty wrote gives added point to his opinion that its value to mankind would be determined chiefly by what the people of the United States were likely to do.

The smile with which one regards the world-historic importance accorded to the discovery of quinine is an index of the feeling that there are broad ways and narrow ways of dealing with such questions. To one looking through a glass of small calibre a great historical problem may resolve itself into a question of food and drugs. Your anti-tobacco fanatic might contend that civilized men would have been much better off had they never become acquainted with the Indian weed. An economist might more reasonably point to potatoes and maize — to say nothing of many other products peculiar to the New World — as an acquisition of which the value can hardly be overestimated. To reckon the impor-

<sup>1</sup> *L'influence de la découverte l'Amérique*, etc. p. 192 ff.

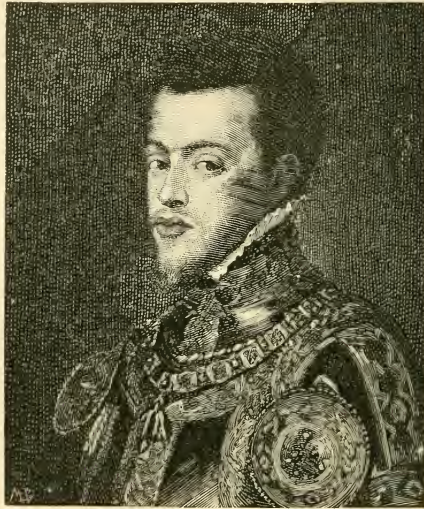


tance of a new piece of territory from a survey of its material productions is of course the first and most natural method. The Spanish conquerors valued America for its supply of precious metals and set little store by other things in comparison. But for the discovery of gold mines in 1496 the Spanish colony founded by Columbus in Hispaniola would probably have been abandoned. That was but the first step in the finding of gold and silver in enormous quantities, and thenceforth for a long time the Spanish crown regarded its transatlantic territories as an inexhaustible mine of wealth. But the value of money to mankind depends upon the uses to which it is put; and here it is worth our while to notice the chief use to which Spain applied her American treasure during the sixteenth century.

The relief of the church from threatening dangers was in those days the noblest and most sacred function of wealth. When Columbus aimed his prow westward from the Canaries, in quest of the treasures of Asia, its precious stones, its silk-stuffs, its rich shawls and rugs, its corals and dye-woods, its aromatic spices, he expected to acquire vast wealth for the sovereigns who employed him and no mean fortune for himself. In all negotiations he insisted upon a good round percentage, and could no more be induced to budge from his price than the old Roman Sibyl with her books. Of petty self-seeking and avarice there was probably no more in this than in commercial transactions generally. The wealth thus sought by Columbus was not so much an end as a means. His spirit was that of a Crusader, and his aim was not to discover a New World (an idea which seems never once to have entered his head), but to acquire the means for driving the Turk from Europe and setting free the Holy Sepulchre. Had he been told upon his melancholy deathbed that instead of finding a quick route to Cathay he had only discovered a New World, it would probably have added fresh bitterness to death.

But if this lofty and ill-understood enthusiast failed in his search for the treasures of Cathay, it was at all events not

long before Cortes and Pizarro succeeded in finding the treasures of Mexico and Peru, and the crusading scheme of Columbus descended as a kind of legacy to the successors of Ferdinand and Isabella, the magnanimous but sometimes misguided Charles, the sombre and terrible Philip. It remained a crusading scheme, but, no longer patterned after that of Godfrey and Tancred, it imitated the mad folly which had once extinguished in southern Gaul the most promising civilization of its age. Instead of a Spanish crusade which



*Godfrey*

might have expelled the most worthless and dangerous of barbarians from eastern Europe, it became a Spanish crusade against everything in the shape of political and religious freedom, whether at home or abroad. The year in which

Spanish eyes first beheld the carved serpents on Central American temples was the year in which Martin Luther nailed his defiance to the church door at Wittenberg. From the outworn crust of mediæ-

Spain and  
the Pro-  
testant  
revolt

valism the modern spirit of individual freedom and individual responsibility was emerging, and for ninety years all Europe was rent with the convulsions that ensued. In the doubtful struggle Spain engaged herself further and further, until by 1570 she had begun to sacrifice to it all her energies. Whence did Philip II. get the sinews of war with which he supported Alva and Farnese, and built the Armada called Invincible? Largely



WILLIAM THE SILENT

from America, partly also from the East Indies, since Portugal and her colonies were seized by Philip in 1580. Thus were the first-fruits of the heroic age of discovery, both to east and to west of Borgia's meridian, devoted to the service of the church with a vengeance, as one might say, a lurid vengeance withal and ruthless. By the year 1609, when Spain sullenly retired, baffled and browbeaten, from the Dutch Netherlands, she had taken from America more gold and silver than would to-day be represented by five thousand million dollars, and most of this huge treasure she had employed in maintaining the gibbet for political reformers and the stake for heretics. In view of this gruesome fact, Mr. Charles Francis Adams has lately asked the question whether the discovery of America was not, after all, for at least a century, fraught with more evil than benefit to mankind. One

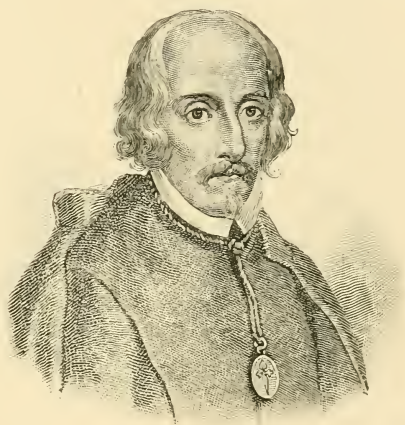
certainly cannot help wondering what might have been the immediate result had such an immense revenue been at the disposal of William and Elizabeth rather than Philip.

Such questions are after all not so simple as they may seem. It is not altogether clear that such a reversal of the conditions from the start would have been of un-  
 Nations are made wealthy, not by inflation but by production mixed benefit to the English and Dutch. After the five thousand millions had been scattered to the winds, altering the purchasing power of money in all directions, it was Spain that was impoverished while her adversaries were growing rich and strong. A century of such unproductive expenditure went far toward completing the industrial ruin of Spain, already begun in the last Moorish wars, and afterward consummated by the expulsion of the Moriscos. The Spanish discovery of America abundantly illustrates the truths that if gold were to become as plentiful as iron it would be worth much less than iron, and that it is not inflation but production that makes a nation wealthy. In so far as the discovery of America turned men's minds from steady industry to gold-hunting, it was a dangerous source of weakness to Spain; and it was probably just as well for England that the work of Cortes and Pizarro was not done for her.

But the great historic fact, most conspicuous among the consequences of the discovery of America, is the fact that colonial empire, for England and for Holland, grew directly out of the long war in which Spain used American and East Indian treasure with which to subdue the English and Dutch peoples and to suppress the principles of civil and religious liberty which they represented. The Dutch tore away from Spain the best part of her East Indian empire, and the glorious Elizabethan sea kings, who began the work of crippling Philip II. in America, led the way directly to the English colonization of Virginia. Thus we are introduced to the most important aspect of the discovery of America. It opened up a fresh soil, enormous in extent and capacity, for the possession of which

Deepest significance of the discovery of America

the lower and higher types of European civilization and social polity were to struggle. In this new arena the maritime peoples of western Europe fought for supremacy; and the conquest of so vast a field has given to the ideas of the victorious people, and to their type of social polity, an unprecedented opportunity for growth and development. Sundry sturdy European ideas, transplanted into this western soil, have triumphed over all competitors and thriven so mightily as to react upon all parts of the Old World, some more, some less, and thus to modify the whole course of civilization. This is the deepest significance of the discovery of America; and a due appreciation of it gives to our history from its earliest stages an epic grandeur, as the successive situations unfold themselves and events with unmistakable emphasis record their moral. In the conflict of Titans that absorbed the energies of the sixteenth century, the question whether it should be the world of Calderon or the world of Shakespeare that was to gain indefinite power of future expansion was a question of incalculable importance to mankind.



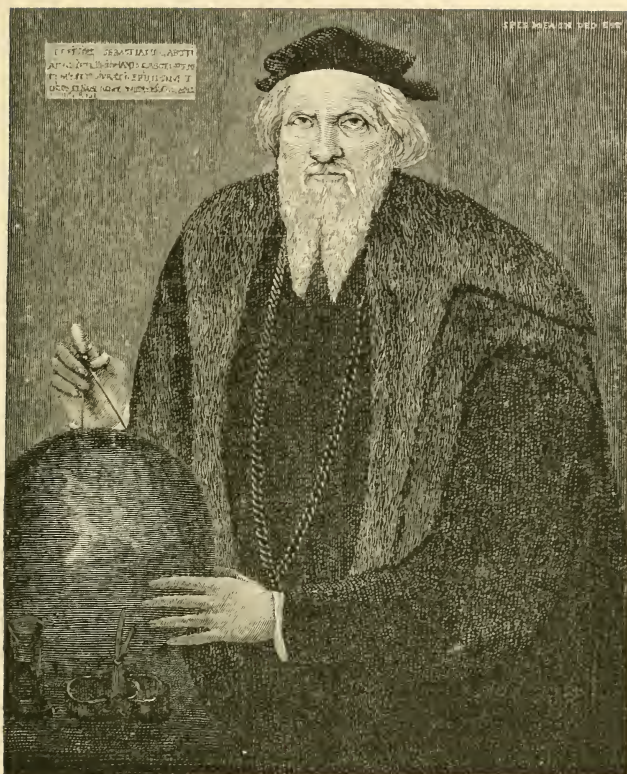
A handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to read "Columbus". The signature is highly stylized with many loops and flourishes.

The beginnings of the history of English-speaking America are thus to be sought in the history of the antagonism

between Spain and England that grew out of the circumstances of the Protestant Reformation. It was as the storehouse of the enemy's treasure and the chief source of his supplies that America first excited real interest among the English people.

English ships had indeed crossed the Atlantic many years before this warfare broke out. The example set by Columbus had been promptly followed by John Cabot and his <sup>Voyages of</sup> young son Sebastian, in the two memorable voy-  
<sup>the Cabots</sup> ages of 1497 and 1498, but the interest aroused by those voyages was very short-lived. In later days it suited the convenience of England to cite them in support of her claim to priority in the discovery of the continent of North America; but many years elapsed before the existence of any such continent was distinctly known and before England cared to put forth any such claim. All that contemporaries could see was that the Cabots had sailed westward in search of the boundless treasures of Cathay, and had come home empty-handed without finding any of the cities described by Marco Polo or meeting any civilized men. So little work was found for Sebastian Cabot that he passed into the service of Spain, and turned his attention to voyages in the South Atlantic. Such scanty record was kept of the voyages of 1497 and 1498 that we cannot surely tell what land the Cabots first saw; whether it was the bleak coast of northern Labrador or some point as far south as Cape Breton is still a matter of dispute. The case was almost the same as with the voyage of Pinzon and Vespuccius, whose ships were off Cape Honduras within a day or two after Cabot's northern landfall, and who, after a sojourn at Tampico, passed between Cuba and Florida at the end of April, 1498. In the one case, as in the other, the expeditions sank into obscurity because they found no gold.

The triumphant return of Gama from Hindustan, in the summer of 1499, turned all men's eyes to southern routes, and little heed was paid to the wild inhospitable shores visited by John Cabot and his son. The sole exception to the



*Sebastian Cabot*

general neglect was the case of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. From the beginning of the sixteenth century European vessels came almost yearly to catch fish there, but at first Englishmen took little or no part in this, for they had long been wont to get their fish in the waters about Iceland, and it took them some years to make the change. On the bright August day of

The New-  
foundland  
fisheries

1527 when Master John Rut sailed into the bay of St. John, in Newfoundland, he found two Portuguese, one Breton, and eleven Norman ships fishing there. Basques also came frequently to the spot. Down to that time it is not likely that the thought of the western shores of the Atlantic entered the heads of Englishmen more frequently than the thought of the Antarctic continent, discovered sixty years ago, enters the heads of men in Boston to-day.

The lack of general interest in maritime discovery is shown by the fact that down to 1576, so far as we can make out, only twelve books upon the subject had been published in England, and these were in great part translations of works published in other countries. The earliest indisputable occurrence of the name America in any printed English document is in a play called "A new interlude and a mery of the nature of the iiiii elements," which was probably published in 1519.<sup>1</sup> About the same time there appeared from an Antwerp press a small book entitled "Of the newe landes and of y<sup>e</sup> people found by the messengers of the Kyng of Portugal;" in it occurs the name *Armenica*, which is probably a misprint for America, since the account of it is evidently taken from the account which Vespuccius gives of the natives of Brazil, and in its earliest use the name America was practically equivalent to Brazil. With the exception of a dim allusion to Columbus in Sebastian Brandt's "Ship of Fools," these are the only references to the New World that have been found in English literature previous to 1553.

The youthful Edward VI., who died that year, had succeeded in recalling Sebastian Cabot from Spain, and under the leadership of that navigator was formed the joint-stock company quaintly entitled, "The Mysterie and Companie of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown." It was the first of that series of sagacious and daring combinations of capital of which the East India Com-

Earliest  
English  
references  
to America

The  
Muscovy  
Company

<sup>1</sup> Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.* iii. 19.



pany has been the most famous. It was afterwards more briefly known as the Muscovy Company. Under its auspices, on the 21st of May, 1553, an English fleet of exploration, under Sir Hugh Willoughby, set sail down the Thames while the cheers of thronging citizens were borne through the windows of the palace at Greenwich to the ears of the sick young king. The ill-fated expedition, seeking a northeasterly passage to Cathay, was wrecked on the coast of Lapland, and only one of the ships got home, but the interest in maritime adventure grew rapidly. A few days before Edward's



Edward.

death, Richard Eden published his "Treatyse of the Newe India," which was largely devoted to the discoveries in America. Two years later, in 1555, Eden followed this by his "Decades of the Newe World," in great part a version of Peter Martyr's Latin. This delightful book for the first time made the English people acquainted with the results of maritime discovery in all quarters since the great voyage of 1492. It enjoyed a wide popularity; poets and dramatists of the next generation read it in their boyhood and found their horizon wondrously enlarged. In its pages doubtless Shakespeare found the name of that Patagonian deity Setebos, which Caliban twice lets fall from his grotesque lips. Three years after Eden's second book saw the light, the long reign of Queen Elizabeth began, and

Richard  
Eden

with it the antagonism, destined year by year to wax more violent and deadly, between England and Spain.

Meanwhile English mariners had already taken a hand in

**A** treatyse of  
 the newe *India*, With other new  
 founde landes and Ilandes, as well  
 eastwarde as westwarde, as they  
 are knowen and found in these oure  
 dayes, after the Description of Se-  
 bastian Muister in his booke of vni-  
 uersall Cosmographie: wherein the  
 diligent reader may see the good  
 successe and rewarde of noble  
 and honeste enterpryses,  
 by the which, not only world-  
 ly riches are obtayned,  
 but also God is glo-  
 rified, & the Chri-  
 stian faith en-  
 larged.  
 Translated out of Latine into English. By  
 Rycharde Eden.

*Præter spem sub spæ.*



TITLE OF RICHARD EDEN'S BOOK

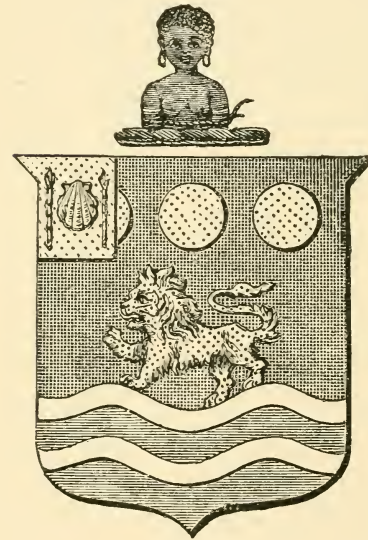
the African slave trade, which since 1442 had been monopolized by the Portuguese. It is always difficult to say with entire confidence just who first began anything, but William Hawkins, an enterprising merchant of Plymouth, made a



*John Hawkins*

voyage on the Guinea coast as early as 1530, or earlier, and carried away a few slaves. It was his son, the famous Captain John Hawkins, who became the real founder of the English trade in slaves. In this capacity Americans have

little reason to remember his name with pleasure, yet it would be a grave mistake to visit him with unmeasured condemnation. Few sturdier defenders of political freedom for white men have ever existed, and among the valiant sea kings who laid the foundations of England's maritime empire he was one of the foremost. It is worthy of notice that Queen Elizabeth regarded the opening of the slave trade as an achievement worthy of honourable commemoration, for when she made Hawkins a knight she gave him for a crest the device of a negro's head and bust with the arms tightly pinioned, or, in the language of heraldry, "a demi-Moor proper bound with a cord." Public



HAWKINS'S ARMS

opinion on the subject of slavery was neatly expressed by Captain Lok, who declared that the negroes were "a people of beastly living, without God, law, religion, or commonwealth,"<sup>1</sup> so that he deemed himself their benefactor in carrying them off to a Christian land where their bodies might be decently clothed and their souls made fit for heaven. Exactly three centuries after Captain Lok, in the decade preceding our Civil War, I used to hear the very same defence of slavery preached in a Connecticut pulpit; so that perhaps we are not

entitled to frown too severely upon Elizabeth's mariners. It takes men a weary while to learn the wickedness of anything that puts gold in their purses.

It was in 1562 that John Hawkins made his first famous

<sup>1</sup> Froude, *History of England*, viii. 439.

expedition to the coast of Guinea, where he took three hundred slaves and carried them over to San Domingo. It was illicit traffic, of course, but the Spanish planters and miners were too much in need of cheap labour to scrutinize too jealously the source from which it was offered. The Englishman found no difficulty in selling his negroes, and sailed for



*William*

home with his three ships loaded with sugar and ginger, hides and pearls. The profits were large, and in 1564 the experiment was repeated with still greater success. On the way home, early in August, 1565, Hawkins stopped at the mouth of the St. John's River in Florida, and found there a woebegone company of starving Frenchmen. They were the party of René de Laudonnière,

Hawkins  
and Lau-  
donnière

awaiting the return of their chief commander, Jean Ribaut, from France. Their presence on that shore was the first feeble expression of the master thought that in due course of time originated the United States of America, and the author of that master thought was the great Admiral Coligny. The Huguenot wars had lately broken out in France, but already that far-sighted statesman had seen the commercial and military advantages to be gained by founding a Protestant state in America. After an unsuccessful attempt upon the coast of Brazil, he had sent Jean Ribaut to Florida, and the little colony was now suffering the frightful hardships that were the lot of most new-comers into the American wilderness. Hawkins treated these poor Frenchmen with great kindness, and his visit with them was pleasant. He has left an interesting account of the communal house of the Indians in the neighbourhood, an immense barn-like frame house, with stanchions and rafters of untrimmed logs, and a roof thatched with palmetto leaves. Hawkins liked the flavour of Indian meal, and in his descriptions of the ways of cooking it one easily recognizes both "hasty pudding" and hoe-cake. He thought it would have been more prudent in the Frenchmen if they had raised corn for themselves instead of stealing it from the Indians and arousing a dangerous hostility. For liquid refreshment they had been thrown upon their own resources, and had contrived to make a thousand gallons or more of claret from the native grapes of the country. A letter of John Winthrop reminds us that the Puritan settlers of Boston in their first summer also made wine of wild grapes,<sup>1</sup> and according to Adam of Bremen the same thing was done by the Northmen in Vinland in the eleventh century,<sup>2</sup> showing that in one age and clime as well as in another thirst is the mother of invention.

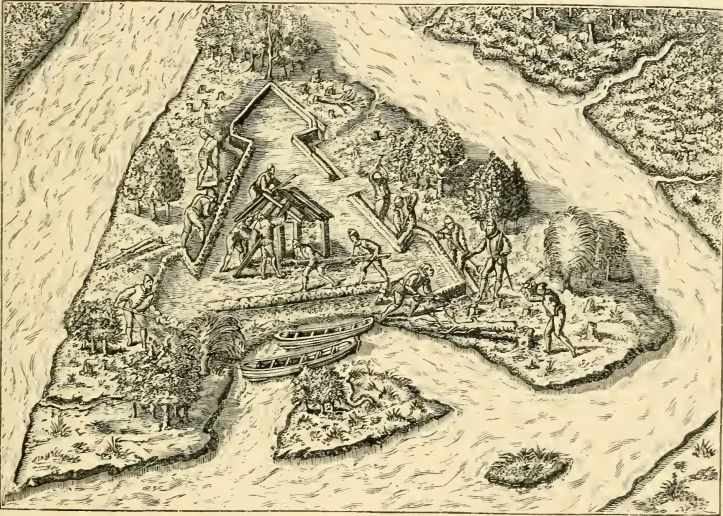
As the Frenchmen were on the verge of despair, Hawkins left them one of his ships in which to return to France, but he had scarcely departed when the long expected Ribaut arrived

<sup>1</sup> Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.* iii. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Discovery of America*, i. 209.

with reinforcements, and soon after him came that terrible Spaniard, Menendez, who butchered the whole company, men, women, and children, about 700 Huguenots in all. Some half dozen escaped and were lucky enough to get picked up by a friendly ship and carried to England. Among them was the painter Le Moine, who became a friend of Sir Philip Sidney, and aroused

Massacre of Huguenots: the painter Le Moine



LE MOINE'S SKETCH OF THE BUILDING OF FORT CAROLINE

much interest with his drawings of American beasts, birds, trees, and flowers. The story of the massacre awakened fierce indignation. Hostility to Spain was rapidly increasing in England, and the idea of Coligny began to be entertained by a few sagacious heads. If France could not plant a Protestant state in America, perhaps England could. A little later we find Le Moine consulted by the gifted half-brothers, Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh.

Meanwhile, in 1567, the gallant Hawkins went on an eventful voyage, with five stout ships, one of which was

commanded by a very capable and well educated young man, afterwards and until Nelson's time celebrated as the greatest of English seamen. Francis Drake was a native of Devonshire, son of a poor clergyman who had been molested for holding Protestant opinions. The young sea king had already gathered experience in the West Indies and on the Spanish Main; this notable voyage taught him the same kind of feeling toward Spaniards that Hannibal cherished toward Romans. After the usual traffic among the islands the little squadron was driven by stress of weather to seek shelter in the port of San Juan de Ulua, at the present site of Vera Cruz. There was no force there fit to resist Hawkins, and it is droll to find that pious hero, such a man of psalms and prayers, pluming himself upon his virtue in not seizing some Spanish ships in the harbour laden with what we should call five million dollars' worth of silver. The next day a fleet of thirteen ships from Spain arrived upon the scene. Hawkins could perhaps have kept them from entering the harbour, but he shrank from the responsibility of bringing on a battle in time of peace; the queen might disapprove of it. So Hawkins parleyed with the Spaniards, a solemn covenant of mutual forbearance was made and sworn to, and he let them into the harbour. But the orthodox Catholic of those days sometimes entertained peculiar views about keeping faith with heretics. Had not his Holiness Alexander VI. given all this New World to Spain? Poachers must be warned off; the Huguenots had learned a lesson in Florida, and it was now the Englishmen's turn. So Hawkins was treacherously attacked, and after a desperate combat, in which fireships were used, three of his vessels were destroyed. The other two got out to sea, but with so scanty a larder that the crews were soon glad to eat cats and dogs, rats and mice, and boiled parrots. It became necessary to set 114 men ashore somewhere to the north of Tampico. Some of these men took northeasterly trails, and mostly perished in the woods, but David Ingram and two companions actually made their way

Francis  
Drake

The affair  
of San Juan  
de Ulua





*Martin Frobisher*

across the continent and after eleven months were picked up on the coast of Nova Scotia by a friendly French vessel and taken back to Europe. About seventy, led by Anthony Goddard, less prudently marched toward the city of Mexico, and fell into the clutches of the Inquisition; three were

burned at the stake and all the rest were cruelly flogged and sent to the galleys for life. When the news of this affair reached England a squadron of Spanish treasure-ships, chased into the Channel by Huguenot cruisers, had just sought refuge in English harbours, and the queen detained them in reprisal for the injury done to Hawkins.

News had lately arrived of the bloody vengeance wreaked by Dominique de Gourgues upon the Spaniards in Florida, while the cruelties of Alva were fast goading the Netherlands into rebellion. Next year, 1570, on a fresh May morning, the Papal Bull "declaring Elizabeth deposed and her subjects absolved from their allegiance was found nailed against the Bishop of London's door,"<sup>1</sup> and when the rash young gentleman who had put it there was discovered he was taken back to that doorstep and quartered alive. Two years later came the Paris Matins on the day of St. Bartholomew, when the English ambassador openly gave shelter to Huguenots in his house. Elizabeth's policy leaned more and more decidedly toward defiance of the Catholic powers until it culminated in alliance with the revolted Netherlands in January, 1578. Meanwhile the interest in America quickly increased. Those were the years when Martin Frobisher made his glorious voyages in the Arctic Ocean, soon to be followed by John Davis. Almost yearly Drake crossed the Atlantic and more than once attacked and ravaged the Spanish settlements in revenge for the treachery at San Juan de Ulua. Books and pamphlets about America began to come somewhat frequently from the press.

It is worth our while here to pause for a moment and remark upon the size and strength of the nation that was so soon to contend successfully for the mastery of the sea. There is something so dazzling in the brilliancy of the age of Queen Bess, it is so crowded with romantic incidents, it fills so large a place in our minds, that we hardly realize how small England then was accord-

<sup>1</sup> Froude, *History of England*, x. 59.

ing to modern standards of measurement. Two centuries earlier, in the reign of Edward III., the population of England had reached about 5,000,000, when the Black Death at one fell swoop destroyed at least half the number. In Elizabeth's time the loss had just about been repaired. Her England was therefore slightly less populous, and it was surely far less wealthy, than either New York or Pennsylvania in 1890. The Dutch Netherlands had perhaps somewhat fewer people than England, but surpassed her in wealth. These two allies were pitted against the greatest military power that had existed in Europe since the days of Constantine the Great. To many the struggle seemed hopeless. For England the true policy was limited by circumstances. She could send troops across the Channel to help the Dutch in their stubborn resistance, but to try to land a force in the Spanish peninsula for aggressive warfare would be sheer madness. The shores of America and the open sea were the proper field of war for England. Her task was to paralyze the giant by cutting off his supplies, and in this there was hope of success, for no defensive fleet, however large, could watch all Philip's enormous possessions at once. The English navy, first permanently organized under Henry VIII., grew rapidly in Elizabeth's reign under the direction of her incomparable seamen; and the policy she adopted was crowned with such success that Philip II. lived to see his treasury bankrupt.

How the sea became England's field of war

This policy was gradually adopted soon after the fight at San Juan de Ulua, and long before there was any declaration of war. The extreme laxness of that age, in respect of international law, made it possible for such things to go on to an extent that now seems scarcely comprehensible. The wholesale massacre of Frenchmen in Florida, for example, occurred at a time of profound peace between France and Spain, and reprisal was made, not by the French government but by a private gentleman who had to sell his ancestral estate to raise the money. It quite suited Elizabeth's tortuous policy, in contending

Loose ideas of international law

against formidable odds, to be able either to assume or to disclaim responsibility for the deeds of her captains. Those brave men well understood the situation, and with earnest patriotism and chivalrous loyalty not only accepted it, but even urged the queen to be allowed to serve her interests at their own risk. In a letter handed to her in November, 1577, the writer begs to be allowed to destroy all Spanish ships caught fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and adds, "If you will let us first do this we will next take the West Indies from Spain. You will have the gold and silver mines and the profit of the soil. You will be monarch of the seas and out of danger from every one. I will do it if you will allow me; only you must resolve and not delay or dally—the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death."<sup>1</sup> The signature to this bold letter has been obliterated, but it sounds like Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and is believed to be his.

In connection with this it should be remembered that neither in England nor elsewhere at that time had the navy become fully a national affair as at present. It was to a considerable extent supported by private speculation, and as occasion required a commercial voyage or a voyage of discovery might be suddenly transformed into a naval campaign. A flavour of buccaneering pervades nearly all the maritime operations of that age and often leads modern writers to misunderstand or misjudge them. Thus it sometimes happens that so excellent a man as Sir Francis Drake, whose fame is forever a priceless possession for English-speaking people, is mentioned in popular books as a mere corsair, a kind of gentleman pirate. Nothing could show a more hopeless confusion of ideas. In a later generation the warfare characteristic of the Elizabethan age degenerated into piracy, and when Spain, fallen from her greatness, became a prey to the spoiler, a swarm of buccaneers infested the West Indies and added another hideous chapter to the lurid history of those beautiful islands. They

<sup>1</sup> Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, i. 9.

were mere robbers, and had nothing in common with the Elizabethan heroes except courage. From the deeds of Drake and Hawkins to the deeds of Henry Morgan, the moral distance is as great as from slaying your antagonist in battle to murdering your neighbour for his purse.



SPANISH SHIPS IN PORT

It was Drake who first put into practice the policy of weakening Philip II. by attacking him in America. It served the direct purpose of destroying the sinews of war, and indirectly it neutralized for Europe some of Spain's naval strength by diverting it into American waters for self-defence. To do such work most effectively it seemed desirable to carry the war-

Why  
Drake carried the  
war into  
the Pacific  
Ocean

fare into the Pacific Ocean. The circumstances of its discovery had made Spanish America almost more of a Pacific than an Atlantic power. The discoverers happened to approach the great double continent where it is narrowest, and the hunt for precious metals soon drew them to the Cordilleras and their western slopes. The mountain region, with its untold treasures of gold and silver, from New Mexico to Bolivia, became theirs. In acquiring it they simply stepped into the place of the aboriginal conquering tribes, and carried on their work of conquest to completion. The new rulers conducted the government by their own Spanish methods, and the white race was superposed upon a more or less dense native population. There was no sort of likeness to colonies planted by England, but there were some points of resemblance to the position of the English in recent times as a ruling race in Hindustan. Such was the kind of empire which Spain had founded in America. Its position, chiefly upon the Pacific coast, rendered it secure against English conquest, though not against occasional damaging attacks. In South America, where it reached back in one or two remote points to the Atlantic coast, the chief purpose was to protect the approach to the silver mines of Bolivia by the open route of the river La Plata. It was this military need that was met by the growth of Buenos Ayres and the settlements in Paraguay, guarding the entrance and the lower reaches of the great silver river.

Soon after the affair of San Juan de Ulua, Drake conceived the idea of striking at this Spanish domain upon its unguarded Pacific side. In 1573, after marching across the isthmus of Darien, the English mariner stood upon a mountain peak, not far from where Balboa sixty years before had stood and looked down upon the waste of waters stretching away to shores unvisited and under stars unknown. And as he looked, says Camden, "vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, he fell upon his knees and implored the divine assistance that he might at some time sail thither and make a perfect

Drake  
upon a  
peak in  
Darien



*Fra. Pra. S.*

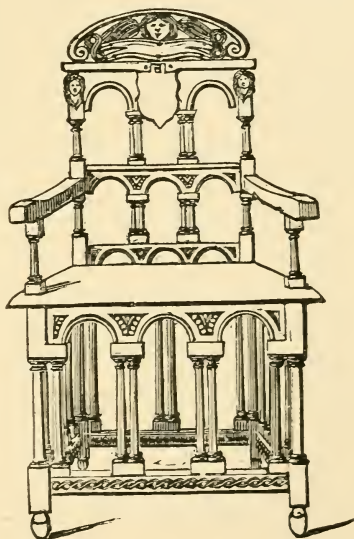




discovery of the same." On the 15th of November, 1577, Drake set sail from Plymouth, on this hardy enterprise, with five good ships. It was a curious coincidence that in the following July and August, while wintering on the Patagonia coast at Port St. Julian, Drake should have discovered symptoms of conspiracy and felt obliged to behead one of his officers, as had been the case with Magellan at the same place. By the time he had passed the straits in his flagship, the Golden Hind,<sup>1</sup> he had quite lost sight of his consorts, who had deserted him in that watery labyrinth, as Gomez had stolen away from Magellan.

Voyage of  
the Golden  
Hind

For men of common mould a voyage in the remote South Sea still had its terrors; but the dauntless captain kept on with his single ship of twenty guns, and from Valparaiso northward along the Peruvian coast dashed into seaports and captured vessels, carrying away enormous treasures in gold and silver and jewels, besides such provisions as were needed for his crew. With other property he meddled but little, and no acts of wanton cruelty sullied his performances. After taking plunder worth millions of dollars, this corsair-work gave place to scientific discovery, and the Golden Hind sailed far northward



CHAIR MADE FROM TIMBER OF THE  
GOLDEN HIND

in search of a northeast passage into the Atlantic. Drake visited a noble bay, which may have been that of San Francisco, and sailed some distance along that coast, which he called New Albion. It is probable, though not quite

<sup>1</sup> Originally the Pelican: see Barrow's *Life of Drake*, pp. 113, 166, 171.

certain, that he saw some portion of the coast of Oregon. Not finding any signs of a northeast passage, he turned his prow westward, crossed the Pacific, and returned home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, arriving at Plymouth in September, 1580. Some time afterward he went up the Thames to Deptford, where the queen came to dinner on board the Golden Hind, and knighted on his own quarter-deck the bold captain who had first carried the English flag around the world. The enthusiastic chronicler Holinshed wished that in memory of this grand achievement the ship should be set upon the top of St. Paul's Cathedral, "that being discerned farre and neere, it might be noted and pointed at of people with these true termes : Yonder is the barke that hath sailed round about the world."<sup>1</sup> A different career awaited the sturdy Golden Hind ; for many a year she was kept at Deptford, a worthy object of popular admiration, and her cabin was made into a banquet room wherein young and old might partake of the mutton and ale of merry England ; until at last, when the venerable ship herself had succumbed to the tooth of Time, a capacious chair was carved from her timbers and presented to the University of Oxford, where it may still be seen in the Bodleian Library. In it sat Abraham Cowley when he wrote the poem in which occur the following verses : —

A noble  
banquet  
room

“ Drake and his ship could not have wished from Fate  
A happier station or more blest estate.  
For lo ! a seat of endless rest is given  
To her in Oxford and to him in heaven.”

Meanwhile in the autumn of 1578, while the coasts of Chili were echoing the roar of the Golden Hind's cannon, a squadron of seven ships sailed from England, with intent to found a permanent colony on the Atlantic coast of North America. Its captain was one of the most eminent of Devonshire worthies, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and one of the ships was commanded by his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, a young man of six-and-twenty who had

Voyage of  
Gilbert and  
Raleigh

<sup>1</sup> Barrow's *Life of Drake*, p. 167.



PART OF GILBERT'S 1576 MAP

lately returned from volunteer service in the Netherlands. The destination of the voyage was "Norumbega," which may have meant any place between the Hudson and Penobscot rivers, but was conceived with supreme vagueness, as may be seen from Michael Lok's map of 1582.<sup>1</sup> This little fleet had at least one savage fight with Spaniards, and returned to

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 65; and compare my *Discovery of America*, ii. 525.

Plymouth without accomplishing anything. In 1583 Gilbert sought a favourable place for settlement on the southern coast of Newfoundland, probably with a view to driving the Spaniards away from the fishing grounds, but an ill fate overtook him. On the American coast his principal vessel crushed its bows against a sunken rock and nearly all hands were lost. With two small ships the captain soon set sail for home, but his own tiny craft foundered in a Shipwreck of Gilbert terrible storm near Fayal. As she sank, Gilbert cheerily shouted over the tafferel to his consort, "The way to heaven is as near by sea as by land," a speech, says his chronicler, "well beseeeming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was."

It was not Raleigh's fault that he did not share the fate of his revered half-brother, for the queen's mind had been full of forebodings and she had refused to let him go on the voyage. It was since the former disastrous expedition that Raleigh had so quickly risen in favour at court; that he had thrown down his velvet cloak as a mat for Elizabeth's feet and had written on a window-pane the well-known verse which that royal coquette so cleverly capped. He became Captain of the Queen's Guard and Lord Warden of the Gilbert's patent granted to Raleigh Stannaries, and was presented with the confiscated estates of traitors in England and Ireland. In 1584, when his late half-brother's patent for land in America expired, it was renewed in Raleigh's name. On March 25th was sealed the document that empowered him to "hold by homage remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, which he might discover within the next six years."<sup>1</sup> As had been the custom with Spanish and Portuguese grants to explorers, one fifth of the gold and silver to be obtained was to be reserved for the crown. The heathen and barbarous land which Raleigh had in view was the Atlantic coast of North America so far as he might succeed in occupying it. He knew that Spain

<sup>1</sup> Stebbing's *Sir Walter Raleigh*. p. 43.

claimed it all as her own by virtue of the bull of Pope Alexander VI., but Elizabeth had already declared in 1581 that she cared nothing for papal bulls and would recognize no



A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely "J. H. Rydberg". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the engraving. It consists of a large initial "J" followed by "H." and "Rydberg" in a flowing cursive hand, with three horizontal lines underneath.

Spanish claims to America save such as were based upon discovery followed by actual possession.<sup>1</sup> Raleigh's attention had long been turned toward Florida. In youth he had

<sup>1</sup> Brown's *Genesis*, p. 10.

served in France under Coligny, and had opportunities for hearing that statesman's plan for founding a Protestant state in America discussed. We have seen Le Moine, the French artist who escaped from the Florida massacre, consorting with Raleigh and with Sir Philip Sidney. Upon those men fell the mantle of Coligny, and the people of the United States may well be proud to point to such noble figures standing upon the threshold of our history.

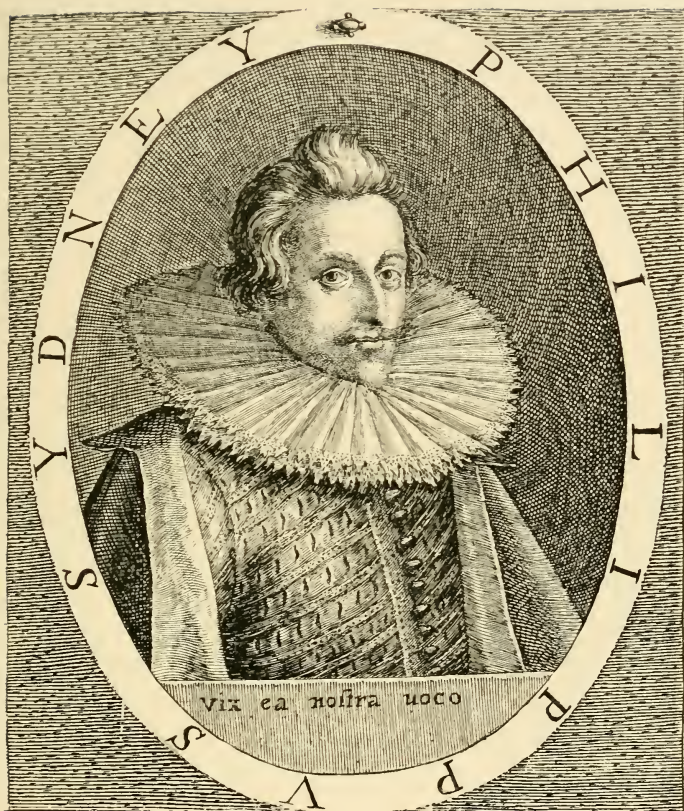
One provision in the Gilbert patent, now renewed for Raleigh, is worth especial mention. It was agreed that the English colonies which should be planted in America "should have all the privileges of free denizens and persons native of England, in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in our said realm of England," and that

Promise of  
self-govern-  
ment

any law to the contrary should be of no effect; furthermore, that the people of those colonies should be governed by such statutes as they might choose to establish for themselves, provided that such statutes "conform as near as conveniently may be with those of England, and do not oppugn the Christian faith, or anyway withdraw the people of those lands from our allegiance." A more unequivocal acknowledgment of the rights of self-government which a British government of two centuries later saw fit to ignore it would be hard to find. Gilbert and Raleigh demanded and Elizabeth granted in principle just what Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams demanded and George III. refused to concede.

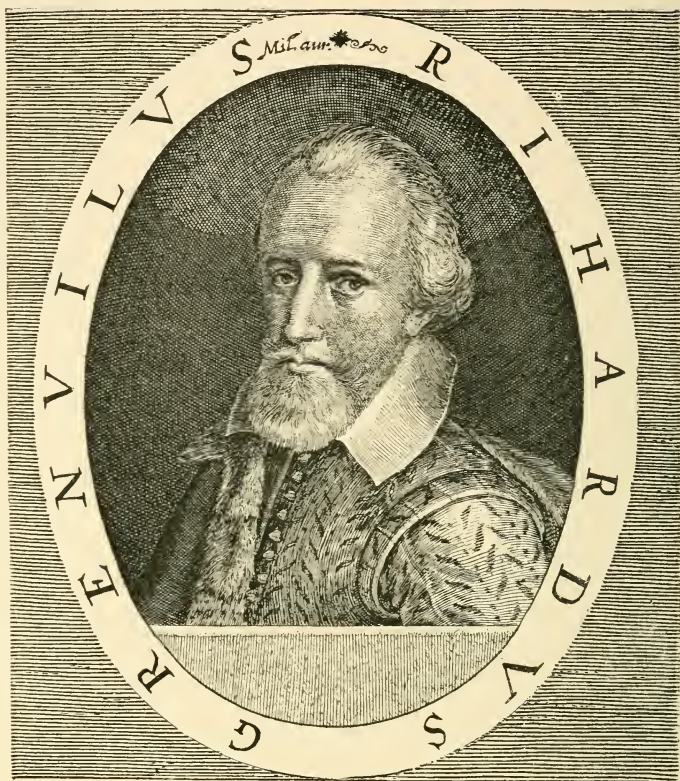
The wealthy Raleigh could act promptly, and before five weeks had elapsed two ships, commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, had started on a reconnoitring voyage. On the 4th of July, 1584, they reached the country now known as North Carolina, at some point not far from Cape Lookout. Thence a northerly run of over a hundred miles brought them to the New Inlet, through which they passed into Pamlico Sound and visited Roanoke Island. They admired the noble pine-trees and red cedars, marvelled at the abundance of game, and found the

Voyage of  
Amidas  
and Bar-  
low, 1584



*Philip Sidney.*

native barbarians polite and friendly. Their attempt to learn the name of the country resulted as not uncommonly in such first parleys between strange tongues. The Indian of whom the question was asked had no idea what was meant and uttered at random the Ollendorffian reply, "Win-gan-



SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE

da-coa," which signified, "What pretty clothes you wear!" So when Amidas and Barlow returned to England they said they had visited a country by the name of Wingandacoa; but the queen, with a touch of the euphuism then so fashionable, suggested that it should be called, in honour of herself, Virginia.

In the spring of 1585 Raleigh, who had lately been knighted, sent out a hundred or more men commanded by Ralph Lane, to make the beginnings of a settlement. They were convoyed by Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, with seven well-armed ships.

Ralph  
Lane's ex-  
pedition,  
1585



They entered Pamlico Sound through Ocracoke Inlet, and trouble with the natives at once began. One of the Indians stole a silver cup, and Grenville unwisely retaliated by setting fire to their standing corn. Having thus sown the seeds of calamity he set the colonists ashore upon Roanoke Island and went on his way. The sagacious and energetic Lane explored the neighbouring mainland for many miles along the coast and for some distance into the interior, and even tried to find a waterway into the Pacific Ocean. He made up his mind that the country was not favourable for a new colony, and he gathered sundry bits of information which



CARTAGENA

seemed to point to Chesapeake Bay as a much better place. The angry Indians made much trouble, and after a year had passed the colonists were suffering from scarcity of food, when all at once Sir Francis Drake appeared on the scene with a superb fleet of three-and-twenty ships. War between Spain and England had been declared in July, 1585, when Sidney and Drake were about ready to execute a scheme that contemplated the founding of an American colony by Sidney.

But the queen interfered and sent Sidney to the Netherlands, where he was so soon to die a noble death. The terrible Drake, whom Spaniards, punning upon his name, had



*Plymouth 1589  
Thomas Cundy sk*

Rescue of Lane by Sir Francis "the Dragon"

begun to call "Dragon," gave them fresh cause to dread and revile him. He had captured 20 ships with 250 cannon, he had taken and sacked Cartagena, St. Domingo, and St. Augustine, and on his way home looked in at Roanoke Island, in time to take Lane and his starving party on board and carry them back to Eng-

land. They had not long been gone when Grenville arrived with supplies, and was astonished at finding the island deserted. Knowing nothing of Lane's change of purpose, and believing that his party must still be somewhere in the adjacent country, Grenville left a guard of fifteen men on the island, with ample supplies, and sailed away.

The stirring days of the Armada were approaching. When Lane arrived in England, his services were needed there, and after a while we find him a member of the Council of War. One of this first American colonizing party was the wonderful Suffolk boy, Thomas Cavendish, aged two-and-twenty, who had no sooner landed in England than he set sail in command of three ships, made his way into the Pacific Ocean, and repeated the exploits of Drake from Chili to California, captured one of Spain's finest galleons, and then in two years more completed the circumnavigation of the globe. While the pupil was thus nobly acquitting himself, the master in the spring of 1587 outdid all former achievements. Sailing into the harbour of Cadiz, Drake defeated the warships on guard there, calmly loaded his own vessels with as much Spanish spoil as could safely be carried, then set fire to the storeships and cut their cables.

Cavendish's voyage around the world, 1586-88



SPANISH GALLEON

More than a hundred transports, some of them 1500 tons in burthen, all laden with stores for the Armada, became a tangled and drifting mass of blazing ruin, while amid the

thunder of exploding magazines the victor went forth on his way unscathed and rejoicing. Day after day he crouched under the beetling crags of Cintra, catching and sinking every craft that passed that lair, then swept like a tempest into the bay of Coruña and



JOHN WHITE'S MAP OF FLORIDA AND VIRGINIA, 1585

wrought similar havoc to that of Cadiz, then stood off for the Azores and captured the great carrack on its way from the Indies with treasure reckoned by millions. Europe stood dumb with amazement. What manner of man was it that could thus "sing the King of Spain's beard"? "Philip one day invited a lady of the court to join him in

his barge on the Lake of Segovia. The lady said she dared not trust herself on the water, even with his Majesty," for fear of Sir Francis Drake.<sup>1</sup> Philip's Armada had to wait for another year, while by night and day the music of adze and hammer was heard in English shipyards.

Just as "the Dragon" returned to England another party of Raleigh's colonists was approaching the American coast. There were about 150, including seventeen women. John White, a man deft with water-colours, who had been the artist of Lane's expedition, was their governor. Their settlement was to be made on the shore of Chesapeake Bay, but first they must stop at Roanoke Island and pick up the fifteen men left on watch by Grenville. Through some carelessness or misunderstanding or bad faith on the part of the convoy, the people once landed were left in the lurch with only one small vessel, and thus were obliged to stay on that fatal Roanoke Island. They soon found that Grenville's little guard had been massacred by red men. It was under these gloomy circumstances that the first child of English parents was born on the soil of the United States. The governor's daughter Eleanor was wife of Ananias Dare, and their little girl, born August 18, 1587, was named Virginia. Before she was ten days old her grandfather found it necessary to take the ship and return to England for help.

White's  
colony on  
Roanoke  
Island,  
1587

But the day of judgment for Spain and England was at hand, and lesser things must wait. Amid the turmoil of military preparation, Sir Walter was not unmindful of his little colony. Twice he fitted out relief expeditions, but the first was stopped because all the ships were seized for government service, and the second was driven back into port by Spanish cruisers. While the anxious governor waited through the lengthening days into the summer of 1588, there came, with its imperious haste, its deadly agony and fury, its world-astounding triumph, the event most tremendous, perhaps, that mankind have witnessed since the

<sup>1</sup> Froude, *History of England*, xii. 392.



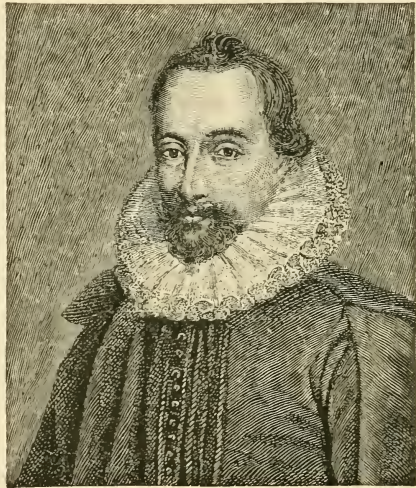
*W. Cecil*

star of the Wise Men stood over the stable at Bethlehem. Then you might have seen the sea kings working in good fellowship together, — Drake and Hawkins, Winter and Frobisher, with Howard of Effingham in the Channel fleet; Raleigh and Grenville active alike in council and afield; the two great ministers, Burghley and Walsingham, ever crafty and vigilant; and in

The  
Invincible  
Armada,  
1588

the background on her white palfrey the eccentric figure of the strangely wayward and wilful but always brave and patriotic Queen. Even after three centuries it is with bated breath that we watch those 130 black hulks coming up the Channel, with 3,000 cannon and 30,000 men on board, among them ninety executioners withal, equipped with racks and thumbscrews, to inaugurate on English soil the accursed work of the Inquisition. In camp at Dunkirk the greatest general of the age, Alexander Farnese, with 35,000 veterans is crouching for a spring, like a still greater general at Boulogne in later days; and one wonders if the 80,000 raw militia slowly mustering in the busy little towns and green hamlets of England can withstand these well-trained warriors.

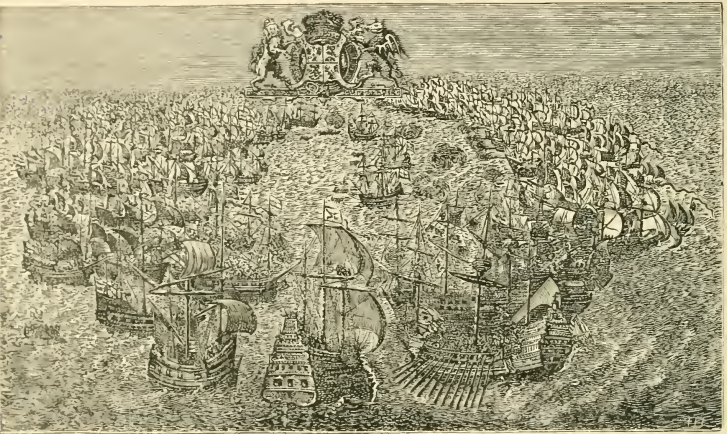
In the English fleet there were about as many ships as the enemy had, much smaller in size and inferior in weight of metal, but at the same time far more nimble in movement. Of cannon and men the English had scarcely half as many as the Spaniards, but this disparity was more than



*Frederic. B. Kingham*

offset by one great advantage. Our forefathers had already begun to display the inventive ingenuity for which their descendants in both hemispheres have since become preëminent. Many of their ships were armed with new guns, of longer range

than any hitherto known, and this advantage, combined with their greater nimbleness, made it possible in many cases to pound a Spanish ship to pieces without receiving any serious hurt in return. In such respects, as well as in the seamanship by which the two fleets were handled, it was modern intelligence pitted against mediæval chivalry. Such captains as served Elizabeth were not reared under the blighting shadow of the Escorial. With the discomfiture of the Invincible Armada before Dunkirk, the



THE ARMADA

army of Farnese at once became useless for invading England. Then came the awful discovery that the mighty fleet was penned up in the German Ocean, for Drake held the Strait of Dover in his iron grip. The horrors of the long retreat through northern seas have never been equalled save when Napoleon's hosts were shattered in Russia. In the disparity of losses, as in the immensity of the issues at stake, we are reminded of the Greeks and Persians at Salamis; of Spaniards more than 20,000 perished, but scarcely 100 Englishmen. The frightful loss of ships and guns announced the overthrow of Spanish supremacy, but the bitter end was yet to come. During the next three years the activity of



the sea kings reached such a pitch that more than 800 Spanish ships were destroyed.<sup>1</sup> The final blow came soon after the deaths of Drake and Hawkins in Battle of Cadiz, 1596 1596, when Raleigh, with the Earl of Essex and Lord Thomas Howard, destroyed the Spanish fleet in that great battle before Cadiz whereof Raleigh wrote that "if any man had a desire to see Hell itself, it was there most lively figured."<sup>2</sup>

It was not until March, 1591, that Governor White succeeded in getting to sea again for the rescue of his family and friends. He had to go as passenger in a West Indian. When he landed, upon the return voyage, at Roanoke Island, it was just in time to have celebrated his little grandchild's fourth birthday. It had been agreed that should the colonists leave that spot they should carve upon a tree the name of the place to which they were going, and if they should add to the name a cross it would be understood as a signal of distress. When White arrived Mystery of the fate of White's colony he found grass growing in the deserted blockhouse.

Under the cedars hard by five chests had been buried, and somebody had afterwards dug them up and rifled them. Fragments of his own books and pictures lay scattered about. On a great tree was cut in big letters, but without any cross, the word CROATAN, which was the name of a neighbouring island. The captain of the ship was at first willing to take White to Croatan, but a fierce storm overtook him and after beating about for some days he insisted upon making for England in spite of the poor man's entreaties. No more did White ever hear of his loved ones. Sixteen years afterward the settlers at Jamestown were told by Indians that the white people abandoned at Roanoke had mingled with the natives and lived with them for some years on amicable terms until at the instigation of certain medicine-men (who probably accused them of witchcraft) they had all been murdered, except four men, two boys, and a young woman, who were spared by request or order of a chief.

<sup>1</sup> Brown's *Genesis*, i. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Stebbing's *Raleigh*, p. 129.

Whether this young woman was Virginia Dare, the first American girl, we have no means of knowing.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could better illustrate than the pathetic fate of this little colony how necessary it was to destroy the naval power of Spain before England could occupy the soil of North America. The defeat of the Invincible Armada was the opening event in the history of the United States. It was the event that made all the rest possible. Without it the attempts at Jamestown and Plymouth could hardly have had more success than the attempt at Roanoke Island. An infant colony is like an army at the end of a long line of communications; it perishes if the line is cut. Before England could plant thriving states in America she must control the ocean routes. The far-sighted Raleigh understood the conditions of the problem. When he smote the Spaniards at Cadiz he knew it was a blow struck for America. He felt the full significance of the defeat of the Armada, and in spite of all his disappointments with Virginia he never lost heart. In 1602 he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation."

In the following chapters we shall see how Raleigh's brave words came true.

<sup>1</sup> The fate of White's colony has been a subject for speculation even to the present day; and attempts have been made to detect its half-breed descendants among the existing population of North Carolina. The evidence, however, is too frail to support the conclusions.

## CHAPTER II

### A DISCOURSE OF WESTERN PLANTING

IN all the history of human knowledge there is no more fascinating chapter than that which deals with the gradual expansion of men's geographical ideas consequent upon the great voyages of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is not a tale so written that he who runs may read it, but its events have rather to be slowly deciphered from hundreds of quaint old maps, whereon islands and continents, mountains and rivers, are delineated with very slight resemblance to what we now know to be the reality; where, for instance, Gog and Magog show a strong tendency to get mixed up with Memphremagog, where the capital of China stands a few hundred miles north of the city of Mexico, and your eye falls upon a river which you feel sure is the St. Lawrence until you learn that it is meant for the Yang-tse-Kiang. In the sixteenth century scarcely any intellectual stimulus could be found more potent than the sight of such maps, revealing unknown lands, or cities and rivers with strange names, places of which many marvels had been recounted and almost anything might be believed.

Sixteenth  
century  
maps

One afternoon in the year 1568, the lawyer Richard Hakluyt was sitting at his desk in the Middle Temple, with a number of such maps and sundry new books of cosmography spread out before him, when the door opened and his young cousin and namesake, then a boy of sixteen studying at Westminster School, came into the room. The elder Richard opened the Bible at the 107th Psalm, and pointed to the verses which declare that "they which go downe to the sea in ships and occupy by the great waters, they see the works

of the Lord and his wonders in the deep ;” then he called the lad’s attention to the maps, in which he soon became absorbed. This incident determined the career of Richard Hakluyt the younger Richard Hakluyt, and led to his playing an important part in the beginnings of the United States of America. A learned and sagacious writer upon American history, Mr. Doyle, of All Souls College, Oxford, has truly said that it is “hard to estimate at its full value the debt which succeeding generations owe to Richard Hakluyt.”<sup>1</sup> In 1570 he became a student at Christ Church, Oxford, and took his master’s degree in 1577. His book called “Divers

*Richard Hakluyt* *prosaice*

Voyages,” dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, was published in 1582. From 1583 to 1588 he was chaplain of the English legation at Paris, and before his return he was appointed canon of Bristol, an office which he held till 1605. Thus for many years he lived in the city of the Cabots, the cradle of the new era of maritime adventure. He came to be recognized as one of the foremost geographers of the age and the greatest living English authority on matters relating to the New World. The year following the defeat of the Armada witnessed the publication of his book entitled “Principal Voyages,” which Froude well calls “the prose epic of the modern English nation.”<sup>2</sup> In 1605 he was made a prebendary of Westminster, and eleven years later was buried with distinguished honours beneath the pavement of the great Abbey.

The book of Hakluyt’s which here most nearly concerns us is the “Discourse of Western Planting,” written in 1584, shortly before the return of the ships of Amidas and Barlow

<sup>1</sup> Doyle, *Virginia*, etc. p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt’s *Discourse of Western Planting* (in *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*), Cambridge, 1877, p. x.

# DIVERS

voyages touching the discoverie of  
*America, and the Ilands adjacent.*

unto the same, made first of all by our  
*Englishmen, and afterward by the French-  
men and Bretons.*

And certaine notes of advertisements for obser-  
vations necessarie for such as shall hereafter  
make the like attempt,

With two mappes annexed herunto for the  
plainer understanding of the whole  
matter.



Imprinted at Lon-

don for Thomas Woodcocke,  
*dwelling in paules Church-yard,*  
at the signe of the blacke beare.

1582.

from Roanoke Island. It was not published, nor was immediate publication its aim. It was intended to influence the mind of Queen Elizabeth. The manuscript was handed to her about September, 1584, and after a while was lost sight of until after a long period of oblivion it turned up in the library of Sir Peter Thomson, an indefatigable collector of literary treasures, who died in 1770. It was bought from his family by Lord Valentia, after whose death it passed into the hands of the famous bibliophile Henry Stevens, who sold it to Sir Thomas Phillips for his vast collection of archives at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham. In 1869 a copy of it was made for Dr. Leonard Woods, President of Bowdoin College, by whom it was ably edited for the Maine Historical Society; and at length, in 1877, after a sleep of nearly three centuries, it was printed at our New England Cambridge, at the University Press, and published with valuable notes by the late Dr. Charles Deane.

Hakluyt wrote this document at the request of Raleigh, who wished to persuade the queen to invest money in a colonizing expedition to the New World. Such an enterprise, he felt, was too great for any individual purse and needed support from government. No one had studied the subject so thoroughly as Hakluyt, and so Raleigh enlisted his services. In twenty-one brief chapters Hakluyt sets forth the various reasons why England should plant colonies on the coast of North America. The chief reasons are that such colonies will enlarge the occasions and facilities for driving Spanish ships from the Newfoundland fisheries and capturing Spanish treasure on its way from Mexico and the isthmus of Darien; they will be serviceable as stations toward the discovery and use of the northwest passage to Cathay; after a while they will furnish a valuable market for the products of English industry, especially woollen and linen cloths; they will increase the royal revenue by customs duties; they will afford new material for the growth of the navy; and in various ways

Adventures  
of a manu-  
script

Reasons for  
planting  
English  
colonies in  
America

they will relieve England of its idlers and vagrants by finding occupation for them abroad. In his terse quaint way, the writer emphasizes these points. As for the Spanish king, "if you touche him in the Indies you touche the apple of his eye; for take away his treasure, which is *nervus belli*, and which he hath almoste [all] out of his West Indies, his olde bandes of souldiers will soone be dissolved, his purposes defeated, . . . his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed." "He shall be left bare as *Æsop's* proude crowe." With regard to creating a new market he says: "Nowe if her Majestie take these westerne discoveries in hande, and plant there, yt is like that in short time wee shall vente as greate a masse of clothe yn those partes as ever wee did in the Netherlandes, and in tyme moche more." In this connection he gives a striking illustration of the closeness of the commercial ties which had been knit between England and the Low Countries in the course of the long alliance with the House of Burgundy. In 1550, when Charles V. proposed to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands, it was objected that all English merchants would then quit the country, and the English trade would be grievously diminished. At this suggestion, "search was made what profite there came and comoditie grewe English trade with the Netherlands by the haunte of the Englishe marchantes. Then it was founde by searche and enquirie, that within the towne of Antwerpe alone there were 14,000 persons fedde and mayneteyned onely by the workinge of English commodities, besides the gaines that marchantes and shippers with other in the said towne did gett, which was the greatest part of their lyvinge, which were thoughte to be in number halfe as many more; and in all other places of his Netherlandes by the indraping of Englishe woll into clothe, and by the working of other Englishe comodities, there were 30,000 persons more mayneteyned and fedd; which in all amounteth to the number of 51,000 persons." When this report was given to Charles V. it led him to pause and consider, as well it might.

According to Hakluyt, an English colony in America

would soon afford as good a market for English labour as the Netherlands. He was impressed with the belief that the population of England was fast outrunning its means of subsistence. Now if the surplus of population could be drawn to America it would find occupation in raising the products of that new soil to exchange for commodities from England, and this exchange in its turn would increase the demand for English commodities and for the labour which produced them, so that fewer people in England would be left without employment. Such is Hakluyt's idea, though he nowhere states it quite so formally. It is interesting because there is no doubt that he was not alone in holding such views. There was in many quarters a feeling that, with its population of about 5,000,000, England was getting to be over-peopled. This was probably because for some time past the supply of food and the supply of work had both been diminishing relatively to the number of people. For more than a century the wool trade had been waxing so profitable that great tracts of land which had formerly been subject to tillage were year by year turned into pastures for sheep. This process not only tended to raise the price of food, but it deprived many people of employment, since sheep-farming requires fewer hands than tilling the soil. Since the accession of Henry VIII. there had been many legislative attempts to check the conversion of ploughed land into grassy fields, but the change still continued to go on.<sup>1</sup> The enormous increase in

An American market  
The change from tillage to pasturage

<sup>1</sup> The case is put vigorously by Sir Thomas More in 1516: "Your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame, are now become so great devourers and so wild that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities; for look in what part of the realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots, holy men, God wot! not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure — nothing profiting, yea, much annoying the weal publick — leave no ground for tillage: they enclose all into



the quantity of precious metals had still further raised the price of food, while as people were thrown out of employment the labour market tended to become overstocked so that wages did not rise. These changes bore with especial severity upon the class of peasants. The condition of the freeholding yeomanry was much improved during the sixteenth century. Stone houses with floors had taken the place of rude cabins with rushes carpeting the ground; meat was oftener eaten, clothes were of better quality. But it was otherwise with the peasants who held by servile tenures. In the abolition of mediæval serfdom which had been going on for two centuries and was completed in England so much earlier than in any other part of Europe, it was not all gain for the lowest grades of labourers. Some through energy and good fortune rose to recruit the ranks of freeholders, but many others became paupers and thieves. The change from tillage to pasturage affected this class more than any other, for it turned many out of house and home; so that, in the words of an old writer, they "prowled about as idle beggars or continued as stark thieves till the gallows did eat them."<sup>1</sup> The sudden destruction of the monasteries by Henry VIII. deprived the pauper of such scanty support as he had been wont to get from the vast wealth of the Church, and besides it had let loose upon society a vast number of persons with their old occupations gone and set aside.<sup>2</sup> In pastures, they throw down houses, they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing but only the church to be made a sheephouse. And, as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lands, and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling places and all glebe lands into desolation and wilderness, enclosing many thousands acres of ground together within one pale or hedge," while those who formerly lived on the land, "poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, and woeful mothers with young babes, were starving and homeless. And where many labourers had existed by field labour, only a single shepherd or herdsman was occupied." *Utopia*, book i.

<sup>1</sup> Doyle, *Virginia*, etc. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> In many cases the monasteries by injudicious relief had increased the number of paupers and beggars. The subject of this paragraph is

Elizabeth's reign, therefore, for the various reasons here mentioned, the growth of pauperism began to attract especial attention as a lamentable if not formidable evil, and the famous "poor law" of 1601 marks a kind of era in the social history of England. Under such circumstances, for men disheartened by poverty and demoralized by idleness, struggling for life in a community that had ceased to need the kind of labour they could perform, the best chance of salvation seemed to lie in emigration to a new colony where the demand for labour was sure to be great, and life might be in a measure begun anew. So thought the good Hakluyt, and the history of the seventeenth century did much to justify his opinion. The prodigious development of the English commercial and naval marine, to which the intercourse with the new and thriving American colonies greatly contributed, went far toward multiplying the opportunities for employment and diminishing the numbers of the needy and idle class. Many of the sons of the men who had been driven from their farms by sheep-raising landlords made their home upon the ocean, and helped to secure England's control of the watery pathways. Many of them found new homes in America, and as independent yeomen became more thrifty than their peasant fathers.

While there were many people who espoused Hakluyt's views, while preachers might be heard proclaiming from the pulpit that "Virginia was a door which God had opened for England," on the other hand, as in the case of all great enterprises, loud voices were raised in opposition. To send parties of men and women to starve in the wilderness, or be murdered by savages or Spaniards, was a proceeding worthy of severe condemnation for its shocking cruelty, to say nothing of its useless extravagance. Then, as usual, the men who could see a few inches in front of their noses called themselves wise and practical, while they stigmatized as visionary theorizers the men whose imaginably expounded in Ashley's *Introduction to English Economic History*, ii. 190-376.



SERENISSIMA AC POTENTISSIMA PRINCEPS  
 ELISABET D.G. ANGLIE FRANCIE HIBERNIE ET VIRGINIE  
 REGINA

FIDEI CHRISTIANÆ PROPUGNATRIX ACERRIMA.

*Honoriæ Honoriæ ex aucto Hæque Comit.*

*Cum privilegio Sillæti P P Ord Generatum 1632*



tions could discern, albeit in dim outlines, the great future. As for the queen, who clearly approved in her innermost heart the schemes of Raleigh and Hakluyt, not much was to be expected from her when it came to a question of spending money. Elizabeth carried into the management of public affairs a miserly spirit inherited, perhaps, from her grandfather, Henry VII. When the Armada was actually entering the Channel she deemed it sound economy to let her sailors get sick with sour ale rather than throw it away and buy fresh for them. Such a mind was not likely to appreciate the necessity for the enormous immediate outlay involved in planting a successful colony. That such a document as Hakluyt's should be laid away and forgotten was no more than natural. To blame Elizabeth unreservedly, however, without making some allowance for the circumstances in which she was placed, would be crude and unfair. It was the public money that she was called upon to spend, and the military pressure exerted by Spain made heavy demands upon it. In spite of her pennywise methods, which were often so provoking, they were probably less ill suited to that pinching crisis than her father's ready lavishness would have been.

That Raleigh should appeal to the sovereign for aid in his enterprise was to have been expected. It was what all explorers and colonizers had been in the habit of doing. Since the days of Prince Henry the Navigator the arduous work of discovering and subduing the heathen world outside of Europe had been conducted under government control and paid from the public purse whenever the plunder of the heathen did not suffice. In some cases the sovereign was unwilling to allow private capital to embark in such enterprises; as for example in the spring of 1491, when the Duke of Medina-Celi offered to fit out two or three caravels for Columbus and Queen Isabella refused to give him the requisite license, probably because she was "unwilling to have the duke come in for a large share of the profits in case the venture should prove successful."<sup>1</sup> Usually, however, such

<sup>1</sup> See my *Discovery of America*, i. 409.

work was beyond the reach of private purses, and it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century, and in such commercial countries as the Netherlands and England, with comparatively free governments, that joint-stock companies began to be formed for such purposes. I have already alluded to the famous Muscovy Company, first formed in the reign of Edward VI., and from that time forth the joint-stock principle went on rapidly gaining strength until its approach to maturity was announced by the creation of the English East India Company in 1600 and the Dutch East India Company in 1602. The latter was "the first great joint-stock company whose shares were bought and sold from hand to hand,"<sup>1</sup> and these events mark the beginning of a new era in European commerce.

This substitution of voluntary coöperation among interested individuals for compulsory action under government control was one of the most important steps taken toward bringing in the modern era. Americans have no reason to regret that the beginnings of English colonization in the New World were not made by an English sovereign. There can be no doubt that the very slight connection between these colonies and the Crown was from the first extremely favourable to their free and untrammelled development. Far better that the worthy Hakluyt's essay should get tucked away in a pigeon-hole than that it should have fired Elizabeth to such zeal for Virginia as Louis XIV. a century afterward showed for New France!

By 1589 Raleigh seems to have despaired of finding the queen disposed to act as a fairy godmother. He reckoned that he had already spent £40,000 on Virginia, although this sum may perhaps have included his contributions toward the Arctic voyages of John Davis. Such a sum would be equivalent to not less than \$1,000,000 of our modern money, and no wonder if Raleigh began to feel more than ever that the undertaking was too great for his individual resources. In March, 1589, we find him,

Raleigh's  
difficulties

<sup>1</sup> Payne, *European Colonies*, p. 55.

THE  
DISCOVERIE  
OF THE LARGE,  
RICH, AND BEVVTFIVL  
EMPYRE OF GVIANA, WITH  
a relation of the great and Golden Citie  
of Manoa (*which the Spanyards call El  
Dorado*) And of the Prouinces of *Emeria,*  
*Arromaia, Amapaia,* and other Coun-  
tries, with their riuers, ad-  
ioyning.

Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir  
*W. Raleigh* Knight, Captaine of her  
*Maiesties* Guard, *Lo. Warden*  
of the Stanneries, and her High-  
nesse Lieutenant generall  
of the Countie of  
Cornewall.



*Imprinted at London by Robert Robinson.*

1596.

as governor of Virginia, assigning not his domain but the right to trade there to a company, of which John White, Thomas Smith, and Rev. Richard Hakluyt were the most prominent members. He reserved for himself a royalty of one fifth of all the gold and silver that should be obtained. The Company did not show much activity. We may well believe that it was too soon after the Armada. Business affairs had not had time to recover from that severe strain. But Raleigh never lost sight of Virginia. Southey's accusation that he sent out colonists and then abandoned them was ill-considered. We have already seen why it proved impossible to send help to John White's colony.

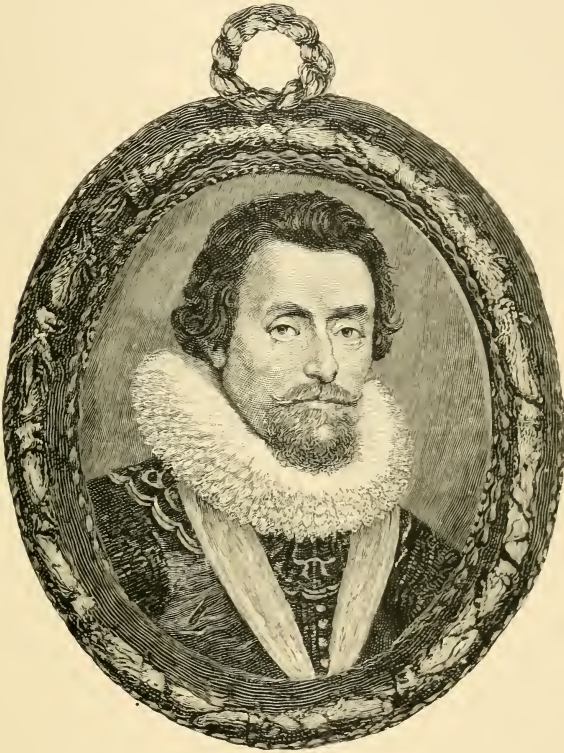
In the pursuit of his various interests the all-accomplished knight sometimes encountered strange vicissitudes. With all his flattery of the crowned coquette, Elizabeth Tudor, the true sovereign of his heart was one of the ladies of the court, the young and beautiful Elizabeth Throckmorton. To our prosaic modern minds the attitude of the great queen toward the favourite courtiers whom she could by no possibility dream of raising to the dignity of prince-consort seems incomprehensible. But after a due perusal of the English dramatists of the time, the romance of Sidney, the extravagances of Lyly, the poetry of Spenser and Ronsard, or some of those tales of chivalry that turned good Don Quixote's brain, we are beguiled into the right sort of atmosphere for understanding it. For any of Elizabeth's counsellors or favourites to make love to any other lady was apt to call down some manifestation of displeasure, and in 1592 some circumstances connected with Raleigh's marriage<sup>1</sup> led to his imprisonment in the Tower. But his evil star was not yet in the ascendant. Within a few weeks one of his captains, Christopher Newport, whom we shall meet again, brought into Dartmouth harbour the great Spanish carrack *Madre de Dios*, with treasure from the Indies worth nearly four millions of modern dollars. A large part of Raleigh's

The great  
Spanish  
carrack

<sup>1</sup> Circumstances not wholly creditable to him; see Stebbing's *Raleigh*, pp. 89-94.



own share in the booty was turned over to his sovereign with that blithesome grace in which none could rival him, and it served as a ransom. In 1594 we find him commanding an expedition to Guiana and exploring the vast solitudes



*James O.*

of the Orinoco in search of El Dorado. On his return to England he found a brief interval of leisure in which to write that fascinating book on Guiana which David Hume declared

to be full of lies, a gross calumny which subsequent knowledge, gathered by Humboldt and since his time, has entirely refuted. Then came the great battle at Cadiz in 1596, already mentioned, and the capture of Fayal in 1597, when Raleigh's fame reached its zenith. About this time, or soon

The  
Mermaid  
Tavern after, began those ambrosial nights, those feasts of the gods, at the Mermaid Tavern, where Selden and Camden, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson and

Dr. Donne, sat around the table with Raleigh and Shakespeare. In that happy time the opportunity for colonizing Virginia seemed once more to have come, and in 1602 Raleigh sent out Samuel Mace on an expedition of which less is known than one could wish, save that renewed search was made for White's lost colony. Otherwise, says the historian Stith, this Mace "performed nothing, but returned with idle stories and frivolous allegations."<sup>1</sup> When he arrived in England in 1603, sad changes had occurred. The great queen — great and admirable with all her faults — had passed away, and a quaint pedantic little Scotchman, with uncouth

King  
James I. figure and shambling gait and a thickness of utterance due partly to an ill-formed tongue and partly to excessive indulgence in mountain dew, had stepped into her place. A web of intrigue, basely woven by Robert Cecil and Henry Howard, had caught Raleigh in its meshes. He was hurried off to the Tower, while an attainder bereft him of his demesne of Virginia and handed it over to the crown.

But other strong hands were taking up the work. That Earl of Southampton to whom Shakespeare ten years before had dedicated his "Venus and Adonis" had been implicated in Essex's rebellion and narrowly escaped with his life. The

Henry,  
Earl of  
Southamp-  
ton accession of James I., which was fraught with such ill for Raleigh, set Southampton free. But already in 1602, while he was still a prisoner in the Tower,

an expedition organized under his auspices set sail for Virginia. It was commanded by one of Raleigh's old captains, Bartholomew Gosnold, and has especial interest as an

<sup>1</sup> Stith's *Virginia*, Sabin's reprint, New York, 1865, p. 30.

event in the beginnings alike of Virginia and of New England. Gosnold came to a region which some persons called Norumbega, but was soon to be known for a few years as North Virginia, and always thereafter as New England. It was he who first wrote upon the map the names Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard, and the Elizabeth Islands in what we call Buzzard's Bay. His return to England was the occasion of a fresh and strong renewal of interest in the business of what Hakluyt called "western planting." The voyage of Martin Pring to North Virginia, at the expense of sundry Bristol merchants, followed in 1603,

Gosnold,  
Pring, and  
Weymouth

and at the same time Bartholomew Gilbert, son of Sir Humphrey, coasted the shores of Chesapeake Bay, and was slain by the Indians with several of his men. Early in 1605 Captain George Weymouth set out in a vessel equipped by the Earl of Southampton, Lord Arundel of Wardour, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of the garrisons at Plymouth. After spending a month in North Virginia, Weymouth returned to England with five captive Indians, and the popular interest aroused by his arrival surpassed that which had been felt upon former occasions.

The excitement over Virginia was promptly reflected upon the stage. The comedy of "Eastward Ho," written by Chapman and Marston, with contributions from Ben Jonson, was acted in 1605 and published in the autumn of that year. The title is a survival of forms of speech current when America was believed to be a part of the oriental world. Some extracts from this play will serve to illustrate the popular feeling. In the second act old Security, the money lender, is talking with young Frank Quick-  
silver about the schemes of Sir Petronel Flash. Quicksilver

"Eastward  
Ho!"

says, "Well, dad, let him have money; all he could anyway get is bestowed on a ship now bound for Virginia." Security replies, "Now a frank gale of wind go with him, Master Frank! We have too few such knight adventurers. Who would not sell away competent certainties to purchase (with any danger) excellent uncertainties? Your true knight venturer ever does it." In the next act a messenger enters.

*Messenger.* Sir Petronel, here are three or four gentlemen desire to speak with you.

*Petronel.* What are they?

*Quicksilver.* They are your followers in this voyage, knight captain Seagull and his associates; I met them this morning and told them you would be here.

*Petronel.* Let them enter, I pray you. . . .

*Enter Seagull, Spendall, and Scapethrift.*

*Seagull.* God save my honourable colonel!

*Petronel.* Welcome, good Captain Seagull and worthy gentlemen; if you will meet my friend Frank here and me at the Blue Anchor tavern, by Billingsgate, this evening, we will there drink to our happy voyage, be merry, and take boat to our ship with all expedition. . . .

ACT III., SCENE 2. *Enter Seagull, Spendall, and Scapethrift in the Blue Anchor tavern, with a Drawer.*

*Seagull.* Come, drawer, pierce your neatest hogsheads, and let's have cheer, — not fit for your Billingsgate tavern, but for our Virginian colonel; he will be here instantly.

*Drawer.* You shall have all things fit, sir; please you have any more wine?

*Spendall.* More wine, slave! whether we drink it or no, spill it, and draw more.

*Scapethrift.* Fill all the pots in your house with all sorts of liquor, and let 'em wait on us here like soldiers in their pewter coats; and though we do not employ them now, yet we will maintain 'em till we do.

*Drawer.* Said like an honourable captain; you shall have all you can command, sir. [Exit Drawer.]

*Seagull.* Come boys, Virginia longs till we share the rest of her. . . .

*Spendall.* Why, is she inhabited already with any English?

*Seagull.* A whole country of English is there, bred of those that were left there in '79 [Here our dramatist's date is wrong; White's colony, left there in 1587, is meant]; they have married [continues Seagull] with the Indians . . . [who] are so in love with them that all the treasure they have they lay at their feet.

*Scapethrift.* But is there such treasure there, Captain, as I have heard?

*Seagull.* I tell thee, gold is more plentiful there than copper is with us; and for as much red copper as I can bring I'll have thrice the weight in gold. Why, man, all their dripping-pans . . . are pure gold; and all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massy gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds they go forth on holidays and gather 'em by the seashore to hang on their children's coats, and stick in their children's caps, as commonly as our children wear saffron-gilt brooches and groats with holes in 'em.

*Scapethrift.* And is it a pleasant country withal?

*Seagull.* As ever the sun shined on: temperate, and full of all sorts of excellent viands; wild boar is as common there as our tamest bacon is here; venison as mutton. And then you shall live freely there, without sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers. . . . Then for your means to advancement, there it is simple and not preposterously mixed. You may be an alderman there, and never be scavenger; you may be any other officer, and never be a slave. You may come to preferment enough, . . . to riches and fortune enough, and have never the more villainy nor the less wit. Besides, there we shall have no more law than conscience, and not too much of either; serve God enough, eat and drink enough, and enough is as good as a feast.

*Spendall.* Gods me! and how far is it thither?

*Seagull.* Some six weeks sail, no more, with any indifferent good wind. And if I get to any part of the coast of Africa, I'll sail thither with any wind; or when I come to Cape Finisterre, there's a fore-right wind continual wafts us till we come to Virginia. See, our colonel's come.

*Enter Sir Petronel Flash with his followers.*

*Sir Petronel.* We'll have our provided supper brought aboard Sir Francis Drake's ship that hath compassed the world, where

with full cups and banquets we will do sacrifice for a prosperous voyage.<sup>1</sup>

The great popularity of this play, both on the stage and in print, — for it went through four editions between September and Christmas, — is an indication of the general curiosity felt about Virginia. The long war with Spain had lately been brought to an end by the treaty of 1604. It had left Spain so grievously weakened that the work of encroaching upon her American demesnes was immeasurably easier than in the days when Hawkins began it and

Zuñiga's report to Philip III. Elizabeth connived at it. In a cipher despatch from the Spanish ambassador Zuñiga to his sovereign, Philip III., dated London, March 16, 1606, N. S., mention is made of an unpalatable scheme of the English: "They also propose to do another thing, which is to send five or six hundred men, private individuals of this kingdom, to people Virginia in the Indies, close to Florida. They sent to that country some small number of men in years gone by, and having afterwards sent again, they found a part of them alive."<sup>2</sup> In this reference to White's colony the Spaniard is of course mistaken; no living remnant was ever found. He goes on to say that the principal leader in this business is Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, who is a terrible Puritan; and when reminded that this enterprise is an encroachment upon Spanish territory and a violation of the treaty, this astute judge says that he is only undertaking it in order to clear England of thieves and get them drowned in the sea. I have not yet complained of this to the king, says Zuñiga, but I shall do so.

It was very soon after this despatch, on April 10, O. S., that James I. issued the charter under which England's first

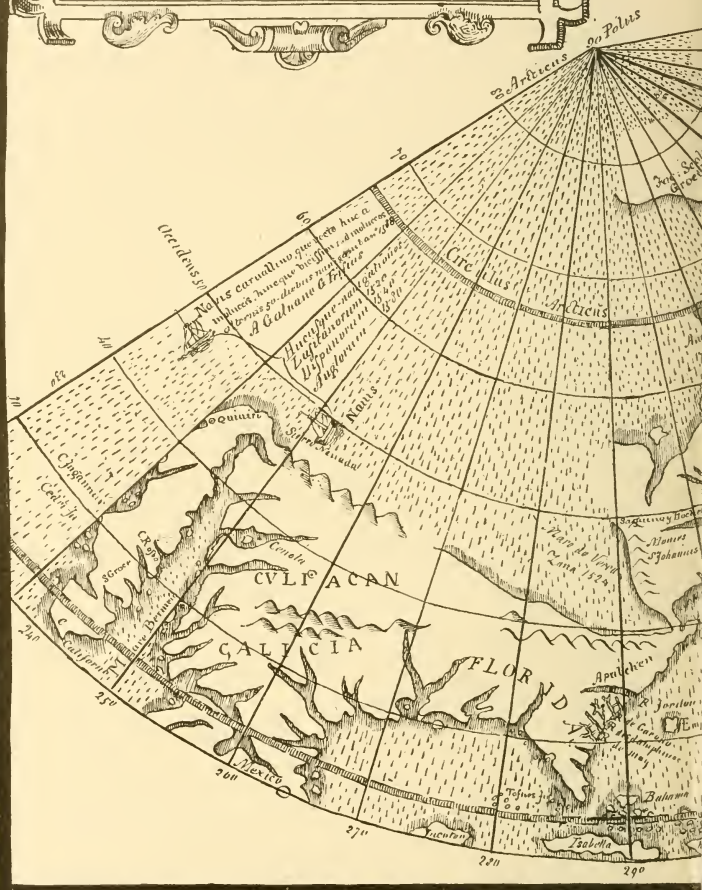
First charter of Virginia, 1606 permanent colony was established. This memorable document begins by defining the territorial limits of Virginia, which is declared to extend from the 34th to the 45th parallel of latitude, and from the sea-

<sup>1</sup> *The Ancient British Drama*. London, 1810, vol. ii.

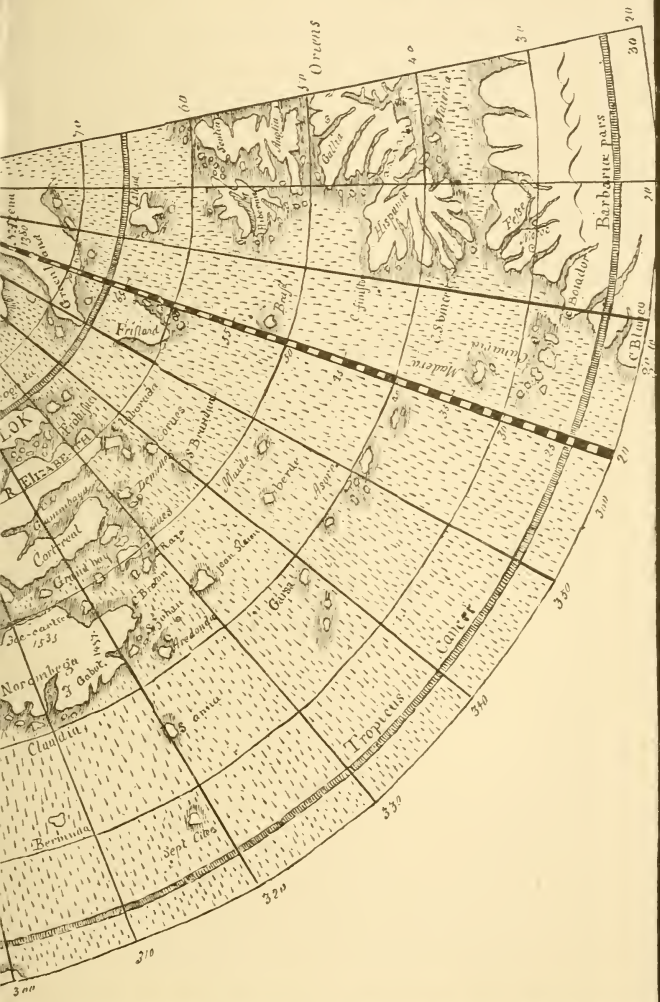
<sup>2</sup> Brown's *Genesis*, i. 46.



ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNÆO  
 MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS  
 HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT 1582.









shore one hundred miles inland. In a second charter, issued three years later, Virginia is described as extending from sea to sea, that is, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. It is not likely that the king and his advisers understood the westward extension of the grant, as here specified, to be materially different from that mentioned in the first charter. The width of the continent between Chesapeake Bay and the valley of the St. Lawrence was supposed to be no greater than from one to two hundred miles. It is true that before the middle of the sixteenth century the expeditions of Soto and Coronado had proved the existence of a continuous mass of land from Florida to California, but many geographers believed that this continental mass terminated at the 40th parallel or even some degrees lower, and that its northern coast was washed by an enormous bay of the Pacific Ocean, called on old maps the Sea of Verrazano. The coast land from Virginia to Labrador was regarded as a thin strip separating the two oceans after somewhat the same fashion as Central America, and hence the mouths and lower reaches of such broad rivers as the Hudson and the Delaware were mistaken for straits. After one has traced the slow development of knowledge through the curious mingling of fact with fancy in the maps of Baptista Agnese published in 1536, and that of Sebastian Münster in 1540, down to the map which Michael Lok made for Sir Philip Sidney in 1582, he will have no difficulty in understanding either the language of the early charters or the fact that such a navigator as Henry Hudson should about this time have entered New York harbour in the hope of coming out upon the Pacific Ocean within a few days. Without such study of the old maps the story often becomes incomprehensible.

The "Sea  
of Verra-  
zano"

As for the northern and southern limits of Virginia, they were evidently prescribed with a view to arousing as little antagonism as possible on the part of Spain and France. Expressed in terms of the modern map, the 34th parallel cuts through the mouth of the

Northern  
and south-  
ern limits  
of Virginia

Cape Fear River and passes just south of Columbia, the capital of South Carolina; while the 45th parallel is that which divides Vermont from Canada. English settlers were thus kept quite clear of the actual settlements of Spaniards in Florida, and would not immediately be brought into collision with the French friars and fur traders who were beginning to find their way up the St. Lawrence.

The Virginia thus designated was to be open for colonization by two joint-stock companies, of which the immediate members and such as should participate with them in the enterprise should be called respectively the First Colony and the Second Colony. The First Colony was permitted to occupy the territory between the 34th and the 41st parallels, while the Second Colony was permitted to occupy the territory between the 38th and the 45th parallels. It will thus be observed that the strip between the 38th and 41st parallels was open to both, but it was provided that neither colony should make a plantation or settlement within a hundred miles of any settlement already begun by the other. The elaborate ingenuity of this arrangement is characteristic of James's little device-loving mind; its purpose, no doubt, was to quicken the proceedings by offering to reward whichever colony should be first in the field with a prior claim upon the intervening region. The practical result was the division of the Virginia territory into three strips or zones. The southern zone, starting from the coast comprised between the mouth of the Cape Fear River and the mouth of the Potomac, was secured to the First Colony. The northern zone, starting from the coast comprised between the Bay of Fundy and Long Island Sound, was secured to the Second Colony. The middle zone, from the lower reaches of the Hudson River down to the mouth of the Potomac, was left open to competition between the two, with a marked advantage in favour of the one that should first come to be self-supporting.

It is a curious fact that, although the actual course taken by the colonization of North America was very different

from what was contemplated in this charter, nevertheless the division of our territory into the three zones just mentioned has happened to coincide with a real and very important division that exists to-day.

The three zones in American history

Of our original thirteen states, those of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were founded in the northern zone, and within it their people have spread through central New York into the Far West. In the middle zone, with the exception of a few northerly towns upon the Hudson, were made the beginnings of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. In the southern zone were planted Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Between the three groups the differences in local government have had much significance in the history of the American people. In the northern zone the township system of local government has prevailed, and in the southern zone the county system, while in the middle zone the mixed township and county system has exhibited various phases, here and there reaching a very high stage of development.<sup>1</sup>

To return to King James's charter, the government which it provided for his two American colonies was such as he believed would prove simple and efficient. A Royal Council of Virginia, consisting of thirteen persons, was created in London, and its members were to be appointed by the king. It was to exercise a general supervision over the two colonies, but the direct management of affairs in each colony was to be entrusted to local resident councils. Each local council was to consist of thirteen persons, of whom one was to be president, with a casting vote. The council in London was to give the wheels of government a start by appointing the first members of the two colonial councils and designating that member of each who should serve as president for the first year. After that the vehicle was to run of itself; the colonial council was to elect its president each year, and could depose him in case

Govern-ment of the two colonies

<sup>1</sup> See my *Civil Government in the United States*, chap. iv.

of misconduct ; it could also fill its own vacancies, arising from the resignation, deposition, departure, or death of any of its members. Power was given to the colonial council to coin money for trade between the colonies and with the natives, to invite and carry over settlers, to drive out intruders, to punish malefactors, and to levy and collect duties upon divers imported goods. All lands within the two colonies were to be held in free and common socage, like the demesnes of the manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent ; and the settlers and their children forever were to enjoy all the liberties, franchises, and immunities enjoyed by Englishmen in England, — a clause which was practically nullified by the failure to provide for popular elections or any expression whatever of public opinion. The authority of the colonial councils was supreme within the colonies, but their acts were liable to a veto from the Crown.

This first English attempt at making an outline of government for an English colony can never fail to be of interest. It was an experimental treatment of a wholly new and unfamiliar problem, and, as we shall hereafter see, it was soon proved to be a very crude experiment, needing much modification. For the present we are concerned with the names and characters of the persons to whom this ever-memorable charter was granted.

The persons interested in the First Colony, in that southern zone which had been the scene of Raleigh's original attempts, were represented by some eminent citizens of London and its neighbourhood, so that they came afterward to be commonly known as the London Company. The names mentioned in the charter are four : the Rev. Richard Hakluyt, who had lately been made a prebendary of Westminster ; Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Edward Maria Wingfield. Gates was a Devonshire soldier who had been knighted in 1596 for brave conduct in the battle of Cadiz, and had afterward served in the Netherlands. Somers was a native of Dorsetshire, and had received knighthood for

Persons chiefly interested in the First Colony ; the London Company



Tho: Smith





eminent services as commander in several naval expeditions against the Spaniards. Captain Edward Maria Wingfield, of Stoneley Priory, in Huntingdonshire, was of a very ancient and honourable Catholic family; Queen Mary Tudor and Cardinal Pole had been sponsors for his father, which accounts for the feminine middle name; he had served in the Netherlands and in Ireland; among his near relatives, or connections by marriage, were Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton, the lords Carew and Hervey, and John Winthrop, of Groton, afterwards governor of Massachusetts. But the name which, after Hakluyt's, has been perhaps most closely identified with the London Company is that of Sir Thomas Smith, the eminent London citizen who was its first treasurer. From the time of his student days at Oxford Smith felt a strong interest in "western planting," and we have already met with his name on the list of those to whom Raleigh in 1589 assigned his trading interests in Virginia. He was knighted in 1596 for gallantry at Cadiz, was alderman and sheriff of London, and first governor of the East India Company in 1600. He was at various times a member of Parliament, served as ambassador to Russia, and was especially forward in promoting Arctic discovery. He was one of those who sent Henry Hudson in 1610 upon his last fatal voyage, and it was under his auspices that William Baffin was sailing in 1616 when he discovered that remote strait leading to the Polar Sea which has ever since been known as Smith's Sound. Few men of that time contributed more largely in time and money to the London Company than Sir Thomas Smith.

The persons interested in the Second Colony, in that northern zone to which attention had recently been directed by the voyages of Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth, were represented by certain gentlemen connected with the western counties, especially by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of the garrison at Plymouth in Devonshire, who was afterwards to be Lord Proprietor of the Province of Maine, and to play a part

Persons chiefly interested in the Second Colony; the Plymouth Company

of some importance in the early history of New England. This company came to be known as the Plymouth Company. The four names mentioned in the charter are Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, Thomas Hanham, and George Popham. The name of the first of these gentlemen tells its own story ;



GEORGE ABBOT

he was a younger son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and named for his uncle. William Parker was son and heir of Lord Morley, and commonly known by his courtesy title as Lord Monteaule. It was he who received the anonymous letter which led to the detection of the Gunpowder Plot, in which his wife's brother was concerned. George Popham was a



*J. M. Caesar.*

nephew,<sup>1</sup> and Thomas Hanham was a grandson, of Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. They were a Somersetshire family. In securing the charter incorporating the London and Plymouth companies nobody was more active or influential than the chief justice, whom we have seen singled out for mention by the Spanish ambassador.

<sup>1</sup> He is commonly but incorrectly called the brother of the chief justice.

Among other persons especially interested in the colonization of Virginia, one should mention George Abbot, Master of University College, Oxford, one of the translators of the common version of the Bible, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; and Sir Julius Cæsar, member of Parliament for Westminster and Chancellor of the Exchequer, son of Julius Cæsar Adelmare, Queen Elizabeth's Italian physician; his strong interest in maritime discovery and western planting may have been due to the fact that, after the death of his father and while he was still a child, his mother married the celebrated geographer, Dr. Michael Lok. We should not forget Sir Maurice Berkeley, two of whose sons we shall meet hereafter, one of them, Sir William Berkeley, the most conspicuous figure among the

Other eminent persons interested in the scheme



SIR HENRY CARY

royal governors of Virginia, the other, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, one of the proprietors of Carolina. An important subscriber to the company was Sir Anthony Ashley, grandfather of the famous Earl of Shaftesbury, who was also one of the Carolina proprietors; another was William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, nephew of Sir Philip Sidney and devoted friend of Shakespeare; another

was Sir Henry Cary, father of the pure and high-minded statesman, Lucius, Viscount Falkland. Of more importance for Virginian history than any of the foregoing was Sir Edwin Sandys, son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York.

Sir Edwin was a pupil of the great Richard Hooker, and learned from him principles of toleration little understood in that age. After his travels on the continent he published in 1605 a treatise entitled "Europæ Speculum, a relation of the state of religion in . . . these Western Parts of the World;" its liberal opinions gave so much offence that about four months after its publication it was burned in St. Paul's Churchyard by order of the Court of High Commission. At that very time Sandys was one of the most admired and respected members of the House of Commons, and it was on his motion that the House first began keeping a regular journal of its transactions. He was associated with Sir Francis Bacon in drawing up the remonstrance against King James's behaviour toward Parliament. In later years he was an active friend of the Mayflower Pilgrims and gave them valuable aid in setting out upon their enterprise. But his chief title to historic fame consists in the fact that it was under his auspices and largely through his exertions that free representative government was first established in America. How this came about will be shown in a future chapter. For the present we may note that at least half a dozen of his immediate family were subscribers to the London Company; one of his brothers had for godfather Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote Hall, the Puritan knight who figures as Justice Shallow in the "Merry Wives of Windsor;" there were at least two intermarriages between this Sandys family and that of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, ancestor of George Washington. It is pleasant to trace the various connections, near and remote, whether in blood-relationship or in community of interests and purposes, between the different personages of a great era that has passed away; for the more we come to discern in its concrete details the intricate web of associations running in all directions among the men and events of the vanished age, the more vividly is that age reproduced in our minds, the closer does it come to the present, the more keenly does it enlist our sympathies. As we contemplate the goodly array

here brought forward of personages concerned in the first planting of an English nation in America, the inquiry as to what sort of men they were, for intelligence and character, is one that can be answered with satisfaction.

In accordance with the provisions of the charter, both London and Plymouth companies made haste to organize expeditions for planting their colonies in the New World. The London Company was the first to be ready, but before we follow its adventures a word about the Plymouth Company seems called for. On the last day of May, 1607, two ships — the Gift of God, commanded by George Popham,

Expedition  
of the  
Plymouth  
Company;  
failure of  
the Pop-  
ham Col-  
ony

and the Mary and John, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert — set sail from Plymouth with a hundred settlers. In August, after some exploration of the coast, they selected a site by the mouth of the Kennebec River, and built there a rude fort with twelve guns, a storehouse and church, and a few cabins.

They searched diligently but in vain for traces of gold or silver; the winter brought with it much hardship, their storehouse was burned down, and Captain Popham died. In the spring a ship which arrived with supplies from England brought the news of two deaths, that of Chief Justice Popham, and that of Gilbert's elder brother, to whose estates he was heir. The enterprise was forthwith abandoned and all returned to England with most discouraging reports. The further career of the Plymouth Company does not at present concern us. It never achieved any notable success. When the colonization of New England was at length accomplished it was in a manner that was little dreamed of by the king who granted or the men who obtained the charter of 1606.

The expedition fitted out by the London Company was in readiness a little before Christmas, 1606, and was placed under command of Captain Christopher Newport, the stout sailor who had brought in the great Spanish carrack for Raleigh. He was one of the most skilful and highly esteemed officers in the English navy. Of the three ships that were to go to Virginia his was the Susan

Expedition  
of the Lon-  
don Com-  
pany

Constant. The Godspeed was commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold, and the Discovery by John Ratcliffe. Besides their crews, the three ships carried 105 colonists. By some queer freak of policy the names of the persons appointed to the colonial council were carried in a sealed box, not to be opened until the little squadron should arrive at its destination. An important paper of instructions was drawn up for the use of the officers on landing. Hakluyt was commonly called upon to prepare such documents, and the style of this one sounds like him. The suggestions are those of a man who understood the business.<sup>1</sup>

“When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land. . . . When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions, but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place, for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your casks.

Instructions to the colonists

“But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of 50 tons will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land; and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river’s mouth, and the further up the better, for if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground may easily pull you out; and [*i. e.* but] if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles *the* [*i. e.* in]land in boats, you shall from both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.”

Where to choose a site for a town

<sup>1</sup> The original is in the MS. *Minutes of the London Company*, in the Library of Congress, 2 vols. folio.

That the enemy in the writer's mind was the Spaniard is clearly shown by the next paragraph, which refers expressly to the massacre of the Huguenot colony in Florida and the vengeance taken by Dominique de Gourgues.

“ And to the end that you be not surprised as the French were in Florida by Melindus [*i. e.* Menendez] and the Spaniard in the same place by the French, you shall do well to make this double provision: first erect a little store at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men, with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the native people to inhabit between you and the sea-coast, for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you; and if you neglect this you neglect your safety.

“ You must observe if you can whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake the passage to the other sea [*i. e.* the Pacific Ocean] will be the more easy; and [it] is like enough that out of the same lake you shall find some [rivers] spring which run the contrary way toward the East India Sea, for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tanais, and Dwina have three heads near joined, and yet the one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Polonian Sea.

“ . . . You must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it, and employ some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals . . . , and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them. . . . Your discoverers that pass over land with hired guides must look well to them that they slip not from them, and for more assurance let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of

Precau-  
tions  
against a  
surprise

You must  
try to find  
the Pacific  
Ocean

Do not  
offend the  
natives, or  
put much  
trust in  
them



the compass, for that country having no way or path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back. And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons, for if they run from you with your shot which they only fear, they will easily kill *them* [*i. e.* you] all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure that they be chosen out of your best marksmen, for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and thereby will be bold to assault you.

“Above all things, do not advertise the killing of any of your men [so] that the country people may know it. If they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they may diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. . . . You shall do well also not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any. . . .

Conceal from them your weaknesses

“You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be overburthened with woods near your town, for all the men you have shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year, besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

Beware of woodland coverts

“Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthful. You shall judge of the good air by the people, for some part of that coast where the lands are low have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs, but if the naturals be strong and clean made it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

Avoid malaria

“You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you under the fort, and take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by, lest some ill-disposed persons slip away with her.”

Guard against desertion

The document contains many other excellent suggestions and directions, two or three of which will suffice for the purposes of our narrative.

“ Seeing order is at the same price with confusion it shall  
 be advisably done to set your houses even and by  
 a line, that your streets may have a good breadth  
 and be carried square about your market-place, and  
 every street’s end opening into it, that from thence with

Build your  
 town care-  
 fully



*Yo Elsey*

a few field-pieces you may command every street through-  
 out. . . .

“ You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captain  
 Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated,

how far into the land, what commodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else, to advertise particularly ; and to suffer no man to return but by passport from the President and Council, nor to write [in] any letter of anything that may discourage others.

Do not  
send home  
any dis-  
couraging  
news

“ Lastly and chiefly, the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.”



*Wm? J. Parker*

The allusion to the Florida tragedy, in this charming paper, was by no means ill considered. For in March, 1607, the King of Spain wrote from Madrid to Zuñiga in London as follows : “ You will report to me what the English are doing in the matter of Virginia ; and if the plan progresses which they contemplated, of sending men there and ships ; and thereupon it will be taken into consideration here what steps had best be taken to prevent it.”<sup>1</sup> A few days after this letter Philip III. held a meeting with his council to discuss measures which boded no good to Captain Newport’s little company. We do not know just what was said and done, but we hardly need to be told that the temper of Spain was notably changed

What  
Spain  
thought  
of it

<sup>1</sup> Brown’s *Genesis*, i. 91.

in the forty-two years since Menendez's deed of blood. How to ruin the Virginia enterprise without coming to blows with England was now the humbler problem for Spain to solve, and it was not an easy one.

Meanwhile Newport's little fleet was half way on its voyage. It started down the Thames from Blackwall on the 19th of December, but by reason of "unprosperous winds" it was obliged to keep its moorings "all in the Downs," as in the ballad of "Black-eyed Susan," until New Year's Day, 1607, when it finally got under way. A farewell blessing was wafted to them in Michael Drayton's quaint stanzas :<sup>1</sup> —

A poet  
laureate's  
farewell  
blessing

" You brave heroic minds,  
Worthy your country's name,  
That honour still pursue,  
Go and subdue,  
Whilst loitering hinds  
Lurk here at home with shame.

" Britons, you stay too long,  
Quickly aboard bestow you,  
And with a merry gale  
Swell your stretchèd sail,  
With vows as strong  
As the winds that blow you.

" Your course securely steer,  
West and by South forth keep ;  
Rocks, lee shores, nor shoals,  
When Æolus scowls,  
You need not fear,  
So absolute the deep.

" And cheerfully at sea  
Success you still entice,  
To get the pearl and gold,  
And ours to hold  
VIRGINIA,  
Earth's only paradise !

<sup>1</sup> Drayton's *Works*, London, 1620. Drayton was afterwards poet laureate.

- “ Where nature hath in store  
Fowl, venison, and fish ;  
    And the fruitfull’st soil  
    Without your toil,  
Three harvests more,  
All greater than you wish.
- “ And the ambitious vine  
Crowns with his purple mass  
    The cedar reaching high  
    To kiss the sky,  
The cypress, pine,  
And useful sassafras,
- “ To whose, the Golden Age  
Still nature’s laws doth give ;  
    No other cares that tend,  
    But them to defend  
From winter’s age,  
That long there doth not live.
- “ When as the luscious smell  
Of that delicious land,  
    Above the seas that flows  
    The clear wind throws  
Your hearts to swell,  
Approaching the dear strand.
- “ In kenning of the shore  
(Thanks to God first given)  
    O you, the happiest men  
    Be frolic then ;  
Let cannons roar,  
Frighting the wide heaven.
- “ And in regions farre,  
Such heroes bring ye forth  
    As those from whom we came ;  
    And plant our name  
Under that star  
Not known unto our north.
- “ And as there plenty grows  
Of laurel everywhere,

Apollo's sacred tree,  
You it may see,  
A poet's brows  
To crown, that may sing there.

“Thy voyages attend,  
Industrious Hakluyt,  
Whose reading shall inflame  
Men to seek fame,  
And much commend  
To after times thy wit.”

With such omen sailed from merry England the men who were to make the beginnings of the United States of America. What they found and how they fared in the paradise of Virginia shall be the theme of our next chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### THE LAND OF THE POWHATANS

WHILE Captain Christopher Newport, with the ships of the London Company, is still in mid-ocean, and the seal of the king's casket containing the names of Virginia's first rulers is still unbroken, we may pause for a moment in our narrative, to bestow a few words upon the early career of the personage that is next to come upon the scene, — a man whose various and wild adventures have invested the homeliest of English names with a romantic interest that can never die. The life of Captain John Smith <sup>Captain</sup> <sub>John Smith</sub> reads like a chapter from "The Cloister and the Hearth." It abounds in incidents such as we call improbable in novels, although precedents enough for every one of them may be found in real life. The accumulation of romantic adventures in the career of a single individual may sometimes lend an air of exaggeration to the story; yet in the genius for getting into scrapes and coming out of them scound and whole, the differences between people are quite as great as the differences in stature and complexion. John Smith evidently had a genius for adventures, and he lived at a time when one would often meet with things such as nowadays seldom happen in civilized countries. In these days of Pullman cars and organized police we are liable to forget the kind of perils that used to dog men's footsteps through the world. The romance of human life has by no means disappeared, but it has somewhat changed its character since the Elizabethan age, and is apt to consist of different kinds of incidents, so that the present generation has witnessed a tendency to disbelieve many stories of the older time. In the case of John

Smith, for whose early life we have little else but his autobiography to go by, much incredulity has been expressed.<sup>1</sup> To set him down as an arrant braggadocio would seem to some critics essential to their reputation for sound sense. Such a judgment, however, may simply show that the critic has failed to realize all the conditions of the case. Queer things could happen in the Tudor times. Lord Campbell tells us that Sir John Popham, when he was a law-student in the Middle Temple, used after nightfall to go out with his pistols and take purses on Hounslow Heath, partly to show that he was a young man of spirit, partly to recruit his meagre finances, impaired by riotous living.<sup>2</sup> This amateur highwayman lived to become Chief Justice of England. The age in which such things could be done was that in which John Smith grew to manhood.

A Latin entry in the parish register at Willoughby in Lincolnshire shows that he received infant baptism in the church there on the 9th of January, 1580. After the death of his parents, an irrepressible craving for adventure led him at an early age to France, where he served as a soldier for a while and afterwards spent three years in the Netherlands fighting against the Spaniards. In the year 1600 he returned to Willoughby, "where within a short time, being gluttled with too much company wherein he took small delight, he retired himself into a little woody pasture a good way from any town, environed with many hundred acres of woods. Here by a fair brook he built a pavilion of boughs where only in his clothes he lay. His study was Machiavelli's Art of War and Marcus Aurelius; his exercise a good horse, with lance and ring; his food was thought to

His early  
life

<sup>1</sup> Some skepticism was manifested by one of Smith's contemporaries, Thomas Fuller, who says, in his *Worthies of England*, "It soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them." The good Fuller was mistaken, however. Some of Smith's most striking deeds, as we shall see, were first proclaimed by others.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, i. 210.



be more of venison than anything else.”<sup>1</sup> However, he adds, these hermit-like pleasures could not content him long. “He was desirous to see more of the world, and try his fortune against the Turks; both lamenting and repenting to have seen so many Christians slaughtering one another.” In passing through France he was robbed of all he had about him, but his life was saved by a peasant who found him lying in the forest, half dead with hunger and grief and nearly frozen. He made his way to Marseilles, and embarked with a company of pilgrims for the Levant; but a violent storm arose, which they said was all because of their having this heretic on board, and so, like Jonah, the young adventurer was thrown into the sea. He was a good swimmer, however, and “God brought him,” he says, to a little island with no inhabitants but a few kine and goats. Next morning he was picked up by a Breton vessel which carried him as far as Egypt and Cyprus. The commanding officer, Captain La Roche, who knew some of Smith’s friends in France, treated him with great kindness and consideration. On their return voyage, at the entrance of the Adriatic Sea, a Venetian argosy fired upon them, and a hot fight ensued, until the Venetian struck her colours. The Bretons robbed her of an immense treasure in silks and velvets, besides Turkish gold and silver coin, as much as they could carry without overloading their own ship, and then let her go on her way. When the spoil was divided, Smith was allowed to share with the rest, and thus received £225 in coin besides a box of stuffs worth nearly as much more. After Captain La Roche, of whom he speaks with warm affection, had set him ashore in Piedmont, he made a comfortable journey through Italy as far as Naples, and seems to have learned much and enjoyed himself in “sight seeing,” quite like a modern traveller. At Rome he saw Pope Clement VIII. with several cardinals creeping on hands and

A cruise in  
the Medi-  
terranean

<sup>1</sup> This sketch of Smith’s early life is based upon his *True Travels*, etc., in his *Works*, edited by Edward Arber, Birmingham, 1884, pp. 821–880.

knees up the Holy Staircase. He called on Father Parsons, the famous English Jesuit; he "satisfied himself with the rarities of Rome;" he visited in like manner Florence and Bologna, and gradually made his way to Venice, and so on to Gratz in Styria, where he entered the service of the Emperor Rudolph II., and was presently put in command of a company of 250 cavalry with the rank of captain. On one occasion he made himself useful by devising a system of signals, and on another occasion by inventing a kind of rude missiles which he called "fiery dragons," which sorely annoyed the Turks by setting fire to their camp.

During the years 1601 and 1602 Smith saw much rough



THE FIRST COMBAT

campaigning. The troop to which his company belonged passed into the service of Sigismund<sup>1</sup> Bathori, Prince of Transylvania; and now comes the most notable incident in Smith's narrative. The Transylvanians were besieging Regal, one of their towns which the Turks had occupied, and

<sup>1</sup> For a good sketch of Sigismund and his relations to the Empire and to the Turks, see Schlosser's *Weltgeschichte*, vol. xiii. pp. 325-344.



THE SECOND COMBAT

the siege made but little progress, so that the barbarians from the top of the wall hurled down sarcasms upon their assailants and complained of growing fat for lack of exercise. One day a Turkish captain sent a challenge, declaring that "in order to delight the ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, he did defy any captain that had the command of a company, who durst combat with him for his head." The challenge was accepted by the Christian army, it was decided to select the champion by lot, and the lot fell upon Smith. A truce was proclaimed for the single combat, the besieging army was drawn up in battle array, the town walls were crowded with veiled dames and turbaned warriors, the combatants on their horses politely exchanged salutes, and then rushed at each other with levelled lances. At the first thrust Smith killed the Turk, and dismounting unfastened his helmet, cut off his head, and carried it to the commanding general, Moses Tzekely, who accepted it graciously. The Turks were so chagrined that one of their captains sent a personal challenge to Smith, and next day the scene was repeated. This

The three  
Turks'  
heads

time both lances were shattered and recourse was had to pistols, the Turk received a ball which threw him to the ground, and then Smith beheaded him. Some time afterward our victorious champion sent a message into the town "that the ladies might know he was not so much enamoured of their servants' heads, but if any Turk of their rank would come to the place of combat to redeem them, he should have his also upon the like conditions, if he could win it." The defiance was accepted. This time the Turk, having the choice of weapons, chose battle-axes and pressed Smith so hard that his axe flew from his hand, whereat loud cheers arose from the ramparts; but with a quick movement of his horse he dodged his enemy's next blow, and drawing his sword gave him a fearful thrust in the side which settled the affair; in another moment Smith had his head. At a later time, after Prince Sigismund had heard of these exploits, he granted to Smith a coat-of-arms with three Turks' heads in a shield.

This story forcibly reminds us that the Middle Ages, which had completely passed away from France and Italy, the Netherlands and England, still survived at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the eastern parts of Europe. In the Middle Ages such "court-like pastime," in the intervals of relaxation from more serious warfare, was not unfashionable. Still, though the incidents are by no means incredible, the story has enough of the look of an old soldier's yarn to excuse a moment's doubt of it. Surely here if anywhere Smith may seem to be drawing the long bow. But at the Heralds' College in London, in the official register of grants of arms, there is an entry in Latin which does not sustain such a doubt. It is the record of a coat-of-arms granted by Sigismund Bathori, Prince of Transylvania,

The entry "to John Smith, captain of 250 soldiers, etc. . . .  
in the Heralds' College in memory of three Turks' heads which with his  
sword before the town of Regal he did overcome,  
kill, and cut off, in the province of Transylvania." <sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, ed. Arber, pp. xxii., 842.

document on record, which contains this mention of the grant, is a letter of safe conduct dated December 9, 1603, signed by Sigismund at Leipsic and given by him to Smith. The entry is duly approved, and the genuineness of Sigismund's seal and signature certified, by Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms. Some critics have suggested that Smith may have imposed upon Segar with a bogus document,



THE THIRD COMBAT

and since the entry at the Heralds' College was made in 1625, it is urged that such a long delay in registering invests the whole affair with suspicion.

The document, however, cannot be thus summarily set aside. In the year 1625 Rev. Samuel Purchas published the second volume of his delightful "Pilgrimes,"<sup>1</sup> and in the course of it he devotes several pages to Captain Smith's adventures in the east of Europe, including the story of the three Turks as above given. Purchas's authority for the story was "a Booke intituled The Warres of Transylvania, Wallachi, and Moldavia," written in Italian by Francesco

<sup>1</sup> Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, ii. 1363.

Farnese, secretary to Prince Sigismund. This history seems never to have been published in its original form, and the manuscript is now apparently lost,<sup>1</sup> but there can be no doubt that Purchas had it, or a copy of it, in his hands about 1623. Smith's own book entitled "True Travels" was not published until 1629, so that our original authority for this passage at arms is not Smith himself, but one of Prince Sigismund's secretaries, who first told the story of the English captain's exploit in a book written for Italian readers. To the flippant criticism which treats Smith as a vapouring braggart, this simple fact is a staggering blow between the eyes. Let me add that in his way of telling his tale there is no trace of boastfulness.<sup>2</sup> For freedom from egotistic self-consciousness Smith's writings remind me strongly of such books as the *Memoirs of General Grant*. Inaccuracies that are manifest errors of memory now and then occur, prejudices and errors of judgment here and there confront us, but the stamp of honesty I find on every page.

At the bloody battle of Rothenthurm, November 18, 1602, Smith was taken prisoner and sold into slavery. At Constantinople the lady Charatza Tragabigzanda, into the service of whose family he passed, was able to talk with him in Italian and treated him with kindness. One can read between the lines that she may perhaps have cherished a tender feeling for the young Englishman, or that he may have thought so. It would not have been strange. Smith's portrait, as engraved and published during his lifetime, is that of an attractive and noble-looking

<sup>1</sup> So many long missing historical documents have turned up of late years that it is never safe to assert that one is "lost." That great scholar, Don Pascual de Gayangos, seems to have seen a printed Spanish translation of Farnese's book, but I do not know where it is.

<sup>2</sup> It would be just like Smith, I think, not to make much account of his exploit. Hence he neglected to make any record of his grant of arms until the appearance of Purchas's book in 1625, and resulting talks among friends, probably impressed upon him the desirableness of making such a record.

Farnese's  
manuscript  
history

Smith is  
sold as a  
slave

man. His brief narrative does not make it clear how he regarded the lady, or what relations they sustained to each other, but she left an abiding impression upon his memory. When in 1614 he explored the coast of New England he gave the name Tragabigzanda to the cape which Prince Charles afterwards named Cape Anne, and the three little neighbouring islands he called the Turks' Heads.

The narrative is far from satisfying us as to the reasons why Smith was sent away from Constantinople. To the east of the Sea of Azov, and bordering on the Cossack country, was a territory which Gerard Mercator calls Nalbrits, and Timour, the Pasha of Nalbrits, was brother to the lady Tragabigzanda. Thither she sent him, with a request that he should be well treated; but the rude Pasha paid no heed to his sister's message, and our young hero was treated as badly as the other slaves, of whom this tyrant had many. "Among these slavish fortunes," says Smith, "there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a dog <sup>and cruelly</sup> could hardly have lived to endure [it]." He was <sup>treated</sup> dressed in the skin of a wild beast, had an iron collar fastened around his neck, and was cuffed and kicked about until he grew desperate. One day, as he was threshing wheat in a lonely grange more than a league distant from Timour's castle, the Pasha came in and reviled and struck him, whereupon Smith suddenly knocked him down with his threshing-stick and beat his brains out. Then he stripped the body and hid it under the straw, dressed up in the dead man's clothes and mounted his horse, tied a sack of grain to his saddle-bow, and galloped off into the Scythian desert. The one tormenting fear was of meeting some roving party of Turks who might recognize the mark on his iron collar and either send him back to his late master's place or enslave him on their own account. <sup>His escape</sup> But in sixteen days of misery he saw nobody; then he arrived at a Russian fortress on the Don and got rid of his badge of slavery. He was helped on his way from one Russian town to another, and everywhere treated most kindly. Through

the Polish country he went, finding by the wayside much mirth and entertainment, and then through Hungary and Bohemia, until at length he reached Leipsic, where he found Prince Sigismund. It was then, in December, 1603, that he obtained the letter of safe conduct already mentioned. In the course of the next year Smith travelled in Germany, France, Spain, and Morocco, and after some further adventures made his way back to England in the nick of time for taking part in the enterprise projected by the London Company. Meeting with Newport and Gosnold, and other captains who had visited the shores of America, it was natural that his strong geographical curiosity should combine with his love of adventure to urge him to share in the enterprise.

The brevity of Smith's narrations now and then leaves the story obscure. Like many another charming old writer, he did not always consult the convenience of the historians of a later age. So much only is clear, that during the voyage across the Atlantic the seeds of quarrel were sown which bore fruit in much bitterness and wrangling after the colonists had landed. Indeed, after nearly three centuries some smoke of the conflict still hovers about the field. To this day John Smith is one of the personages about whom writers of history are apt to lose their tempers. In recent days there have been many attempts to belittle him, but the turmoil that has been made is itself a tribute to the potency and incisiveness of his character. Weak men do not call forth such belligerency. Amid all the conflicting statements, too, there comes out quite distinctly the contemporary recognition of his dignity and purity. Never was warrior known, says one old writer, "from debts, wine, dice, and oaths so free;"<sup>1</sup> a staunch Puritan in morals, though not in doctrine.

Captain Newport's voyage was a long one, for he followed the traditional route, first running down to the Canary

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Carlton's verses, in Smith's *Works*, ed. Arber, p. 692.





These are the Lines that shew thy Face; but those  
 That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:  
 Thy Faire-Discoveries and Fowle-Overthrowes  
 Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee  
 Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wye:  
 So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.

*J. Smith.*



Islands and then following Columbus's route, wafted by the tradewind straight across to the West Indies. It <sup>A tedious</sup> seems strange that he should have done so, for the <sup>voyage</sup> modern method of great-circle sailing, — first practised on a great scale by Americus Vesputius, in 1502, in his superb voyage of 4,000 miles in 33 days, from the ice-clad island of South Georgia to Sierra Leone,<sup>1</sup> — this more scientific method had lately been adopted by Captain Gosnold, who in 1602 crossed directly from the English Channel to Cape Cod. As Gosnold was now second in command in this expedition to Virginia, it would seem as if the shorter route might once more have been tried, to advantage. So many weeks upon the ocean sadly diminished the stock of provisions. In the course of the voyage some trouble arose between Smith and Wingfield, and while they were stopping at Dominica, on the 24th of March, an accusation of plotting mutiny was brought against the former, so that he was kept in irons until the ships reached Virginia. After leaving the West Indies they encountered bad weather and lost their reckoning, but the 26th of April brought them to the cape which was forthwith named Henry, after the Prince of Wales, as the opposite cape was afterwards named for his younger brother, Prince Charles. <sup>Arrival in Chesapeake Bay</sup> A few of the company ventured on shore, where they were at once attacked by Indians and two were badly wounded with arrows. That evening the sealed box was opened, and it was found that Bartholomew Gosnold, Edward Wingfield, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall were appointed members of the Council, — six in all, of whom the president was to have two votes. As the ships proceeded into Hampton Roads after so much stress of weather, they named the promontory at the entrance Point Comfort.<sup>2</sup> The name of the broad river which

<sup>1</sup> See my *Discovery of America*, ii. 105.

<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that the point at the upper end of the Roads received its name of Newport News from the gallant captain. On several old maps I have found it spelled Newport Ness, which is equivalent to Point Newport.

the voyagers now entered speaks for itself. They scrutinized the banks until they found a spot which seemed suited for a settlement, and there they landed on the 13th of May. It was such a place as the worthy Hakluyt (or whoever wrote their letter of instructions) had emphatically warned them against, low and damp, and liable to prove malarious.<sup>1</sup> At high tide the rising waters half covered the little peninsula, but in this there was an element of military security, for the narrow neck was easy to guard, and perhaps it may have been such considerations that prevailed. Smith says there was a dispute between Wingfield and Gosnold over the selection of this site. As soon as the company had landed here the members of the Council, all save Smith, were sworn into office, and then they chose Wingfield for their president for the first year. On the next day the men went to work at building their fort, a wooden structure of triangular shape, with a demi-lune at each angle, mounting cannon. They called it Fort James, but soon the settlement came to be known as Jamestown.<sup>2</sup> For a church they nailed a board between two trees to serve as a reading desk, and stretched a canvas awning over it, and there the Rev. Robert Hunt, a high-minded and courageous divine, first clergyman of English America, read the Episcopal service and preached a sermon twice on every Sunday.

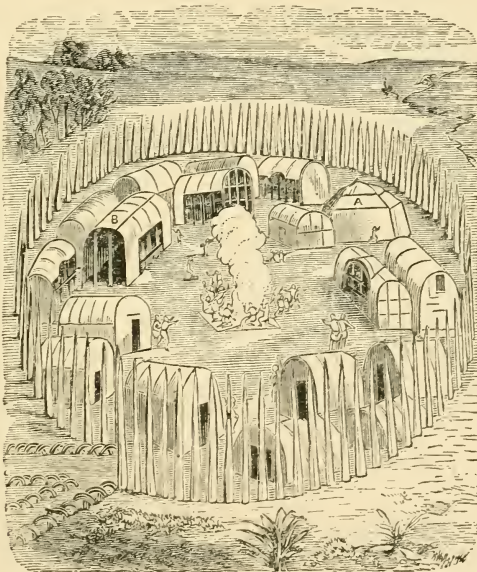
Smith's enemies were a majority in the Council and would not admit him as a member, but he was no longer held as a prisoner. Newport's next business was to explore the river, and Smith with four other gentlemen, four skilled mariners, and fourteen common sailors, went along with him, while the Jamestown fort was building. They sailed up about as far as the site of Richmond, frequently meeting parties of Indians on the banks, or passing Indian villages. Newport was

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> It was not far from this spot that Ayllon had made his unsuccessful attempt to found a Spanish colony in 1526. See my *Discovery of America*, ii. 489.

uniformly kind and sagacious in his dealings with the red men, and they seemed quite friendly. These were Algonquins, of the tribe called Powhatans, and the natives who had assaulted the English at Cape Henry belonged to a hostile tribe, so that that incident furnished a bond of sympathy between the Powhatans and the white men. After a few days they reached the village called Powhatan (*i. e.* "Falling Waters"), which Thomas Studley, the colonial storekeeper, describes as consisting of about a dozen houses "pleasantly seated on a hill." Old drawings indicate that they were large clan houses, with framework of beams and covering of bark, somewhat similar in general

The Powhatan tribe, confederacy, and head war-chief



INDIAN VILLAGE OF POMEIOCK

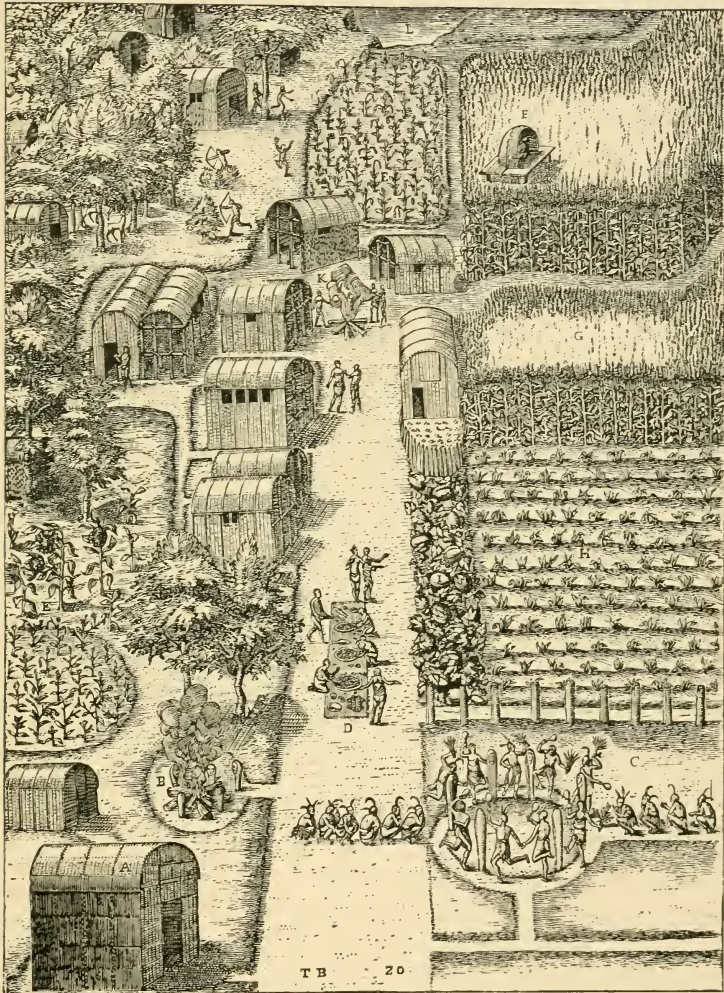
shape though not in details to the long houses of the Iroquois. The Powhatans seem to have been the leading or senior tribe in a loose confederacy. Their principal village was called Werowocomoco, situated on the north side of the York

River, about fifteen miles northeast from Jamestown as the crow flies. The place is now called Putin Bay, a name which is merely a corruption of Powhatan. At Werowocomoco dwelt the head war-chief of the tribe, by name Wahunsunakok, but much more generally known by his title as The Powhatan, just as the head of an Irish or Scotch clan is styled The O'Neill or The MacGregor. Newport and Smith, hearing that The Powhatan was a chief to whom other chiefs were in a measure subordinate, spoke of him as the emperor and the subordinate chiefs as kings, a grotesque terminology which was natural enough at that day but which in the interest of historical accuracy it is high time for modern writers to drop.<sup>1</sup>

When Newport and Smith returned to Jamestown, they found that it had been attacked by a force of 200 Indians. Wingfield had beaten them off, but one Englishman was killed and eleven were wounded. In the course of the next two weeks these enemies were very annoying; they would crouch in the tall grass about the fort and pick off a man with their barbed stone-tipped arrows. Hakluyt had warned the settlers against building near the edge of a wood;<sup>2</sup> it seems strange that bitter experience was needed to teach them that danger might lurk in long grass. Presently some of their new acquaintances from the Powhatan tribe came to the fort and told Newport that the assailants

<sup>1</sup> The Englishmen were bewildered by barbaric usages utterly foreign to their experience. Kinship among these Indians, as so generally among barbarians and savages, was reckoned through females only; and when the English visitors were told that The Powhatan's office would descend to his maternal brothers, even though he had sons living, the information was evidently correct, but they found it hard to understand or believe. So when one of the chiefs on the James River insisted upon giving back some powder and balls which one of his men had stolen, it was regarded as a proof of strict honesty and friendliness, whereas the more probable explanation is that a prudent Indian, at that early time, would consider it bad medicine to handle the thunder-and-lightning stuff or keep it about one. See my *Beginnings of New England*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 77.



INDIAN VILLAGE OF SECOTAN

were from a hostile tribe against which they would willingly form an alliance; and they furthermore advised him to cut his grass, which seems to prove that they were sincere in what they said.

Smith now demanded a trial on the charges which had led to his imprisonment. In spite of objections from Wingfield a jury was granted, and Smith was acquitted of all the charges; so that on the 10th of June he was allowed to take his seat in the Council. On the 15th the fort was finished, and on the 22d Captain Newport sailed for England with a cargo of sassafras and fine wood for wainscoting. He took the direct route homeward, for need was now visibly pressing. He promised to be back in Virginia within twenty weeks, but all the food he could leave in the fort was reckoned to be scarcely enough for fifteen weeks, so that the company were put upon short rations. According to Studley, 105 persons were left at Jamestown, of whom besides the 6 councillors, the clergyman and the surgeon, there were mentioned by name 29 gentlemen, 6 carpenters, 1 mason, 2 bricklayers, 1 blacksmith, 1 sailor, 1 drummer, 1 tailor, 1 barber, 12 labourers, and 4 boys, with 38 whom he neither names or classifies but simply mentions as "divers others." The food left in store for this company was not appetizing. After the ship had gone, says Richard Potts, "there remained neither tavern, beer-house, nor place of relief but the common kettle; . . . and that was half a pint of wheat and as much barley, boiled with water, for a man a day; and this, having fried some 26 weeks in the ship's hold, contained as many worms as grains. . . . Our [only] drink was water. . . . Had we been as free from all sins as gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints."<sup>1</sup> Chickens were raised, but not enough for so many mouths; and as there were no cattle or sheep a nourishing diet of meat and milk was out of the question. Nor do we find much mention of game, though there were some who warded off the pangs of starvation by catching crabs and sturgeon in the river. With such inadequate diet, with unfamiliar kinds of labour, and with the frightful heat of an American summer, the condition of the settlers soon came to be pitiable.

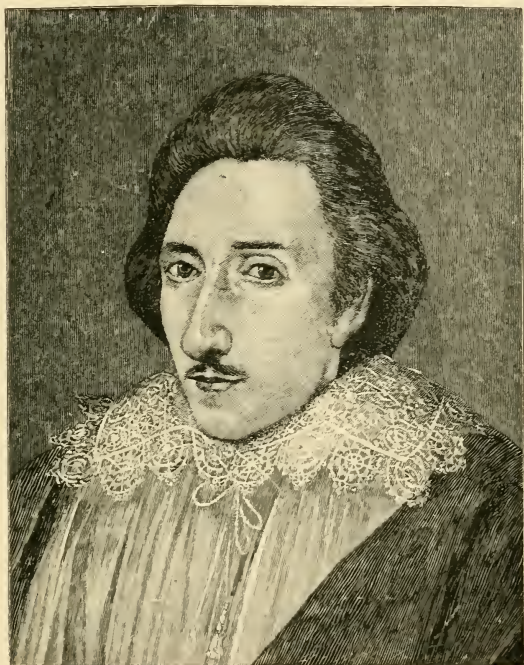
Newport  
sails for  
England  
June 22,  
1607

Sufferings  
of the  
colonists

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, ed. Arber. p. 95.



Disease soon added to their sufferings. Fevers lurked in the air of Jamestown. Before the end of September more than fifty of the company were in their graves. The situation is graphically described by one of the survivors, the



*George Percy*

Hon. George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland: "There were neuer Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia. Wee watched euery three nights, lying on the bare . . . ground, what weather soeuer came; [and] warded all the next day; which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barlie sodden

in water to five men a day. Our drink cold water taken out  
 Percy's of the River ; which was at a flood verie salt : at  
 account a low tide full of slime and filth ; which was the  
 destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the  
 space of five months in this miserable distresse, not hauing  
 five able men to man our Bulwarkes upon any occasion. If  
 it had not pleased God to haue put a terrour in the Sauages  
 hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans,  
 being in that weake estate as we were ; our men night and  
 day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pittiful to  
 heare. If there were any conscience in men, it would make  
 their harts to bleed to heare the pitifull murmurings and  
 outeries of our sick men without reliefe, euery night and day  
 for the space of sixe weekes : some departing out of the  
 World, many times three or foure in a night ; in the morn-  
 ing their bodies being trailed out of their Cabines like  
 Dogges, to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortalitie  
 of diuers of our people." <sup>1</sup>

In such a state of things our colonists would have been  
 more than human had they shown very amiable tempers.  
 From the early wanderings of the Spaniards in Darien down  
 to the recent marches of Stanley in Africa, men struggling  
 Quarrels with the wilderness have fiercely quarrelled. The  
 fever at Jamestown carried off Captain Gosnold in  
 August, and after his death the feud between Smith's friends  
 and Wingfield's flamed up with fresh virulence. Both gen-  
 tlemen have left printed statements, and in our time the  
 quarrel is between historians as to which to believe. Per-  
 haps it is Smith's detractors who are just at this moment the  
 more impetuous and implacable, appealing as they do to the  
 churlish feeling that delights in seeing long-established repu-  
 tations assailed. Such writers will tell you as positively as  
 if there could be no doubt about it, that Smith was engaged  
 in a plot with two other members of the Council to depose  
 Wingfield from his presidency and establish a "triumvirate"  
 over that tiny woodland company. Others will assert, with

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. lxxii.

equal confidence, that Wingfield was a tyrant whose ruthless rule became insupportable. A perusal of his "Discourse of Virginia," written in 1608 in defence of his conduct, should make it clear, I think, that he was an honourable gentleman, but ill fitted for the trying situation in which he found himself. To control the rations of so many hungry men was no pleasant or easy matter. It was charged against Wingfield that he kept back sundry dainties, and especially some wine and spirits for himself and a few favoured friends; but his quite plausible defence is that he reserved two gallons of sack for the communion table and a few bottles of brandy for extreme emergencies; but the other members of the Council, whose flasks were all empty, "did long for to sup up that little remnant!"<sup>1</sup> At length a suspicion arose that he intended to take one of the small vessels that remained in the river and abandon the colony. Early in September the Council deposed him and elected John Ratcliffe in his place. A few days later Wingfield was condemned to pay heavy damages to Smith for defaming his character. "Then Master Recorder," says poor Wingfield, "did very learnedly comfort me that if I had wrong I might bring my writ of error in London; whereat I smiled. . . . I tould Master President I . . . prayed they would be more sparing of law vntill wee had more witt or wealthe."<sup>2</sup>

Wingfield  
deposed;  
Ratcliffe  
chosen  
president,  
Sept., 1607

An awful dignity hedged about the sacred person of the president of that little colony of fifty men. One day President Ratcliffe beat James Reed, the blacksmith, who so far forgot himself as to strike back, and for that heinous offence was condemned to be hanged; but when already upon the fatal ladder, and, so to speak, *in extremis*, like Reynard the Fox, the resourceful blacksmith made his peace with the law by revealing a horrid scheme of mutiny conceived by George Kendall, a member of the Council. Of the details of the affair nothing is known save

Execution  
of a mem-  
ber of the  
Council

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. lxxxiv.

that Kendall was found guilty, and instead of a plebeian hanging there was an aristocratic shooting. In telling the story Wingfield observes that if such goings-on were to be heard of in England, "I fear it would drive many well-affected myndes from this honourable action of Virginia."

Wingfield's pamphlet freely admits that Smith's activity in trading with the Indians for corn was of great service to the suffering colony. With the coming of autumn so many wild fowl were shot that the diet was much improved. On the 10th of December Smith started on an exploring expedition up the Chickahominy River. Having gone as far as his shallop would take him, he left seven men to guard it while he went on in a canoe with only two white men and two Indian guides. This little party had arrived at White Oak Swamp, or somewhere in that neighbourhood, when they were suddenly attacked by 200 Indians led by Opekankano, a brother of The Powhatan. Smith's two comrades were killed, and he was captured after a sturdy resistance, but not until he had slain two Indians with his pistol. It was quite like the quick-witted man to take out his ivory pocket compass, and to entertain the childish minds of the barbarians with its quivering needle which they could plainly see through the glass, but, strange to say, could not feel when they tried to touch it. Very like him it was to improve the occasion with a brief discourse on star craft, eked out no doubt with abundant gesticulation, which may have led his hearers to regard him as a wizard. There seems to have been a difference of opinion among them. They tied Smith to a tree, and the fate of Saint Sebastian seemed in store for him, when Opekankano held up the compass; then the captive was untied, and they marched away through the forest, taking him with them.

It is not at all clear why the red men should have made this attack. Hitherto the Powhatans had seemed friendly to the white men and desirous of an alliance with them. There is a vague traditional impression that Opekankano was one of a party opposed to such a policy; so that his attitude

Smith is  
captured by  
Opekan-  
kano

might remind us of the attitude of Montezuma's brother Cuitlahuatzin toward the army of Cortes approaching Mexico. Such a view is not improbable. Wingfield, moreover, tells us that two or three years before the arrival of the English at Jamestown some white men had ascended a river to the northward, probably the Pamunkey or the Rappahannock, and had forcibly kidnapped some Indians. If there is truth in this, the kidnappers may have belonged to the ill-fated expedition of Bartholomew Gilbert. Wingfield says that Opekankano carried Smith about the country to several villages to see if anybody could identify him with the leader of that kidnapping party. Smith's narrative confirms this statement, and adds that it was agreed that the captain in question was a much taller man than he. His story is full of observations on the country. Opekankano's village consisted of four or five communal houses, each about a hundred feet in length, and from the sandy hill in which it stood some scores of such houses could be seen scattered about the plain. At length Smith was brought to Werowocomoco and into the presence of The Powhatan, who received him in just such a long wigwam. The elderly chieftain sat before the fireplace, on a kind of bench, and was covered with a robe of raccoon skins, all with the tails on and hanging like ornamental tassels. Beside him sat his young squaws; a row of women with their faces and bare shoulders painted bright red and chains of white shell beads about their necks stood around by the walls, and in front of them stood the grim warriors.

who takes  
him to We-  
rowoco-  
moco, Jan.,  
1608

This was on the 5th of January, 1608, and on the 8th Smith returned to Jamestown, escorted by four Indians. What had happened to him in the interval? In his own writings we have two different accounts. In his tract published under the title, "A True Relation," — which was merely a letter written by him in or about June, 1608, to a "worshipful friend" in London and there published, apparently without his knowledge, in August, — Smith simply

says that The Powhatan treated him very courteously and sent him back to Jamestown. But in the "General History of Virginia," a far more elaborate and circumstantial narrative, published in London in 1624, written partly by Smith himself and partly by others of the colony, we get a much fuller story. We are told that after he had been introduced to The Powhatan's long wigwam, as above described, the Indians debated together, and presently two big stones were placed before the chief and Smith was dragged

The rescue by Pocahontas thither and his head laid upon them; but even while warriors were standing, with clubs in hand, to beat his brains out, the chief's young daughter Pocahontas rushed up and embraced him and laid her head upon his to shield him, whereupon her father spared his life.

For two centuries and a half the later and fuller version of this story was universally accepted while the earlier and briefer was ignored. Every schoolboy was taught the story of Pocahontas and John Smith, and for most people I dare say that incident is the only one in the captain's eventful career that is remembered. But in recent times the discrepancy between the earlier and later accounts has attracted attention, and the conclusion has been hastily reached that

Recent attempt to discredit the story in the more romantic version Smith is simply a liar. It is first assumed that if the Pocahontas incident had really occurred, we should be sure to find it in Smith's own narrative written within a year after its occurrence; and then it is assumed that in later years, when Pocahontas visited London and was lionized as a princess, Smith invented the story in order to magnify his own importance by thus linking his name with hers. By such specious logic is the braggadocio theory of Smith's career supported, and underneath the whole of it lies the tacit assumption that the Pocahontas incident is an extraordinary one, something that in an Indian community or anywhere would not have been likely to happen.

As this view of the case has been set forth by writers of

high repute for scholarship, it has been generally accepted upon their authority; in many quarters it has become the fashionable view. Yet its utter flimsiness can be exhibited, I think, in very few words.

The first occasion on which Smith mentions his rescue by Pocahontas was the occasion of her arrival in London, in



*Anna R.*

1616, as the wife of John Rolfe. In an eloquent letter to King James's queen, Anne of Denmark, he bespeaks the royal favour for the strange visitor from Virginia and extols her good qualities and the kindness she had shown to the



SMITH RESCUED BY POCAHONTAS

colony. In the course of the letter he says "she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine." There were then several persons in London, besides Pocahontas herself, who could have challenged this statement if it had been false, but we do not find that anybody did so.<sup>1</sup> In 1624, when Smith published his "General History," with its minutely circumstantial account of the affair, why do we not

<sup>1</sup> It is true, this letter of 1616 was first made public in the "General History" in 1624 (see Smith's *Works*, p. 530): so that Smith's detractors may urge that the letter is trumped up and was never sent to Queen Anne. If so, the question recurs, Why did not some enemy or hostile critic of Smith in 1624 call attention to so flagrant a fraud?



find, even on the part of his enemies, any intimation of the falsity of the story? Within a year George Percy wrote a pamphlet<sup>1</sup> for the express purpose of picking the "General History" to pieces and discrediting it in the eyes of the public; he was one of the original company at Jamestown. If Smith had not told his comrades of the Pocahontas incident as soon as he had escaped from The Powhatan's clutches, if he had kept silent on the subject for years, Percy could not have failed to know the fact and would certainly have used it as a weapon. There were others who could have done the same, and their silence furnishes a very strong presumption of the truth of the story.

Percy's  
pamphlet,  
1625

Why then did Smith refrain from mentioning it in the letter to a friend in England, written in 1608, while the incidents of his captivity were fresh in his mind? Well, we do not know that he did refrain from mentioning it, for we do know that the letter, as published in August, 1608, had been tampered with. Smith was in Virginia, and the editor in London expressly states in his Preface that he has omitted a portion of the manuscript: "somewhat more was by him written, which being (as I thought) fit to be private, I would not adventure to make it public." Nothing could be more explicit. Observe that thus the case of Smith's detractors falls at once to the ground. Their rejection of the Pocahontas story is based upon its absence from the printed text of the "True Relation," but inasmuch as that printed text is avowedly incomplete no such inference is for a moment admissible. For the omitted portion is as likely as not to have been the passage describing Smith's imminent peril and rescue.

The  
printed  
text of the  
"True Re-  
lation" is  
incomplete

On this supposition, what could have been the editor's motive in suppressing the passage? We need not go far afield for an answer if we bear in mind the instructions with which the first colonists started, — "to suffer no man . . . to write [in] any letter of anything that may discourage oth-

<sup>1</sup> Brown's *Genesis*, ii. 964; Neill's *Virginia Vetus*, pp. v-x.

ers.”<sup>1</sup> This very necessary and important injunction might have restrained Smith himself from mentioning his deadly peril; if he did mention it, we can well understand why the person who published the letter should have thought it best to keep the matter private. After a few years had elapsed and the success of the colony was assured, there was no longer any reason for such reticence. My own opinion is that Smith, not intending the letter for publication, told the whole story, and that the suppression was the editor’s work. It will be remembered that in the fight in which he was captured, Smith slew two Indians. In the circumstantial account given in the “General History” we are told that while Opekankano was taking him up and down the country, a near relative of one of these victims attempted to murder Smith but was prevented by the Indians who were guarding him. The “True Relation” preserves this incident, while it omits all reference to the two occasions when Smith’s life was officially and deliberately imperilled, the tying to the tree and the scene in The Powhatan’s wigwam. One can easily see why the editor’s nerves should not have been disturbed by the first incident, so like what might happen in England, while the more strange and outlandish exhibitions of the Indian’s treatment of captives seemed best to be dropped from the narrative.

But, we are told, the difficulty is not merely one of omission. In the “True Relation” Smith not only omits all reference to Pocahontas, but he says that he was kindly and courteously treated by his captors, and this statement is thought to be incompatible with their having decided to beat his brains out. Such an objection shows ignorance of Indian manners.

In our own time it has been a common thing for Apaches and Comanches to offer their choicest morsels of food, with their politest bows and smiles, to the doomed captive whose living flesh will in a few moments be hissing under their fire-brands. The irony of such a situation is inexpressibly dear

Reason for  
omitting  
the Poca-  
hontas  
incident

There is no  
incongruity  
between the  
two narra-  
tives, ex-  
cept the  
omission

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 79.

to the ferocious hearts of these men of the Stone Age, and American history abounds in examples of it. In his fuller account, indeed, Smith describes himself as kindly treated on his way to the scene of execution<sup>1</sup> and after his rescue. Drop out what happened in the interval and you get the account given in the "True Relation."

Now that omission creates a gap in the "True Relation" such as to fatally damage its credibility. We are told that Smith, after killing a couple of Indians, is taken captive and carried to the head war-chief's wigwam, and is then forsooth allowed to go scot free with no notice taken of the blood debt that he owes to the tribe! To any one who has studied Indians such a story is well-nigh incredible. As a prisoner of war Smith's life was already forfeited.<sup>2</sup> It is safe to say that no Indian would think of releasing him without some equivalent; such an act might incur the wrath of invisible powers. There were various ways of putting captives to death; torture by slow fire was the favourite mode, but crushing in the skull with tomahawks was quite common, so that when Smith mentions it as decided upon in his case he is evidently telling the plain truth, and we begin to see that the detailed account in the "General History" is more consistent and probable than the abridged account in the "True Relation."

The account in the "General History" is the more probable

The consistency and probability of the story are made complete by the rescue at the hands of Pocahontas. That incident is precisely in accordance with Indian usage, but

<sup>1</sup> Even in The Powhatan's wigwam, it was only after "having feasted him [Smith] after their best barbarous manner they could," that the Indians brought the stones and prepared to kill him. Smith's *Works*, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that in 1608 the Powhatans were still unfamiliar with white men and inclined to dread them as more or less supernatural; but they had thoroughly learned that fair skins and long beards were no safeguard against disease and death. If they did not know that the Jamestown colony had dwindled to eight-and-thirty men, they knew that their own warriors had slain all Smith's party and taken him captive.

it is not likely that Smith knew enough about such usage to have invented it, and his artless way of telling the story is that of a man who is describing what he does not understand. From the Indian point of view there was nothing romantic or extraordinary in such a rescue ; it was simply a not uncommon matter of business. The romance with which white readers have always invested it is the outcome of a misconception no less complete than that which led the fair dames of London to make obeisance to the tawny Pocahontas as to a princess of imperial lineage. Time and again it used to happen that when a prisoner was about to be slaughtered, some one of the dusky assemblage, moved by pity or admiration or some unexplained freak, would interpose in behalf of the victim ; and as a rule such interposition was heeded. Many a poor wretch, already tied to the fatal tree and benumbed with unspeakable terror, while the firebrands were heating for his torment, has been rescued from the jaws of death, and adopted as brother or lover by some laughing young squaw, or as a son by some grave wrinkled warrior. In such cases the new-comer was allowed entire freedom and treated like one of the tribe. As the blood debt was cancelled by the prisoner's violent death, it was also cancelled by securing his services to the tribe ; and any member, old or young, had a right to demand the latter method as a substitute for the former. Pocahontas, therefore, did not "hazard the beating out of her own brains," though the rescued stranger, looking with civilized eyes, would naturally see it in that light. Her brains were perfectly safe. This thirteen-year-old squaw liked the handsome prisoner, claimed him, and got him, according to custom. Mark now what happened next. Two days afterward The Powhatan, "having disguised himselfe in the most fearfulest manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there vpon a mat by the fire be left alone. Not long after frome behind a mat that divided the house [*i. e.* a curtain] was made the most dolefullest

The rescue was in strict accordance with Indian usage

A  
TRUE RE-  
lation of such occur-

rences and accidents of noateas  
hath hapned in Virginia since the first  
planting of that Collony, which is now  
resident in the South part thereof, till  
the last returne from  
thence.

*Written by Captaine Smith one of the said Collony, to a  
worshipfull friend of his in England.*



LONDON

Printed for *John Tappe*, and are to be solde at the Grey-  
hound in Paules-Church-yard, by *W. W.*

1608

noyse he ever heard.”<sup>1</sup> Then the old chieftain, looking more like the devil than a man, came to Smith and told him that now they were friends and he might go back to Jamestown; then if he would send to The Powhatan a couple of cannon and a grindstone, he should have in exchange a piece of land in the neighbourhood, and that chief would evermore esteem him as his own son.



SMITH BEFORE THE POWHATAN

Smith's narrative does not indicate that he understood this to be anything more than a friendly figure of speech, but it seems clear that it was a case of ceremonious adoption. As the natural result of the young girl's intercession the white

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. 400.

chieftain was adopted into the tribe. A long incantation, with dismal howls and grunts, propitiated the tutelary deities, and then the old chief, addressing Smith as a son, proposed an exchange of gifts. The next time that Smith visited Werowocomoco, The Powhatan proclaimed him a "werowance" or chief of the tribe, and ordered "that all his subjects should so esteem us, and no man account us strangers . . . but Powhatans, and that the corn, women, and country should be to us as to his own people."<sup>1</sup>

I have dwelt at some length upon the question of Smith's veracity for three good reasons. First, in the interests of sound historical criticism, it is desirable to show how skepticism, which is commonly supposed to indicate superior sagacity, is quite as likely to result from imperfect understanding. Secondly, justice should be done to the memory of one of the noblest and most lovable characters in American history. Thirdly, the rescue of Smith by Pocahontas was an event of real historic importance. Without it the subsequent relations of the Indian girl with the English colony become incomprehensible. But for her friendly services on more than one occasion, the tiny settlement would probably have perished. Her visits to Jamestown and the regular supply of provisions by the Indians began at this time.<sup>2</sup>

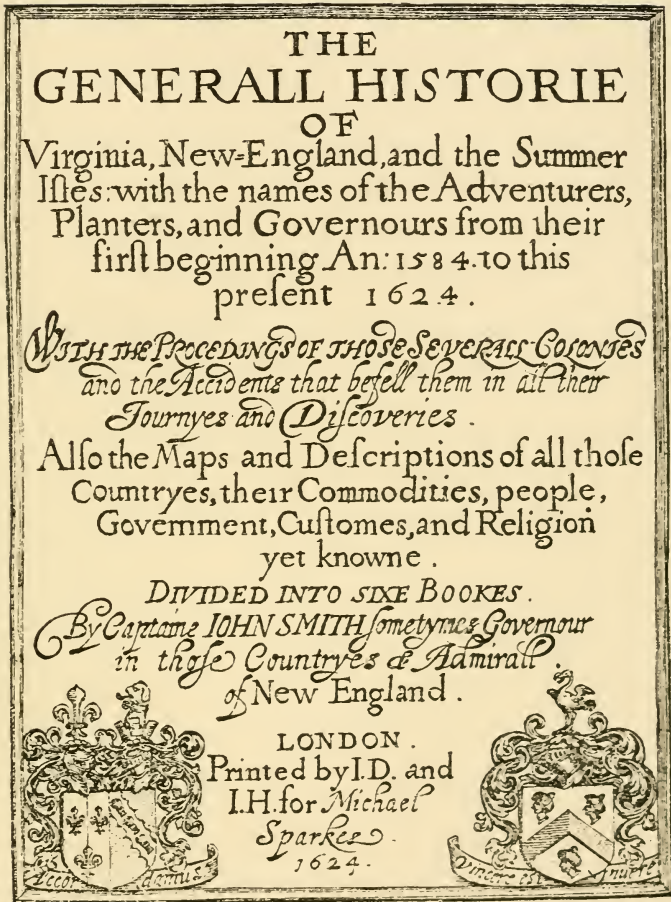
<sup>1</sup> Id. p. 26. Of course the cases of rescue and adoption were endlessly various in circumstances; see the case of Couture, in Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 223; on another occasion "Brigeac was tortured to death with the customary atrocities. Cuill  rier, who was present, . . . expected the same fate, but an old squaw happily adopted him, and thus saved his life." Parkman's *Old R  gime in Canada*, revised ed. p. 108. For adoption in general see Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 80; *League of the Iroquois*, p. 342; Colden's *History of the Five Nations*, London, 1755, i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Of the really critical attacks upon the story of Pocahontas, the most important are those of Charles Deane, in his *Notes on Wingfield's Discourse of Virginia*, Boston, 1859, and Henry Adams, in the *North American Review*, vol. civ. Their arguments have been ably answered by W. W. Henry, in *Proceedings of Virginia Historical Society*, 1882, and Charles Poindexter, in his *Captain John Smith and his Critics*,

On the very day that Smith returned to Jamestown the long expected ship of Captain Newport arrived with what was known as the First Supply of men and provisions. Part came now, the rest a few weeks later. Only 38 men had survived the hardships at Jamestown; to these the First Supply added 120, bringing the number up to 158. For so many people, besides the food they brought with them more corn was needed. So Smith took his "Father Newport," as he called him, over to Werowocomoco, where they tickled "Father Powhatan's" fancy with blue glass beads and drove some tremendous bargains. As spring came on, Newport sailed for England again, taking with him the deposed Wingfield. The summer of 1608 was spent by Smith in two voyages of exploration up Chesapeake Bay and into the Potomac, Patapsco, and Susquehanna rivers. He met with warriors of the formidable Iroquois tribe of Susquehannocks, and found them carrying a few French hatchets which had evidently come from Canada. During his absence things went badly at Jamestown and Ratcliffe was deposed. On Smith's return in September he was at once chosen president. Only 28 men had been lost this year, so that the colony numbered 130, when Newport again arrived in September, with the Second Supply of 70 persons, bringing the total up to 200. In this company there were two women, a Mrs. Forrest and her maid, Anne Burroughs, who was soon married to John Laydon, the first recorded English wedding on American soil.

Newport's instructions show that the members of the Richmond, 1893. There are two writers of valuable books who seldom allude to Smith without sneers and words of abuse, — Alexander Brown, of Virginia, and Edward Duffield Neill, of Minnesota; they seem to resent, as a personal grievance, the fact that the gallant captain ever existed. On the other hand, no one loves him better than the learned editor of his books, who has studied them with microscopic thoroughness, Edward Arber. My own defence of Smith, when set forth in a lecture at University College, London, 1879, was warmly approved by my friend, the late Henry Stevens.





TITLE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S "GENERALL HISTORIE"

London Company, sitting at their cosy English firesides, were getting impatient and meant to have something done. He was told that he must find either the way to the South Sea, or a lump of gold, or one of White's lost colonists, or else he need not come back and show his face in England! One seems taken back to the Arabian Nights, where such peremptory behests go along

Captain  
 Newport's  
 instruc-  
 tions

with enchanted carpets and magic rings and heroic steeds with pegs in the neck. No such talismans were to be found in Old Virginia. When Newport read his instructions, Smith bluntly declared that the London Company were fools, which seems to have shocked the decorous mariner. The next order was grotesque enough to have emanated from the teeming brain of James I. after a mickle noggin of his native usquebaugh. Their new ally, the mighty Emperor Powhatan, must be crowned! Newport and Smith did it, and much mirth it must have afforded them. The chief refused to come to Jamestown, so Mahomet had to go to the mountain. Up in the long wigwam at Werowocomoco the two Englishmen divested the old fellow of his raccoon-skin<sup>1</sup> garment and put on him a scarlet robe which greatly pleased him. Then they tried to force him down upon his knees — which he did not like at all — while they put the crown on his head. When the operation was safely ended, the forest-monarch grunted acquiescence and handed to Newport his old raccoon-skin cloak as a present for his royal brother in England.

An Indian masquerading scene at one of these visits to Werowocomoco is thus described by one of the English party: "In a fayre playne field they made a fire, before which [we] sitting upon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard . . . a hydeous noise and shrieking. . . . Then presently [we] were presented with this anticke; thirtie young women came [nearly] naked out of the woods, . . . their bodies all painted, some white, some red, some black, some particolour, but all differing; their leader had a fayre payre of buck's horns on her head, and an otter's skin at her girdle, and an-

Coronation  
of The  
Powhatan

How the  
Indian girls  
danced at  
Werowoco-  
moco

<sup>1</sup> The word "raccoon" is a thorn in poor Smith's flesh, and his attempts to represent the sound of it from guttural Indian mouths are droll: "There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*, much like a badger, but useth to live on trees as squirrels do." — "He sent me presents of bread and *Raughcuns*." — "Covered with a great covering of *Raughcuns*." — "A robe made of *Rarowcun* skins," etc., etc.

other at her arm, a quiver of arrowes at her back, a bow and arrowes in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, . . . all horned alike. . . . These fiends with most hellish shouts and cries, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill varietie; . . . having spent neare an houre in this mascarado, as they entred in like manner they departed. Having reaccommodated themselves, they solemnly invited [us] to their lodgings, where [we] were no sooner within the house but all these nymphes more tormented us than ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about [us], most tediously crying, *Love you not me?* This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of fruit in baskets, fish and flesh in wooden platters; beans and peas there wanted not, nor any salvage dainty their invention could devise: some attending, others singing and dancing about [us]; which mirth and banquet being ended, with firebrands [for] torches they conducted [us] to [our] lodging."

The wood-nymphs who thus entertained their guests are in one account mentioned simply as "Powhatan's women," in another they are spoken of as "Pocahontas and her women;" which seems to give us a realistic sketch of the little maid with her stag-horn headdress and skin all stained with puccon leading her companions in their grotesque capers. Truly, it was into a strange world and among a strange people that our colonists had come.

Accuracy  
of Smith's  
descrip-  
tions

Their quaint descriptions of manners and customs utterly new and unintelligible to them, though familiar enough to modern students of barbaric life, have always the ring of truth. Nowhere in the later experiences of white men with Indians do we find quite so powerful a charm as in the early years of the seventeenth century. No other such narratives are quite so delightful as those of Champlain and his friends in Canada, and those of Smith and his comrades in Virginia. There is a freshness about this first contact with the wilderness and its uncouth life that makes every incident vivid. There is a fascination too, not unmixed with sadness, in

watching the early dreams of El Dorado fade away as the stern reality of a New World to be conquered comes to make itself known and felt. Naturally the old delusions persisted at home in England long after the colonists had been taught by costly experiences to discard them, and we smile at the well-meant blundering of the ruling powers in London in their efforts to hasten the success of their enterprise. In vain did the faithful Newport seek to perform the mandates of the London Company. No nuggets of gold were to be found, nor traces of poor Eleanor Dare and her friends, and The Powhatan told the simple truth when he declared that there were difficult mountains westward and it would be useless to search for a salt sea behind them. Newport tried, nevertheless, but came back exhausted long before he had reached the Blue Ridge; for what foe is so pertinacious as a strange and savage continent? In pithy terms does Anas Todkill, one of the first colonists, express himself about these wild projects: "Now was there no way to make us miserable but to neglect that time to make our provision whilst it was to be had; the which was done to perforce this strange discovery, but more strange coronation. To lose that time, spend that victuall we had, tire and starue our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their own backs: how or by whom they were invented I know not." How eloquent in grief and indignation are these rugged phrases! A modern writer, an accomplished Oxford scholar, expresses the opinion that the coronation of The Powhatan, although "an idle piece of formality," "had at least the merit of winning and retaining the loyalty of the savage."<sup>1</sup> Master Todkill thought differently:

Todkill's  
complaint "as for the coronation of Powhatan and his presents of bason, ewer, bed, clothes, and such costly nouelties; they had bin much better well spared than so ill spent; for we had his favour much better onlie for a poore peece of copper, till this stately kinde of solicensing made him

<sup>1</sup> Doyle's *Virginia*, p. 124.





SMITH'S MAP



# VIRGINIA

Maffawomecks

1601  
 Signification of these markes  
 In the crosses hath bin discoverd  
 what beyond is by relation  
 Kings houses 2 — 2  
 Ordinary houses 2 — 2



The Susquehanna  
 are agyant like peop  
 thus adored

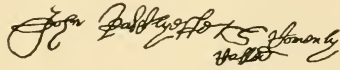
and Surveyed by Captayn John Smith  
 1608





so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all." <sup>1</sup>

When Newport sailed for England, he took with him Ratcliffe, the deposed president, a man of doubtful character of whom it was said that he had reasons for using an alias, his real name being Sickelmore.



Deposed presidents were liable to serve as tale-bearers and mischief-makers. Wingfield had gone home on the previous voyage, and Newport had brought back to Virginia complaints from the Company about the way in which things had been managed. Now Smith sent to London by Newport his new map of Virginia embodying the results of his recent voyages of exploration, a map of remarkable accuracy and witness to an amount of original labour that is marvellous to think of. That map is a living refutation of John Smith's detractors; none but a man of heroic mould could have done the geographical work involved in making it.

Smith's  
map of  
Virginia

With the map Smith sent what he naïvely calls his "Rude Answer" to the London Company, a paper bristling with common-sense and not timid when it comes to calling a spade a spade. With some topics suggested by this "Rude Answer" we shall concern ourselves in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. 122.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE STARVING TIME

THE men of bygone days were quite as fond as ourselves of playing with names, and the name of Christopher, or "Christ-bearer," was a favourite subject for such pastime. The old Syrian saint and martyr was said to have forded a river carrying Christ on his back in the form of a child ; and so when in the year 1500 Columbus's famous pilot, Juan de La Cosa, made his map of the new discoveries, and came to a place where he did not know how to draw his coast-line, he

The name of Christopher filled the space with a picture of the new Christopher wading in mid-ocean and bringing over Christ to the heathen. At the court of James I.

it was fashionable to make similar mild jests upon the name of Captain Christopher Newport, whose ships were carrying year by year the gospel to the tawny natives of Virginia. Very little of the good tidings, however, had the poor heathen of Pamunkey and Werowocomoco as yet received. So much ado had the English colonists to keep their own souls from quitting their bodies that they had little leisure to bestow upon the spiritual welfare of the Indians. By the accident of Smith's capture and the intercession of Pocahontas, they had effected a kind of alliance with the most powerful tribe in that part of the country, and this alliance had

Value of the Indian alliance proved extremely valuable throughout the year 1608 ; without it the little colony might have perished before the arrival of the Second Supply.

Nevertheless the friendship of the red men was a very uncertain and precarious factor in the situation. The accounts of the Englishmen show confused ideas as to the relations

between the tribes and chieftains of the region; and as for the Indians, their acquaintanceship with white men was so recent that there was no telling what unforeseen circum-



ST. CHRISTOPHER

stance might at any time determine their actions. The utmost sagacity was needed to retain the slight influence already acquired over them, while to alienate them might easily prove fatal. The colony was far from able to support

itself, and as things were going there seemed little hope of improvement. The difficulties involved in the founding of colonies were not well understood, and the attempts to cope with them were unintelligent.

In the lists of these earliest parties of settlers one cannot fail to notice the preponderance of those who are styled gentlemen, an epithet which in those days was not lavishly and indiscriminately but charily and precisely applied. As a rule, the persons designated as gentlemen were not accustomed to manual labour. To meet the requirements of these aristocratic members of the community, we find in one of the lists the name of a dealer in perfumes. A few score of farmers, with abundance of live-stock, would have been far more to the purpose. Yet let us do justice to the gentlemen. One of the first company of settlers, the sturdy soldier Anas Todkill, thus testifies to their good spirit and efficiency: "Thirty of us [President Smith] conducted 5 myles from the fort, to learn to . . . cut down trees and make clapboard. . . . Amongst the rest he had chosen Gabriel Beadell and John Russell, the only two gallants of this last supply [he means October, 1608] and both proper gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions; yet lodging, eating and drinking, working or playing, they [were] but doing as the President did himselfe. All these things were carried on so pleasantly as within a week they became masters; making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell; but the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers that many times every third blow had a loud othe to drowne the eccho; for remedie of which sinne, the President devised how to have every man's othes numbred, and at night for every othe to have a cann of water powred downe his sleue, with which every offender was so washed (himselne and all) that a man should scarce hear an othe in a weeke.

For he who scorns and makes but jests of cursings and his othe,  
 He doth contemne, not man but God; nor God, nor man, but both.  
 By this let no man thinke that the President and these gen-

tllemen spent their time as common wood-hackers at felling of trees, or such other like labours ; or that they were pressed to it as hirelings or common slaues ; for what they did, after they were but once a little invred, it seemed and some conceited it only as a pleasure and recreation : . . . 30 or 40 of such voluntary gentlemen would doe more in a day than 100 of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion." Nevertheless, adds this ingenuous writer, "twentie good workmen had been better than them all." <sup>1</sup>

One strong motive which drew many of these gentlemen to the New World, like the Castilian hidalgos of a century before, was doubtless the mere love of wild adventure. Another motive was the quest of the pearls and gold about which the poet Drayton had written. In the spring of 1608, while Newport was on the scene with his First Supply, somebody discovered a bank of bright yellow dirt, and its colour was thought to be due to particles of gold. Then there was clatter and bustle ; "there was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold." In the list of the First Supply we find the names of two goldsmiths, two refiners, and one jeweller ;<sup>2</sup> but such skill as these artisans had was of little avail, for Newport carried a shipload of the yellow stuff to London, and found, to his chagrin, that all is not gold that glitters. On that same voyage he carried home a coop of plump turkeys, the first that ever graced an English bill of fare. Smith seems early to have recovered from the gold fever, and to have tried his hand at various industries. If precious metals could not be found, there was plenty of excellent timber at hand. The production of tar and soap was also attempted, as well as the manufacture of glass, to assist in which eight Germans and Poles were brought over in the Second Supply. It was hardly to be expected that such industries should attain remunerative proportions in the hands of a little company of settlers who were still confronted with the primitive difficulty

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 108.

of getting food enough to keep themselves alive. The arrival of reinforcements was far from being an unmixed benefit. Each new supply brought many new mouths to be filled, while by the time the ship was ready to sail for England, leaving all the provisions it could safely spare, the remnant was so small that the gaunt spectre of threatening famine was never quite out of sight. Moreover the new-comers from the civilized world arrived with their heads full of such wild notions as the old settlers were beginning to recover from under the sharp lessons of experience; thus was confusion again and again renewed. While the bitter tale was being enacted in the wilderness, people in London were wondering why the symptoms of millennial happiness were so slow in coming from this Virginian paradise. From the golden skewers and dripping-pans adorning the kitchens of barbaric potentates,<sup>1</sup> or the priceless pearls that children strolling on the beach could fill their aprons with, the descent to a few shiploads of ignoble rough boards and sassafras was truly humiliating. No wonder that the Company should have been loath to allow tales of personal peril in Virginia to find their way into print. No wonder that its directors should have looked with rueful faces at the long columns of outgoes compared with the scant and petty entries on the credit side of the ledger. No wonder if they should have arrived at a state of impatience like that of the urchin who has planted a bed full of seed and cannot be restrained from digging them up to see what they are coming to. At such times there is sure to be plenty of fault-finding; disappointment seeks a vent in scolding. We have observed that Wingfield, the deposed president, had returned to England early in 1608; with him went Captain Gabriel Archer, formerly a student of law at Gray's Inn, and one of the earliest members of the legal profession in English America. His name is commemorated in the little promontory near Jamestown called Archer's Hope. He was a mischief-maker of whom Wingfield in his "Discourse

Disap-  
pointment  
of the  
Company

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 63.

of Virginia" speaks far more bitterly than of Smith. To the latter Archer was an implacable enemy. On the return of Smith from his brief captivity with the Indians, this crooked Archer exhibited his legal ingenuity in seeking to revive a provision in the laws of Moses that a captain who leads his men into a fatal situation is responsible for their death. By such logic Smith would be responsible for the deaths of his followers slain by Opekankano's Indians; therefore, said Archer, he ought to be executed for murder! President Ratcliffe, alias Sickelmore, appears to have been a mere tool in Archer's hands, and Smith's life may really have been in some danger when Newport's arrival discomfited his adversaries. One can see what kind of tales such an unscrupulous enemy would be likely to tell in London, and it was to be expected that Newport, on arriving with his Second Supply, would bring some message that Smith would regard as unjust. The nature of the message is reflected in the reply which Smith sent home by Newport in November, 1608. The wrath of the much-enduring man was thoroughly aroused; in his "Rude Answer," as he calls it, he strikes out from the shoulder, and does not even spare his friend Newport for bringing such messages. Thus does he address the Royal Council of Virginia, sitting in London: "Right Honourable Lords and Gentlemen: I received your letter wherein you write that our minds are so set upon faction and idle conceits, . . . and that we feed you but with ifs and ands, hopes, and some few proofes; as if we would keep the mystery of the businesse to ourselues; and that we must expresly follow your instructions sent by Captain Newport, the charge of whose voyage amounts to neare £2000 the which if we cannot defray by the ship's returne, we are like to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly intreat your pardons if I offend you with my rude answer.

Tale-bearers and complaints

Smith's "Rude Answer"

"For our factions, vnlesse you would haue me run away and leaue the . . . country, I cannot prevent them: . . . I do

make many stay that would els fly anywhither. . . . [As  
to feeding] you with hopes, etc., though I be no  
I cannot prevent quarrels scholar, I am past a schoolboy; and I desire but to  
know what either you [or] these here do know but  
I have learned to tell you by the continual hazard of my life.  
I have not concealed from you anything I know; but I feare  
some cause you to believe much more than is true.

“Expressly to follow your directions by Captain New-  
port, though they be performed, I was directly against it;  
Your instructions were not wise but according to our Commission, I was content to  
be ruled by the major part of the council, I fear to  
the hazard of us all; which now is generally con-  
fessed when it is too late. . . . I have crowned Powhatan  
according to your instructions. For the charge of this voy-  
age of £2000 we have not received the value of £100. . . .  
For him at that time to find . . . the South Sea, [or] a  
mine of gold, or any of them sent by Sir Walter Raleigh:  
at our consultation I told them was as likely as the rest.  
But during this great discovery of thirty miles (which might  
as well have been done by one man, and much more, for the  
value of a pound of copper at a seasonable time) they had  
the pinnace and all the boats with them [save] one that re-  
mained with me to serve the fort.

“In their absence I followed the new begun works of  
pitch and tar, glass, soap ashes, and clapboard; whereof  
From our infant industries you must not expect too much some small quantities we have sent you. But if  
you rightly consider what an infinite toil it is in  
Russia and Swedeland, where the woods are pro-  
per for naught else, and though there be the help  
both of man and beast in those ancient commonweals which  
many an hundred years have [been] used [to] it; yet thou-  
sands of those poor people can scarce get necessaries to live  
but from hand to mouth. And though your factors there  
can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship . . . ;  
you must not expect from us any such matter, which are  
but a many of ignorant miserable souls, that are scarce able  
to get wherewith to live and defend ourselves against the



My Honorable friend Sr George Yearley  
Knight Governor of Virginia.

Mr. Permond into your good favour and care, the  
beginning of the year of 1619, will in the production and  
in George Thomas (who is of the same name) with  
other gentle beginneth, which is to be done by  
the King's fifty (and he to be done) the first of  
that they may be well pleased, and have  
at the same time as they are in the wood, and  
your place, to be your own, can best afford  
You shall hereby more bind them in love to you  
and make me self holden to you for the  
same. Do not forget to send me some of  
the same.

London. 3. August  
1619.  
Your Affectionate Servant  
Edwin Sandys

inconstant salvages; finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want[ing] all things else [which] the Russians have.

“ For the coronation of Powhatan, by whose advice you sent him such presents I know not; but this give me leave to tell you, I fear they will be the confusion of us all ere we hear from you again. At your ship’s arrival the salvages’s harvest was newly gathered and we [were] going to buy it; our own not being half sufficient for so great a number. As for the two [shiploads] of corn [which] Newport promised to provide us from Powhatan,<sup>1</sup> he brought us but 14 bushels . . . [while most of his men were] sick and near famished. From your ship we had not provision in victuals worth £20, and we are more than 200 to live upon this; the one half sick, the other little better. . . . Our diet is a little meal and water, and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the sea, fowls in the air, and beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wild, and we so weak and ignorant that we cannot much trouble them.

“ The soldiers say many of your officers maintain their families out of that you send us; and that Newport hath While we suffer for want of food £100 a year for carrying news. . . . Captain Ratcliffe is now called Sickelmore, a poor counterfeited imposture. I have sent you him home, lest the company [here] should cut his throat. What he is now, every one can tell you. If he and Archer return again, they are sufficient to keep us always in factions.

“ When you send again I intreat you [to] send but 30 carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, Send us next time some useful workmen masons, and diggers up of trees’ roots, well provided, [rather] than 1000 of such as we have; for except we be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything. . . . And I hum-

<sup>1</sup> Smith here means the village of that name, on the James River, near the site of Richmond. See above, p. 95.

bly entreat you hereafter, let us know what we [are to] receive, and not stand to the sailors's courtesy to leave us what they please. . . .

"These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia from laying such a foundation [as] ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not look for any profitable returns; so I humbly rest."<sup>1</sup>

It is to be hoped that the insinuation that some of the Company's officers were speculators was ill founded; as for the fling at Newport, it was evidently made in a little fit of petulance and is inconsistent with the esteem in which Smith really held that worthy mariner. These are slight blemishes in a temperate, courageous, and manly letter. It is full of hard common-sense and tells such plain truths as must have set the Company thinking. It was becoming evident to many persons in London that some new departure must be made. But before Newport's home-bound ship could cross the ocean, and before the Company could decide upon its new plan of operations, some months must needs elapse, and in the interim we will continue to follow the fortunes of the little colony, now left to itself in the wilderness for the third time.

It is evident from Smith's letter that he anticipated trouble from the Indians. In The Powhatan's promise to count him forever as his own son he put little faith. His own view of the noble savage seems to have been much the same as that expressed about this time by Rev. Richard Hakluyt, in a letter of advice and warning to the London Company: "But for all their fair and cunning speeches, [these natives] are not overmuch to be trusted; for they be the greatest traitors of the world, as their manifold most crafty contrived and bloody treasons . . . do evidently prove. They be also as unconstant as the weathercock, and most ready to take all occasions of advantages to do mischief. They are great liars and dissemblers; for which faults oftentimes they had their deserved payments.

Richard Hakluyt on the Indian character

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, pp. 442-445.

. . . To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serve, . . . will be without comparison the best ; but if gentle polishing will not serve, [we] shall not want hammerers and rough masons enow — I mean our old soldiers trained up in the Netherlands — to square and prepare them to our Preacher's hands." <sup>1</sup>

There is something delicious in the naïve promptness with which this worthy clergyman admits the probable need of prescribing military measures as a preparation for the cure of souls. The London Company may have stood in need of such advice ; Smith did not. He looked upon Indians already with the eyes of a frontiersman, and the rough vicissitudes of his life had made him quick to interpret signs of mischief. It was not so much a direct assault that he feared as a contest arising from the Indians' refusal to sell their corn. During the past winter Pocahontas had made frequent and regular visits to Jamestown, bringing corn and occasionally venison, raccoons, and other game ; and this aid had been so effective as to ward off famine for that season. But a change had come over her father and his councillors. As the English kept strengthening their fortifications and building houses, as the second and third shiploads of colonists arrived, the Indians must have begun to realize that it was their intention to stay in the country. On Smith's first visit to Werowocomoco, when The Powhatan said that he should henceforth regard him as a son, he showed himself extremely curious to know why the English had come to his part of the world. Smith did not think it safe to confess that they had come to stay ; so he invented a story of their having been defeated by the Spaniards and driven ashore ; then, he added, the pinnace being leaky, they were obliged to stay until their Father Newport should come back and get them and take them away. Since that conversation Father Newport had come twice, and each time he had brought many of his children and taken away but

What  
Smith  
dreaded

How the  
red men's  
views of the  
situation  
were  
changed

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 28.

few. Instead of 38 men at Jamestown there were now 200. Every painted and feathered warrior knew that these pale children were not good farmers, and that their lives depended upon a supply of corn. By withholding this necessary of life, how easy it might be to rid the land of their presence!

As the snows began to come, toward Christmas of 1608, Smith's fears began to be realized. When the Indians were asked for corn they refused with a doggedness that withstood even the potent fascination of blue glass beads. Smith fully comprehended the seriousness of the situation. "No persuasion," he says, "could persuade him to starve." If the Indians would not trade of their own free will they must be made to trade. The Powhatan asked for some men who could aid him in building a house, and Smith sent to Werowocomoco fourteen men, including four of the newly arrived Germans. Smith followed with twenty-seven men in the pinnace and barge. In the party were George Percy and Francis West, brother of the Lord Delaware of whom we shall have soon to speak. At Warasqueak Bay, where they stopped the first night, a chieftain told them to beware of treachery at Werowocomoco; The Powhatan, he said, had concocted a scheme for cutting their throats. Captain Smith thanked the redskin for his good counsel, assured him of his undying affection, and proceeded down the river to Hampton, where he was very hospitably entertained by the Kecoughtans, a small tribe numbering about twenty warriors. For about a week, from December 30, 1608, till January 6, 1609, a fierce blizzard of snow and sleet obliged the party to stay in the dry and well-warmed wigwams of the Kecoughtans, who regaled them with oysters, fish, venison, and wild fowl. As they passed around to the northern side of the peninsula and approached the York River, the Indians seemed less friendly. When they arrived at Werowocomoco the river was frozen for nearly half a mile from the shore, but Smith rammed and broke the ice with his barge until he had pushed up to a place where it was thick enough to walk safely; then

A bold resolve

Voyage to Werowocomoco

sending the barge back to the pinnacle the whole party were landed by instalments. They quartered themselves in the first house they came to, and sent to The Powhatan for food. He sent them venison, turkeys, and corn-bread.

The next day, January 13, the wily barbarian came to see Smith and asked him bluntly how soon he was going away. He had not asked the English, he said, to come and visit him, and he was sure he had no corn for them, nevertheless he thought he knew where he could get forty baskets of it for one good English sword per basket. Hearing this speech, Captain Smith pointed to the new house already begun, and to the men whom he had sent to build it, and said, "Powhatan, I am surprised to hear you say that you have not invited us hither; you must have a short memory!" At this retort the old chieftain burst into fits of laughter, but when he had recovered gravity it appeared that his notions as to a bargain remained unchanged. He would sell his corn for swords and guns, but not for copper; he could eat corn, he could not eat copper. Then said Captain Smith, "Powhatan, Smith's parley with The Powhatan . . . to testify my love [for you] I sent you my men for your building, neglecting mine own. What your people had, you have engrossed, forbidding them our trade; and now you think by consuming the time we shall consume for want, not having [wherewith] to fulfill your strange demands. As for swords and guns, I told you long ago I had none to spare. . . . You must know [that the weapons] I have can keep me from want; yet steal or wrong you I will not, nor dissolve that friendship we have mutually promised, except you constrain me by . . . bad usage." This covert threat was not lost upon the keen barbarian. He quickly replied that within two days the English should have all the corn he could spare, but said he, "I have some doubt, Captain Smith, [about] your coming hither, [which] makes me not so kindly seek to relieve you as I would. For many do inform me [that] your coming hither is not for trade, but to invade my people and possess my country. [They] dare not come to bring you corn, seeing you thus

# HIS MAJESTIES

GRACIOUS LETTER TO THE  
EARLE OF SOUTH-HAMPTON,  
Treasurer, and to the Councell and Company of  
*Virginia heere : commanding the present setting up  
of Silke works, and planting of Vines in Virginia.*

And the Letter of the Treasurer, Councell, and Company, to  
*the Governour and Councell of State there, for the strict exe-  
cution of his Majesties Royall Commands herein.*

*Also a Treatise of the Art of making Silke :*

OR,

*Directions for the making of lodgings, and the breeding, nourishing,  
and ordering of Silke wormes, and for the planting of Mulbery  
trees, and all other things belonging to the Silke Art.*

Together with instructions how to plant and dresse Vines, and  
*to make Wine, and how to dry Raisins, Figs, and other fruits,  
and to set Oliues, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates,  
Almonds, and many other fruits, &c.*

And in the end, a Conclusion, with sundry profitable  
*remonstrances to the Colonies.*

Set forth for the benefit of the two renowned and most  
hopefull Sisters, *Virginia*, and the *Summer-Ilands*.

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By *John Bonoeil* Frenchman, servant in these employments  
to his most Excellent Majesty of Great Brittain,  
*France, Ireland, Virginia, and the Summer-Ilands.*

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Published by Authority.

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*London Printed by Felix Kyngston. 1622.*

armed with your men. To free us of this fear, leave your weapons aboard [the ship], for here they are needless, we being all friends, and forever *Powhatans*."

This last remark, that Smith's men were virtually or constructively members of the Powhatan tribe is in harmony with my suggestion that the rescue of their leader by Pocahontas a year before had directly led to his adoption, according to the usual Indian custom in such cases of rescue. With many such discourses, says our chronicle, did they spend the day; and on the morrow the parley was renewed. Again and again the old chief insisted that before the corn could be brought, the visitors must leave their arms on shipboard; but Smith was not so blind as to walk into such a trap. He said, "Powhatan, . . . the vow I made you of my love, both myself and my men have kept. As for your promise, I find it every day violated by some of your subjects; yet . . . for your sake only we have curbed our thirsting desire of revenge; else had they known as well the cruelty we use to our enemies as our true love and courtesy to our friends. And I think your judgment sufficient to conceive — as well by the adventures we have undertaken as by the advantage we have [in] our arms [over] yours — that had we intended you any hurt, we could long ere this have effected it. Your people coming to Jamestown are entertained with their bows and arrows, without any exceptions; we esteeming it with you as it is with us, to wear our arms as our apparel." Having made this hit, the captain assumed a still loftier A game of bluff tone. It would never do to admit that this blessed corn, though the cause of so much parley, was an indispensable necessity for the white men. "As for your hiding your provisions . . . we shall not so unadvisedly starve as you conclude; your friendly care in that behalf is needless, for we have [ways of finding food that are quite] beyond your knowledge."

The narrative which I am here following<sup>1</sup> is written by William Phettiplace, captain of the pinnace, Jeffrey Abbot,

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, pp. 448-465.



described as sergeant, and two of the original settlers, Anas Todkill and Richard Wiffin. Abbot and Phettiplace were on the spot, and the narrative was revised by Captain Smith himself, so that it has the highest kind of authority. One need but examine the similar parleys described so frequently by Francis Parkman, to realize the faithful accuracy with which these Englishmen portrayed the Indian at that early period when English experience of the red man's ways was only beginning.

The hint that perhaps white men could get along without his corn after all seems to have wrought its effect upon the crafty Powhatan. Baskets filled with the yellow grain were brought, and dickering as distinguished The corn is brought from diplomacy began. Yet diplomacy had not quite given up its game. With a sorrowful face and many sighs the chief exclaimed: "Captain Smith, I never used any chief so kindly as yourself, yet from you I receive the least kindness of any. Captain Newport gave me swords, copper, clothes, a bed, towels, or what[ever] I desired; ever taking what I offered him, and would send away his guns when I entreated him. None doth . . . refuse to do what I desire but only you; of whom I can have nothing but what you regard not, and yet you will have whatsoever you demand. . . . You call me father, but I see . . . you will do what you list. . . . But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your arms that I may believe you."

Smith felt sure that this whimpering speech was merely the cover for a meditated attack. Of his thirty-eight Englishmen but eighteen were with him at the moment. He sent a messenger to his vessels, ordering all save a guard of three or four men to come ashore, and he set some Indians to work breaking the ice, so that the barge could be forced up near to the bank. For a little while Suspicion of treachery Captain Smith and John Russell were left alone in a house with The Powhatan and a few squaws, when all at once the old chief slipped out and disappeared from view. While Smith was talking with the women a crowd of armed

warriors surrounded the house, but instantly Smith and Russell sprang forth and with drawn swords charged upon them so furiously that they all turned and fled, tumbling over one another in their headlong terror.

This incident gave the Englishmen a moral advantage. The Indian plot, if such it was, had failed, and now the red men "to the uttermost of their skill sought excuses to dissemble the matter; and Powhatan, to excuse his flight and the sudden coming of this multitude, sent our Captain a great bracelet and a chain of pearl,<sup>1</sup> by an ancient orator that bespoke us to this purpose; perceiving even then from our

A wily  
speaker      pinnacle, a barge and men departing and coming  
                 unto us:— Captain Smith, our [chief] is fled; fearing your guns, and knowing when the ice was broken there would come more men, sent these numbers but to guard his corn from stealing, [which] might happen without your knowledge. Now, though some be hurt by your misprision, yet [The] Powhatan is your friend, and so will forever continue. Now since the ice is open he would have you send away your corn, and if you would have his company send away also your guns." It was ingeniously if not ingenuously said, but the concluding request remained unheeded, and Smith never set eyes on his Father Powhatan again. With faces frowning, guns loaded and cocked, the Englishmen stood by while a file of Indians with baskets on their backs carried down the corn and loaded it into the barge. The Indians were glad to get safely done with such work; as the chronicle observes, "we needed not importune them to make despatch."

The Englishmen would at once have embarked, but the retreating tide had left the barge stranded, so that it was necessary to wait for the next high water. Accordingly it was decided to pass the night in the house where they were already quartered, which was a kind of outpost at some distance from the main village, and they sent word to The Powhatan to send them some supper. Then the Indians

<sup>1</sup> Wampum is undoubtedly meant.

seem to have debated the question whether it would be prudent to surprise and slay them while at supper or afterward while asleep. But that "dearest jewel," Pocahontas, says the narrative, "in that dark night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captain great cheer should be sent us by and by ; but Powhatan and all the power he could make would after[ward] come kill us all, if [indeed] they that brought it [did] not kill us . . . when we were at supper. Therefore if we would live she wished us presently to be gone. Such things as she delighted in [we] would have given her ; but with the tears running down her cheeks she said she durst not be seen to have any, for if Powhatan should know it she were but dead ; and so she ran away by herself as she came." Within less than an hour eight or ten stalwart Indians appeared, bringing venison and other dainties, and begged the English to put out the matches of their matchlocks, for the smell of the smoke made them sick. Our narrator tells us nothing of the sardonic smile which we are sure that he and his comrades can hardly have suppressed. The captain sent the messengers back to Father Powhatan, with a concise but significant message : "If he is coming to visit me to-night let him make haste, for I am ready to receive him." One can imagine how such an announcement would chill the zeal of the Indians. A few of their scouts prowled about, but the English kept vigilant guard till high tide and then sailed away. A queer interview it had been. With some of hell's fiercest passions smouldering beneath the surface, an explosion had been prevented by watchful tact on the one side and vague dread on the other. Peace had been preserved between the strange white chieftain and his dusky father, and two Englishmen were left at Werowocomoco, with the four Germans, to go on with the house-building. If our chronicle is to be trusted, the Germans played a base part. Believing that the English colony would surely perish of famine, they sought their own profit in fraternizing with the Indians. So, no sooner

Pocahontas reveals the plot

Smith's message to The Powhatan

had Smith's vessels departed from Werowocomoco on their way up to Opekankano's village, than two of these "damned Dutchmen," as the narrator calls them, went overland to Jamestown and said that Captain Smith had sent them for more weapons; in this way they got a number of swords, pikes, muskets, and hatchets, and traded them off to the redskins at Werowocomoco.

Meanwhile Smith's party arrived at Opekankano's village, near the place where the Pamunkey and Mattapony rivers unite to form the York. The chief of the Pamunkeys received them with smiles and smooth words, but seems to have meditated treachery. At all events the Englishmen so interpreted it when they found themselves unexpectedly surrounded by a great crowd of armed warriors numbering several hundreds. It was not prudent to fire on such a number if it could be avoided; actual bloodshed might do more harm than good; a peaceable display of boldness was better. It might have been and probably was remembered that the Spaniards in the West Indies had often overawed all opposition by seizing the person of the chief. After a brief consultation Smith, accompanied by West and Percy and Russell, rushed into Opekankano's house, seized him by the long scalp-lock, dragged him before the astonished multitude, and held a pistol to his breast. Such prompt audacity was its own safeguard. The corn was soon forthcoming, and the little expedition made its way back to Jamestown, loaded with some 300 bushels of it, besides a couple of hundredweight of venison and deer suet. In itself it was but a trifle of a pound of meat and a bushel and a half of grain for each person in the colony. But the chief result was the profound impression made upon the Indians. A few years later such a bold treatment of them would have been attended with far more difficulty and danger, would seldom indeed have been possible. But in 1609 the red man had not yet learned to gauge the killing capacity of the white man; he was aware of terrible powers there which he could not estimate, and

How Ope-  
kankano  
was  
brought to  
terms

For the Trade for  
Furs.

December. Anno. 1623.

Received of M<sup>r</sup> John Smyth upon his subscription in fy  
four for fy Trade for furs, wherein it is to be ad-  
vantageable part of profit according to his adventure fy  
sum of Six poundes, fiveten Shilling and fower pence  
of Lawfull money of England.

6. 8. 5  
6-13-4.

Nicholas Farrar

was therefore inclined to err on the side of prudence. This sudden irruption of about forty white men into the principal Indian villages and their masterful demeanour there seemed to show that after all it would be wiser to have them for friends than for enemies. A couple of accidents confirmed this view of the case.

One day as three of the Chickahominy tribe were loitering about Jamestown, admiring the rude fortifications, one of them stole a pistol and fled to the woods with it. His two comrades were arrested and one was held in durance, while the other was sent out to recover the pistol. He was made to understand that if he failed to bring it back, the hostage would be put to death. As it was intensely cold, some charcoal was charitably furnished for the prisoner's hut. In the evening his friend returned with the pistol, and then the prisoner was found apparently dead, suffocated with the fumes of the charcoal, whereupon the friend broke forth into loud lamentations. But the Englishmen soon perceived that some life was still left in the unconscious and prostrate form, and Smith told the wailing Indian that he could restore his friend to life, only there must be no more stealing. Then with brandy and vinegar and friction the failing heart and arteries were stimulated to their work, the dead savage came to life, and the two comrades, each with a small present of copper, went on their way rejoicing.

Smith as a  
worker of  
miracles

The other affair was more tragic. An Indian at Werowocomoco had got possession of a bag of gunpowder, and was playing with it while his comrades were pressing closely about him, when all at once it took fire and exploded, killing three or four of the group and scorching the rest. Whereupon our chronicler tells us, "These and other such pretty accidents so amazed and affrighted Powhatan and all his people, that from all parts with presents they desired peace, returning many stolen things which we never demanded nor thought of; and after that . . . all the country became absolutely as free for us as for themselves."

A pretty  
accident

The good effects of this were soon apparent. With his mind relieved from anxiety about the Indians, Smith had his hands free for work at Jamestown. One of the most serious difficulties under which the colony laboured was the communistic plan upon which it had been started. The settlers had come without wives and children, and each man worked not to acquire property for himself and his family but to further the general purposes of the colony. In planting corn, in felling trees, in repairing the fortifications, even in hunting or fishing, he was working for the community; Communism whatsoever he could get by his own toil or by trade with the natives went straightway into the common stock, and the skilful and industrious fared no better than the stupid and lazy. The strongest kind of premium was thus at once put upon idleness, which under circumstances of extreme anxiety and depression is apt enough to flourish without any premium. Things had arrived at such a pass that some thirty or forty men were supporting the whole company of two hundred, when President Smith applied the strong hand. He gathered them all together one day and plainly told them that he was their lawfully chosen ruler and should promptly punish all infractions of discipline, and they must all understand that hereafter he that will not work shall not eat. His authority had come to be great, and the rule was enforced. By the end of April some twenty houses had been built, a well of pure sweet water had been dug in the fort, thirty acres or more of ground had been broken up and planted, and nets and weirs arranged for fishing. A few hogs and fowl had been left by Newport, and now could be heard the squeals of sixty pigs and the peeping of five hundred spring chickens. The manufacture of tar and soap-ashes went on, and a new fortress was begun in an easily defensible position upon a commanding hill.

This useful work was suddenly interrupted by an unforeseen calamity. Rats brought from time to time by the ships had quickly multiplied, and in April these Unbidden messmates unbidden guests were found to have made such havoc in the

granaries that but little corn was left. Harvest time was a long way off, and it was necessary to pause for a while and collect provisions. Several Indian villages were again visited and trading went on amicably, but there was a limit to the aid the barbarians had it in their power to give, and in the quest of sustenance the settlers were scattered. By midsummer a few were picking berries in the woods, others were quartered among the Indians, some were living on oysters and caviar, some were down at Point Comfort catching fish, and it was these that were the first to hail the bark of young Samuel Argall, who was coming for sturgeon and whatever else he could find, and had steered a straighter course from London than any mariner before him. Argall brought letters from members of the Company complaining that the goods sent home in the ships were not of greater value in the market, and saying that Smith had been accused of dealing harshly with the Indians. This must have referred to some skirmishes he had had with the Rappahannocks and other tribes in the course of his exploration of the Chesapeake waters during the previous summer. Another piece of news was brought by Argall. The London Company had obtained a new charter, and a great expedition, commanded by Lord Delaware, was about to sail for Virginia.

This was true. The experience of two years had convinced the Company that its methods needed mending. In the first place more money was needed and the list of shareholders was greatly enlarged. By the second charter, dated May 23, 1609, the Company was made a corporation and all its members were mentioned by name. The list was headed by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and contained among other interesting names those of the philosopher Bacon and of Sir Oliver Cromwell, from whose nephew, then a lad at Huntingdon School, the world was by and by to hear. On the list we find the names of 659 persons, of whom 21 were peers, 96 were knights, 11 were clergymen and physicians, 53 are described as captains,

Arrival of  
Argall

Second  
Charter of  
the London  
Company,  
1609



28 as engineers, 58 as gentlemen, 110 as merchants, while the remaining 282 are variously designated or only the name is given. "Of these about 230 paid £37 10s. or more, about 229 paid less than £37 10s., and about 200 failed to pay



ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY

anything."<sup>1</sup> It should be borne in mind that £37 10s. at that time was equivalent to at least \$750 of to-day. Besides these individuals, the list contains the companies of mercers, grocers, drapers, fishmongers, vintners, brewers, masons, lawyers, fletchers, armourers, and others, — in all fifty-six com-

<sup>1</sup> Brown's *Genesis*, i. 228.

panies of the city of London. Such a list, as well as the profusion of sermons and tracts on Virginia that were poured forth at the time, bespeaks a general interest in the enterprise. The Company was incorporated under the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia." Nothing was said about the Second Colony, so that by this charter the London Company was unyoked from the Plymouth Company.

The jurisdiction of the reorganized London Company was to extend 200 miles south and 200 miles north of Old Point Comfort, which would not quite contain all of North Carolina but would easily include Maryland and Delaware. The government of this region was vested in a supreme council sitting in London, the constitution of which was remarkable. Its members were at the outset appointed by the king, but all vacancies were thereafter to be filled by the vote of the whole body of 659 persons and 56 tradeguilds constituting the Company. The sole power of legislation for Virginia, with the right to appoint all colonial officers, was vested in the council. Besides thus exercising entire sovereignty over Virginia, the Company was authorized to levy and collect custom-house duties and even to wage war for purely defensive purposes. Thus this great corporation was made virtually independent of Parliament, with a representative government of its own.

As for the local government in Virginia, it was entirely changed. The working of the local council with its elected president had been simply ludicrous. Two presidents had been deposed and sent home, while the councillors had done nothing but quarrel and threaten each other's lives, and one had been shot for mutiny. Order and quiet had not been attained until President Smith became autocratic, after the other members of the council had departed or died. Now the new charter abolished the local council, and the direct rule was to be exercised by a governor with autocratic power over the set-

The  
council in  
London

The local  
govern-  
ment

tlers, but responsible to the supreme council in London, by which he was appointed.

For the Company as thus reorganized the two most important executive offices were filled by admirable appointments. The treasurer was the eminent merchant Sir Thomas Smith, of whom some account has already been given. For governor of Virginia the council appointed Thomas West, third Baron Delaware, whose younger brother, Francis West, we have seen helping John Smith to browbeat the Indians at Werowocomoco and Pamunkey. This Lord Delaware belonged to a family distinguished for public service. On the mother's side he was nearly related to Queen Elizabeth. In America he is forever identified with the history of Virginia, and he has left a name to one of our great rivers, to a very interesting group of Indians, and to one of the smallest states in our Union. With New England, too, he has one link of association ; for his sister, Penelope West, married Herbert Pelham, and their son was the first treasurer of Harvard College. Thomas West, born in 1577, was educated at Oxford, served with distinction in the Netherlands, and was knighted for bravery in 1599. He succeeded to the barony of Delaware in 1602, and was a member of the Privy Council of Elizabeth and James I. No one was more warmly enlisted than he in the project of founding Protestant English colonies in the New World. To this cause he devoted himself with ever growing enthusiasm, and when the London Company was remodelled he was appointed governor of Virginia for life. With him were associated the sturdy soldier, Sir Thomas Gates, as lieutenant-governor, and the old sea rover, Sir George Somers, as admiral.

Thomas,  
Lord  
Delaware

The spring of 1609 was spent in organizing a new expedition, while Smith and his weary followers were struggling with the damage wrought by rats. People out of work were attracted by the communistic programme laid down by the Company. The shares were rated at about \$300 each, to use our modern figures, and emigration to Virginia entitled

the emigrant to one share. So far as needful the proceeds of the enterprise "were to be spent upon the settlement, and the surplus was either to be divided or funded for seven years. During that period the settlers were to be maintained at the expense of the Company, while all the product of their labours was to be cast into the common stock. At the end of that time every shareholder was to receive a grant of land in proportion to his stock held."<sup>1</sup>

*Thogalls*

Doubtless the prospects of becoming a shareholder in a great speculative enterprise, and of being supported by the Company, must have seemed alluring to many people in difficult circumstances. At all events, some 500 people — men, women, and children — were got together. A fleet of nine ships, with ample supplies, was entrusted to Newport, and in his ship, the *Sea Venture*, were Gates and Somers, who were to take the colony under their personal supervision. Lord Delaware remained in London, planning further developments of the enterprise. Three more trusty men he could hardly have sent out. But a strange fate was knocking at the door.

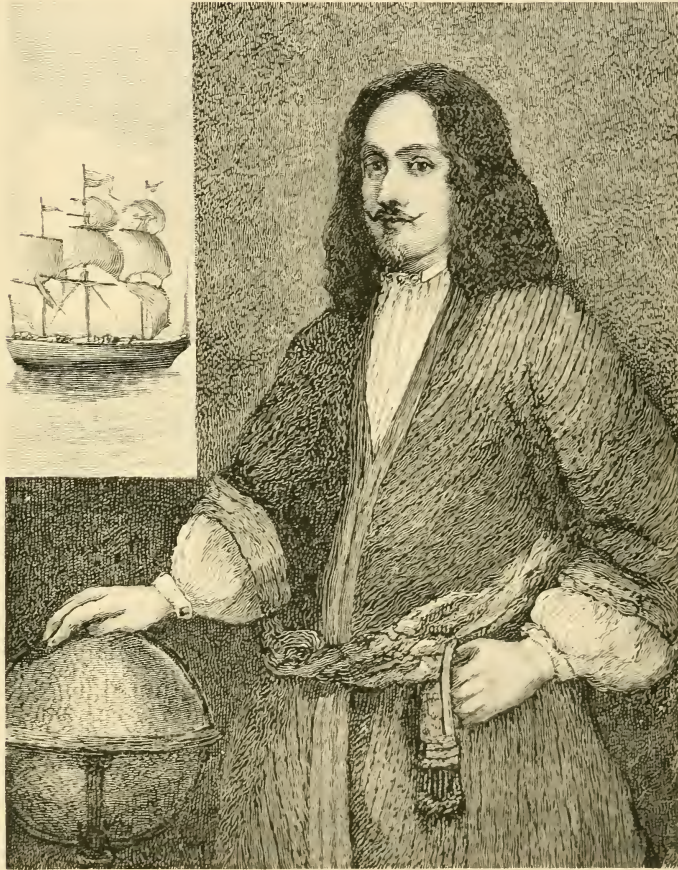
On the first of June, 1609, the fleet set sail and took the route by the Azores. Toward the end of July, as they were getting within a week's sail of the American coast, the ships were "caught in the tail of a hurricane," one of them was sunk, and the *Sea Venture* was separated from all the rest. That gallant ship was sorely shaken and torn, so that for five days the crew toiled steadily in relays, pumping and baling, while the water seemed to be gaining upon them. Many of the passengers abandoned themselves to despair and to rum, or, as an eye-witness tells us, "some of them, having good and comfortable waters in the ship, fetched them and drank one to the other, taking their last leave one of the other until their more joyful and happy meeting in a more blessed world."<sup>2</sup> The company were

Wreck of  
the *Sea*  
*Venture*

<sup>1</sup> Doyle's *Virginia*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Plain Description of the Bermudas*, p. 10; apud Force, vol. iii.

saved by the skill and energy of the veteran Somers, who for three days and nights never once left the quarter-deck. At length land was sighted, and presently the Sea Venture



SIR GEORGE SOMERS

was driven violently aground and wedged immovable between two rocks, a shattered wreck. But all her people, a hundred and fifty or so, were saved, and most of their gear was brought away.

The island on which they were wrecked was one of a group the early history of which is shrouded in strange mystery. If my own solution of an obscure problem is to be trusted, these islands had once a fierce cannibal population, whose first white visitors, Vincent Pinzon and Americus Vesputius, landed among them on St. Bernard's day in August, 1498, and carried off more than 200 slaves.<sup>1</sup> Hence the place was called St. Bernard's archipelago, but on crudely glimmering maps went wide astray and soon lost its identity. In 1522 a Spanish captain, Juan Bermudez, happened to land there and his name has remained. But in the intervening years Spanish slave-hunters from San Domingo had infested those islands and reaped and gleaned the harvest of heathen flesh till no more was to be had. The ruthless cannibals were extirpated by the more ruthless seekers for gold, and when Bermudez stopped there he found no human inhabitants, but only swine running wild, a sure witness to the recent presence of Europeans. Then for nearly a century the unvisited spot was haunted by the echoes of a frightful past, wild traditions of ghoulish orgies and infernal strife. But the kidnapper's work in which these vague notions originated was so soon forgotten that when the *Sea Venture* was wrecked those islands were believed to have been from time immemorial uninhabited. Sailors shunned them as a scene of abominable sorceries, and called them the Isles of Demons. Otherwise they were known simply by the Spanish skipper's name as the Bermoothes, afterward more completely anglicized into Bermudas. From the soil of those foul goblin legends, that shuddering reminiscence of inexpiable crime, the potent sorcery of genius has reared one of the most exquisitely beautiful, ethereally delicate works of human fancy that the world has ever seen. The wreck of the *Sea Venture* suggested to Shakespeare many hints for the *Tempest*, which was written within the next two years and performed before the king in 1611. It is not that these islands were conceived as the scene of the comedy; the command

<sup>1</sup> See my *Discovery of America*, ii. 59.

to Ariel to go and "fetch dew from the still-vexed Bermoothes" seems enough to show that Prospero's enchanted isle was elsewhere, doubtless in some fairy universe hard by the Mediterranean. But from the general conception of monsters of the isle down to such incidents as the flashing light on the shrouds of the ship, it is clear that Shakespeare made use of Strachey's narrative of the wreck of the Sea Venture, published in 1610.

Gates and Somers found the Isles of Demons far pleasanter than their reputation, and it was well for them that it was so, for they were obliged to stay there nearly ten months, while with timber freshly cut and with bolts and beams from the wreck the party built two pinnaces which they named Patience and Deliverance. They laid in ample stores of salted pork and fish, traversed the 700 miles of ocean in a fortnight, and arrived at Jamestown on the 10th of May, 1610.

Arrival of  
the pin-  
naces at  
Jamestown,  
May, 1610

The spectacle that greeted them was enough to have appalled the stoutest heart. To explain it in a few words, we must go back to August, 1609, when the seven ships that had weathered the storm arrived in Virginia and landed their 300 or more passengers, known in history as the Third Supply.

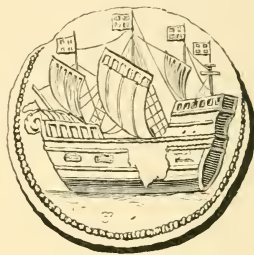
*William Strachey*

Since the new dignitaries and all their official documents were in the Bermuda wreck, there was no one among the new-comers in Virginia competent to succeed Smith in the government; but the mischief-makers, Ratcliffe and Archer, were unfortunately among them, and the former instantly called upon Smith to abdicate in his favour. He had persuaded many of the new-comers to support him, but the old settlers were loyal to Smith, and there was much confusion until the latter arrested Ratcliffe as a disturber of the peace. The quality of the new emigration was far inferior to the older. The older settlers were mostly gentlemen of character; of the new ones far too many were shiftless vagabonds, or, as Smith says, "unruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to

Arrival of  
the Third  
Supply,  
August,  
1609

escape ill destinies." They were sure to make trouble, but for a while Smith held them in check. The end of his stay in Virginia was, however, approaching. He was determined to find some better site for a colony than the low marshy Jamestown; so in September he sailed up to the Indian village called Powhatan and bought of the natives a tract of land in that neighbourhood near to where Richmond now stands, — a range of hills, salubrious and defensible, with so fair a landscape that Smith called the place Nonesuch. On the way back to Jamestown a bag of gunpowder in his boat exploded and wounded him

Smith re-  
turns to  
England,  
October,  
1609



SOMERS COIN

so badly that he was completely disabled. The case demanded such surgery as the wilderness could not furnish, and as the ships were sailing for England early in October he went in one of them. He seems also to have welcomed this opportunity of answering sundry charges brought against him by the Ratcliffe faction. Some flying squirrels were sent home to amuse King James.<sup>1</sup>

The arrival of the ships in England, with news of the disappearance of the Sea Venture and the danger of anarchy in Virginia, alarmed Lord Delaware, and he resolved to go as soon as possible and take command of his colony. About the first of April he set sail with about 150 persons, mostly mechanics. He had need to make all haste. Jamestown had become a pandemonium. Smith left George Percy in command, but that

Lord Dela-  
ware sails  
for Vir-  
ginia,  
April, 1610

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 32.



excellent gentleman was in poor health and unable to exert much authority. There were now 500 mouths to be filled, and the stores of food diminished with portentous rapidity. The "unruly gallants" got into trouble with the Indians, who soon responded after their manner. They slaughtered the settlers' hogs for their own benefit, and they murdered the settlers themselves when opportunity was offered. The worthless Ratcliffe and thirty of his men were slain at one fell swoop while they were at the Pamunkey village, trading with The Powhatan.<sup>1</sup> As the frosts and snows came more shelter was needed than the cabins already built could furnish. Many died of the cold. The approach of spring saw the last supplies of food consumed, and famine began to claim its victims. Soon there came to be more houses than occupants, and as fast as one was emptied by death it was torn down for firewood. Even palisades were stripped from their framework and thrown into the blaze, for cold was a nearer foe than the red men. The latter watched the course of events with savage glee, and now and then, lurking in the neighbourhood, shot flights of arrows tipped with death. A gang of men stole one of the pinnaces, armed her heavily, and ran out to sea, to help themselves by piracy. After the last basket of corn had been devoured, people lived for a while on roots and herbs, after which they had recourse to cannibalism. The corpse of a slain Indian was boiled and eaten. Then the starving company began cooking their own dead. One man killed his wife and salted her, and had eaten a considerable part of her body before he was found out. This was too much for people to endure; the man was tied to a stake and burned alive. Such were the goings on in that awful time, to which men long afterward alluded as the Starving Time. No wonder that one poor wretch, crazed with agony, cast his Bible into the fire, crying "Alas! there is no God."

When Smith left the colony in October, it numbered about 500 souls. When Gates and Somers and Newport

<sup>1</sup> See Spelman's account of the affair, in Smith's *Works*, pp. cii-cv.

arrived from the Bermudas in May, they found a haggard remnant of 60 all told, men, women, and children scarcely able to totter about the ruined village, and with the gleam of madness in their eyes. The pinnaces brought food for their relief, but with things in such a state there was no use in trying to get through the summer. The provisions in store would not last a month. The three brave captains consulted together and decided, with tears in their eyes, that Virginia must be abandoned. Since Raleigh first began, every attempt had ended in miserable failure, and this last calamity was the most crushing of all. What hope could there be that North America would ever be colonized? What men could endure more than had been endured already? It was decided to go up to the Newfoundland fishing stations and get fish there, and then cross to England. On Thursday the 7th of June, 1610, to the funereal roll of drums, the cabins were stripped of such things as could be carried away, and the doleful company went aboard the pinnaces, weighed anchor, and started down the river. As the arching trees at Jamestown receded from the view, and the sombre silence of the forest settled over the deserted spot, it seemed indeed that "earth's paradise," Virginia, the object of so much longing, the scene of so much fruitless striving, was at last abandoned to its native Indians. But it had been otherwise decreed. That night a halt was made at Mulberry Island, and next morning the voyage was resumed. Toward noonday, as the little ships were speeding their way down the ever widening river, a black speck was seen far below on the broad waters of Hampton Roads, and every eye was strained. It was no red man's canoe. It was a longboat. Yes, Heaven be praised! the governor's own longboat with a message. His three well-stocked ships had passed Point Comfort, and he himself was with them!

Arrival of  
Lord Dela-  
ware, June  
8, 1610

Despair gave place to exultant hope, words of gratitude and congratulation were exchanged, and the prows were turned up-stream. On Sunday the three staunch captains



*St. Lawrence*



stood with their followers drawn up in military array before the dismantled ruins of Jamestown, while Lord Delaware stepped from his boat, and, falling upon his knees on the shore, lifted his hands in prayer, thanking God that he had come in time to save Virginia.

## CHAPTER V

### BEGINNINGS OF A COMMONWEALTH

OF late years there has been some discussion as to which of the flowers or plants indigenous to the New World might most properly be selected as a national emblem for the United States of America, and many persons have expressed a preference for that most beautiful of cereals, Indian corn. Certainly it would be difficult to overrate the historic importance of this plant. Of the part which it played in aboriginal America I have elsewhere treated.<sup>1</sup> To the first English settlers it was of vital consequence. But for Indian corn the company of Pilgrims at Plymouth would have succumbed to famine, like so many other such little colonies. The settlers at Jamestown depended upon corn from the outset, and when the supply stopped the Starving Time came quickly. We can thus appreciate the value to the Pilgrims of the alliance with Massasoit, and to the Virginians of the amicable relations for some time maintained with The Powhatan. We are also furnished with the means of estimating the true importance of John Smith and his work in the first struggle of English civilization with the wilderness. Whether we suppose that Smith in his writings unduly exalts his own work or not, one thing is clear. It is impossible to read his narrative without recognizing the hand of a man supremely competent to deal with barbarians. No such character as that which shines out through his pages could ever have been

<sup>1</sup> See my *Discovery of America*, i. 27, 28, and *passim*. For a national floral emblem, however, the columbine (*aquilegia*) has probably more points in its favour than any other.

invented. To create such a man by an effort of imagination would have been far more difficult than to be such a man. One of the first of Englishmen to deal with Indians, he had no previous experience to aid him; yet nowhere have the red men been more faithfully portrayed than in his pages, and one cannot fail to note this unrivalled keenness of observation, which combined with rare sagacity and coolness to make him always say and do the right things at the right times. These qualities kept the Indians from hostility and made them purveyors to the needs of the little struggling colony.

Besides these qualities Smith had others which marked him out as a natural leader of men. His impulsiveness and plain speaking, as well as his rigid enforcement of discipline, made him some bitter enemies, but his comrades in general spoke of him in terms of strong admiration and devotion. His nature was essentially noble, and his own words bear witness to it, as in the following exhortation: "See-  
ing we are not born for ourselves, but each to help Nobility of his nature other, and our abilities are much alike at the hour of our birth and the minute of our death; seeing our good deeds and our bad, by faith in Christ's merits, is all we have to carry our souls to heaven or to hell; seeing honour is our lives' ambition, and our ambition after death to have an honourable memory of our life; and seeing by no means we would be abated of the dignities and glories of our predecessors, let us imitate their virtues to be worthily their successors." So wrote the man of whom Thomas Fuller quaintly said that he had "a prince's heart in a beggar's purse," and to whom one of his comrades, a survivor of the Starving Time, afterward paid this touching tribute: "Thus we lost him that in all our proceedings made justice his first guide, . . . ever hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity more than any dangers; that never allowed more for himself than his soldiers with him; that upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself; that would never see us want what he either had or could by any means get us; that would rather want than borrow, or starve than

not pay ; that loved action more than words, and hated falsehood and covetousness worse than death ; whose adventures were our lives and whose loss our deaths.”<sup>1</sup>

It is, indeed, in all probability true that losing Smith was the chief cause of the horrors of the Starving Time. The colony was not ill supplied when he left it, in October, 1609, for the stock of hogs had increased to about 600, and the Third Supply had brought sheep and goats as well as horses. All this advantage had been destroyed by the active hostility of the Indians, which was due to the outrageous conduct of white ruffians whom Smith would have restrained or punished. But for this man's superb courage and resourcefulness, one can hardly believe that the colony would have lasted until 1609. More likely it would have perished in one of the earlier seasons of sore trial. It would have succumbed like Lane's colony, and White's, and Popham's ; one more would have been added to the sickening list of failures, and the hopes built upon Virginia in England would have been sadly dashed. The utmost ingenuity on the part of Smith's detractors can never do away with the fact that his personal qualities did more than anything else to prevent such a direful calamity ; and for this reason he will always remain a great and commanding figure in American history.

The arrival of Lord Delaware in June, 1610, was the prelude to a new state of things. The pathetic scene in which that high-minded nobleman knelt in prayer upon the shore at Jamestown heralded the end of the chaos through which Smith had steered the colony. But the change was not effected all in a moment. The evils were too deep-seated for that. There had been three principal sources of weakness : first, the lack of a strong government with unquestioned authority ; secondly, the system of communism in labour and property ; thirdly, the low character of the emigrants. This last statement does not apply to the earlier settlers so much as to those who

But for  
Smith the  
colony  
would prob-  
ably have  
perished

Three  
sources of  
weakness

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. 486.



began to come in 1609. The earliest companies were mainly composed of respectable persons, but as the need for greater numbers grew imperative, inducements were held out which attracted a much lower grade of people. Neither this evil nor the evils flowing from communism were remedied during Lord Delaware's brief rule, but the first evil was entirely removed. In such a rude settlement a system by which a council elected its president annually, and could depose him at any time, was sure to breed faction and strife; strong government had been attained only when the strong man Smith was left virtually alone by the death or departure of the other councillors. Now there was no council, but instead of it a governor appointed in London and clothed with despotic power. Lord Delaware was a man of strict integrity, kind and humane, with a talent for command, and he was obeyed. His first act on that memorable June Sunday, after a sermon had been preached and his commission read, was to make a speech to the settlers, in which, to cite his own words, "I did lay some blames on them for many vanities and their idleness, earnestly wishing that I might no more find it so, lest I should be compelled to draw the sword of justice to cut off such delinquents, which I had much rather draw in their defence to protect from enemies." <sup>1</sup> Happily he was not called upon to draw it except against the Indians, to whom he administered some wholesome doses of chastisement. The colonists were kept at work, new fortifications were erected and dismantled houses put in repair. The little church assumed a comfortable and dignified appearance, with its cedar pews and walnut altar, its tall pulpit and baptismal font. The governor was extremely fond of flowers and at all services would have the church decorated with the bright and fragrant wild growth of the neighbourhood. At such times he always appeared in the full dignity of velvet and lace, attended by a body-guard of spearmen in scarlet cloaks. A full-toned bell was hung in its place, and daily it

Lord Delaware's administration

<sup>1</sup> Brown's *Genesis*, i. 407.

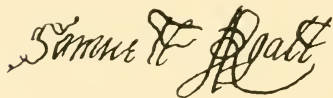
notified the little industrial army when to begin and when to leave off the work of the day.

Discipline was rigidly maintained, but the old danger of famine was not yet fully overcome. The difficulty was foreseen immediately after Delaware's arrival, and the veteran Somers at once sailed with the two pinnaces for the Bermudas, intending to bring back a cargo of salted pork and live hogs for breeding. His consort was commanded by Samuel Argall, a young kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the London Company. The two ships were parted by bad weather, and Somers, soon after landing at

Bermuda, fell sick and died, with his last breath commanding his men to fulfil their errand and go back to Virginia. But they, disgusted with the wilderness and thinking only of themselves, went straight to England, taking with them the old knight's body embalmed. As for young Argall, the stress of weather

Death of  
Somers,  
and cruise  
of Argall,  
1610

drove him to Cape Cod, where he caught many fish; then cruising along the coast he reached Chesapeake Bay and went up the Potomac River,



where he found a friend in the head sachem of the Potomac tribe and bought as much corn as his ship could carry. With these welcome supplies Argall reached Jamestown in September, and then Newport took the ships back to England, carrying with him Sir Thomas Gates to make a report of all that had happened and to urge the Company to fresh exertions. The winter of 1610-11 was a hard one, though not to be compared with the Starving Time of the year before. There were about 150 deaths, and Lord Delaware, becoming too ill to discharge his duties, sailed for England in March, 1611, intending to send Gates immediately back to Virginia. George Percy, who had commanded the colony through the Starving Time, was again left in charge.

Meanwhile the Company had been bestirring itself. A survey of the subscription list for that winter shows that English

pluck was getting aroused ; the colony must be set upon its feet. The list of craftsmen desired for Virginia is curious and interesting : millwrights, iron founders, makers of edge tools, colliers, woodcutters, shipwrights, fishermen, husbandmen, gardeners, bricklayers, lime-burners, blacksmiths, shoemakers, coopers, turners, gunmakers, wheelwrights, masons, millers, bakers, and brewers figure on the list with many others. But there must have been difficulty in getting enough of such respectable workmen together in due season for Newport's return trip ; for when that mariner started in March, 1611, with three ships and 300 passengers, it was a more shiftless and graceless set of ne'er-do-weels than had ever been sent out before. One lesson, however, had been learned ; and victuals enough were taken to last the whole colony for a year. Gates, the deputy-governor, was not ready to go, and his place was supplied by Sir Thomas Dale, who for the purpose was appointed High Marshal of Virginia. Under that designation this remarkable man ruled the colony for the next five years, though his superior, Gates, was there with him for a small part of the time. Lord Delaware, whose tenure of office as governor was for life, remained during those five years in England. If the Company erred in sending out scapegraces for settlers, it did its best to repair the error in sending such a man as Dale to govern them. Hard-headed, indomitable, bristling with energy, full of shrewd common-sense, Sir Thomas Dale was always equal to the occasion, and under his masterful guidance Virginia came out from the valley of the shadow of death. He was a soldier who had seen some of the hardest fighting in the Netherlands, and had afterward been attached to the suite of Henry, Prince of Wales. He was connected by marriage with Sir Walter Raleigh and with the Berkeleys.

Sir  
Thomas  
Dale

Dale was a true English mastiff, faithful and kind but formidable when aroused, and capable of showing at times some traits of the old wolf. The modern excess of pity misdirected, which tries to save the vilest murderers from

the gallows, would have been to him incomprehensible. To the upright he was a friend and helper; toward depraved offenders he was merciless, and among those over whom he was called to rule there were many such. John Smith judiciously criticised the policy of the Company in sending out such people; for, he says, "when neither the fear of God, nor shame, nor displeasure of their friends could rule them [in England], there is small hope ever to bring one in twenty of them ever to be good [in Virginia]. Notwithstanding I confess divers amongst them had better minds and grew much more industrious than was expected; yet ten good workmen would have done more substantial work in a day than ten of them in a week."<sup>1</sup> It was not against those who had better minds that Dale's heavy hand was directed; it was reserved for the incorrigible and crushed them. When he reached Jamestown, in May, 1611, he found that the two brief months of Percy's mild rule had already begun to bear ill fruit; men were playing at bowls in working hours, quite oblivious of planting and hoeing.

To meet the occasion, a searching code of laws had already been sanctioned by the Company. In this code several capital crimes were specified. Among them were failure to attend the church services, or blaspheming God's name, or speaking "against the known articles of the Christian faith." Any man who should "unworthily demean himself" toward a clergyman, or fail to "hold him in all reverent regard," was to be thrice publicly whipped, and after each whipping was to make public acknowledgment of the heinousness of his crime and the justice of the punishment. Not only to speak evil of the king, but even to vilify the London Company, was a treasonable offence, to be punished with death. Other capital offences were unlicensed trading with the Indians, the malicious uprooting of a crop, or the slaughter of cattle or poultry without the High Marshal's permission. For remissness in the daily work various penalties were assigned, and could be

A Draco-  
nian code

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. 487.

inflicted at the discretion of a court-martial. One of the first results of this strict discipline was a conspiracy to overthrow and perhaps murder Dale. The principal leader was that Jeffrey Abbot whom we have seen accompanying Smith on his last journey to Werowocomoco. The plot was detected, and Abbot and five other ringleaders were put to death in what the narrator calls a "cruel and unusual" manner, using the same adjectives which happen to occur in our Federal Constitution in its prohibition of barbarous punishments. It seems clear that at least one of the offenders was broken on the wheel, after the French fashion; and on some other occasion a lawbreaker "had a bodkin thrust through his tongue and was chained to a tree till he perished." But these were rare and extreme cases; the ordinary capital punishments were simply hanging and shooting, and they were summarily employed. Ralph Hamor, however, one of the most intelligent and fair-minded of contemporary chroniclers, declares that Dale's severity was less than the occasion demanded, and that he could not have been more lenient without imperilling the existence of the colony.<sup>1</sup> So the "Apostle of Virginia," the noble Alexander Whitaker, seems to have thought, for he held the High Marshal in great esteem. "Sir Thomas Dale," said he, "is a man of great knowledge in divinity, and of a good conscience in all things, both which be rare in a martial man." In his leisure moments the stern soldier liked nothing so well as to sit and discuss abstruse points of theology with this excellent clergyman.

But Dale was something more than a strong ruler and merciless judge. With statesmanlike insight he struck at one of the deepest roots of the evils which had afflicted the colony. Nothing had done so much to discourage steady labour and to foster idleness and mischief as the communism which had prevailed from the beginning. This compulsory system of throwing all the earnings into a common stock had just suited the lazy

Communism in practice

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. 508.

ones. Your true communist is the man who likes to live on the fruits of other people's labour. If you look for him in these days you are pretty sure to find him in a lager beer saloon, talking over schemes for rebuilding the universe. In the early days of Virginia the creature's nature was the same, and about one fifth of the population was thus called upon to support the whole. Under such circumstances it is wonderful that the colony survived until Dale could come and put an end to the system. It would not have done so, had not Smith and Delaware been able more or less to compel the laggards to work under penalties. Dale's strong common-sense taught him that to put men under the influence of the natural incentives to labour was better than to drive them to it by whipping them and slitting their ears. Only thus could the character of the colonists be permanently improved and the need for harsh punishments relaxed. So the worthy Dale took it upon himself to reform the whole system. The colonist, from being a member of an industrial army, was at once transformed into a small landed proprietor, with three acres to cultivate for his own use and behoof, on condition of paying a tax of six bushels of corn into the public treasury, which in that primitive time was the public granary. Though the change was but partially accomplished in Dale's time, the effect was magical. Industry and thrift soon began to prevail, crimes and disorders diminished, gallows and whipping-post found less to do, and the gaunt wolf of famine never again thrust his head within the door.

Six months after Dale's administration had begun, a fresh supply of settlers raised the whole number to nearly 800, and a good stock of cows, oxen, and goats was added to their resources. The colony now began to expand itself beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Jamestown. Already there was a small settlement at the river's mouth, near the site of Hampton. The want of a better site than Jamestown was freely admitted, and Dale selected the Dutch Gap peninsula. He built a palisade across

Effects of  
abolishing  
commu-  
nism

The "City  
of Hen-  
ricus"

the neck and blockhouses in suitable positions. The population of about 300 souls were accommodated with houses arranged in three streets, and there was a church and a storehouse. This new creation Dale called the City of Henricus, after his patron Prince Henry. A city, in any admissible sense of the word, it never became, but it left its name upon Henrico County. Afterward Dale founded other communities at Bermuda and Shirley Hundreds, and left his name upon the settlement known as Dale's Gift on the eastern peninsula near Cape Charles.

This expansion of the colony made it more than ever desirable to pacify the Indians, whose attitude had been hostile ever since Smith's departure. During all this time nothing had been seen of Pocahontas, whose visits to Jamestown had been so frequent, but that can hardly be called strange, since her tribe was on the war-path against the English. The chronicler Strachey says that in 1610, being about fifteen years old, she was married to a chieftain named Kocoum. Be that as it may, it is certain that in 1612 young Captain Argall found her staying with the Potomac tribe, whose chief he bribed with a copper kettle to connive at her abduction. She was inveigled on board Argall's ship and taken to Jamestown, to be held as a hostage for her father's good behaviour.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear what might have come of this, for The Powhatan's conduct was so unsatisfactory that Dale had about made up his mind to use fire and sword against him, when all at once the affair took an unex-

Pocahontas seized by Argall, 1612

<sup>1</sup> Another interesting person sailed with Argall to Jamestown. A lad, Henry Spelman, son of the famous antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, was at the Pamunkey village when Ratcliffe and his party were massacred by The Powhatan (see above, p. 151). The young man's life was saved by Pocahontas, and he was probably adopted. Argall found him with Pocahontas among the Potomacs, and bought him at the cost of a small further outlay in copper. Spelman afterward became a person of some importance in the colony. His "Relation of Virginia," containing an interesting account of the Ratcliffe massacre and other matters, was first published under the learned editorship of Henry Stevens in 1872, and has since been reprinted in Arber's invaluable edition of Smith's *Works*, pp. ci.-cxiv.

pected turn. Among the passengers on the ill-fated Sea Venture were John Rolfe and his wife, of Heacham, in Norfolk. During their stay on the Bermuda Islands, a daughter was born to them and christened Bermuda. Shortly after their arrival in Virginia, Mrs. Rolfe died, and now an affection

*Henry Spelman*

sprang up between the widower and the captive Pocahontas. Whether the Indian husband of the latter (if

Strachey is to be believed) was living or dead, would make little difference according to Indian notions; for among all the Indian tribes, when first studied by white men, marriage was a contract terminable at pleasure by either party. Scruples of a different sort troubled Rolfe, who hesitated about marrying a heathen unless he could make it the occasion of saving her soul from the Devil. This was easily

Marriage  
of Poca-  
hontas to  
John Rolfe,  
April, 1614

achieved by converting her to Christianity and baptizing her with the Bible name Rebekah. Sir Thomas Dale improved the occasion to renew the old alliance with The Powhatan, who may have welcomed such an escape from a doubtful trial of arms; and the marriage was solemnized in April, 1614, in the church at Jamestown, in the presence of an amicable company of Indians and Englishmen. One could wish that more of the details connected with this affair had been observed and recorded for us, so that modern studies of Indian law and custom might be brought to bear upon them. How much weight this alliance may have had with the Indians, one can hardly say; but at all events they made little or no trouble for the next eight years.

Other foes than red men called for Dale's attention. In the neighbourhood of the Gulf of St. Lawrence the French were as busily at work as the English in Virginia. The 45th parallel, the northern limit of oldest Virginia, runs through the country now called Nova Scotia. At Port Royal, on the Bay of Fundy, a small French colony had been struggling against dire adversity ever since 1604, and more lately a







MARRIAGE



POCAHONTAS



party of French Jesuits had begun to make a settlement on Mount Desert Island, off the coast of Maine. In one of his fishing excursions Captain Argall discovered this Jesuit settlement and promptly extinguished it, carrying his prisoners to Jamestown. Then Dale sent him back to patrol that northern coast, and presently Argall swooped upon Port Royal and burned it to the ground, carrying off the livestock as booty and the inhabitants as prisoners. The French ambassador in London protested and received evasive answers until the affair was allowed to drop and Port Royal was rebuilt without further molestation by the English. These events were the first premonition of a mighty conflict, not to be fully entered upon till the days of Argall's grandchildren, and not to be finally decided until the days of their grandchildren, when Wolfe climbed the Heights of Abraham. We are told that on his way back to Jamestown the unceremonious Argall looked in at the Hudson River, and finding Hendrick Christiansen there with his colony of Dutch traders, ordered him under penalty of a broadside to haul down the flag of the Netherlands and run up the English ensign. The philosophic Dutchman quietly obeyed, but as soon as the ship was out of sight he replaced his own flag, consigning Captain Argall *sotto voce* to a much warmer place than the Hudson River.

In 1616 George Yeardley, who was already in Virginia, succeeded Sir Thomas Gates as deputy-governor, and Dale, who had affairs in Europe that needed attention, sailed for England. He had much reason to feel proud of what had been accomplished during his five years' rule. Strict order had been maintained and the Indians had been pacified, while the colony had trebled in numbers, and symptoms of prosperity were everywhere visible. In the ship which carried Dale to England went John Rolfe and his wife Pocahontas. Much ado was made over the Indian woman, who was presented at court by Lady Delaware and everywhere treated as a princess. There is a trustworthy tradition that King James was inclined to censure

Argall attacks the French

and warns the Dutch

Visit of Pocahontas to London, 1616

Rolfe for marrying into a royal family without consulting his own sovereign. In the English imagination The Powhatan figured as a sovereign ; and when European feudal ideas were applied to the case it seemed as if in certain contingencies the infant son of Rolfe and Pocahontas might become " King of Virginia." The dusky princess was entertained with banquets and receptions, she was often seen at the theatre, and was watched with great curiosity by the people. It was then that " La Belle Sauvage " became a favourite name for London taverns. Her portrait, engraved by the celebrated artist, Simon Van Pass,<sup>1</sup> shows us a rather handsome and dignified young woman, with her neck encircled by the broad serrated collar or ruff characteristic of that period, an embroidered and jewelled cap on her head, and a fan in her hand. The inscription on the portrait gives her age as one-and-twenty, which would make her thirteen at the time when she rescued Captain Smith. While she was in England, she had an interview with Smith. He had made his exploring voyage on the New England coast two years before, when he changed the name of the country from North Virginia to New England. In 1615 he had started in the service of the Plymouth Company with an expedition for colonizing New England, but had been captured by French cruisers and carried to Rochelle. After his return from France he was making preparations for another voyage to New England, when he heard of Pocahontas and called on her.

Her inter-  
view with  
Smith

When he addressed her, as all did in England, as Lady Rebekah, she seemed hurt and turned away, covering her face with her hands. She insisted upon calling him Father and having him call her his child, as formerly in the wilderness. Then she added, " They did always tell us you were dead, and I knew not otherwise till I came to Plymouth." <sup>2</sup>

Early in 1617 Argall was appointed deputy-governor of Virginia and sailed in March to supersede Yearley. Rolfe was made secretary of the colony and went in the same ship ;

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's *Works*, p. 533.



*Pocahontas*







*Etatis sue 21. A. 1616.*

Matloaks als Rebecca daughter to the mighty Prince  
Cohatun Emperour of Alimouckhomouck als Princess  
converted and baptized in the Christian faith and  
Wife to the wor<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Tho: Rolfe.



but Pocahontas fell suddenly ill, and died before leaving Gravesend. She was buried in the parish church there. Her son, Thomas Rolfe, was left with an uncle in England, where he grew to manhood. Then he went to Virginia, to become the ancestor, not of a line of kings, but of the families of Murray, Fleming, Gay, Whittle, Robertson, Bolling, and Eldredge, as well as of the branch of Randolphs to which the famous John Randolph of Roanoke belonged.<sup>1</sup> One cannot leave the story of Pocahontas without recalling the curious experiences of a feathered chief-tain in her party named Tomocomo, whom The Powhatan had instructed to make a report on the population of England. For this purpose he was equipped with a sheaf of sticks on which he was to make a notch for every white person he should meet. Plymouth must have kept poor Tomocomo busy enough, but on arriving in London he uttered an amazed grunt and threw his sticks away. He had also been instructed to observe carefully the king and queen and God, and report on their personal appearance. Tomocomo found it hard to believe that so puny a creature as James Stuart could be the chief of the white men, and he could not understand why he was not told where God lived and taken to see him.

Death of  
Pocahon-  
tas, 1617

A baffled  
census-  
taker

When Argall arrived in Virginia, he found that a new industry, at which sundry experiments had been made under Dale, was acquiring large dimensions and fast becoming established. Of all the gifts that America has vouchsafed to the Old World, the most widely acceptable has been that which a Greek punster might have called "the Bacchic gift," τὸ βακχικὸν δῶρημα, tobacco. No other visible and tangible product of Columbus's discovery has been so universally diffused among all kinds and conditions of men, even to the remotest nooks and corners of the habitable earth. Its serene and placid charm has everywhere proved

Tobacco

<sup>1</sup> See Meade's *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, ii. 79; a most useful and delightful book, in about a thousand pages without an index! (This grave defect was remedied in 1898 through the labours of the late Dr. J. M. Tonex.)

irresistible, although from the outset its use has been frowned upon with an acerbity such as no other affair of hygiene has ever called forth. The first recorded mention of tobacco is in Columbus's diary for November 20, 1492. The use of it was soon introduced into the Spanish peninsula, and about 1560 the French ambassador at Lisbon, Jean Nicot, sent some of the fragrant herb into France, where it was named in honour of him *Nicotiana*. It seems to have been first brought to England by Lane's returning colonists in 1586, and early in the seventeenth century it was becoming fashionable to smoke, in spite of the bull of Pope Urban VIII. and King James's "Counterblast to Tobacco." Every one will remember how that royal author characterized smoking as "a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless." On Twelfth Night, 1614, a dramatic entertainment, got up by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn and called the *Mask of Flowers*, was performed before the king and queen at Whitehall. In it the old classic *Silenus* appears, jovial and corpulent, holding his goatskin wine-bag, and with him a novel companion, an American chieftain named *Kawasha*, dressed in an embroidered mantle cut like tobacco leaves, with a red cap trimmed with gold on his head, rings in his ears, a chain of glass beads around his neck, and a bow and arrows in his hand. These two strange worthies discuss the merits of wine and tobacco : —

*Silenus.* Kawasha comes in majesty ;  
Was never such a god as he.  
He 's come from a far country  
To make our nose a chimney.

*Kawasha.* The wine takes the contrary way  
To get into the hood :  
But good tobacco makes no stay,  
But seizeth where it should.  
More incense hath burned at  
Great Kawasha's foot

Than to Silen and Bacchus both,  
And take in Jove to boot.

*Silenus.* The worthies they were nine, 't is true,  
And lately Arthur's knights I knew,  
But now are come up worthies new,  
The roaring boys, Kawasha's crew.

*Kawasha.* Silenus tops <sup>1</sup> the barrel, but  
Tobacco tops the brain  
And makes the vapours fine and soote,<sup>2</sup>  
That man revives again.  
Nothing but fumigation  
Doth charm away ill sprites.  
Kawasha and his nation  
Found out these holy rites.<sup>3</sup>

In Virginia the first settlers found the Indians cultivating tobacco in small gardens. The first Englishman to make experiments with it is said to have been John Rolfe in 1612. Under Yeardley's first administration, in 1616, the cultivation of tobacco became fairly established, and from that time forth it was a recognized staple of the colony. The effects of this were very notable. As the great purchasing power of a tobacco crop came to be generally known, the people of Virginia devoted themselves more and more to its cultivation, until nearly all other crops and most other forms of industry were neglected. Thus the type of society, as we shall hereafter see, was largely determined by the cultivation of tobacco. Moreover a clear and positive inducement was now offered for emigration such as had not existed before since the first dreams of gold and silver were dispelled. After the first disappointments it became difficult to persuade men of hard sense to go to Vir-

Effects of  
tobacco  
culture

<sup>1</sup> There is a play upon words here. The first "top" is apparently equivalent to "drink up," as in the following: "Its no hainous offence (beleeve me) for a young man . . . to toppe of a canne roundly," *Terence in English*, 1614. The second "top" seems equivalent to "put the finishing touch on."—"Silenus quaffs the barrel, but Tobacco perfects the brain."

<sup>2</sup> Sweet.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of King James*, ii. 739.

ginia, and we have seen what a wretched set of people were drawn together by the Company's communistic schemes. But those who came to acquire wealth by raising tobacco were of a better sort, men of business-like ideas who knew what they wanted and how to devote themselves to the task of getting it. With the establishment of tobacco culture there began a steady improvement in the characters and fortunes of the colonists, and the demand for their staple in Europe soon became so great as forever to end the possibility of perishing from want. Henceforth whatever a Virginian needed he could buy with tobacco.

We have now to see how Virginia, which was fast becoming able to support itself, became also a self-governing community. The administrations of Lord Delaware, of Dale, of Yeardley, and of Argall, were all despotisms, whether mild or harsh. To trace the evolution of free government,

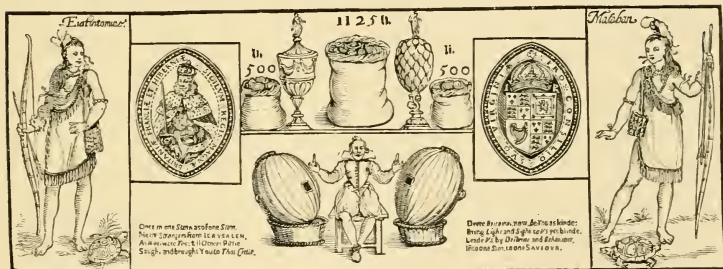
The London Company's third charter, 1612

we must take our start in the year 1612, when the London Company obtained its third charter. The immediate occasion for taking out this charter was the desire of the Company to include among its possessions the Bermuda Islands, and they were now added to Virginia. At the same time it was felt that the government of the Company needed some further emendation in order to give the members more direct and continuous control over its proceedings. It was thus provided that there should be weekly meetings, at which not less than five members of the council and fifteen of the Company must be present. Besides this there were to be held four general courts or quarter sessions in the course of each year, for electing the treasurer and council and passing laws for the government of the colony. At these quarter sessions charges could be brought against delinquent servants of the Company, which was clothed with full judicial powers of hearing and deciding such cases and inflicting punishments. A good many subscribers had been alarmed by evil tidings from Virginia so that they would refuse or more often would simply neglect to pay in the amount of their subscriptions.

To remedy these evils the Company was empowered to expel delinquent members or to bring suits in law and equity against them to recover damages or compel performance. Furthermore, it was allowed to replenish its treasury by setting up lotteries, a practice in which few people at that time saw anything objectionable. Such a lottery was held at a house in St. Paul's Churchyard, in July, 1612, of which the continuator of Stow's Chronicle tells us: "This lottery was so plainly carried and honestly performed that it gave full satisfaction to all persons. Thomas Sharplisse, a tailor of London, had the chief prize, viz., 4000

Lotteries

A Declaration for the certaine time of drawing the great standing Lottery.



A LOTTERY DECLARATION

crowns in fair plate, which was sent to his house in very stately manner. During the whole time of the drawing of this lottery, there were always present divers worshipful knights and esquires, accompanied with sundry grave discreet citizens." In September the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, wrote home that "there was a lottery on foot to raise 20,000 ducats [equivalent to about \$40,000]. In this all the livery companies adventured. The grocers ventured £62 15s., and won a silver [dish] and cover valued at £13 10s." <sup>1</sup>

This remodelling of the Company's charter was an event of political importance. Formerly the meetings of the Company had been few and far between, and its affairs had been

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 66.

practically controlled by the council, and in many cases by its chief executive officer, the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith. Now the weekly meetings of the Company, and its courts of quarter sessions, armed with such legislative and judicial powers, put a new face upon things. It made the Company a democratic self-governing body, and when we recall the

The Com-  
pany be-  
comes an  
important  
force in  
politics

membership of the Company we can see what this meant. There were fifty-six of the craft-guilds or liveried companies of the city of London, whose lord mayor was also a prominent member, and the political spirit of London was aggressively liberal and opposed to high prerogative. There were also more than a hundred London merchants and more than two hundred persons belonging to the nobility and gentry, including some of the foremost peers and knights in the party hostile to the Stuart king's pretensions. The meetings of the Company were full of discussions which could not help taking a political turn, since some of the most burning political questions of the day—as, for example, the great dispute over monopolies and other disputes—were commercial in character. Men's eyes were soon opened to the existence of a great deliberative body outside of Parliament and expressing itself with much freedom on exciting topics. The social position and weighty character of the members drew general attention to their proceedings, especially as many of them were also members of either the House of Lords or the House of Commons. We can easily believe the statement that the discussions of the Company were followed with even deeper interest than the debates in Parliament. It took a few years for this aspect of the situation to become

Opposition  
to the char-  
ter: Mid-  
dleton's  
speech

fully developed, but opposition to the new charter was soon manifested, even by sundry members of the Company itself. Some of them agreed with Sergeant Montague that to confer such vast and vague powers upon a mercantile corporation was unconstitutional. In a debate in Parliament in 1614 a member of the Company named Middleton attacked the charter on the



ground that trade with Virginia and agriculture there needed more strict regulation than it was getting. "The shopkeepers of London," he said, "sent over all kinds of goods, for which they received tobacco instead of coin, infinitely to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. Many of the divines now smell of tobacco, and poor men spend 4d. of their day's wages at night in smoke.

[He] wished that this patent may be damned, and an act of Parliament passed for the government of the colony by a company."<sup>1</sup>

So much effect was produced by speeches of this sort that the council of the Company as a counter-stroke presented a petition for aid, and had it defended before the House of Commons by the eminent lawyer, Richard Martin, one of the



RICHARD MARTIN

most brilliant speakers of the day. Martin gave a fine historical description of English colonizing enterprise since Raleigh's first attempts, then he dwelt upon the immediate and pressing needs of Virginia, especially the need for securing an ample reinforcement of honest workmen with their wives and children, and he urged the propriety of a liberal parliamentary grant in aid of the Company and its operations. Then at the close of an able and effective speech his eloquence carried him away, and he so far forgot himself as to remind the House that it had been but a thriftless penury which had led King Henry VII. to turn the cold shoulder upon Columbus, and to predict

Mr. Martin  
forgets  
himself

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 67.

for them similar chagrin if they should neglect the interests of Virginia. This affair, as he truly said, was of far greater importance than many of the trifles on which the House was in the habit of wasting its time. Poor Martin should have stopped a minute sooner. His last remark was heard with indignation. One member asked if he supposed the House was a school and he the schoolmaster; another moved that he should be committed for contempt; finally it was decided that he should make a public apology. So the next day, after a mild and courteous rebuke from the Speaker,

and has to apologize Mr. Martin apologized as follows, according to the brief memorandum entered upon the journal of the House of Commons for that day: "All men liable to err, and he particularly so, but he was not in love with error, and as willing as any man to be divorced therefrom. Admits that he digressed from the subject; that he was like a ship that cutteth the cable and putteth to sea, for he cut his memory and trusted to his invention. Was glad to be an example to others, and submitted to the censure not with a dejected countenance, for there is comfort in acknowledging an error."<sup>1</sup>

While such incidents, trifling in themselves, tended to create prejudice against the Company on the part of many members of Parliament, factions were soon developed within the Company itself. There was, first, the division between the court party, or supporters of the king, and the country party, opposed to his overweening pretensions. The difference between court and country parties was analogous to the difference between Tories and Whigs that began in the reign of Charles II. A second division, crossing the first one, was that between the defenders and opponents of the monopolies. A third division grew out of a personal quarrel between the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and a prominent shareholder, Lord Rich, afterwards Earl of Warwick. This man's title remains to-day in the name of Warwick County near the mouth of James River.

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 71.

At first he and Sir Thomas Smith were on very friendly terms. Samuel Argall was closely connected by marriage with Smith's family, and it was Lord Rich and his friends who in 1617 secured Argall's appointment as deputy-governor of Virginia. The appointment turned out to be far from creditable. Argall's rule was as stern as Dale's but it was not public-spirited. From the upright and spotless Dale severity could be endured; with the self-seeking and unscrupulous Argall it was quite otherwise. He was so loudly accused of speculation and extortion that after one year the Company sent out Lord Delaware to take



ROBERT RICH, SECOND EARL OF  
WARWICK

personal charge of the colony once more. That nobleman sailed in the spring of 1618, with 200 emigrants. They went by way of the Azores, and while touching at the island of St. Michael, Lord Delaware and thirty of his companions suddenly fell sick and died in such manner as to raise a strong suspicion that their Spanish hosts had poisoned them. Among the governor's private papers was one that instructed him to arrest Argall and send him to England for trial. When the ship arrived in Virginia this document fell into Argall's hands. Its first effect was to make him behave worse than ever, until renewed complaints of him reached England at the moment of a great change in the governorship of the Company.

Death of  
Lord Dela-  
ware, 1618

The chief executive officer of the Company was the trea-

surer. Since 1609 Sir Thomas Smith had held that office, and it had naturally enough become fashionable to charge all the ills of the colony to his mismanagement. There may have been some ground for this. Sir Thomas was a merchant of great public spirit and talent for business, but he was apt to keep too many irons in the fire, and the East India Company, of which he was governor, absorbed his attention much more than the affairs of Virginia. The country party, led by such men as the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Nicholas Ferrar, were opposed to Smith and twitted him with the misconduct of Argall. At this moment broke out the quarrel between Smith and Lord Rich. One of the merchant's sons aged only eighteen fell madly in love with the nobleman's young sister, Lady Isabella Rich, and his passion was reciprocated. There was fierce opposition to their marriage on the part of the old merchant; and this led to an elopement and a private wedding, at which the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke and the Countess of Bedford assisted.<sup>1</sup> These leaders of the country party thus mortally offended Sir Thomas Smith, while between him and the young lady's brother, Lord Rich, there was a furious explosion. Lord Rich, who in the midst of these scenes became Earl of Warwick, by which title posterity remembers him, was a prominent leader of the court party, but this family quarrel led him to a temporary alliance with the opposition, with the result that in the annual election for the treasurership of the Company, in April, 1619, Sir Thomas Smith was defeated, and Sir Edwin Sandys chosen in his place. This victory of the king's opponents called forth much excitement in England; for the remaining five years of its existencē the Company was controlled by Sandys and his friends, and its affairs were "administered with a degree of energy, unselfishness, and statesmanlike wisdom, perhaps unparalleled in the history of corporations."<sup>2</sup>

Quarrel  
 between  
 Lord Rich  
 and Sir  
 Thomas  
 Smith

Election of  
 Sir Edwin  
 Sandys

<sup>1</sup> Brown's *Genesis*, ii. 1014.

<sup>2</sup> Doyle's *Virginia*, p. 157.

This victory in the spring election consummated the ascendancy of Sandys and his party, but that ascendancy had been already shown in the appointment of George Yeardley to succeed Lord Delaware as governor of Virginia. The king can hardly have relished this appointment, but as Yeardley was of rather humble

Sir George Yeardley appointed governor of Virginia

birth, being the son of a poor merchant tailor, he gave him a certain sanction by making him a knight. High official position seemed in those days more than now to need some such social decoration. Yeardley was ordered to send Argall home; but that independent personage being privately notified, it is

said by the Earl of Warwick, loaded his ship and sailed for England before the governor's arrival. He was evidently a man who could carry things with a bold face. His defence of himself satisfied the court party but not the country party; the evidence against him seems to have reached the point of moral conviction, but not of legal certainty; he was put in command of a warship for the Mediterranean service, and presently the king, perhaps to relieve his own qualms for knighting Yeardley, slapped him on the back and made him Sir Samuel Argall.

On many occasions the development of popular liberty in England has gone hand in hand with its development in America. The growing strength of the popular antagonism to Stuart methods of government was first conspicuously marked by the ascendancy of Sir Edwin Sandys and his party in Parliament and in the management of affairs in Virginia. Its first fruit was the introduction of parliamentary institutions into America. Despotic government in Virginia had been thoroughly discredited by the conduct of Argall. More than 1000 persons were now living in the colony, and the year 1619 saw the number

The first American legislature, 1619

doubled.<sup>1</sup> The people called for self-government, and Sandys believed that only through self-government could a colony really prosper. Governor Yeardley was accordingly instructed to issue writs for the election of a General Assembly in Virginia, and on the 30th of July, 1619, the first legislative body of Englishmen in America was called together in the wooden church at Jamestown. Eleven local constituencies were represented under the various designations of *city*, *plantation*, and *hundred*; and each constituency sent two representatives, called *burgesses*, so that the assembly was called from 1619 until 1776 the House of Burgesses. The eleven boroughs were James City, Charles City, the City of Henricus, Martin Brandon, Martin's Hundred, Lawne's Plantation, Ward's Plantation, Argall's Gift, Flowerdieu Hundred, Smith's Hundred, and Kecoughtan. The last two names were soon changed. Smith's Hundred, at first named after the treasurer, took for its sponsor one of the opposite party and became Southampton Hundred. The name of this friend of Shakespeare, somewhat curtailed, was also given to Kecoughtan, which became Hampton, and so remains to this day. These eleven names indicate the extent of the colony up the James River to about seventy miles from its mouth as the crow flies, and laterally five or six miles inland from either bank, with a population rather less sparse than that of Idaho at the present day. Such was the first American self-governing state at its beginning,—a small beginning, but what a change from the summer day that witnessed Lord Delaware's arrival nine years before!

Concerning this House of Burgesses I shall have something to say hereafter. Let it suffice for the present to observe that along with the governor and deputy-governor there was an appointed upper house called the council; and that the governor, with the assistant council, and the House of Burgesses, altogether constituted a General Assembly essentially similar to the General Court of Massachusetts, to their common prototype, the

Nature of  
the General  
Assembly

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, pp. 179, 181.

old English county court, and to their numerous posterity, the bicameral legislatures of nearly all the world in modern times. The functions of this General Assembly were both legislative and to some extent judicial. It was endowed with full powers of legislation for the colony. Its acts did not acquire validity until approved by the General Court of the London Company, but on the other hand no enactment which the Company might make for the colony was to be valid until approved by its General Assembly. These provisions were confirmed by a charter issued in 1621.

This gift of free government to England's first colony was the work of the London Company — or, as it was now in London much more often called, the Virginia Company — under the noble management of Sir Edwin Sandys and his friends. That great corporation was soon to perish, but its boon to Virginia and to American liberty was to be abiding. The story of the Company's downfall, in its broad outlines, can be briefly told, but first I may mention a few incidents that occurred before the crisis. One was the first introduction of negro slaves into Virginia, which, by a rather curious freak of dates, came in 1619, just after the sitting of the first free legislature, and thus furnished posterity with a theme for moralizing. "About the last of August," says Secretary Rolfe, "[there] came in a Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty negars." A census taken five years later, however, shows only twenty-two negroes in the colony. The increase in their numbers was for some time very slow, and the establishment of slave labour will best be treated in a future chapter.

The first  
negro  
slaves, 1619

The same year, 1619, which witnessed the introduction of slaves and a House of Burgesses, saw also the arrival of a shipload of young women — spinsters carefully selected and matronized — sent out by the Company in quest of husbands. In Virginia, as in most new colonies, women were greatly in the minority, and the wise Sir Edwin Sandys understood that without homes and family ties a civilized community must quickly retrograde into bar-

A cargo of  
maidens,  
1619

barism. On arriving in Virginia these girls found plenty of suitors and were entirely free to exercise their own choice. No accepted suitor, however, could claim his bride until he should pay the Company 120 pounds of tobacco to defray the expense of her voyage. This practice of sending wives continued for some time, and as homes with pleasant society grew up in Virginia, life began to be made attractive there and the immigration rapidly increased. By 1622 the population of Virginia was at least 4000, the tobacco fields were flourishing and lucrative, durable houses had been built and made comfortable with furniture brought from England, and the old squalor was everywhere giving way to thrift. The area of colonization was pushed up the James River as far as the site of Richmond.

This long narrow colony was dangerously exposed to attack from the Indian tribes along the York and Pamunkey rivers and their confederates to the west and north. But an Indian attack was something that people had ceased to expect. For eight years the Indians had been to all appearance friendly, and it was not uncommon to see them moving freely about the villages and plantations. There had been a change of leadership among them. Wahunsunakok, the old Powhatan whom Smith called "Father," was dead; his brother Opekankano was now The Powhatan. It is a traditional belief that Opekankano had always favoured hostile measures toward the white men, and that for some years he awaited an opportunity for attacking them. How much truth there may be in this view of the case it would be hard to say; there is very little evidence to guide us, but we may well believe that Opekankano and his people watched with grave concern the sudden and rapid increase of the white strangers. That they were ready to seize upon an occasion for war is by no means unlikely, and the nature of the event indicates careful preparation. Early in 1622 an Indian chief whom the English called Jack of the Feather killed a white man and was killed in requital. Shortly afterward a concerted attack was made upon the

The great  
Indian  
massacre,  
1622



colony along the entire line from Chesapeake Bay up to the Berkeley Plantation, near the site of Richmond, and 347 persons were butchered. Such a destruction of nearly nine per cent. of the white population was a terrible blow, but the quickness with which the colony recovered from it shows what vigorous vitality it had been gaining under the administration of Sir Edwin Sandys. So lately as 1618 such a blow would have been almost prostrating, but in 1622 the settlers turned out with grim fury and hunted the red men like wild beasts till the blood debt was repaid with compound interest, and peace was restored in the land for more than twenty years.

While these fiendish scenes were being enacted in Virginia a memorable drama was moving toward its final catastrophe in London. In the next chapter we shall witness the overthrow of the great Virginia Company.

## CHAPTER VI

### A SEMINARY OF SEDITION

Summary  
review of  
the found-  
ing of Vir-  
ginia

FEW episodes in English history are more curious than the founding of Virginia. In the course of the mightiest conflict the world had witnessed between the powers of despotism and the powers of freedom, considerations chiefly strategical led England to make the ocean her battle-ground, and out of these circumstances grew the idea of establishing military posts at sundry important strategic points on the North American coast, to aid the operations of the navy. In a few far-sighted minds this idea developed into the scheme of planting one or more Protestant states, for the increase of England's commerce, the expansion of her political influence, and the maintenance of her naval advantages. After royal assistance had been sought in vain and single-handed private enterprise had proved unequal to the task of founding a state, the joint-stock principle, herald of a new industrial era, was resorted to, and we witness the creation of two rival joint-stock companies for the purpose of undertaking such a task. Of the 1606-1610 two colonies sent out by these companies, one meets the usual fate, succumbs to famine, and retires from the scene. The other barely escapes a similar fate, but is kept alive by the energy and sagacity and good fortune of one extraordinary man until sturdy London has invested so much of her treasure and her life-blood in it that she will not tamely look on and see it perish. Then the Lord Mayor, the wealthy merchants, the venerable craft-guilds, with many liberal knights and peers, and a few brilliant scholars and clergymen, turn to and remodel the London Company into

a truly great commercial corporation with an effective government and one of London's foremost merchant princes at its head. As if by special intervention from heaven, the struggling colony is rescued at the very point of death, and soon takes on a new and more vigorous life.

But for such lavish outlay to continue, there must be some solid return, and soon a new and unexpected source of wealth is found. As all this sort of work is a novel experiment, mistakes are at first made in plenty; <sup>1610-1624</sup> neither the ends to be obtained nor the methods of obtaining them are distinctly conceived, and from the parties of brave gentlemen in quest of El Dorado to the crowd of rogues and pickpockets amenable only to rough martial law, the drift of events seems somewhat indefinite and aimless. But just as the short-lived system of communism falls to the ground, and private ownership of land and earnings is established, the rapidly growing demand for tobacco in England makes its cultivation an abundant and steady source of wealth, the colonists increase in numbers and are improved in quality. Meanwhile as the interest felt by the shareholders becomes more lively, the Company acquires a more democratic organization. It exerts political influence, the court party and country party contend with each other for the control of it, and the latter wins. Hitherto the little Virginia colony has been, like the contemporary French colony in Canada and like all the Spanish colonies, a despotically governed community closely dependent upon the source of authority in the mother country, and without any true political life. But now the victorious party in the Company gives to Virginia a free representative government, based not upon any ideal theory of the situation, but rooted in ancient English precedent, the result of ages of practical experience, and therefore likely to thrive. Finally we see the British king awakening to the fact that he has unloosed a power that threatens danger. The doctrine of the divine right of kings — that ominous bequest from the half-orientalized later Roman Empire to post-mediæval Europe — was dear to the heart of

James Stuart, and his aim in life was to impose it upon the English people. His chief obstacle was the country party, which if he could not defeat in Parliament, he might at least weaken by striking at the great corporation that had come to be one of its strongholds. In what we may call the embryonic development of Virginia the final incident was the overthrow of the London Company; but we shall see that the severing of that umbilical cord left the colony stronger and more self-reliant than before. In the unfolding of these events there is poetic beauty and grandeur as the purpose of Infinite Wisdom reveals itself in its cosmic process, slowly but inexorably, hasting not but resting not, heedless of the clashing aims and discordant cries of short-sighted mortals, sweeping their tiny efforts into its majestic current, and making all contribute to the fulfilment of God's will.

From the very outset the planting of Virginia had been watched with wrath and chagrin by the Spanish court. Within the last few years a Virginian scholar, Alexander Brown, has collected and published a large number of manuscript letters and other documents preserved in the Spanish archives at Simancas, which serve to illustrate the situation in detail. Very little of importance happened in London that the ambassador Zuñiga did not promptly discover and straightway report in cipher to Madrid. We can now read for the first time many memoranda of secret sessions of Philip III. and his ministers, in which this little Protestant colony was the theme of discussion. It was a thorn in the flesh not easy to extract unless Spain was prepared for war with Great Britain. At first the very weakness of the colony served to keep this enemy's hands off; if it was on the point of dying a natural death, as seemed likely, it was hardly worth while to repeat the horrors of Florida. In 1612, after Sir Thomas Dale's administration had begun, Spain again took the alarm; for the moment a war with England was threatened, and if it had broken out Virginia would have been one of the first points

Hostility  
of Spain



*Henry*

attacked. But the deaths of Lord Salisbury and of Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1612, changed the policy of both Philip and James. There was now some hope of detaching the latter from Protestant alliances, and Philip's designs upon Virginia were subordinated to the far larger purpose of win-

ning back England herself into the Catholic ranks. A plan was made for marrying the Infanta Maria to Baby Charles, and with this end in view one of the ablest of Spanish diplomats, Count Gondomar (to give him at once his best-known title), was sent as ambassador to London. Charles was only twelve years old, and an immediate wedding was not expected, but the match could be kept dangling before James as a bait, and thus his movements might be guided. Should the marriage finally be made, Gondomar believed that Charles could be converted to his bride's faith, and then England might be made to renew her allegiance to Rome. Gondomar was mightily mistaken in the English people, but he was not mistaken in their king. James was ready to swallow bait, hook, and all. Gondomar completely fascinated him,—one might almost say, hypnotized him,—so that for the next ten years one had but to shake that Spanish match before him and he would follow, whatever might betide. The official policy of England was thus often made distasteful to Englishmen, and the sentiment of loyalty to the sovereign was impaired.

To Gondomar the king was in the habit of confiding his grievances, and in 1614, after his angry dissolution of Parliament, he said to him one day: "There is one thing I have here, which your king in Spain has not, and that is a Parliament of 500 members. . . . I am surprised that my ancestors should ever have permitted such an institution to come into existence. I am a stranger and found it here when I arrived, so I am obliged to put up with what I cannot get rid of." Here James stopped short and turned red in the face, at having thus carelessly admitted his own lack of omnipotence, whereupon the wily Spaniard smiled and reminded him that at all events it was only at his royal pleasure that this very disagreeable assembly could be called together.<sup>1</sup> James acted on this hint, and did not summon a Parliament again for seven years. It is worth remembering in this connection that at this very

Gondomar's  
advice to  
the king

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *History of England*, ii. 251.

time the representatives of the people in France were dismissed and not called together again until 1789.



*Carolus Eb. et  
Alb. Dux*

While Parliament was not sitting, the sort of discussion that James found so hateful was kept up at the meetings of the London Company for Virginia, which were commonly

held at the princely mansion of Sir Thomas Smith. Against this corporation Gondomar dropped his sweet poison into the king's ear. The government of colonies, he said, is work fit only for monarchs, and cannot safely be entrusted to a roomful of gabbling subjects ; beware of such meetings ; you will find them but "a seminary to a seditious Parliament." Before James had profited by these warnings, however, the case of Sir Walter Raleigh came up to absorb his attention. A rare chance — as strange and sad as anything that the irony of human destiny can show — was offered for Spain to wreak her malice upon Virginia in the person of the earliest and most illustrious of its founders.

In 1603, not long after King James's arrival in England, Raleigh had been charged with complicity in Lord Cobham's abortive conspiracy for getting James set aside in favour of his cousin, Lady Arabella Stuart. This charge is now proved to have been ill-founded ; but James already hated Raleigh with the measure of hatred which he dealt out to so many of Elizabeth's favourites. After a trial in which the common-law maxim, that innocence must be presumed until guilt is proved, was read backward, as witches were said to read the Lord's Prayer in summoning Old Nick, Sir Walter was found guilty of high treason and condemned to death. The wrath of the people was such that James, who did not yet feel his position quite secure, did not venture to carry out the sentence. He contented himself with plundering Sir Walter's estates, while the noble knight was kept for more than twelve years a prisoner in the Tower, where he solaced himself with experiments in chemistry and with writing that delightful *History of the World* which is one of the glories of English prose literature. In 1616, at the intercession of Villiers, Raleigh was set free. On his expedition to Guiana in 1595 he had discovered gold on the upper waters of the Caroni River in what is now Venezuela. In his attempt to dispense with parliaments James was at his wits' end for money, and he thought something might be got by sending

More  
advice

Imprison-  
ment of  
Raleigh

Raleigh re-  
leased and  
sent to  
Guiana



Raleigh back to take possession of the place. It is true that Spain claimed that country, but so did James on the



*Sir Francis Drake*

strength of Raleigh's own discoveries, and if any complication should arise there were ways of crawling out. Raleigh had misgivings about starting on such an adventure without first obtaining a pardon in set form ; but Sir Francis Bacon

is said to have assured him that the king, having under the privy seal made him admiral of a fleet, with power of martial law over sailors and officers, had substantially condoned all offences, real or alleged. A man could not at one and the same time be under attain of treason and also an admiral in active service. Before Raleigh started James made him explain the details of his scheme and lay down his route on a chart, and he promised on the sacred word of a king not to divulge this information to any human creature. It was only the sacred word of a Stuart king. James may have meant to keep it, but his evil genius was not far off. The lifelike portrait of Count Gondomar, superbly painted by the elder Daniel Mytens, hangs in the palace at Hampton Court, and one cannot look on it for a moment without feeling that Mephistopheles himself must have sat for it. The bait of the Infanta, with a dowry of 2,000,000 crowns in hard cash, was once more thrown successfully, and James told every detail of Raleigh's plans to the Spaniard, who sent the intelligence post-haste to Madrid. So when the English fleet arrived at the mouths of the Orinoco, a Spanish force awaited them and attacked their exploring party. In the fight that ensued Raleigh's son Walter was slain; though the English were victorious, the approaches to the gold fields were too strongly guarded to be carried by the force at their command, and thus the enterprise was baffled. The gold fields remained for Spain, but with the fast increasing paralysis of Spanish energy they were soon neglected and forgotten; their existence was denied and Raleigh's veracity doubted, until in 1889 they were rediscovered and identified by the Venezuelan Inspector of Mines.<sup>1</sup> Since the expedition was defeated by the treachery of his own sovereign, nothing was left for the stricken admiral but to return to England. The Spanish court loudly clamoured for his death, on the ground that he had undertaken a piratical excursion against a country within Spanish jurisdiction. His wife cleverly planned an escape to France,

<sup>1</sup> Stebbing's *Raleigh*, p. 121; cf. Bates, *Central and South America*, p. 436.

but a Judas in the party arrested him and he was sent to the Tower. The king promised Gondomar that Raleigh should be publicly executed, either in London or in Madrid ; but on second thought the latter would not do. To surrender him to Spain would be to concede Spain's claim to Guiana. Without conceding this claim there was nothing for which to punish him. Accordingly James in this year 1618 revived the old death sentence of 1603, and Spain drank a deep draught of revenge when the hero of Cadiz and Fayal was beheaded in the Palace Yard at Westminster ; a scene fit to have made Elizabeth turn in her grave in the Abbey hard by. A fouler judicial murder never stained the annals of any country.<sup>1</sup>

Judicial  
murder of  
Raleigh,  
1681

The silly king gained nothing by his vile treachery. Popular execration in England at once set him up in a pillory from which posterity is not likely to take him down. The Spanish council of state advised Philip III. to send him an autograph letter of thanks,<sup>2</sup> but the half-promised Infanta with her rich dowry kept receding like the grapes from eager Tantalus. A dwindling exchequer would soon leave James with no resource except summoning once more that odious Parliament. Meanwhile in the London Company for Virginia there occurred that change of political drift whereof the election of Sir Edwin Sandys over Sir Thomas Smith, aided though it had been by a private quarrel, was one chief symptom. That election revealed the alarming growth of hostility in the city of London to the king's pretensions and to the court party.<sup>3</sup> James had said just before the election,

<sup>1</sup> Some lines in sweet Saxon English, written by Raleigh on the fly-leaf of his Bible, shortly before his death, are worth remembering :—

“ Even such is Time, that takes on trust  
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,  
And pays us but with age and dust ;  
Who in the dark and silent grave,  
When we have wandered all our ways,  
Shuts up the record of our days.  
Yet from this earth, this grave, this dust,  
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust.”

<sup>2</sup> Stebbing's *Raleigh*, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *History of England*, iii. 161.

“Choose the Devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys.”

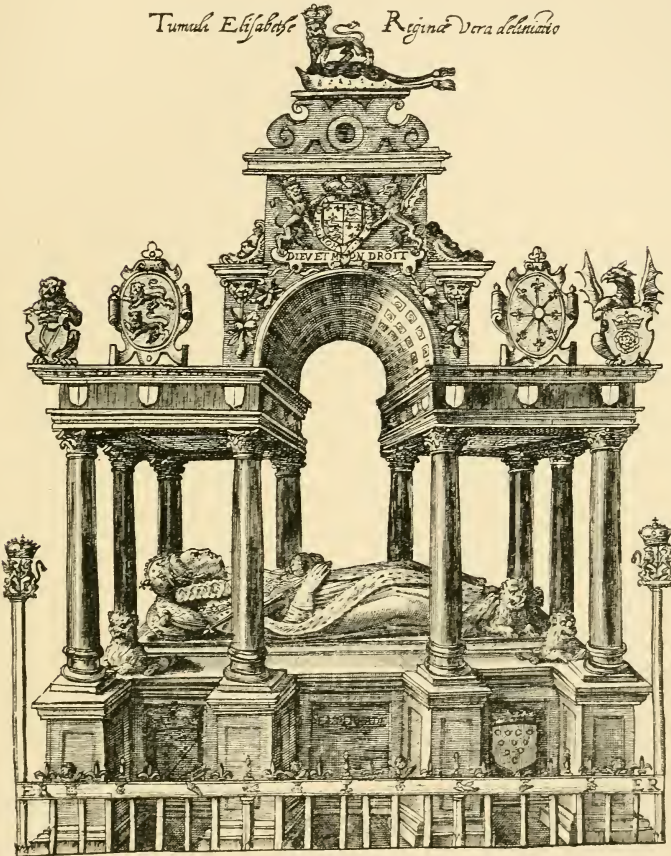
The Company's election in 1620 From that time forth the king's hostility to the Company scarcely needed Gondomar's skilful nursing. It grew apace till it became aggressive, not to say belligerent. At the election in 1620 it was the intention of the majority in the Company to reelect Sandys, with whose management they were more than pleased. Nearly 500 members were present at the meeting. It was the custom for three candidates to be named and voted for, one after another, by ballot, and a plurality sufficed for a choice. On this occasion the name of Sir Edwin Sandys, first of three, was about to be put to vote, when some gentlemen of the king's household came in and interrupted the proceedings. The king, said their spokesman, positively forbade the election of Sir Edwin Sandys. His Majesty was unwilling to infringe the rights of the Company, and would therefore himself propose names, even as many as four, on which a vote might be taken. The names were forthwith read, and turned out to be those of Sir Thomas Smith and three of his intimate friends.

This impudent interference was received with a silence more eloquent than words, a profound silence that might be felt. After some minutes came murmurs and wrathful ejaculations, among which such expressions as “tyranny” and “invasion of chartered rights” could be plainly heard. The motion was made that the king's messengers should leave the room while the situation was discussed. “No,” said the Earl of Southampton, “let them stay and hear what is said.” This motion prevailed. Then Sir Lawrence Hyde moved that the charter be read, and his motion was greeted with one of those dutiful but ominous cries so common in that age; from all parts of the room it resounded, “The charter! the charter!! God save the King!” The roll of parchment was brought forward and read aloud by the secretary. “Mr. Chairman,” said Hyde, “the words of the charter are plain; the election of a treasurer is left to the free choice of this Company. His Majesty seems to

labour under some misunderstanding, and I doubt not these gentlemen will undeceive him."

For a few minutes no one replied, and there was a buzz of

*Tumulus Elizabethæ Reginae Verae ablutio*



TOMB OF ELIZABETH

informal conversation about the room, some members leaving their seats to speak with friends not sitting near them. One of our accounts says that some of the king's emissaries stepped out and sought his presence, and when he heard what was going on he looked a little anxious and his stub-

bornness was somewhat abated ; he said of course he did not wish to restrict the Company's choice to the names he had mentioned. Whether this concession was reported back to

the meeting, we are not informed, but probably it was. When the meeting was called to order, Sir Robert Phillips, who was sitting near Sandys, got up and announced that that gentleman wished to withdraw his name ; he would therefore propose that the king's messengers should nominate two persons while the Company should nominate a third. The motion was carried, and the Company nominated the Earl of Southampton. The balloting showed an extremely meagre vote for the king's nominees. It was then moved and carried that in the earl's case

the ballot should be dispensed with and the choice signified by acclamation ; and then with thundering shouts of "Southampton ! Southampton," the meeting was brought to a close. The rebuke to the king could hardly have been more pointed, and in such a scene we recognize the prophecy of the doom to which James's wrong policy was by and by to hasten his son.

The choice of Shakespeare's friend instead of Sandys made no difference whatever in the policy of the Company. From that time forth its ruling spirits were Southampton and Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar, the deputy-treasurer. The name of this young man calls for more than a passing men-

tion. Better known in ecclesiastical than in political history, he was distinguished and memorable in whatever he undertook, and among all the thronging figures in England's past he is one of the most sweetly and solemnly beautiful. His father, the elder Nicholas Ferrar, who died in April, 1620, just before the election I have been describing, was one of London's merchant princes, and it was in the parlour of his hospitable house in St. Osyth's Lane — now known as Size Lane, near the Poultry — that the weekly meetings of the Virginia Council were in these latter days regularly held. In this house the young Nicholas was born in 1593. He had spent seven years in study at Cambridge

With-  
drawal of  
Sandys

Election of  
Southamp-  
ton

Nicholas  
Ferrar

and five years in very extensive travel upon the continent of Europe, when at the age of twenty-seven he came to devote all his energies for a time to the welfare of the colony of Virginia. From early boyhood he was noticeable for taking a grave and earnest but by no means sombre view of life, its interests and its duties. For him frivolity had no charm, coarse pleasures were but loathsome, yet he was neither



NICHOLAS FERRAR

stern nor cold. Through every fibre of his being he was the refined and courteous gentleman, a true Sir Galahad fit to have found the Holy Grail. His scholarship was thorough and broad. An excellent mathematician and interested in the new dawning of physical science, he was also well versed in the classics and in modern languages and knew something of Oriental philology, but he was most fond of the devotional literature of the church. His intensely religious mood was part of the great spiritual revival of which Puritanism was

the mightiest manifestation ; yet Nicholas Ferrar was no Puritan either in doctrine or in ecclesiastical policy. In these matters his sympathies were rather with William Laud. At the same time his career is a living refutation of the common notion that there is a necessary connection between the religion of Laud and the politics of Strafford, for his own political views were as liberal as those of Hampden and Pym. Indeed Ferrar was a rare product of the harmonious coöperation of the tendencies represented respectively in the Renaissance and in the Reformation, tendencies which the general want of intelligence and moral soundness in mankind has more commonly brought into barren conflict. His ideal of life was much like that which Milton set forth with matchless beauty in "Il Penseroso." Its leading motive, strengthening with his years, was the feeling of duty toward the "studious cloister's pale," and the part of his career that is now best remembered is the founding of that monastic home at Little Gidding, where study and charitable deeds and prayer and praise should go on unceasing, where at whatsoever hour of day or night the weary wayfarer through the broad fen country should climb that hilly range in Huntingdon, he should hear the "pealing organ blow to the full-voiced choir below," and entering should receive spiritual comfort and strength, and go thence on his way with heart uplifted. In that blest retreat, ever busy with good works, lived Nicholas Ferrar after the downfall of the great London Company until his own early death in 1637 at the age of forty-four. Of great or brilliant deeds according to the world's usual standard this man did none; yet the simple record of his life brings us into such an atmosphere of holiness and love that mankind can never afford to let it fade and die.

This Protestant saint, withal, was no vague dreamer, but showed in action the practical sagacity that came by inheritance from London's best stock of bold and thrifty citizens. As one of the directing minds of a commercial corporation, he showed himself equal to every occasion that arose. He





*L. huyn Sandys*



is identified with the last days of the London Company, and his family archives preserve the record of its downfall. It is thence that we get the account of the election of Southampton and many other interesting scenes and important facts that would otherwise have passed into oblivion.

After Southampton's election the king's hostility to the Company became deadly, and within that corporation itself he found allies who when once they found themselves unable to rule it were only too willing to contribute to its ruin. Sir Thomas Smith and his friends now accepted their defeat as decisive and final, and allowed themselves to become disloyal to the Company. Probably they would have expressed it differently; they would have said that out of regard for Virginia they felt it their duty to thwart the reckless men who had gained control of her destinies. Unfortunately for their version of the case, the friends of Sir Thomas Smith were charged with the burden of Argall's misdemeanours, and the regard which that governor had shown for Virginia was too much like the peculiar interest that a wolf feels in the sheepfold. It is not meant that the members of the court party who tried to screen Argall were all unscrupulous men; such was far from being the case, but in public contests nothing is more common than to see men personally stainless blindly accept and defend the rogues of their own party. In the heat of battle the private quarrel between Smith and the Earl of Warwick was either made up or allowed to drop out of sight. Both worked together, and in harmony with the king, to defeat Southampton and Sandys and Ferrar. In the Company's quarter sessions the disputes rose so high that the meetings were said to be more like cockpits than courts.<sup>1</sup> On one occasion a duel between the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cavendish, eldest son of the first Earl of Devonshire, was narrowly prevented. As Chamberlain, one of the court gossips of the day, writes: "Last week the Earl of Warwick

Disputes  
in the  
Company

<sup>1</sup> Brown's *Genesis*, ii. 1016.

and the Lord Cavendish fell so foul at a Virginia . . . court that the lie passed and repassed, and they are [gone out] to try their fortune, yet we do not hear they are met, so that there is hope they may return safe. In the meantime their ladies forget not their old familiarity, but meet daily to lament that misfortune. The factions in [the Company] are grown so violent as Guelfs and Ghibellines were not more animated one against another; and they seldom meet upon the Exchange, or in the streets, but they brabble and quarrel.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1621 the king, having arrived at the end of his purse, seized what he thought a favourable moment for summoning Parliament, but found that body more intractable than ever. The Commons busied themselves with attacking monopolies and impeaching the Lord Chancellor Bacon for taking bribes. Then they expressed unqualified disapproval

The king  
rebuked by  
the House  
of Com-  
mons

of the Spanish match, whereupon the king told them to mind their own business and not meddle with his. “A long and angry dispute ensued, which terminated in a strong protest, in which the

Commons declared that their privileges were not the gift of the Crown, but the natural birthright of English subjects, and that matters of public interest were within their province.”<sup>2</sup> This protest so infuriated the king that he tore it

into pieces, and forthwith dissolved Parliament, sending Pym, Southampton, and other leaders to prison. This was in January, 1622.

As more than a hundred members of this froward Parliament were also members of the Company, it is not strange that the king should have watched more eagerly than ever for a chance to attack that corporation. A favourable opportunity was soon offered him. A certain Nathaniel Butler, governor of the Bermuda Islands, was accused of extorting

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> Bright, *History of England*, ii. 604.

a large sum of money from some Spaniards who had been shipwrecked there, and very damaging evidence was brought against him ; but he seems to have known how to enlist powerful friends on his side. Nathaniel Butler and his pamphlet

On being summoned to England he went first to Virginia, where his services were in demand during the brief but bloody Indian war that followed upon the massacre of 1622. Then after arriving in England he published, in April, 1623, a savage attack upon the London Company, entitled "The Unmasked Face of our Colony in Virginia." Simultaneously with the publication of this pamphlet the charges against its author were dropped and were nevermore heard of. Such a coincidence is extremely significant ; it was commonly believed at the time that Butler bought the suppression of the charges by turning backbiter. His attack upon the Company is so frivolous as plainly to indicate its origin in pure malice. It is interesting as the first of the long series of books about America printed in England which have sorely irritated their American readers. Sixteen of the old Virginia settlers who were at that moment in London answered it with convincing force. Some of this Butler's accusations, with the answers of the settlers, may fitly be cited for the side-light they throw upon the state of things in Virginia, as well as upon the peculiar sinuosities of Stuart kingcraft. Some charges and answers

"I. I found the plantations generally seated upon meer salt marishes full of infectious bogs and muddy creeks and lakes, and thereby subjected to all those inconveniences and diseases which are so commonly found in the most unsound and most unhealthy parts of England, whereof every country and climate hath some. as to malaria

"*Answer.*: We say that there is no place inhabited but is conveniently habitable. And for the first plantation, which is Kiccoutan, . . . men may enjoy their healths and live as plentifully as in any part of England, . . . yet that there are marishes in some places we acknowledge. . . . As for bogs, we know of none in all the country, and for the rest of

the plantations, as Newport's News, Blunt Point, Warriscoyak, Martin's Hundred . . . and all the plantations right over against James City, and all the plantations above these (which are many) . . . they are [all] very fruitful, . . . pleasant, . . . healthful, and high land, except James City, which yet is as high as Deptford or Ratcliffe.

"2. I found the shores and sides of those parts of the main river where our plantations are settled everywhere so shallow as no boats can approach the shores, so as to wet-  
ting one's  
feet that — besides the difficulty, danger, and spoil of goods in the landing of them — people are forced to a continual wading and wetting of themselves, and that [too] in the prime of winter, when the ships commonly arrive, and thereby get such violent surfeits of cold upon cold as seldom leave them until they leave [off] to live.

"*Answer:* That generally for the plantations at all times from half flood to half ebb any boat that draws betwixt 3 and 4 foot water may safely come in and land their goods dry on shore without wading. And for further clearing of his false objections, the seamen . . . do at all times deliver the goods they bring to the owners dry on shore, whereby it plainly appears not any of the country people . . . are by this means in danger of their lives. And at . . . many plantations below James City, and almost all above, they may at all times land dry.

"3. The new people that are yearly sent over [who] arrive here (for the most part very unseasonably in winter) find neither guest-house, inn, nor any the like place to shroud themselves in at their arrival; [and] not so much as a stroke as to dying  
under  
hedges is given toward any such charitable work; [so that] many of [these new comers] by want hereof are not only seen dying under hedges and in the woods, but being dead lie some of them many days unregarded and unburied.

"*Answer:* The winter is the most healthful time and season for arrival of new comers. True it is that as yet there is no guest-house or place of entertainment for stran-

gers. But we aver it was a late intent . . . to make a general gathering for the building of such a convenient house, which by this time had been in good forwardness, had it not pleased God to suffer this disaster to fall out by the Indians. But although there be no public guest-house, yet are new comers entertained and lodged and provided for by the governor in private houses. And for any dying in the fields through this defect, and lying unburied, we are altogether ignorant; yet that many [persons] die suddenly by the hand of God, we often see it . . . fall out even in this flourishing and plentiful city [of London] in the midst of our streets. As for dying under hedges, there is no hedge in all Virginia.

"5. Their houses are generally the worst that ever I saw, the meanest cottages in England being every way equal (if not superior) with the most of the best. And besides, so improvidently and scatteringly are they seated one from another as partly by their distance but especially by the interposition of creeks and swamps . . . they offer all advantages to their savage enemies. . . .

as to the  
houses, and  
their situa-  
tions

"*Answer:* The houses . . . were . . . built for use and not for ornament, and are so far from being so mean as they are reported that throughout [England] labouring men's houses . . . are in no wise generally for goodness to be compared unto them. And for the houses of men of better rank and quality, they are so much better and [so] convenient that no man of quality without blushing can make exception against them. [As] for the creeks and swamps, every man . . . that cannot go by land hath either a boat or a canoe for the conveying and speedy passage to his neighbour's house. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

So go the charges and the answers. It is unnecessary to cite any further. The animus of Captain Butler's pamphlet is sufficiently apparent. He wished to make it appear that things were wretchedly managed in Virginia, and that there was but a meagre and contemptible result to show for all the

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, pp. 395-401.

treasure that had been spent and all the lives that had been lost. Whatever could weaken people's faith in the colony, Object of the charges check emigration, deter subscriptions, and in any way embarrass the Company, he did not fail to bring forward. Not only were the sites unhealthy and the houses mean, but the fortifications were neglected, plantations were abandoned, the kine and poultry were destroyed by Indians, the assembly enacted laws wilfully divergent from the laws of England, and speculators kept engrossing wheat and maize and selling them at famine prices; so said Butler, and knowing how effective a bold sweeping lie is sure to be, in spite of prompt and abundant refutation, he ended by declaring that not less than 10,000 persons had been sent out to Virginia, of whom "through the aforementioned abuses and neglects" not more than 2,000 still remained alive. Therefore, he added, unless the dishonest practices of the Company in London and the wretched bungling of its officials in Virginia be speedily redressed "by some divine and supreme hand, . . . instead of a Plantation it will shortly get the name of a slaughter house, and [will] justly become both odious to ourselves and contemptible to all the world."

All these allegations were either denied or satisfactorily explained by the sixteen settlers then in London, and their The assembly denies the allegations sixteen affidavits were duly sworn to before a notary public. Some months afterward, Captain Butler's pamphlet was laid before the assembly of Virginia and elaborately refuted. Nothing can be clearer than the fact that the sympathies of the people in Virginia were entirely on the side of the Company under its present management, and no fact could be more honourable to the Company. From first to last the proceedings now to be related were watched in Virginia with intense anxiety and fierce indignation.

On Thursday of Holy Week, 1623, a formal complaint against the Company, embodying such charges as those I have here recounted, was laid before the Privy Council, and the Lord Treasurer Cranfield, better known as Earl of Mid-



dlesex, sent notice of it to Nicholas Ferrar, with the demand that a complete answer to every particular should be returned by the next Monday afternoon. Ferrar protested against such unseemly haste, but the Lord Treasurer was inexorable. Then the young man called together as many of the Company as he could find at an hour's notice that afternoon;

An answer  
demanded  
of Ferrar

they met in his mother's parlour, and he read aloud the complaint, which took three hours. Then Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Nicholas Ferrar were appointed a committee to prepare the answer. "These three," says our chronicle, "made it midnight ere they parted; they ate no set meals; they slept not two hours all Thursday and Friday nights; they met to admire each other's



*Wm. D. Fox*

labours on Saturday night, and sat in judgment on the whole till five o'clock on Sunday morning; then they divided it equally among six nimble scribes, and went to bed themselves, as it was high time for them. The transcribers finished by five o'clock Monday morning; the Company met at six to review their labours, and by two in the afternoon the answer was presented at the Council Board."<sup>1</sup>

This answer was a masterpiece of cogency. It proved the baselessness of the charges. Either they were complete falsehoods, or they related to disasters directly connected

<sup>1</sup> Carter's *Ferrar*, p. 71.

with the Indian massacre, which was not due to any provocation on the part of the whites, or else they showed the effects of mismanagement in Sir Thomas Smith's time, especially under the tyrannical administration of Argall from which the colony had not yet fully recovered. In short, such of the charges as really bore against the Company were successfully shown up as affecting its old government under Smith and Warwick, and not its new government under Sandys and Southampton. The latter was cleared of every calumny, and its absolute integrity and vast efficiency were fully established. Such, at least, is the decisive verdict of history, but the lords of the Privy Council were not willing to accept such a result. It amounted almost to an impeachment of the court party, and it made them angry. So the Earl of Warwick succeeded in obtaining an order that Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Rev. Nicholas Ferrar — as "chief actors in inditing and penning . . . an impertinent declaration containing bitter invectives and aspersions" — should be confined to their own houses until further notice.<sup>1</sup> The object of this was to prevent them from conferring with each other. Further hostile inquiries were prosecuted, and an attempt was made to detach Ferrar from his associates. One day, as he was answering some queries before the Privy Council, one of the lords handed him an important official letter to the governor of Virginia. "Who draws up such papers?" asked the lord. "The Company," replied Ferrar modestly. "No, no!" interrupted another lord, "we know your style; these papers are all yours, and they are masterpieces." The letter was shown to the king, who was pleased to observe, "Verily, the young man hath much worth in him." To detach him from the Company the king offered to make him clerk of the Privy Council or ambassador to the court of Savoy. Both were fine offers for a man only in his thirtieth year, but Ferrar was not to be tempted. Then an effort was made to induce him to advise the Company to sur-

A cogent  
answer is  
returned

Attempts  
to corrupt  
Ferrar

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 411.

render its charter, but he refused with some scorn. A great number of the nobility and gentry, he said, besides merchants and artisans of the city of London, relying upon the royal charter, had engaged in a noble enterprise, one of the most honourable that England had ever undertaken; many planters in Virginia had risked their estates and lives in it; the Lord had prospered their endeavours, and now no danger threatened the colony save the malice of its enemies; as for himself he was not going to abuse his trust by deserting it.

While these things were going on, the king appointed a board of commissioners to investigate the affairs of Virginia, and the spirit in which they were appointed is sufficiently revealed by the fact that they all belonged to the disaffected faction in the Company and held their meetings at the house of Sir Thomas Smith. One of their number was the vindictive and unscrupulous ex-governor, Sir Samuel Argall, — which was much like setting the wolf to investigate the dogs. Some of these commissioners went out to Virginia and tried to entrap the assembly into asking for a new charter. It was all in vain. Governor, council, and House of Burgesses agreed that they were perfectly satisfied with the present state of things and only wanted to be let alone. Not a morsel of evidence adverse to the present management of the Company could be obtained from any quarter. On the contrary, the assembly sent to England an eloquent appeal, afterward entitled “The Tragical Declaration of the Virginia Assembly,” in which the early sufferings of the colony and its recent prosperity were passed in review; the document concluded with an expression rather more forcible than one is accustomed to find in decorous and formal state papers. After describing the kind of management under which such creatures as Argall could flourish, the document goes on to say, “Rather [than] be reduced to live under the like government, we desire his Majesty that commissioners may be sent over with authority to hang us.”

A board of  
commis-  
sioners

Long before this appeal reached England, the final assault

upon the Company had begun. In July, 1623, the attorney-general reported his opinion that it was advisable for the king to take the government of Virginia into his own hands. In October an order of the Privy Council announced that this was to be done. The Company's charter was to be rescinded, and its deputed powers of sovereignty were to be resumed by the king. This meant that the king would thereafter appoint the council for Virginia sitting in London. He would also appoint the governor of Virginia with his colonial council. Such a transformation would leave the joint-stock company in existence, but only as a body of traders without ascertained rights or privileges and entirely dependent upon royal favour. No settled policy could thereafter be pursued, and under the circumstances the change was a deathblow to the Company. Southampton and Ferrar refused to surrender, and referred the question to their next quarter-sessions to be held in November. Then the king brought suit against the Company in the court of King's Bench, and a writ of *quo warranto* was served.

Then came the most interesting moment of all. The only hope of the Company lay in an appeal to Parliament, and that last card was boldly played. Early in 1624 the Spanish match, to secure which the miserable king had for ten years basely truckled and licked the hand of England's bitterest enemies, was finally broken off. War with Spain was at hand; a new policy, of helping the German Protestants, and marrying Baby Charles to a French princess, was to be considered; and much money was needed. So James reluctantly issued writs for an election, and the new Parliament, containing Sandys and Ferrar, with many other members of the Virginia Company, met in February. In April a petition was presented in behalf of the Virginia Company, and a committee had been appointed to consider it, when the Speaker read a message from the king, forbidding Parliament to meddle with the matter. He distinctly announced the doctrine that the

Attorney-general's opinion; a *quo warranto* served

Appeal to Parliament

The king refuses to allow the appeal



*J. Southampton*



government of colonies was the business of the king and his Privy Council, and that Parliament had nothing to do with it. This memorable doctrine was just that which afterwards found favour with the American colonists for very different reasons from those which recommended it to King James. The Americans took this view because they were not represented in Parliament, and intended with their colonial assemblies to hold the crown officials, the royal governors, in check just as Parliament curbed the Crown. By the middle of the eighteenth century this had come to be the generally accepted American doctrine; it is interesting to see it asserted early in the seventeenth by the Crown itself, and in the interests of absolutism.

In 1624 Parliament was not in good condition for quarrelling with the king upon too many issues at once. So it acquiesced, not without some grumbling, in the royal prohibition, and the petition of the Virginia Company was laid upon the table. A few weeks later the case on the *quo warranto* was argued before the court of King's Bench. The attorney-general's argument against the charter was truly ingenious. That charter allowed the Company to carry the king's subjects across the ocean to Virginia; if such a privilege were to be exercised without limitation, it might end in conveying all the king's subjects to America, leaving Great Britain a howling wilderness! Such a privilege was too great to be bestowed upon any corporate body, and therefore the charter ought to be annulled. Such logic was irresistible, and on the 16th of June the chief justice declared "that the Patent or Charter of the Company of English Merchants trading to Virginia, and pretending to exercise a power and authority over his Majesty's good subjects there, should be thenceforth null and void." Next day Thomas Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford, gave vent to his glee in a private letter: "Methinks, I imagine the Quaternity before this have had a meeting of comfort and consolation, stirring up each other to bear it courageously, and Sir

Attorney-  
general's  
argument

The  
charter  
annulled,  
June 16,  
1624

Edwin Sandys in the midst of them sadly sighing forth, Oh, the burden of Virginia!" By the Quaternity he meant Southampton, Sandys, Ferrar, and Cavendish. On the 26th of June the Privy Council ordered Nicholas Ferrar to bring all the books and papers of the late Company and hand them over to its custody.

Ferrar could not disobey the order, but he had made up his mind that the records of the Company must be preserved, for its justification in the eyes of posterity. As soon as he saw that the day of doom was at hand he had copies made. One of Ferrar's dearest friends was the delightful poet, George Herbert, a young man of his own age, whose widowed mother had married Sir John Danvers, a prominent member of the Company. They

Ferrar has  
the records  
copied



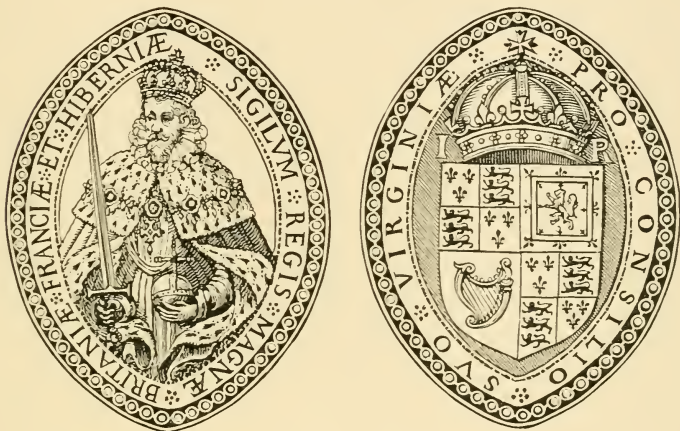
*Danvers*

lived in a fine old house in Chelsea, that had once been part of the home of Sir Thomas More. There Nicholas Ferrar passed many a pleasant evening with George Herbert and his eccentric and skeptical brother, afterward Lord Herbert of Cherbury; and if ever their talk grew a bit too earnest and warm, we can fancy it mellowed again as that other sweet poet, Dr. Donne, dropped in, with gentle Izaak Walton, as used often to happen. In that house of friends, Ferrar had a clerk locked up with the records until they were all

copied, everything relating to the administrations of Sandys and Southampton, from the election of the former, in April, 1619, down to June 7, 1624. The copy was then carefully



compared with the original documents, and its perfect accuracy duly attested by the Company's secretary, Edward Collingwood. Sir John Danvers then carried the manuscript to the Earl of Southampton, who exclaimed, as he threw his arms about his neck, "God bless you, Danvers! I shall keep this with my title-deeds at Tichfield; it is the evidence of



SEAL OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

my honour, and I prize it more than the evidence of my lands." About four months afterward Southampton died. Forty-three years afterward, in 1667, his son and successor passed away, and then this precious manuscript was bought from the executors by William Byrd, of Virginia, father of the famous historian and antiquary. From the Byrd library it passed into the hands of William Stith, president of William and Mary College, who used it in writing his History of Virginia, published at Williamsburg in 1747, one of the most admirable of American historical works. From Stith's hands the manuscript passed to his kinsman, Peyton Randolph, president of the Continental Congress, and after his death in 1775, Thomas Jefferson bought it. In 1814 ex-president Jefferson sold his library to the United States, and this manuscript is now in the

History of  
a manu-  
script

Library of Congress, 741 folio pages bound in two volumes. As for the original documents, they are nowhere to be found among British records ; and when we recollect how welcome their destruction must have been to Sir Thomas Smith, to the Earl of Warwick, and to James I., we cannot help feeling that the chest of the Privy Council was not altogether a safe place in which to keep them.

It is to the copy preserved through the careful forethought of Nicholas Ferrar that we owe our knowledge of one of the most interesting chapters in early American history. In the development of Virginia the overthrow of the great London Company was an event of cardinal importance. For the moment it was quite naturally bewailed in Virginia as a direful calamity ; but, as we shall presently see, it turned out to be a blessing in disguise. Stuart despotism gained not one of its ends, except the momentary gratification of spleen, and self-government in Virginia, which seemed in peril, went on to take root more deeply and strongly than before.





MAP OF  
**TIDEWATER VIRGINIA**  
 0 5 10 20 30  
 Scale of Miles.

THE M.-N. CO., BUFFALO, N.Y.

SOUTHAMPTON 1748  
 77 Longitude West





## CHAPTER VII

### THE KINGDOM OF VIRGINIA

FROM the busy streets of London, from the strife in Parliament and the Privy Council, we must turn once more to the American wilderness and observe what progress had been made in Virginia during the seventeen years of its government by a great joint-stock company. <sup>Retrospect</sup> But for a correct appreciation of the situation we must qualify and limit this period of seventeen years. The terrible experience of the first three years left the colony at the point of death, and it was not until the administration of Sir Thomas Dale that any considerable expansion beyond Jamestown began. The progress visible in 1624 was mostly an affair of ten years' duration, dating from the abolition of communism and the beginnings of tobacco culture. By far the greater part of this progress had been achieved within the last five years, since the establishment of self-government and the greater part played by family life. In 1624 the colony of Virginia extended from the mouth of James River up nearly as far as the site of Richmond, with plantations on both banks ; and it spread over the peninsula between the James and the broad stream next to the north of it, which at that time was called the Charles, but since 1642 has been known as the York River. There were also a few settlements on the Accomac peninsula east of Chesapeake Bay. It would be hard to find elsewhere upon the North American coast any region where the land is so generally and easily penetrable by streams that can be navigated. The <sup>Tidewater</sup> country known as "tidewater Virginia" is a kind <sup>Virginia</sup> of sylvan Venice. Into the depths of the shaggy woodland

for many miles on either side the great bay the salt tide ebbs and flows. One can go surprisingly far inland on sea-faring craft, while with a boat there are but few plantations on the old York peninsula to which one cannot approach very near. In the absence of good roads this ubiquity of navigable water was a great convenience, but doubtless the very convenience of it may have delayed the arduous work of breaking good land-routes through the wilderness, and thus have tended to maintain the partial isolation of the planters' estates, to which so many characteristic features of life in Old Virginia may be traced.

If in 1624 we had gone up stream to Werowocomoco, where Smith had broken the ice with his barge fifteen years before, we should probably have found very little of its strange barbaric life remaining. The first backward step of the Indian before the encroaching progress of Englishmen had been taken. The frontier was fast receding to the Pamunkey region along the line joining the site of West Point with that of Cold Harbor; and from that time forward a perpetually receding frontier of barbarism was to be one of the most profoundly and variously significant factors in the life of English-speaking America until the census of 1890 should announce that such a frontier could no longer be definitely located. In the last year of James I. the grim Opekankano and his warriors still held the Pamunkey River; in that neighbourhood and to the north of it one might have seen symptoms of the wild frontier life of the white hunter and trapper. Returning thence to the great bay, the plantation called Dale's Gift on the Accomac shore would have little about it that need detain us, and so sweeping across from Cape Charles to Point Comfort, we should come to Elizabeth City, named for King James's daughter Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. The only plantation here, standing like a sentinel to guard the principal avenue into the colony, bears the name of the last treasurer of the Company, curtailed into Hampton. The next borough bears the name of Southamp-

The plan-  
tations



ton's enemy, the Earl of Warwick, and opposite are the plantations on Warrasqueak Bay. Passing Jamestown, we arrive at the mouth of the Chickahominy, above which lies an ex-



*L. Lovelock*

tensive territory known as Charles City, with the plantations of Wyanoke and Westover, while over on the south side of the James the settlements known as Martin Brandon, Flowerdieu Hundred, and Bermuda successively come into sight

and disappear. Then we sail around the City of Henricus, and passing the ruins of Falling Creek, destroyed by the Indians, we come at length to the charming place that Smith called Nonesuch. Here, a few miles below the spot where Richmond is in future to stand, we reach once more the frontier. Beyond are endless stretches of tangled and mysterious woods through which the sturdy Newport once vainly tried to find his way to some stream flowing into the Pacific Ocean. Here we may turn our prow and make our way down to Jamestown, where the House of Burgesses is in session.

It is called a House of Burgesses because its members are regarded as the representatives of boroughs, and such a name sounds queer as applied to little areas of scattered farms in the forest. Still more strange is the epithet "city" for tracts of woodland several miles in extent, and containing half a dozen widely isolated plantations. The apparent absurdity is emphasized on the modern map, where such names as Charles City and James City are simply names of counties. How came such names first to be used in such senses? One's mind naturally reverts to what goes on to-day in the Far West, where geographical names, like doubtful promissory notes, must usually be taken with heavy discount for an uncertain future, where in every such appellation there lurks the hope of a boom, and any collection of three or four log-cabins, with a saw-mill and whiskey-shop, surrounded by a dozen acres of blackened tree-stumps, may forthwith appear in the Postal Guide under some such title as Chain Lightning City. In oldest Virginia we may perhaps see marks of such a spirit of buoyant confidence in such names as Charles City or the City of Henricus. No doubt Sir Thomas Dale, when he fortified the little Dutch Gap peninsula and marked out its streets, believed himself to be founding a true city with urban destinies awaiting it. This explanation, however, does not cover the whole case. Whatever the title of each individual settlement in oldest Virginia, — whether plantation,

Boroughs  
and  
burgesses

A T R V E  
DISCOVRSE OF THE  
PRESENT ESTATE OF VIR-  
GINIA, and the successe of the affaires  
there till the 18 of *Iune*. 1614.

TOGETHER,

WITH A RELATION OF THE  
seuerall English townes and forts, the assu-  
red hopes of that countrie and the peace  
*concluded with the Indians.*

The Christening of *Powhatans* daughter  
*and her mariage with an English man.*

Written by RAPH. HAMOR the you-  
nger, late Secretarie in that Colony.

*Alget, qui non ardet.*



Printed at London by JOHN BEALE for WIL-  
LIAM WELBY dwelling at the signe of the  
*Swaine in Pauls Church yard*. 1619.

or hundred, or city, — all were alike conceived, for legal and political purposes, as equivalent to boroughs, although they were not thus designated. Now the primary meaning of the word “borough” is “fortress,” and in early English usage a borough was a small and thickly peopled hundred surrounded by a durable wall. A “hundred” was a small aggregation of townships united by a common responsibility for the good behaviour of its people; it was therefore the smallest area for the administration of justice, the smallest social community which possessed a court. Ordinarily the hundred was a rural community, but that special compact and fortified form of it known as the borough retained all the legal features of the ordinary hundred; it had its own court, and was responsible for its own malefactors and vagrants. In old English boroughs the responsible men — those who owned property, and paid taxes, and chose representatives — were the burgesses. Bearing always in mind this equivalence between the borough and the hundred, we may note further that in early times the hundred was a unit for military purposes; it was about such a community as could furnish to the general levy a company of a hundred armed men. It was also a unit of representation in the ancient English shiremoot or county court. Now in oldest Virginia the colonial assembly, when instituted in 1619, the earliest legislature of civilized men in the western hemisphere, was patterned after the old English county court, and it was natural that its units should be conceived as hundreds and in some instances called so. Moreover, there are indications that at times the hundred was regarded as a military division, and also as the smallest area for the administration of justice, as in the law passed in 1624 providing that Charles City and Elizabeth City should hold monthly courts.<sup>1</sup> Whatever names the early settlers of Virginia gave to their settlements individually, they seem to have regarded them all in the legal light of hundreds, and as they were familiar with the practical equivalence of

Boroughs  
and  
hundreds

<sup>1</sup> Ingle, “Local Institutions of Virginia,” *J. H. U. Studies*, iii. 148.

the borough as a unit for judicial and representative purposes, it was natural that when they came to choose a general assembly they should speak of its members as if they were representatives of boroughs. They were familiar with burgesses in England, but the designations "hundred-men" and "hundred-elders" had become obsolete.

Resuming our pilgrimage through the Virginia of 1624, we find no walls of massive masonry with frowning turrets encompassing these rudimentary boroughs, but at the most exposed points we meet with stout wooden blockhouses and here and there a row of palisades. At some places there are wharves for the convenient shipping of tobacco, but now and then, if the tide is not just right, we may be in danger of wetting our feet in going ashore, about which that ill-disposed Captain Butler has lately made so much fuss. The wooden frame houses, having been built without regard to æsthetic effects, with beams here and there roughly hewn and boards not always smoothly planed, are not so attractive in outward appearance as they might be, but they are roomy and well-aired, and the settlers already point to them with some degree of pride as more comfortable than the houses of labouring men in England. These houses usually stand at wide intervals, and nowhere, perhaps, except at Henricus and Jamestown, would one see them clustering in a village with streets. Here and there one might come across a handsomer and more finished mansion, like an English manor-house, with cabins for servants and farm buildings at some distance. Of negroes scarcely any are to be seen, only twenty-two all told, in this population of perhaps 4000 souls. Cheap labour is supplied by white servants, bound to their masters by indentures for some such term as six or seven years; they are to some extent a shiftless and degraded set of creatures gathered from the slums and jails of English seaport towns, but many of them are of a better sort. Of red men, since the dreadful massacre of two years ago, one sees but few; they have been driven off to the frontier,

the alliance cemented by the marriage of Pocahontas is at an end, and no more can white men be called Powhatans. On this point the statute book speaks in no uncertain tones: "Ffor the Indians we hould them our irrecosileable enemies," and it is thought fit that if any of them be found molesting cattle or lurking about any plantation, "then the commander shall have power by virtue of this act to rayse a sufficient partie and fall out uppou them, and persecute them as he shall finde occasion."<sup>1</sup>

In the plantations, thus freed from the presence of Indians, European domestic animals have become plenty. Horses, indeed, are not yet so much in demand as boats and canoes, but oxen draw the plough, the cows are milked night and morning, sheep and goats browse here and there, pigs and chickens are innumerable. Pigeons coo from the eves, and occasionally one comes upon a row of murmurous bee-hives. The broad clearings are mostly covered with the cabbage-like tobacco plant, but there are also many fields of waving wheat and barley, and many more of the tasselled Indian corn. John Smith's scheme for manufacturing glass and soap has not yet been abandoned; the few workmen from Poland, brought here by him, have remained, or else others have come in place of them, for we find the House of Burgesses passing a statute admitting them to the franchise and other privileges of English citizenship, because of their value to the commonwealth in these branches of industry. Skilled workmen of another sort have been sent over by Nicholas Ferrar from France, for since mulberries grow in Virginia it has been thought that silk-worms might be profitably raised here, but such hopes are not destined to be realized.

Such was the outward aspect of things along the banks of the James River in the year when, amid general grief and forebodings, the London Company was dissolved; and such it continued to be for many a year to come, save that the cultivated area increased in extent and the settlers in num-

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes at Large*, i. 176, 193.

G O O D

NEWES FROM  
VIRGINIA.

SENT TO THE COVNSELL  
and Company of VIRGINIA, resident  
*in England.*

FROM ALEXANDER WHITAKER, THE  
Minister of HENRICO in  
*Virginia.*

WHEREIN ALSO IS A NARRATION  
of the present State of that Countrey, and  
*our Colonies there.*

Perused and published by direction  
*from that Counsell.*

And a Preface prefixed of some matters  
*touching that Plantation, very requisite  
so be made knowne.*



AT LONDON,  
Imprinted by *Felix Kynston* for WILLIAM  
WELBY, and are to be sold at his Shop in  
*Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the  
Swanne 1613.*

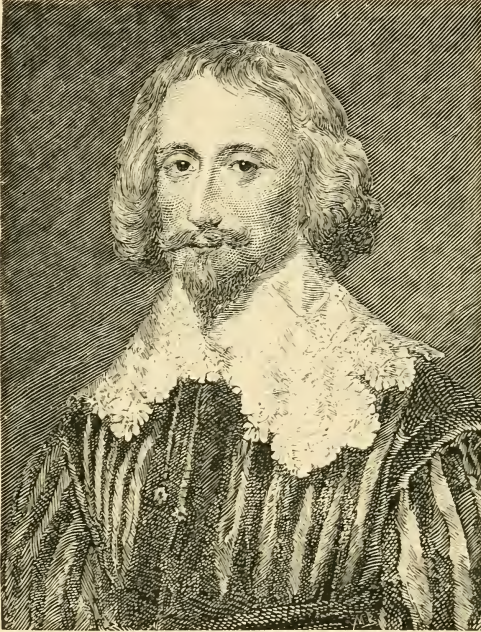
*Swanne is a very*

ber, and that in spite of divers efforts to check it, the raising of tobacco encroached more and more upon all other forms of industry, tending to crush them out of existence, while at the same time the plantations grew larger and the demand for cheap labour was vastly increased. For some time the cultivation of Indian corn assumed considerable proportions, so that not only was there enough for home consumption, but in 1634 more than ten thousand bushels were exported to Winthrop's new colony on Massachusetts Bay. Nevertheless the encroachments of tobacco went on without cessation, until the features of social life in old Virginia came to be those of a wealthy and powerful community economically based upon one single form of agricultural industry.

In the Virginia of 1624 one could not look for any highly developed forms of social recreation, or for means of education or literary attainment. Various episodes of farm work, such as the harvesting of the crops, or now and then the raising of the frame of a house or barn, seem to have been occasions for a gathering of neighbours with some sort of merrymaking, very much as in other primitive rural communities. Among the leading colonists were men of university education who brought with them literary tastes, and in their houses might have been found ponderous tomes of controversial theology, as well as those little thin quarto tracts of political discussion that nowadays often fetch such fabulous prices. Captain John Smith was spending his last years quietly in England, making maps and writing or editing books. His "General History of Virginia," published in 1624, can hardly fail to have been read with interest in the colony; and the same ship that brought it may well have brought the first folio edition of Shakespeare's complete works, which came from the press in the preceding year. Literary production of a certain sort went on in the colony. Such tracts as Ralph Hamor's "True Discourse" and Whitaker's "Good News from Virginia," though books of rare interest and value, will per-



haps hardly come under the category of pure literature. But the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by George Sandys, youngest brother of Sir Edwin, has been well known and admired by scholars from that time to our own. George



GEORGE SANDYS

Sandys came to Virginia in 1621 as treasurer of the colony, fortified with some rather dull verses from the poet laureate, Michael Drayton : —

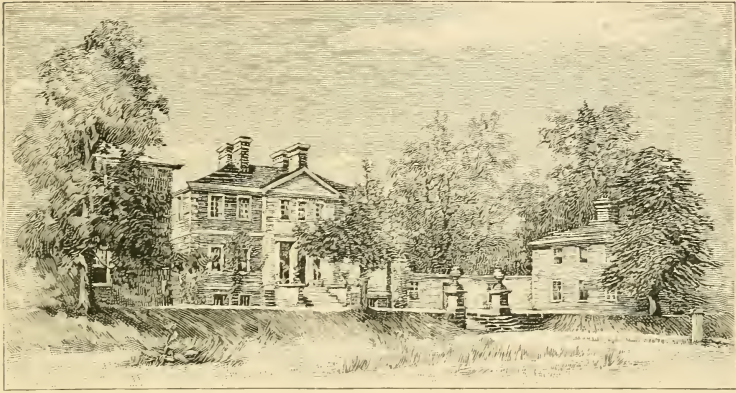
“ And worthy George, by industry and use  
Let's see what lines Virginia will produce ;  
Entice the Muses thither to repair,  
Entreat them gently, train them to that air ;  
For they from hence may thither hap to fly.”

On the bank of James River the worthy George entreated the Muses with success and wrote the greater part of his poetical version, which was published at London in 1626.

But the Muses could not be enticed to stay long in Virginia without some provision for higher education there, and this was well understood by Sir Edwin Sandys and the enlightened gentlemen who supported him. In 1621 the Company resolved that funds should be appropriated "for the erecting of a public free school . . . for the education of children and grounding of them in the principles of religion. Civility of life and humane learning," said the committee's report, "seemed to carry with it the greatest weight and highest consequence unto the plantations as that whereof both Church and Commonwealth take their original foundation and happy estate, this being also like[ly] to prove a work most acceptable unto the planters, through want whereof they have been hitherto constrained to their great costs to send their children from thence hither to be taught." Rev. Patrick Copeland, a missionary returning from the East Indies, raised £70 toward the endowment of this school, and was busily engaged in doing more for it. It was accordingly called the East India School, it was to be established in Charles City, and its courses of study were to be preparatory to those of a university which was to be set up in the city of Henricus. Great interest was felt in this university. Like Harvard College, founded somewhat later, it was designed not only for the education of white youths but also for civilizing and missionary work among the Indians. The Bishop of London raised by subscription £1000 for the enterprise; one anonymous benefactor gave a silver communion service; another, who signed himself "Dust and Ashes," sent £550, and promised, after certain progress should have been made, to add £450 more; this man was afterward discovered to be a member of the Company, named Gabriel Barber. The elder Nicholas Ferrar left £300 in his will, and various contributions were added by his sons. A tract of land in Henricus was appropriated for the site of the college, and George Thorpe was sent out to be its rector, or, as we should say, its president. But Thorpe, as well as others who were interested in

Project for  
a univer-  
sity

the enterprise, perished in the Indian massacre of 1622. It seems that Copeland was about to be sent to take his place, and the enterprise was about to be vigorously pushed on by Ferrar and his friends, when the overthrow of the Company took away all control over Virginian affairs from the people



FOUR COURT OF MOUNT AIRY, VIRGINIA

most interested in this work. So the scheme for a college remained in a state of suspended vitality for seventy years, until Dr. Blair revived it in 1692, and established it in the town of Williamsburg.

Everybody knows that the college of William and Mary is the oldest in the United States, after Harvard. It is not so generally known that the former was planned and all but established in 1622, eight years before Winthrop and his followers came to Massachusetts Bay. It is a just and wholesome pride that New England people feel in recalling the circumstances under which Harvard College was founded, in a little colony but six years of age, still struggling against the perils of the wilderness and the enmity of its sovereign. Such an event is quite properly cited in illustration of the lofty aims and intelligent foresight of the founders of Massachusetts. But it should not be forgotten that aims equally lofty and foresight equally

Puritans  
and Liberal  
Churchmen

intelligent were shown by the men who from 1619 to 1624 controlled the affairs of Virginia. One of the noblest features in the great Puritan movement was its zeal for education, elementary education for everybody and higher education for all who could avail themselves of it. It is important to remember that this zeal for education, as well as the zeal for political liberty, was not confined to the Puritans. Within the established Church of England and never feeling a desire to leave it, were eminent men who to the political principles of Pym joined a faith in education as strong as Locke's. The general temper of these men, of whom Richard Hooker was the illustrious master, was broadly tolerant. Sir Edwin Sandys was friendly to the Leyden Pilgrims, and it was under his administration that the Virginia Company granted them the patent under which they would have founded their colony on the coast of New Jersey or Delaware, had not foul weather driven the Mayflower to Cape Cod. It was Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar that were most energetic in the attempt to found a college in Virginia, and there were some curious points of resemblance between their situation in 1622 and the situation of Winthrop and his friends while they were laying the foundations of Harvard College. In 1622, while James I. was plotting the overthrow of the London Company, the horrors of Indian massacre, as sudden as lightning from a cloudless sky, fell upon the people of Virginia. In 1637 the people of Massachusetts had the Pequot war on their hands, and Charles I. was plotting the overthrow of the Company of Massachusetts Bay, against whose charter he was on the point of issuing a writ of *quo warranto*, when in St. Giles's church at Edinburgh one Sunday old Jenny Geddes threw her camp-stool at the bishop's head, and in the ensuing turmoil American affairs were quite forgotten.

The comparison reminds us that the Company of Massachusetts Bay knew how to profit by the fate of its great predecessor, the London Company for Virginia. In the summer of 1629, when things were looking very dark in England, the leaders of the Massachu-

Massachu-  
setts and  
Virginia

setts Bay Company held a meeting at Cambridge and decided to carry their company, with its charter, across the ocean to New England, where they might work out their purposes without so much danger from royal interference. This transfer of the Company to America was the most fundamental circumstance in the early history of New England. The mere physical fact of distance transformed the commercial company into a self-governing republic, which for more than fifty years managed its own affairs in almost entire independence of the British government. Difficulty of access and infrequency of communication were the safeguards of the Massachusetts Bay Company. If it had held its meetings and promulgated its measures in London, its life would not have been worth a five years' purchase. It had the fate of the Virginia Company for a warning, and most adroitly did it profit by the lesson. If the Virginia Company could have been transferred bodily to America in 1620, it might perhaps have become similarly changed into a self-governing semi-independent republic; the interests of the Company would have been permanently identified with those of the colony, and the course of Virginian history might have been profoundly affected. As it was, Virginia attained through the fall of the Company to such measure of self-government as it had throughout the colonial period, a self-government much like that of Massachusetts after 1692, but far less complete than that of Massachusetts before 1684.

It was not the intention of James I. that the overthrow of the Company should contribute in any way to increase the liberties of the colony of Virginia. All colonizable territory claimed by Great Britain was, in his opinion, just so much royal domain, something which came to him by inheritance like the barony of Renfrew or the manor of Windsor; it was his to do what he liked with it, and for settlers in such territory no better law was needed than such as he could make for them himself. A shadow of doubt as to his own omniscience was never one of James's weaknesses, and no sooner had the Company's charter been

Death of  
James I.

annulled than he set himself to work to draw up a constitution for Virginia. It was work of a sort that he thoroughly enjoyed, but what might have come of it will never be known, for while he was busy with it there came upon him what the doctors called a tertian ague, which carried him off in March, 1625.

In the history of England no era is marked by the accession of Charles I. In its policy and methods, and in the political problems at issue, his reign was merely the continuation of his father's. But in the history of Virginia his accession marks an important era. For if James had lived to complete his constitution for Virginia he would in all probability have swept away the representative government introduced by Sir Edwin Sandys; but Charles allowed it to stand. As the situation was left by the death of James, so it remained without essential change until 1776. The House of Burgesses was undisturbed, but the governor and council were thenceforth appointed by the crown. The colony was thus left less independent than it would have been if the Company, with its power of electing its own executive officers, could have been transferred bodily to Virginia; but it was left more independent than it would have been if the existence of the Company had been continued in London. The change from governors appointed by the Company to governors appointed by the crown was a relaxation of the supervision which England exercised over Virginia. For the Company could devote all its attention to the affairs of the colony, but the crown could not. Especially in such reigns as those of the two Charleses, the attention of the crown was too much absorbed with affairs in Great Britain to allow it to interfere decisively with the course of events in Virginia. The colony was thus in the main thrown back upon its own resources, and such a state of things was most favourable to its wholesome development. The Company, after all, was a commercial corporation, and the main object of its existence was to earn money for its shareholders. The pursuit of that object was by no means

Effect of  
the down-  
fall of the  
Company

always sure to coincide with the best interests of the colony. Moreover, although the government of the Company from 1619 to 1624 was conducted with energy and sagacity, disinterestedness, honesty, and breadth of view such as history has seldom seen rivalled, yet there was no likelihood that such would always be the case. Such a combination of men



CHARLES I

in responsible positions as Southampton and Sandys and Ferrar is too rare to be counted upon. The Company might have passed for a weary while under the control of incompetent or unscrupulous men, and to a young colony like Virginia such a contingency would have been not only disagreeable but positively dangerous. No community, indeed, can long afford to have its affairs administered by a body of men so far away as to be out of immediate touch with it. On the other hand, even if we could suppose a commercial company to go on year after year managing a colony with so much intelligence and sympathy as the London Company showed

in its last days, such a situation would not be permanently wholesome for the colony. What men need is not fostering or coddling, but the chance to give free play to their individual capacities. If coddling and fostering could make a colony thrive, the French in Canada ought to have dominated North America. From all points of view, therefore, it seems to have been well for Virginia that the Company fell when it did. It established self-government there, set its machinery successfully to work, and then vanished from the scene, like the Jinni in some Oriental tale, leaving its good gift behind.

The boon of self-government was so congenial to the temper of the Virginians that they would doubtless have contrived somehow to obtain it sooner or later. Hutchinson tells us that when the second American house of representatives was instituted, namely, that of Massachusetts Bay in 1634, the people were well aware that no provision for anything of the sort had been made in their charter, but they assumed that the right to such representation was implied by that clause of the charter which reserved to them the natural rights of Englishmen ;<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere the same eminent historian quaintly speaks of a House of Burgesses as having *broken out* in Virginia in 1619, as if there were an incurable virus of liberty in the English blood, as if it were something that must come out as inevitably as original sin. But if James I. had lived longer, as I have already observed, he would undoubtedly have made an effort to repress this active spirit of liberty. The colonists, on hearing of the downfall of the Company, were in great alarm lest they should lose their House of Burgesses, and have some arbitrary governor appointed to rule over them, perhaps the hated Argall himself, whom we have seen King James selecting as one of a board of commissioners to investigate affairs in Virginia. In 1621, when for some reason or other the amiable and popular Yeardley had asked to be relieved of the duties of governor, Argall had tried to get himself appointed in his place, but the Company had chosen Sir

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass. Bay*, i. 37.





PART OF DE LAET'S MAP, 1630

Francis Wyatt, who held the office until 1626, while Yeardley remained in Virginia as a member of the council. In 1625, as soon as the assembly heard of King James's death, they

sent Yeardley to England to pay their respects to King Charles and to assure him that the people of Virginia were thoroughly satisfied with their government and hoped that no changes would be made in it.

Now it happened that Charles had a favour to ask of the settlers in Virginia, and was in the right sort of mood for a bargain. He was no more in love than his father with the many-tongued beast called Parliament, he saw how comfortably his brother-in-law of France was getting along without such assistance, and he was determined if possible to do likewise. But to get along without parliaments a poor king must have some means of getting money.

Charles I.  
and the to-  
bacco trade The Virginia tobacco crop was fast becoming a great source of wealth; why should not the king himself go into the tobacco trade? If all tobacco brought to England from Virginia could be consigned to him, then he could retail it to consumers at his own price and realize a gigantic profit; or, what was perhaps still better, having obtained this monopoly, he could farm it out to various agents who would be glad to pay roundly for the privilege. Now the only way in which he could treat with the people of Virginia on such matters was through the representatives of the people. Accordingly, when Governor Wyatt in 1626 had occasion to return to England, the king sent back Sir George Yeardley as royal governor, which under the circumstances was a most emphatic assurance that the wishes of the settlers should be granted. Furthermore, in a message to their representatives Charles graciously addressed them as "Our trusty and well-beloved Burgesses of the Grand Assembly of Virginia," and thus officially recognized that house as a coördinate branch of the colonial government. Some arrangements made with regard to the tobacco trade were calculated to please the colonists. James I., under the influence of his mentor, Count Gondomar, had browbeaten the Company into an arrangement by which they consented to import into England not more than 60,000 or less than 40,000 pounds of tobacco yearly from the Spanish colonies. Charles I. on

the other hand prohibited the importation of Spanish tobacco, so that Virginia and the Bermudas had a monopoly of the market. In spite of this friendly attitude of the king toward the colonists, he never succeeded in becoming the sole purchaser of their tobacco at a stipulated price. The assembly was ready from time to time to entertain various proposals, but it never went so far as that; and if Charles, in sanctioning this little New World parliament, counted



RUINS OF BRICK CHURCH BUILT AT JAMESTOWN IN 1639

upon getting substantial aid in ignoring his Parliament at home, he was sadly disappointed.

It is now time for us to attend a session of this House of Burgesses, to make a report of its work, and to mention some of the vicissitudes which it encountered in the course of the reign of Charles I. The place of meeting was the wooden church at Jamestown, 50 feet in length by 20 in width, built in 1619, for Lord Delaware's church had become dilapidated; a solid brick church, 56 feet by 28, was built there in 1639. From the different

The first  
American  
legislature

plantations and hundreds the burgesses came mostly in their barges or sloops to Jamestown. In 1634 the colony was organized into counties and parishes, and the burgesses thenceforth represented counties, but they always kept their old title. At first the governor, council, and burgesses met together in a single assembly, just as in Massachusetts until 1644, just as in England the Lords and Commons usually sat together before 1339.<sup>1</sup> A member of this Virginia parliament must take his breakfast of bacon and hoe-cake betimes, for the meeting was called together at the third beat of the drum, one hour after sunrise. The sessions were always opened with prayers, and every absence from this service was punished with a fine of one shilling. The fine for absence during the whole day was half a crown. In the choir of the church sat the governor and council, their coats trimmed with gold lace. By the statute of 1621, passed in this very church, no one was allowed to wear gold lace except these high officials and the commanders of hundreds, a class of dignitaries who in 1634 were succeeded by the county lieutenants. In the body of the church, facing the choir, sat the burgesses in their best attire, with starched ruffs, and coats of silk or velvet in bright colours. All sat with their hats on, in imitation of the time-honoured custom of the House of Commons, an early illustration of the democratic doctrine, "I am as good as you." These burgesses had their speaker, as well as their clerk and sergent-at-arms. Such was the first American legislature, and two of its acts in the year 1624 were especially memorable. One was the declaration, passed without any dissenting voice, "that the governor shall not lay any taxes or impositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, otherway than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levied and employed as the said assembly shall appoint." The other was the punishment of Edward Sharpless, clerk of the house. When the king's commissioners to inquire into the affairs of Vir-

<sup>1</sup> Skottowe, *Short History of Parliament*, p. 19; Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, p. 262.

ginia asked for the public records of the colony the assembly refused to show them, albeit they were ready to answer questions propounded in a becoming temper. But the commissioners practised upon Sharpless and induced him to furnish them with a copy of the records, whereupon the assembly condemned the said Sharpless to stand in the pillory and have half of one ear cut off.

This general assembly was both a legislative and a judicial body. It enacted laws and prescribed the penalties for breaking them, it tried before a jury persons accused of crime and saw that due punishment was inflicted upon those who were adjudged guilty, it determined civil causes, assessed the amount of damages, and saw that they were collected. From sweeping principles of constitutional law down to the pettiest sumptuary edicts, there was nothing which this little parliament did not superintend and direct. On one occasion, "the delegates from Captain John Martin's plantation were excepted to because of a peculiar clause in his patent releasing him from obeying any order of the <sup>Martin's case</sup> colony except in times of war." A few days afterward the said Captain Martin appeared at the bar of the house, and the speaker asking whether he would relinquish the particular clause exempting him from colonial authority, replied that he would not yield any part of his patent. The assembly then resolved that the burgesses of his plantation were not entitled to seats.<sup>1</sup> Such exemptions of individual planters by especial license from the home government, although rare, were of course anomalies not to be commended; in some cases they proved to be nuisances, and in course of time all were got rid of. From this constitutional question the assembly turned to the conversion of the red men, and enacted that each borough or hundred should obtain from the Indians by just and fair means a certain number of Indian children to be educated "in true religion and a civil <sup>Education of Indians</sup> course of life; of which children the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature [are] to be brought up by

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 140.

them in the first elements of literature, so as to be fitted for the college intended for them, that from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion." Few enactments of any legislature have ever been better intended or less fruitful than this.

It was moreover enacted that any person found drunk was  
 Drunkards for the first offence to be privately reproved by the minister; the second time this reproof was to be publicly administered; the third time the offender must be put in irons for twelve hours and pay a fine; for any subsequent offences he must be severely punished at the discretion of the governor and council.

To guard the community against excessive vanity in dress,  
 Dress it was enacted that for all public contributions every unmarried man must be assessed in church according to his own "apparel;" and every married man must be assessed "according to his own and his wife's apparel."

Not merely extravagance in dress, but such social misdemeanours as flirting received due legislative con-  
 Flirting demnation. Pretty maids were known to encourage hopes in more than one suitor, and gay deceivers of the sterner sex would sometimes seek to win the affections of two or more women at the same time. Wherefore it was enacted that "every minister should give notice in his church that what man or woman soever should use any word or speech tending to a contract of marriage to two several persons at one time . . . as might entangle or breed scruples in their consciences, should for such their offense, either undergo corporal correction [by whipping] or be punished by fine or otherwise, according to the quality of the person so offending.<sup>1</sup>

Men were held to more strict accountability for the spoken or written word than in these shameless modern days. One of the most prominent settlers we find presenting a petition to the assembly to grant him due satisfaction against a neighbour who has addressed to him a letter "wherein he taxeth

<sup>1</sup> Cooke's *Virginia*, p. 149.

him both unseemly and amiss of certain things wherein he was never faulty." Speaking against the governor or any member of the council was liable to be punished with the pillory. <sup>Scandal</sup> It was also imprudent to speak too freely about clergymen, who were held in great reverence. No planter could dispose of so much as a pound of tobacco until he had laid aside a certain specified quantity <sup>Clergymen</sup> as his assessment toward the minister's salary, which was thus assured even in the worst times, so far as legislation could go. It was enacted that "noe man shall disparage a mynister whereby the myndes of his parishoners may be alienated from him and his mynistrice prove less effectually, upon payne of severe censure of the governor and councell."<sup>1</sup> At the same time clergymen were warned against unseemly practices in terms so concrete as to raise a suspicion that such warning may have been needed. "Mynisters shall not give themselves to excesse in drinking or ryott, spending their tyme idelie by day or by night playing at dice, cards, or any other unlawfull game, but at all tymes convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scriptures, or shall occupie themselves with some other honest studies or exercise, alwayes doinge the things which shall apperteyne to honestie and endeavour to profitt the church of God, having alwayes in mind that they ought to excell all others in puritie of life, should be examples to the people, to live well and christianlie."<sup>2</sup>

The well-being of Virginia society was further protected by sundry statutes such as the one which punished profane swearing by a fine of one shilling per oath. "For the better observation of the Saboth" it was enacted that no <sup>Sabbath-breaking</sup> person "shall take a voyage vppon the same, except it be to church or for other causes of extreme necessitie," under penalty of forfeiting twenty pounds of tobacco for each offence. A similar fine was imposed for firing a gun upon Sunday, unless it might be for defence against the

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes at Large*, i. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Hening, i. 158, 183.

Indians. Selling arms or ammunition to Indians was punished by imprisonment for life, with confiscation of goods. Every master of a family was required, under penalty of ten pounds of tobacco, to bring with him to church every Sunday a serviceable gun with plenty of powder and shot.

Stringent legislation protected the rights of thirsty persons. “Whereas there hath been great abuse by the vnreasonable rates enacted by ordinary keepers, and Strong drink retaylers of wine and strong waters,” maximum prices were established as follows: for Spanish wines 30 lbs. of tobacco per gallon, for Madeira 20 lbs., for French wines 15 lbs., for brandy 40 lbs., for “the best sorte of all English strong waters” 80 lbs.; and any vender charging above these rates was to be fined at double the rate. For corrupting or “sophisticating” good liquor by fraudulent admixtures, a fine was imposed at the discretion of the commissioners of the county courts. The innkeeper who sold wines and spirits to his guests did so at his own risk, for such debts were not recoverable at law.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient prejudice against forestalling survives in the following statute, which would make havoc of the business of some modern brokers: “Whatsoever person or persons Fore-stallers shall buy or cause to be bought any marchandize, victualls, or any other thinge, comminge by land or water to the markt to be sold, or make any bargaine, contract or promise for the haveinge or buyinge of the same . . . before the said marchandize, victualls, or other thinge shall bee at the markt readie to be sold; or make any motion by word, letter or message or otherwise to any person or persons for the enhaunsing of the price, or dearer sellinge of any thinge or thinges above mentioned, or else disswade, move, or stirr any person or persons cominge to the marquett, to abstaine or forbear to bringe or conveye any of the things above rehearsed to any markt as afore-sayd, shall be deemed and adjudged a forestaller. And yf any person or persons shall offend in the things before

<sup>1</sup> Hening, i. 194, 219, 261, 263, 300, 319, 350.





TO  
THE MOST HIGH,  
MIGHTIE  
And  
MAGNIFICENT  
EMPRESSE RENOVV-  
MED FOR PIETIE, VER-  
TVE, AND ALL GRATIOVS  
GOVERNMENT ELIZABETH BY  
THE GRACE OF GOD QVEENE  
OF ENGLAND FRAVNCE AND  
IRELAND AND OF VIRGL-  
NIA, DEFENDOVR OF THE  
FAITH, &c. HER MOST  
HVMBLE SERVAVNT  
EDMVND SPENSER  
DOTH IN ALL HV-  
MILITIE DEDI-  
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AND CONSECRATE THESE  
HIS LABOVS TO LIVE  
VVITH THE ETERNI-  
TIE OF HER  
FAME.

recited and beinge thereof dylie convicted or attaynted shall for his or their first offence suffer imprisonment by the space of two mounthes without baile or maine-prize, and shall also loose and forfeite the value of the goods soe by him or them bought or had as aforesayd; and for a second offence . . . shall suffer imprisonment by the space of one halfe yeare . . . and shall loose the double value of all the goods . . . soe bought . . . and for the third offence . . . shall be sett on the pillorie . . . and loose and forfeit all the goods and chattels that he or they then have to their owne use, and also be committed to prison, there to remayne duringe the Governor's pleasure." <sup>1</sup>

Edmund Spenser, in his dedication of the "Faëry Queene," in 1590, calls Elizabeth the queen of England, France, and Ireland, and of Virginia, thus characterizing as a kingdom the vast and vague domain in the New World which she was appropriating. Soon after the downfall of the Virginia Company, the document containing Charles I.'s appointment of William Claiborne as secretary of state in the colony mentioned it as "our kingdom of Virginia;" and the phrase occurs in other writings of the time. It is a phrase that seems especially appropriate for the colony after it had come to be a royal province, directly dependent upon the king for its administration. During the reign of Charles I. the relations of the kingdom of Virginia to the mother country were marked by few memorable incidents. In this respect the contrast with the preceding reign is quite striking. One must read the story in the original state papers, correspondence, and pamphlets of the time, in order to realize to what an extent the colony was cut loose by the overthrow of the Company. The most interesting and important questions that came up were connected with the settlement of Maryland; but before we enter upon that subject, a few words are needed on the succession of royal governors in Virginia.

The king-  
dom of  
Virginia

<sup>1</sup> Hening, i. 194.

The commission of Yeardley in 1626 named Sir John Harvey as his successor. When Yeardley died in 1627, Harvey had not arrived upon the scene, and needed to be notified. In such cases it was the business of the council to appoint a governor *ad interim*, and the council appointed one of the oldest and most honoured settlers, Francis West, brother of the late Lord Delaware. After one year of service business called West to England, and his place was taken by Dr. John Pott, who held the government until Sir John Harvey's arrival in March, 1630. This Dr. Pott is described as "a Master of Arts, . . . well practised in chirurgery and physic, and expert also in distilling of waters, [besides] many other ingenious devices." <sup>1</sup> It seems that he was likewise very fond of tasting distilled waters, and at times was more of a boon companion than <sup>A convivial</sup> <sup>governor</sup> quite comported with his dignity, especially after he had come to be governor. A letter of George Sandys to a friend in London says of Dr. Pott, "at first he kept company too much with his inferiors, who hung upon him while his good liquor lasted. After, he consorted with Captain Whitacres, a man of no good example, with whom he has gone to Kecoughtan." <sup>2</sup> What was done by the twain at Kecoughtan is not matter of record, but we are left with a suggestion of the darkest possibilities of a carouse.

After Harvey's arrival ex-Governor Pott was arrested, and held to answer two charges: one was for having abused the powers entrusted to him by pardoning a culprit who had been convicted of wilful murder; the other was for stealing cattle. The first charge was a matter of common notoriety; on the second Dr. Pott was tried by a jury and found guilty. The ex-governor was not only a pardoner of felony, but a felon himself. The affair reads like a scene in comic opera. Some reluctance was felt about inflicting vulgar punishment upon an educated man of good social position; so he was not sent to jail but confined in his own house, while Sir John

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Company*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 79.

Harvey wrote to the king for instructions in the matter. He informed the king that Dr. Pott was by far the best physician in the colony, and indeed the only one "skilled in epidemics," and recommended that he should be pardoned. Accordingly the doctor was set free and forthwith resumed his practice.

Soon it was Governor Harvey's turn to get into difficulties. How he was "thrust out" from his government in 1635 and restored to it by Charles I. in 1637 will best be told in a future chapter in connection with the affairs of Maryland. After Harvey's final departure in 1639, Sir Francis Wyatt was once more governor for three years, and then came the famous Sir William Berkeley, who remained for five-and-thirty years the most conspicuous figure in Virginia. When Berkeley arrived upon the scene, in 1642, on the eve of the great Civil War, he received from Wyatt the government of a much greater Virginia than that over which Wyatt was ruling in 1624. Those eighteen years of self-government had been years of remarkable prosperity and progress. Instead of 4000 English and 22 negroes, the population now numbered 15,000 English and 300 negroes. Moreover, Virginia was no longer the only English colony. In 1624 there were no others, except the little band of about 200 Pilgrims at Plymouth. In 1642 the population of New England numbered 26,000, distributed among half-a-dozen self-governing colonies. There was also a community of Dutchmen laying claim to the whole region between the Mohawk valley and Delaware Bay, with a flourishing town on Manhattan Island in the finest commercial situation on the whole Atlantic coast. The Virginians did not relish the presence of these Dutchmen, for they too laid claim to that noble tract of country. The people of Virginia had made the first self-supporting colony and felt that they had established a claim upon the middle zone. The very name Virginia had not yet ceased to cling to it. In books of that time one may read of the town of New Amsterdam upon the island of Manhattan in Virginia. In 1635 a party of

Virginians went up to the Delaware River and took possession of an old blockhouse there, called Fort Nassau, which the Dutch had abandoned ; but a force from New Amsterdam speedily took them prisoners and sent them back to Virginia,<sup>1</sup> with a polite warning not to do so any more. They did not.

Still nearer at hand, by the waters of the Potomac and Susquehanna, other rivals and competitors, even more unwelcome to the Virginians, had lately come upon the scene. The circumstances of the founding of Maryland, with its effects upon the kingdom of Virginia, will be recounted in the two following chapters.

<sup>1</sup> Brodhead's *History of New York*, i. 254.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MARYLAND PALATINATE

ON the southwestern coast of Ireland, not far from Cape Clear, the steamship on its way from New York to Liverpool passes within sight of a small promontory crowned by an ancient village bearing the Gaelic name of Baltimore, which signifies "large townlands."<sup>1</sup> The events



SOUTHERN COAST OF IRELAND

which transferred this Irish name to the banks of the Patapsco River make an interesting chapter of history.

George Calvert, son of a wealthy Yorkshire farmer of Flemish descent, was born about 1580. After taking his degree at Oxford and travelling for some time on the Continent, he was employed as an under-secre-

<sup>1</sup> Joyce. *Irish Names of Places*, Dublin, 1869, p. 322.

tary in the state department by Sir Robert Cecil, after whom he named his eldest son Cecilius. His warm advocacy of the Spanish marriage made him a great favourite of James I., so that in 1617 he was knighted and in 1619 was appointed secretary of state. He seems always to have had a leaning toward the Roman Church. Whether he was converted in 1624, or simply made public profession of a faith long cherished in secret, is matter of doubt. At all events, he resigned his secretaryship at that time. The next year one of the last things done by James, a few days before his death, was to raise Calvert to the Irish peerage as Baron Baltimore.

The son of Mary Stuart had a liberal way of dealing with his favourites. In March, 1623, he granted the great southeastern promontory in Newfoundland — the region now known as Ferryland, between Trinity and Placentia bays — to George Calvert, to be held by him and his heirs forever. The government was to be a "palatinate," a statement which calls for a somewhat detailed explanation.

When that great and far-sighted ruler William the Conqueror arranged the affairs of England after the battle of Hastings, he sought to prevent such evils as those against which the newly founded Capetian monarchy in France was struggling for life, evils arising from the imperfect subordination of the great feudal lords. To this end he made it a rule not to grant large contiguous estates to the same lord, and in every county he provided that the king's officer, the sheriff, should be clothed with powers overriding those of the local manorial officers. He also obliged the tenants of the barons to swear fealty directly to the crown. This shrewd and wholesome policy, as developed under his able son Henry I. and his still abler great-grandson Henry II., has profoundly affected the political career of the English race. But to this general policy William admitted one class of exceptions. In the border counties, which were never quite free from the fear of invasion, and where lawlessness was apt to be more or less prevalent in time of peace, it was desirable

A palatinate in Newfoundland

Origin of palatinates

to make the local rulers more powerful. Considerations of this sort prevailed throughout mediæval Europe. Universally, the ruler of a march or border county, the count or graf or earl placed in such a responsible position, acquired additional power and dignity, and came to be distinguished by a grander title, as margrave, marquis, or count of the marches. In accordance with this general principle, William the Conqueror granted exceptional powers and consolidation of authority to three counties, to Durham on the Scotch border, to Chester on the border of Wales, and to Kent, where an invader from the Continent might with least difficulty effect a landing. Local administration in those counties was concentrated in the hands of the county ruler; they were made exceptionally strong to serve as buffers for the rest of the kingdom, and they were called "palatinates" or "counties palatine," implying that within their boundaries the rulers had quasi-regal rights as complete as those which the king had in his palace. They appointed the officers of justice, they could pardon treasons and felonies, forfeitures at common law accrued to them, and legal writs ran in their name instead of the king's. The title of "count palatine" carries us back to the times of the Merovingian kings in Gaul, when it belonged to one of the highest officers in the royal household, who took judicial cognizance of all pleas of the crown. Hence the title came to be applied to other officers endowed with quasi-regal powers. Such were the counts palatine of the Rhine and Bavaria, who in the course of the thirteenth century became electoral princes of the Holy Roman Empire. One of their domains, the Rhenish Palatinate, of which Heidelberg in its peerless beauty is the crown and glory, has contributed, as we shall hereafter see, an element of no small importance to the population of the United States.

To return to William the Conqueror: in an age when the organization of society was so imperfect, and action at a distance so slow and difficult, the possession of quasi-regal powers by the rulers of the palatine counties made it much



easier for them to summon quickly their feudal forces in case of sudden invasion. In view of the frequency of quarrels and raids on the border, the quasi-regal authority was liable at any moment to be needed to prevent war from breaking out, and the proper administration of justice demanded a short shrift and a sharp doom for evil-doers. The powers granted by William to the palatine counties resembled those wielded by the French dukedoms of the same period, but with admirable forethought he appointed to rule them priests who could not marry and found feudal families. Durham and for a time Chester were ruled by their bishops, and over Kent as a secular jurisdiction William placed his own brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. In course of time many changes occurred. Kent soon lost its palatine privileges, while those of Chester were exercised by its earls until the reign of Henry III., when the earldom lapsed to the crown. After the conquest of Wales the county of Pembroke on its southwestern coast was made a palatinate, but its privileges were withdrawn by Henry VIII. For a time such privileges were enjoyed by Hexhamshire, between Durham and Northumberland, but under Elizabeth that little county was absorbed in Northumberland. One other northern shire, the duchy of Lancaster, was made a palatinate by Edward III., but that came to an end in 1399, when the Duke of Lancaster ascended the throne of England as Henry IV. Traces of its old palatinate jurisdiction, however, still survive. Until the Judicature Act of 1873 Lancaster and Durham had each its own distinct and independent court of common pleas, and the duchy of Lancaster has still its own chancellor and chancery court outside of the jurisdiction of the lord chancellor. As for the palatine authority of the bishops of Durham, it was vested in the crown in the year preceding the accession of Victoria.

From this survey it appears that by the end of the sixteenth century the bishopric of Durham was left as the only complete instance of a palatinate, or kingdom within the kingdom. In the northern marches the need for such a

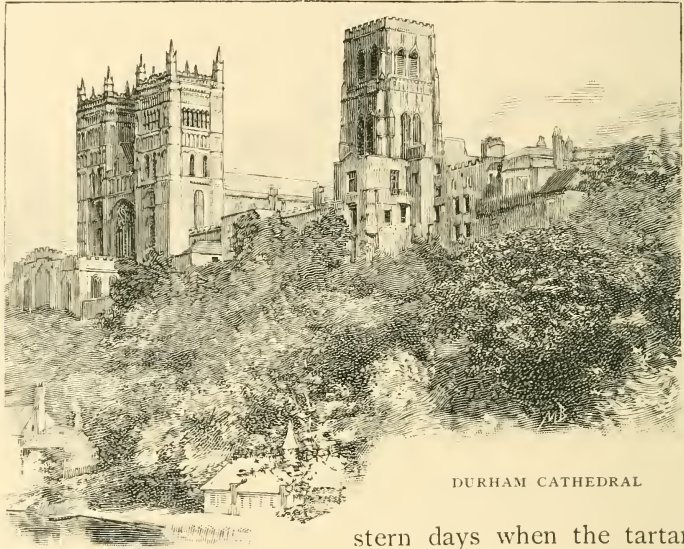
Changes in  
English  
palatinates

buffer was longer felt than elsewhere, and the old political structure remained very much as it had been created by William I., with the mitred bishop at its head. The great Norman cathedral, in its position of unequalled grandeur,

The bishopric of Durham

“Half house of God,  
Half castle 'gainst the Scot,”

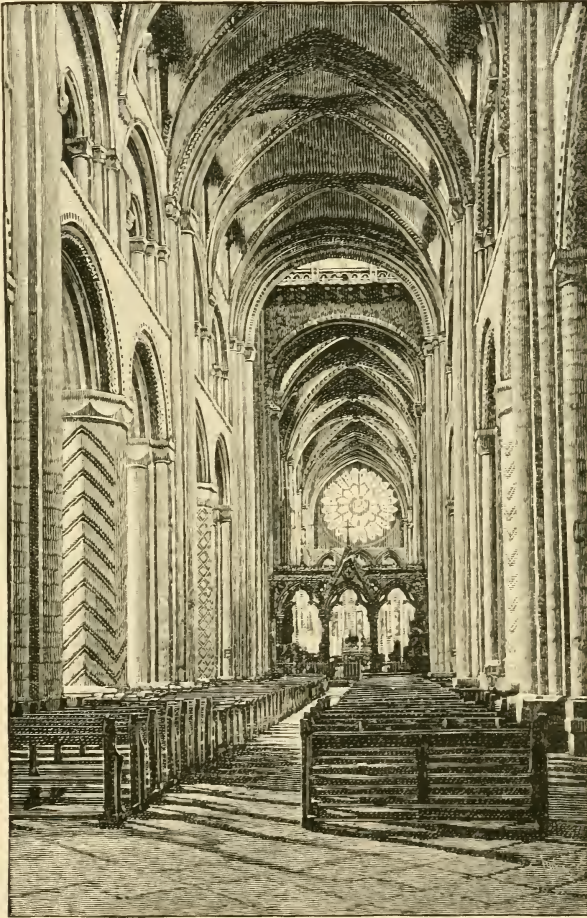
still rears its towers in the blue sky to remind us of the



DURHAM CATHEDRAL

stern days when the tartan-clad thousands came swarming across the Tweed, to fall in heaps before the longbow at Halidon Hill and Neville's Cross and on many another field of blood. When the king of Scots came to be king of England, this principality of Durham afforded an instance of a dominion thoroughly English yet semi-independent, unimpeachable for loyalty but distinct in its administration. It was not strange, therefore, that it should have served as a pattern for colonial governments to be set up in the New World. For such governments virtual independence combined with hearty allegiance was the chief desideratum,

a fact which in later days George III. unfortunately forgot. From the merely military point of view a colony in the American wilderness stood in at least as much need of pal-



DURHAM CATHEDRAL, NAVE

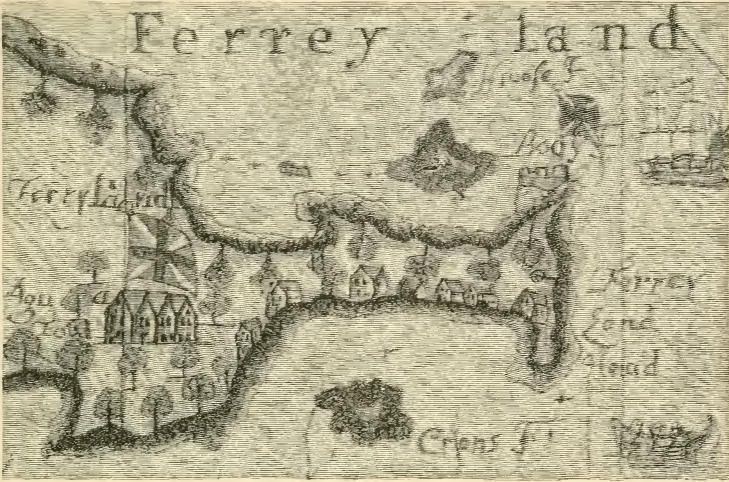
atine authority as any frontier district in the Old World. Accordingly, when it was decided to entrust the work of founding an American colony to a nobleman with his client-

age of followers, an example of the needful organization was already furnished by the great northern bishopric. Calvert's province in Newfoundland, which received the name of Avalon,<sup>1</sup> was to be modelled after the palatinate of Durham, and the powers granted to its lord proprietor were perhaps the most extensive ever bestowed by the English crown upon any subject.

A party of colonists went at once to Newfoundland in 1623, but various affairs detained Lord Baltimore at home until 1627, when he came with his wife and children to dwell in this New World paradise of Avalon. The trail of the serpent was already there. A French fleet came to attack the colony, meditating revenge for Argall's treatment of the French at Mount Desert and Port Royal, but Baltimore's ships were heavily armed and well handled, and the Frenchmen got the worst of it. Then a party of Puritans came to Avalon, and these unbidden guests were horrified at what they saw. The Rev. Erasmus Stourton returned to England with a shocking story of how Lord Baltimore not only had the mass performed every Sunday, but had even allowed a Presbyterian child to be baptized by a Romish priest. Then the climate of Avalon proved to be anything but what had been expected. One Captain Richard Whitbourne had published an enthusiastic book in which he recorded his memories of June days in Newfoundland, with their delicious wild strawberries and cherries, the soft air redolent with the fragrance of red and white roses, the woods vocal with thrushes and other songsters that rivalled the nightingale; of wild beasts there were none that were harmful, and "in St. John's harbour he once saw a mermaid."<sup>2</sup> Lord Baltimore learned that it was not always June in Avalon. He wrote to Charles I. in August,

<sup>1</sup> From the so-called isle of Avalon, in Somerset, reputed to be the place where Christianity was first preached in Britain; the site of the glorious minster of Glastonbury, where rest the ashes of Edgar the Peaceful and Edmund Ironside.

<sup>2</sup> Browne's *Calverts*, p. 17.



LORD BALTIMORE'S HOUSE IN FERRYLAND

1629, as follows: "I have met with difficulties and encumbrances here which in this place are no longer to be resisted, but enforce me presently to quit my residence and to shift to some other warmer climate of this New World, where the winters be shorter and less rigorous. For here your Majesty may please to understand that I have found by too dear-bought experience, which other men for their private interests always concealed from me, that from the middle of October to the middle of May there is a sad fare of winter upon all this land; both sea and land so frozen for the greater part of the time as they are not penetrable, no plant or vegetable thing appearing out of the earth until the beginning of May, nor fish in the sea; beside the air so intolerable cold as it is hardly to be endured. By means whereof, and of much salt meat, my house hath been an hospital all this winter; of a hundred persons fifty sick at a time, myself being one, and nine or ten of them died. Hereupon I have had strong temptations to leave all proceedings in plantations, and being much decayed in my strength, to retire myself to my former quiet; but my inclination carrying me

naturally to these kind of works, and not knowing how better to employ the poor remainder of my days than . . . to further, the best I may, the enlarging your Majesty's empire in this part of the world, I am determind to commit this place to fishermen that are able to encounter storms and hard weather, and to remove myself with some forty persons to your Majesty's dominion Virginia ; where, if your Majesty will please to grant me a precinct of land, with such privileges as the king your father . . . was pleased to grant me here, I shall endeavour to the utmost of my power, to deserve it." <sup>1</sup>

To this letter the king returned a gracious reply, in which he advised Lord Baltimore, for the sake of his own comfort and peace of mind, to give up such arduous kind of work and return to England ; but before this reply reached Avalon, its proprietor had sailed for Virginia, with Lady

Baltimore and the children, and a small retinue of servants and followers. He wished to see that country with his own eyes and learn if it were really fit for his purposes. On the first day of October, 1629, he arrived at Jamestown, where he found the assembly in session. That versatile physician, Dr. Pott, so skilled in "epidemics" and strong waters and afterward convicted of lifting cattle, was then acting as governor. The reception given to Lord Baltimore was anything but cordial. All good Virginians hated Papists, and this particular Papist was known to stand in high favour with the king, so that he might turn out to be dangerous. He had been one of the commissioners appointed by James I. to look into the affairs of Virginia ; what if he were to persuade Charles I. to turn over the colony into his hands for safe-keeping ? There was really not the slightest danger of such a thing. Baltimore's wish was not to take possession of a colony already established, but to found one himself in accordance with his own ideas. It was not his purpose to become lord over the Virginians, but their neighbour, who might dwell near them on amicable terms. But the Virginians did not wish to

Baltimore's  
visit to Vir-  
ginia

<sup>1</sup> Browne's *Calverts*, p. 25.

receive him in any capacity or on any terms, except as a transient guest. There was an obvious and easy device for getting rid of him. Dr. Pott and the council tendered to him the oath of supremacy, which of course he could not take. This oath was a sworn recognition of the English sovereign as the only supreme authority throughout the British dominions in all matters ecclesiastical and spiritual. No Catholic could take such an oath. Baltimore proposed an alternative declaration of allegiance to which he could swear, but such a compromise was of course refused. Even had Dr. Pott and the council felt authorized to assume such responsibility, accommodation was not what they desired, and the royal favourite was told that he must sail for England at once. It appears that he met with some very rude treatment at Jamestown, which does not seem to have been publicly rebuked until the arrival of the new royal governor, Sir John Harvey, in the following March; for on the records of the assembly for March 25, 1630, occurs the entry: "Thomas Tindall to be pilloried two hours, for giving my Lord Baltimore the lie and threatening to knock him down." It is evident, however, that such unseemly conduct could not have met with approval among respectable people at Jamestown, for when Baltimore sailed he left his wife and children there. It is clear that he intended soon to return, and wished to save them the discomforts and perils of the double voyage. He knew that Virginian hospitality could be relied on. His purpose of returning must have been well known, for the secretary of the colony, William Claiborne, was sent to London to keep an eye upon him and thwart his schemes as far as possible. After arriving in England, Lord Baltimore found so many hindrances to be reckoned with that he sent for his family and they followed him by a later ship.

Baltimore's first request was for a tract of territory lying south of James River as far as the mouth of the Chowan (or Passamagnus) River in Albemarle Sound. This province was to be called Carolina, either in honour of Charles I., or because the name had been given by the Huguenots in 1562

in honour of Charles IX. of France to a point farther south on that coast and was vaguely applicable to territory between Virginia and Florida. A charter conveying this land to Lord Baltimore had already been made out when Claiborne appeared with his objections, which were supported by other persons in London who were entertaining schemes for founding a sugar-planting colony in Carolina. The matter was discussed in the Privy Council, and Baltimore's attention was called to the fact that the Dutch were taking possession of the country between the Hudson and Delaware rivers; would it not therefore be desirable to found a colony north of the Potomac, and squeeze these unwelcome intruders into as narrow a space as possible? Baltimore accepted this suggestion, and a charter was drawn up, granting to him as lord proprietor the province which received the name of Maryland, after Charles's Catholic queen, Henriette Marie, in England commonly called Queen Mary. The charter, which Baltimore drew up with his own hand, was in the main a copy of the Avalon charter; but before it had received the royal seal he died, in April, 1632. In June the charter was issued to his eldest son, Cecilius Calvert, second baron of Baltimore.

In obtaining this new grant of Maryland, the Calverts did not regard themselves as giving up their hold upon Newfoundland. Cecilius appointed a governor for Avalon as a fishing station, but in 1637, with characteristic recklessness, the king granted it to the Marquis of Hamilton and some other noblemen, on the ground that the charter had been forfeited by disuse. More or less controversy went on until 1663, when in consequence of a judgment in the courts pronouncing the Hamilton grant void, Avalon was surrendered to Cecilius. But his descendants really neglected it, until in 1754 the charter was again declared forfeited, and the crown resumed its rights over the whole of that large island.

It seems to have been the physical hardships sustained in Newfoundland that cut off the first Lord Baltimore prema-

The charter of Maryland

Fate of the Avalon charter



turely in his fifty-third year and prevented his witnessing the success of the enterprise which he had so much at heart. His plan was to found in the New World a commonwealth where Catholics might find a welcome refuge from the oppressive legislation to which they were subjected in England. It was a plan that could be carried out only by adopting a policy of



*Anne Arundel*

universal toleration utterly unknown in that age outside of the Netherlands. It called for the utmost sagacity and tact, and was likely to require on the part of the ruler all the well-nigh royal powers with which Lord Baltimore had been endowed. Though the scheme was left for the son to put into successful operation, it was devised by the father and stamps him as no ordinary man. It is right that he should be honoured as the first founder

Character  
of the first  
Lord Balti-  
more

of Maryland. His portrait, painted for Lord Bacon by the illustrious Daniel Mytens, is now in the gallery of the Earl of Verulam, and there is a fine copy of it in the state-house at Annapolis. The face is courteous and amiable, albeit somewhat melancholy, and shows refinement and intelligence, as well as the honesty for which he was noted. George Calvert's integrity was such that throughout his public life men respected and trusted him without distinction of party. Of the sincerity of his religious feelings one gets a glimpse in such characteristic passages as the following, from a letter to his friend, the great Earl of Strafford: "All things, my lord, in this world pass away; wife, children, honours, wealth, friends, and what else is dear to flesh and blood. They are but lent us till God please to call for them back again, that we may not esteem anything our own, or set our hearts upon anything but Him alone, who only remains forever."<sup>1</sup>

Of the early life of the son, Cecilius Calvert, very little is known. He was born in 1606 and entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1621, but there is no record of his having taken a degree. He was hardly more than eighteen years old when he became the husband of Lady Anne Arundel, whose name is left upon one of the counties of Maryland, and whose portrait by Vandyck, preserved in Wardour Castle, shows her to have been one of the most beautiful women of her time. An engraved portrait of Cecilius, made in 1657 and now in possession of the Maryland Historical Society, gives us the impression of great sagacity and power, with the repose that comes from undisturbed self-control. There is perhaps more astuteness than in the father's face, but the look is also frank, as well as lofty and refined. Through many difficulties the plan conceived by George Calvert was put into operation by Cecilius, who is to be regarded as preëminently the founder of Maryland. His strong personality is impressed upon the whole history of that interesting community; yet singularly enough, the second Lord Baltimore never visited the colony

Cecilius  
Calvert,  
second  
Lord  
Baltimore

<sup>1</sup> Browne's *Calverts*, p. 29.



Georg Salver



to which the labours of his long life were devoted. He cherished at first an intention of going out with the first party of colonists, but finding that London fairly swarmed with enemies to the enterprise, he found it most prudent to stay there and contend with them. This was only the beginning of long years of arduous work in which the right time for leaving England never came, and the Moses of this new migration and fresh departure in the way of founding states was at last gathered unto his fathers without ever having set foot in the Promised Land.

In two ways the founding of Maryland was a new departure in methods of colonization. In the first place, it introduced into America a new type of colonial government. The Spanish and French colonies were simple despotisms administered by viceregal governors, sometimes with advisory councils, sometimes partly held in check by an officer called the intendant, who was himself a counter-despot. The government of Virginia after the suppression of the Company was called a crown government because the governor and council were appointed by the king; it was not a despotism, because there was an assembly elected by the people, without whose consent no taxes could be assessed or collected. The bond of connection with the mother country was loose but real. A contrast was afforded by Massachusetts, which under its first charter, from 1629 to 1684, was a true republic, with governor, council, and assembly all elected within the colony, so that the administration could move on quite independently of any action in England. In the proprietary governments, of which Maryland was the first example, the lord proprietor stepped into the place of the crown, while a charter, which might be forfeited in case of abuse, made it impossible for him to become an absolute monarch. The elective legislature of Maryland, which in point of seniority ranks third in America, next after Virginia and Massachusetts, was expressly provided for in the charter. The lord proprietor's sovereignty was limited by this elected assembly

A new type  
of colonial  
govern-  
ment

of freemen, but his dependence upon the king of England was little more than nominal. In token of allegiance and homage he was to send to the king each year two Indian arrows. His rent was to be one fifth part of all gold or silver mined in Maryland, but as no precious metals were found there, this rent amounted to nothing. Moreover, whenever it might seem necessary, the oath of allegiance might be administered to any of the inhabitants. Saving this formal recognition of his overlord, the lord proprietor was virtually king in Maryland. Laws passed by the assembly became valid as soon as he had signed them, and did not need to be seen by the king. In case the assembly could not conveniently be brought together in an emergency, he could issue ordinances by himself, analogous to the orders of the Privy Council. He could coin money and grant titles of nobility, he could create courts, appoint judges, and pardon criminals. It was moreover expressly stipulated that within the limits of Maryland no taxes could be either assessed or collected by any British government. Finally the lord proprietorship was vested in Cecilius Calvert and his heirs, and in point of fact was exercised by them with some interruptions for five generations; so that the government of colonial Maryland was really a hereditary constitutional monarchy.

Thus Lord Baltimore introduced into America a new and quite remarkable type of colonial government. But in the second place his attempt to inaugurate a policy of complete religious toleration was a still more memorable departure from familiar methods. Among the express provisions of the charter there was nothing that looked toward such complete toleration. Any express toleration of Catholics would have ruined the whole scheme at the start. The words of the charter were conveniently vague. In the original charter of Avalon the lord proprietor was entrusted with "the patronage and advowsons of all churches which, with the increasing worship and religion of Christ within the said region, hereafter shall happen to be built; together with license and faculty of erecting and founding

Ecclesiastical powers of the lord proprietor

churches, chapels, and places of worship, in convenient and suitable places, within the premises, and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England." This Avalon grant of 1623 was made when Sir George Calvert was still a member of the English church; it empowered him to found Anglican churches, but did not expressly prohibit him from founding Romanist or Nonconformist places of worship along with the others if he should see fit. Now exactly the same words were repeated in the Maryland charter, although it was generally known that Lord Baltimore intended to make that colony an asylum for such English Catholics as wished to escape from their griev-



THE BALTIMORE ARMS

ances at home. The fact that no prohibition was inserted shows that the king connived at Baltimore's scheme, perhaps through sympathy with his Catholic queen. None of the Stuarts were fierce Protestants, and it is worth noting that it was at the king's request that the colony was named Maryland. Mr. Gardiner's opinion seems well sustained, that "the phrases of the charter were intended to cover a secret understanding between Baltimore and the king."<sup>1</sup>

Starting with such a charter, religious toleration in Maryland was a happy product of circumstances. In view of the regal powers wielded by Lord Baltimore it was not easy for the Protestant settlers to oppress the Catholics; while, on the other hand, if the Catholic settlers had been allowed to annoy the Protestants, it would forthwith have raised such a storm in England as would

Religious  
toleration  
in Mary-  
land

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *History of England*, viii. 179.

have overwhelmed the lord proprietor and blasted his enterprise. The situation thus created was improved to the best advantage by the strong common-sense and unfailing tact of Cecilius Calvert. It is not likely that he had arrived at such advanced views of the entire separation of church and state as those which were set forth with such luminous cogency by Roger Williams, but there was a statesmanlike instinct in him that led him in a similar direction. In point of religious toleration Quaker Pennsylvania unquestionably holds the foremost place among the colonies, while next after it comes Rhode Island, and then New Netherland, which, with a few exceptions, maintained the wholesome Dutch traditions. There are some respects in which Maryland's record may vie with the brightest, but her success was not attained without struggles. We shall presently have occasion to see how curiously her beginnings were complicated with the affairs of her elder sister Virginia and with some phases of the Puritan revolution.

If Lord Baltimore felt obliged himself to stay in England, he was able to send excellent agents to America in the persons of his younger brothers, Leonard and George Calvert. The former he appointed governor of Maryland. The most important member of the council was Thomas Cornwallis, of an ancient and highly honourable London family, the same to which in later days belonged the Earl Cornwallis who surrendered an army to George Washington at Yorktown.<sup>1</sup> Leonard Calvert's ships were the Ark, of 300 tons burthen, with its attendant pin-nace, the Dove, of 50 tons; and his company comprised 20 "gentlemen adventurers" with about 300 labourers. So alarmed were London people at the expedition, that it took the ships a full month to get away from the Thames River. All kinds of rumours flew about. It was assumed that all Catholics must be in league with Spain and that these ships must be concerned in some foul conspiracy against the English colonies in America. At the last moment a great

First set-  
tlement at  
St. Mary's

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 99.





MAP OF MARYLAND, 1635

fuss was made in the Star Chamber, and Coke sent an order post-haste to Admiral Pennington commanding the channel fleet to stop the ships at Dover. The oath of supremacy was administered, and we hear of 128 persons taking it at one time. It is generally believed that the majority of the company were Protestants; the leaders were nearly all Cath-

olics, including the amiable Jesuit, Father Andrew White, who has left us in quaint and very charming Latin a full narrative of the voyage.<sup>1</sup> The ships finally started on the 22d of November, 1633, stopped for a while in January at Barbadoes, and on the 27th of February reached Point Comfort, where a letter from the king ensured them courteous treatment at the hands of Governor Harvey. With a fresh stock of supplies they sailed up Chesapeake Bay and into the broad Potomac, and presently on a little wooded island which they called St. Clement's — since dwindled to the mere vestige of a sand-bank — they celebrated Mass for the first time in English America on the 25th of March, 1634.

On a bluff overlooking the deep and broad St. Mary's River the settlers found an Indian village, which they bought from its occupants with steel hatchets and hoes and pieces of cloth. These Indians were a tribe of Algonquins, who had been so persecuted by their terrible Iroquois neighbours, the Susquehannocks, that they were already intending to move away to some safer region; so they welcomed the white purchasers and the chance for buying steel hatchets. Leonard Calvert was as scrupulously just in his dealings with red men as William Penn in later days, and like Penn he was exceptionally favoured by the circumstances of his Indian neighbours. After the Algonquins had departed from St. Mary's, the fierce Susquehannocks to the northward were so hard pressed by their hostile kinsmen of the Five Nations, that they were only too glad to live on amicable terms with the settlers of Maryland. Thus one of the most formidable difficulties in the way of American colonization was removed at the start.

At St. Mary's, moreover, there was no Starving Time. The land had so long been cleared by the Indians for their own cornfields that Calvert's settlers at once began planting for themselves. Father White speaks with approval of two native dishes which the Indians call "pone" and "hominy," and from their squaws

Relations  
with the  
Indians

Prosperity  
of the set-  
tlement

<sup>1</sup> White's *Relatio Itineris*, publ. by Maryland Hist. Soc.

the English women soon learned how to bake and fry these viands to perfection. In the course of the very first autumn the Marylanders were able to export a shipload of corn to New England in exchange for a cargo of salted codfish.<sup>1</sup> Cattle and swine were obtained from Virginia, and soon the neighbourhood of St. Mary's was covered with thrifty and smiling farms. New colonists came quite steadily, and presently from St. Mary's the plantations spread about the shores of the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay. The first assembly was convened and the first laws were enacted in 1635, and when Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, died, just forty years afterward, his Maryland had grown to be a prosperous community of 20,000 souls.

Some of the more important details of this growth will form part of our story. At present we have to consider somewhat more closely the nature of this palatinate government, and the modifications which it underwent in its transfer from England to America.

The Bishop of Durham was feudal landlord of the territory in his bishopric, and the most considerable part of his revenue came from rents.<sup>2</sup> Until 1660 he also received a fluctuating but not insignificant income from such feudal incidents as escheats, forfeitures, and wardships. The rents and feudal dues were collected by the bailiffs, each in his bailiwick, and were by them paid over to the receiver-general, who was the superintendent of the palatinate's finances. As for Durham's share of the national taxes, Parliament simply determined the amount; the bishop's government decided how it should be raised and his constables collected it. The only taxes collected by the king's officers were the customs.

Constitution of Durham: the receiver-general

After 1536 the militia force of Durham, like that of other

<sup>1</sup> Winsor. *Narr. and Crit. Hist.* iii. 526.

<sup>2</sup> There is an excellent summary of the institutions of Durham in Bassett's "Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. xii. For fuller accounts see Surtees, *History of the County Palatine of Durham*; also, *Surtees Society Publications*, vols. xxxii., lxxxii., lxxxiv.

counties, was commanded by an officer known as lord lieutenant. Formerly the command of the militia and the collecting and disbursing of revenue were concentrated in the hands of the high sheriff, who continued to be nominally the superior officer over the lord lieutenant and receiver-general, while his actual duties were restricted, like those of sheriffs in other counties, to enforcing the decisions of the courts. But whereas all other sheriffs were crown officers, the high sheriff of Durham was accountable only to the bishop.

The only officer of higher dignity than the high sheriff was the chancellor of temporalities, who exercised a twofold function. He was the bishop's chief minister and head of the civil government, and he presided over the bishop's high court of chancery. Below this

high tribunal there were two kinds of courts. The one was like the ordinary courts of quarter sessions, composed of justices of the peace, save that these justices were appointed by the bishop and punished breaches not of the king's peace but of the bishop's peace. The other kind of court was one

that could be held in any manor of the bishopric. It was the manorial court or "halmote," the most interesting of these ancient institutions of Durham. The business of the halmote courts was to adjust all questions relating to the tenure of land, rights or easements in land, and such other matters as intimately concerned the little agricultural community of tenants of the manor. They could also issue injunctions and inflict sundry penalties.

These courts were held by the seneschal, an officer charged with the general supervision of manors, but all the tenants of the manor in question could attend the halmote, and could speak and vote there, so that it was like a town meeting. When we add that it could enact by-laws, thus combining legislative with judicial functions, we see its ancestry disclosed. This halmote in Durham was a descendant of the ancient folkmote or primary assembly which our forefathers brought into Britain from their earlier home in

the wilds of northern Germany. In this assembly the people of Durham preserved their self-government in matters of local concern. But the circumstances in which the palatinate grew up seem to have retarded the development of representative government. There was no shire-mote in Durham, attended by selected men



LORD BALTIMORE SIXPENCE



from every manor or parish or township, as in the other counties of England. Instead of laws enacted by such a representative body, there were ordinances passed by the bishop in his council, which was composed of the principal magistrates already mentioned, and of such noblemen or other prominent persons as might choose to come or such as might be invited by the bishop. It thus resembled in miniature a witenagemote or house of lords. The bishops of Durham seem to have been in general responsive to public opinion in their little world, and it does not appear that the people fared worse than they would have done with a representative assembly. The bishop was not an autocrat, but a member of a great ecclesiastical body, and if he made himself unpopular it was quite possible to take steps that would lead to his removal.

The  
bishop's  
council

The lack of representative institutions in Durham, coupled with its semi-independence, long retarded its participation in the work of national legislation. The bishop, of course, sat in the House of Lords, but not until the reign of Charles II. was this county palatine represented in the House of Commons. The change was inaugurated by Cromwell, under whose protectorship the palatine privileges were taken away, and Durham, reduced



LORD BALTIMORE PENNY

National  
representa-  
tion

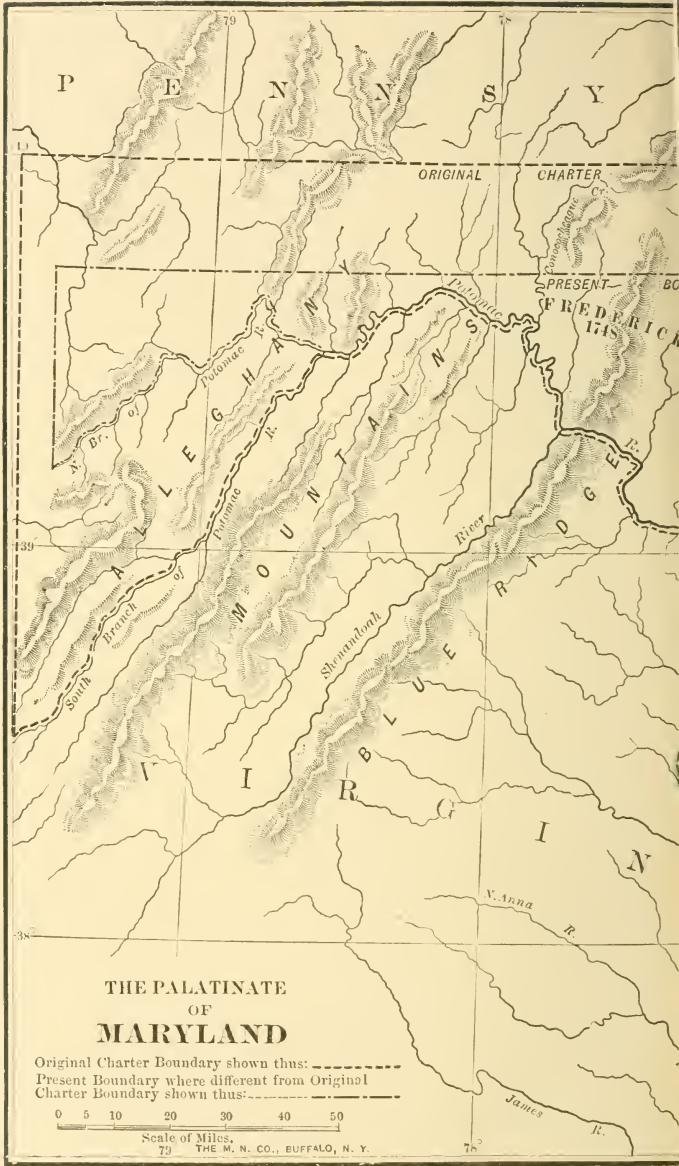
to the likeness of other counties, elected its members of Parliament. In 1660 the restored monarchy undid this change and replaced the bishop, although with his palatinate privileges slightly shorn. In 1675 Durham began to be regularly represented in the House of Commons, but that date was subsequent to the founding of the Maryland palatinate. At the time when Lord Baltimore's charter was issued, the bonds of connection between Durham and the rest of England were three : 1. the bishop was a tenant *in capite* of the crown, besides being an officer of the Church and a member of the House of Lords ; 2. the county regularly paid its share of the national taxes ; and 3. cases in litigation between the bishop and his subjects could be appealed to the Court of Exchequer in London. Saving these important limitations, Durham was independent. The only way in which the king could act within its limits was by addressing the bishop, who by way of climax to his many attributes of sovereignty was endowed with the powers of coining money, chartering towns, and exercising admiralty jurisdiction over his seacoast.

As I have already observed, it was natural that in founding new governments in America this familiar example of the Durham palatinate should be made to serve as a model. In point of fact not only Maryland, but every colony afterwards founded, except in New England, was at first a palatinate, with either a single lord proprietor or a board of proprietors at its head. Of the four colonies older than Maryland, three — English Virginia and Massachusetts, and Dutch New Netherland — were founded through the instrumentality of charters granted to joint-stock companies, organized really or ostensibly for commercial purposes ; one, Plymouth, was founded by the people and ignored by the crown until finally suppressed by it. Of the four New England colonies younger than Maryland, all were founded by the people themselves, one of them, New Haven, was soon suppressed, another, New Hampshire, was turned into a royal province, the other two, Connecticut and Rhode

Limitations upon autonomy

The palatinate type in America





**THE PALATINATE  
OF  
MARYLAND**

Original Charter Boundary shown thus: - - - - -  
 Present Boundary where different from Original  
 Charter Boundary shown thus: —————



Scale of Miles.  
 79 THE M. N. CO., BUFFALO, N. Y.







Island, were for the most part let alone. The governments of all the other colonies began as proprietary governments. This was the case with New York and the two Jerseys after the English conquest of New Netherland; it was the case with Pennsylvania and Delaware, with the two Carolinas, and with Georgia. One and all of these were variations upon the theme first adopted in the founding of Maryland. All were based upon the palatinate principle, with divers modifications suggested by experience as likely to be more acceptable to the proprietors or to the crown. And just as the crown, for purposes of its own and without regard to the wishes of the people, changed the governments of Virginia and New Hampshire and extinguished those of New Haven and Plymouth; so in nearly every case we find the people becoming so dissatisfied with the proprietary governments that one after another they are overturned and the palatinates become transformed into royal provinces. We shall, therefore, find it profitable to trace the history of the palatinate principle in America through its initial theme and its subsequent variations.

That initial theme was mainly an echo of the Old World music, but the differences were not without importance. In administrative machinery there was a strong resemblance between Maryland and Durham. The governor of Maryland was Lord Baltimore's chief minister, the head of the civil administration of the colony. He also presided over its court of chancery, and in this double capacity he resembled the chancellor of temporalities. But, as befitted the head of a community planted in a hostile wilderness, he added to these functions those of the lord lieutenant and was commander-in-chief of the militia. Laws passed by the assembly required his signature to make them valid, and thus he possessed the power of veto; but he could not assent to a law repealing any law to which the lord proprietor had assented. Such matters had to be referred to the lord proprietor, whose prerogatives were jealously guarded, while the extensive powers accorded to the gov-

Similarities  
between  
Durham  
and Mary-  
land: the  
governor

ernor were such as convenience dictated in view of the fact that the lord proprietor was absent in England. An instance of the principle and its limits is furnished by the governor's pardoning power, which extended to all offences except treason.<sup>1</sup>

The personage next in importance to the governor was the secretary, who as receiver and disburser of revenues resembled the receiver-general of Durham, but to these functions he added those of recorder and judge of probate, and sometimes also those of attorney-general. Next came the surveyor-general, whose functions in determining metes and bounds and in supervising manorial affairs, resembled those of the Durham seneschal. Then there was a lieutenant commander of militia known as master-general of the muster. In each county there was a sheriff, who, in addition to such functions as we are familiar with, collected all taxes, held all elections, and made the returns. These four officers — the secretary, surveyor-general, muster master-general, and sheriff — were paid by fees, the amount of which was determined by the assembly, which thus exercised some control over them; but the governor received a salary from the lord proprietor, and was to that extent independent of the legislature.

Of courts there was one in each county, but besides this a considerable number of manors were created, and each manor had its court baron and court leet for the transaction of local business. Small civil cases involving less than the worth of 1200 pounds of tobacco, and criminal cases not involving the death penalty, were tried in the county courts. Above these was the provincial court, which dealt with common law, chancery, or admiralty, as the case might be. The judges of this court were all members of the council, to which the secretary and other chief executive officers belonged, while the governor presided

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Maryland constitution, see Sparks, "Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. xiv.

alike over the provincial court and over the council. Appeals could be taken from the provincial court to the council sitting as the upper house in the assembly, after the analogy of the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords; but this virtually meant that a case once decided could be tried over again by the same judges with a few colleagues added.

The assembly, at the mention of which we have thus arrived, was the principal point of difference between the palatinate of Maryland and that of Durham. The governor of Maryland, like the bishop of Durham, had his council, consisting solely, as the other consisted chiefly, of high officials; but in Maryland there was popular representation, while in Durham there was not. At first, however, the popular house was not a representative but a primary assembly, and its sittings were not separate from those of the council. In the first assembly, which met at St. Mary's in February, 1635, all the freemen, or all who chose to come, were gathered in the same room with Leonard Calvert and his council. They drew up a body of laws and sent it to England for the lord proprietor's assent, which was refused. The ground of the refusal was far more than the mere technicality which on a hasty glance it might seem to be. Cecilius refused because the charter gave the lord proprietor the power of making laws with the assent of the freemen, but did not give such power to the freemen with the assent of the lord proprietor. In other words, the initiative in legislation must always come from above, not from below. Obviously there could be no higher authority than Cecilius as to what the charter really intended. But the assembly of Maryland insisted upon the right of initiating legislation, and Cecilius was wise enough to yield the point gracefully. He consented, in view of the length of time required for crossing the ocean, that laws enacted by the assembly should at once become operative and so remain unless vetoed by him. But he reserved to himself the right of veto without limitation in time. In other words, he could at any time annul a law, and this prerogative was one that might become dangerous.

In 1638 the primary assembly was abandoned as cumbersome. For purposes of the military levy the province was divided into hundreds, and each hundred sent a representative to the assembly at St. Mary's. At a later date the county came to be the basis of representation, as in Virginia. For some time the representatives sat with the council, as at first in Massachusetts and Virginia; but in 1650 the representatives began to sit as a lower house, while the council formed an upper house. As there was a tendency, which went on increasing, for the highest offices to be filled by Calverts and their kinsmen, the conditions were soon at hand for an interesting constitutional struggle between the two houses. It was to be seen whether the government was to be administered for the Calverts or for the people, and to the story of this struggle we shall presently come.

As a result of our survey it appears that Lord Baltimore occupied a far more independent position than any bishop of Durham. Not only was he exempt from imperial taxation, but in case of a controversy between himself and his subjects no appeal could be taken to any British court. His power seemed to approach more nearly to despotism than that of any king of England, save perhaps Henry VIII. The one qualifying feature was the representative assembly, the effects of which time was to show in unsuspected ways. From various circumstances mentioned in the course of the present chapter there resulted a strange series of adventures, which will next claim our attention.

The representative assembly

Regal power of Lord Baltimore

## CHAPTER IX

### LEAH AND RACHEL

WE have already had occasion to observe that, while from the outset Lord Baltimore's enterprise found many enemies in England, it was at the same time regarded with no friendly feelings in Virginia. We have seen the Virginians sending to London their secretary of state, William Claiborne, to obstruct and thwart the Calverts in their attempt to obtain a grant of territory in America. For Claiborne there were interests of his own involved, besides those of the colony which he represented. This William Claiborne, younger son of an ancient and honourable family in Westmoreland, had come to Virginia in 1621 and prospered greatly, acquiring large estates and winning the respect and confidence of his fellow planters. By 1627 he had begun to engage in trade with the natives along the shores of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers. Such traffic, if well managed, was lucrative, since with steel knives and hatchets, or with ribbons and

William  
Claiborne  
and his  
projects



WILLIAM CLAIBORNE

beads, one could buy furs which would fetch high prices in England. To the enterprising Claiborne it seemed worth while to extend this trade far to the north. His speculative vision took in the Delaware and Hudson rivers and even



*W. Alexander*

included New England and Nova Scotia. So he entered into an arrangement with a firm of London merchants, Clobery & Company, to supply them with furs and other such eligible commodities as might be obtained from the Indians, and in 1631 he obtained a royal license for trading in any and all parts of North America not already preëmpted by monopolies. This was done while he was in London opposing Lord Baltimore. The place most prominently mentioned in the license was Nova Scotia, and it was

obtained under the seal of Scotland, from the Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir William Alexander, to whom Nova Scotia had some time before been granted. On returning to Virginia, where Sir John Harvey had lately superseded the convivial Dr. Pott as governor, Claiborne obtained a further license to trade with any of the English colonies and with the Dutch on Henry Hudson's river.

Armed with these powers, Claiborne proceeded to make a settlement upon an island which he had already, before his visit to London, selected for a trading post. It was Kent Island, far up in Chesapeake Bay, almost as far north as the mouth of the Patapsco River.

Kent Island occupied by Claiborne



Here dwellings were built, and mills for grinding corn, while gardens were laid out, and orchards planted, and farms were stocked with cattle.<sup>1</sup> A clergyman was duly appointed, to minister to the spiritual needs of the little settlement, and in the next year, 1632, it was represented in the House of Burgesses by Captain Nicholas Martian, a patentee of the land where Yorktown now stands.

When in that same year the news of the charter granted to Lord Baltimore arrived in Virginia, it was greeted with indignation. No doubt there was plenty of elbow-room between the old colony and the land assigned to the newcomers, but the example of Claiborne shows what far-reaching plans could be cherished down on James River. The Virginians had received a princely territory, <sup>Conflicting grants</sup> and did not like to see it arbitrarily curtailed. There was no telling where that sort of thing might end. According to the charter of 1609, Virginia extended 200 miles northward from Old Point Comfort,<sup>2</sup> or about as far north as the site of Chester in Pennsylvania; which would have left no room for Maryland or Delaware. That charter had indeed been annulled in 1624, but both James I. and Charles I. had expressly declared that the annulling of the charter simply abolished the sovereignty that had been accorded to the Virginia Company, and did not infringe or diminish the territorial rights of the colony. Undoubtedly the grant to the Calverts was one of the numerous instances in early American history in which the Stuart kings gave away the same thing to different parties. Or perhaps we might better say that they made grants without duly heeding how one might overlap and encroach upon another. This was partly the result of carelessness, partly of ignorance and haziness of mind; flagrant examples of it were the grants to Robert Gorges in Massachusetts and to Samuel Gorton in Rhode Island. No serious harm has come of this recklessness, but

<sup>1</sup> See Latané, "Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 144.

it was the cause of much bickering in the early days, echoes of which may still be heard in silly pouts and sneers between the grown-up children of divers neighbour states. As regards the grant to Lord Baltimore, a protest from Virginia was not only natural but as inevitable as sunrise. It was discussed in the Star Chamber in July, 1633, and the decision was not to disturb Lord Baltimore's charter; the Virginians might, if they liked, bring suit against him in the ordinary course of law. From this decision came many heart-burnings between Leah and her younger sister Rachel, as a quaint old pamphleteer calls Virginia and Maryland.<sup>1</sup>

Viewed in the light of all the circumstances, it is difficult to avoid seeing in Claiborne's occupation of Kent Island a strategic move. Considered as such, it was bold and not ill-judged. With his far-reaching schemes the Susquehanna River was a highway which would enable him to compete with the Dutch for the northwestern fur trade. By establishing himself on Kent Island he might command the approach to that highway. The maxim that actual possession is nine points in the law was in his favour. If the Star Chamber had decided to uphold Virginia's wholesale claim to the territory granted her in 1609, Claiborne would have been master of the situation. Even with the deci-  
Claiborne's  
resistance sion as rendered, his own case was far from hopeless. In the autumn of 1633 he petitioned the king to protect his interests and those of Virginia in Kent Island. He contended that Baltimore's charter gave jurisdiction only over territory unsettled and unimproved, — *hactenus inculta*, — whereas Kent Island had been settled as a part of Virginia and heavy expenses incurred there before that charter had been issued. In sending this petition it was hoped that by resolutely keeping hold upon the strategic point it might be possible to make Lord Baltimore reconsider his plans and take his settlers to some other region than the shores of Chesapeake Bay. But this hope was dashed in February,

<sup>1</sup> Hammond, *Leah and Rachel, or, The Two Fruitfull Sisters, Virginia and Maryland*, 1656.

LEAH and RACHEL,  
OR,  
the Two Fruitfull Sisters  
VIRGINIA,  
AND  
MARY-LAND:  
Their Present Condition, Im-  
partially stated and related.

WITH  
*A Removall of such Imputations as are scandalously  
cast on those Countries, whereby many deceived  
Souls, chose rather to Beg, Steal, rot in Prison,  
and come to shamefull deaths, than to better their being  
by going thither, wherein is plenty of all things  
necessary for Humane subsistence.*

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By *John Hammond.*

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Eccles. 22. v. 8.  
*If children live honestly and have wherewith, they shall put away the  
shame of their Parents.*

---

LONDON,  
Printed by *T. Mabb,* and are  
to be sold by *Nich. Bourn,* near the Royall  
Exchange, 1 6 5 6.

1634, when Leonard Calvert with the first party of settlers arrived in those waters. Claiborne's petition had not yet been answered, but Lord Baltimore's instructions to his brother were conceived in a conciliatory spirit. Leonard was to see Claiborne and offer him all the aid in his power toward building up the new settlement on Kent Island, at the same time reminding him that the place was in Baltimore's territory and not a part of Virginia. In other words, Claiborne was welcome to the property, only he must hold it as a tenant of the lord proprietor of Maryland, not as a tenant of the king in Virginia. While the Ark and the Dove were halting at anchor off Old Point Comfort, and while Leonard Calvert was ashore exchanging courtesies with Governor Harvey, he communicated this message to Claiborne. At the next meeting of the council, Claiborne asked his fellow-councillors what he should do in the matter. In reply they wondered that he should ask such a question. Was not the case perfectly clear? Was there any reason why they should surrender Kent Island, more than any other part of Virginia? No, they would keep it until his Majesty's pleasure should be known, and meanwhile they would treat the Maryland company civilly and expected to be so treated by them. Behind this answer there was much bad feeling. Not only were the Virginians angry at the curtailment of their domains, not only were they alarmed as well as angry at the arrival of Papists in their neighbourhood, but they were greatly disgusted because Lord Baltimore's charter gave him far more extensive trading privileges than they possessed. Calvert's message to Claiborne had signified that before trading any further in the upper parts of Chesapeake Bay he must obtain a license from Maryland. Assured now of support from Virginia, Claiborne returned an answer in which he refused in any way to admit Lord Baltimore's sovereignty.

Leonard's instructions had been in case of such a refusal not to molest Claiborne for at least a year. But soon com-

Lord Baltimore's instructions

The Virginia council supports Claiborne

plications arose. The settlers at St. Mary's observed indications of distrust or hostility on the part of a neighbouring Algonquin tribe, known as the Patuxents; so they appealed to one Captain Henry Fleete, who understood the Algonquin language, to learn what was the matter. This Captain Fleete wished to supplant Claiborne in the fur trade and may have welcomed a chance of discrediting him with the Marylanders. At all events, he reported that the Indians had been told that the Marylanders were not Englishmen but Spaniards, and for this calumny, which might have led to the massacre of the new-comers, he undertook to throw the blame upon Claiborne. In the substance of this story there is a strong appearance of truth. On the Virginia coast in those days common parlance was not nice as to discriminating between Papists of any kind and Spaniards, and one can easily see how from ordinary gossip the Indians may have got their notion. There is no reason for casting atrocious imputations upon Claiborne, who was examined in June, 1634, by a joint commission of Virginians and Marylanders, and completely exonerated. But before the news of this verdict reached London, the charge that Claiborne was intriguing with the Indians had been carried to Lord Baltimore and evidently alarmed him. Convinced that forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, he sent word to his brother to seize Kent Island, arrest Claiborne, and hold him prisoner until further instructions.

This was in September, 1634. News of the message came to the ears of Claiborne's London partners, Clobery & Company, and they petitioned the king for protection in the possession of their island. Charles accordingly instructed Lord Baltimore not to molest Claiborne and his people, and he sent a letter to the governor and council of Virginia, in which he declared that the true intention of the charter which he had granted to Baltimore would not justify that nobleman in any interference with Kent Island and its settlers. So the winter wore away

Complica-  
tions with  
the Indians

Reprisals  
and skir-  
mishes

without incident, but early in April, 1635, one of Claiborne's ships, commanded by one Thomas Smith, was seized in the Patuxent River by Captain Fleete; she was condemned for trading without a license, and was confiscated and sold with all her cargo. Claiborne then sent out an armed sloop, the Cockatrice, to make reprisals upon Maryland shipping; but Calvert was wide awake and sent Cornwallis with a stronger force of two armed pinnaces, which overtook the Cockatrice in Pocomoke River and captured her after a brisk skirmish in which half a dozen men were killed and more wounded. That was on April 23, and on May 10 there was another fight in the harbour of Great Wighocomoco, at the mouth of the Pocomoke, in which Thomas Smith commanded for Claiborne and defeated the Marylanders with more bloodshed.

In the midst of these unseemly quarrels the kingdom of Virginia witnessed something like a revolution. We have already had occasion to mention Sir John Harvey, the governor who came in March, 1630, after the brief administration of that versatile practitioner, Dr. John Pott. Harvey was not long in getting into trouble. It was noticed at first that his manners were intolerably rude. He strutted about Jamestown as if he were on a quarter deck, and treated the august members of the council with as little ceremony as if they had been boot-blacks. On his own confession he once assaulted a councillor and knocked out some of his teeth "with a cudgel."<sup>1</sup> But it presently appeared that arrogance was not his worst fault. He was too fond of money, and not particular as to how it came to him. He had a right to make grants of land to settlers for a consideration to be paid into the public treasury; it was charged against him that part of the consideration found its way into his own pockets. Nor was this all, for it happened, after the fashion of his royal master, that some of the lands which he granted were already private property. Besides this, he seems to have undertaken to draw up laws

Com-  
plaints  
against  
Governor  
Harvey

<sup>1</sup> Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 126.



*Cecil Habers*





and proclaim them of his own authority without submitting them to the assembly; he refused to render an account of the ways in which he spent the public money; he had excessive fees charged, multiplied the number of fines beyond all reason, and took the proceeds or a part of them for his private use and behoof. In short, he seems to have been a second and more vulgar Argall.

Five years of this sort of thing had driven the men of Virginia to the last pitch of desperation, when the Claiborne imbroglio brought on a crisis. In obedience to the king's instructions, Harvey showed such favour as he could to the Maryland settlers, and thus made himself the more fiercely hated in Virginia. The Kent Island question was one that bred dissension in families, separated bosom friends, and sowed seeds of distrust and suspicion far and wide. To speak well of Maryland was accounted Rage of Virginians against Maryland little less than a crime. "Sell cattle to Maryland!" exclaimed the wrathful planters, "better knock them on the head!" From pious people this near approach of the Scarlet Woman drew forth strong words. We are told that one day Captain Samuel Mathews, that brave gentleman and decorous Puritan, on reading a letter from England, dashed his hat upon the ground and stamped in fury, shouting, "A pox upon Maryland!"<sup>1</sup>

In such a state of things we can imagine what a storm was raised when Governor Harvey removed from office the able and popular secretary of state, William Claiborne, and appointed one Richard Kemp in his place. One lively gleam of vituperation lights up the grave pages of the colonial records, when Rev. Anthony Panton called Mr. An angry parson Kemp a "jackanapes," and told him that he was "unfit for the place of secretary," and that "his hair-lock was tied up with ribbon as old as St. Paul's." We shall hereafter see how the outraged secretary nursed his wrath; what he might have done in its freshness was prevented by a sudden revolution. The assembly drew up a protest against

<sup>1</sup> *Maryland Archives — Council Proceedings*, i. 29.

the king's attempts at monopolizing the tobacco trade, and Harvey refused to transmit the protest to England. About the same time the news arrived of the seizing of Claiborne's ship in Maryland waters. On the petition of many of the people, a meeting of the assembly was called for May 7, to receive complaints against Sir John Harvey.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time, on April 27, an indignation meeting was held at the house of William Warren, in York, where the principal speakers were Nicholas Martian, formerly member of the House of Burgesses for Kent Island, Francis Pott, the doctor's brother, and William English, sheriff of York County. The house where this meeting was held in 1635 seems to have stood on or near the site of the house afterward owned by Augustine Moore, where in 1781 the surrender of Lord Cornwallis was arranged; and by a curious coincidence the speaker Nicholas Martian was a direct ancestor both of George Washington, who commanded the army of the United States, and of Thomas Nelson, who commanded the forces of Virginia, on that memorable occasion.<sup>2</sup>

Next morning Martian, Pott, and English were arrested, and when they asked the reason why, Governor Harvey politely told them that they "should know at the gallows." When the council met, the wrathful governor strode up and down the room, demanding that the prisoners be instantly put to death by martial law, but the council insisted that no harm should come to them without a regular trial. Then Harvey with a baleful frown put the ques-

The meet-  
ing at War-  
ren's house

Scene in  
the council

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes at Large*, i. 223.

<sup>2</sup> "Memories of Yorktown," address by Lyon Gardiner Tyler, President of William and Mary College, *Richmond Times*, Nov. 25, 1894. The original letter of Captain Mathews and the declaration of Sir John Harvey concerning the "mutiny of 1635" are printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, i. 416-430. In my brief account I have tried to reconcile some apparent inconsistencies in the various statements with regard to time. Some accounts seem to extend over three or four days the events which more probably occurred on the 27th and 28th. The point is of no importance.

tion after the manner of Richard III., "What do they deserve that have gone about to dissuade the people from their obedience to his Majesty's substitute?" A young member, George Menefie, replied with adroit sarcasm that he was too young a lawyer to be ready with "a suddain opinion" upon such a question. Turning savagely upon him, Sir John asked what all the fuss was about. "Because of the detaining of the assembly's protest," said Menefie. Then the governor struck Menefie heavily upon the shoulder and exclaimed, "I arrest you on suspicion of treason," whereupon Captain John Utie, roughly seizing the governor, answered, "And we the like to you, sir!" Samuel Mathews threw his arms about Harvey and forced him down into a chair, while that connoisseur in beverages, Dr. Pott, waved his hand at the window, and in the twinkling of an eye the house was surrounded by armed men. Mathews then told the helpless governor that he must go to London to answer charges that would be brought against him. In vain did Harvey argue and storm. The sequel may best be told in the words of the terse and bleak entry in the colonial records: "On the 28th of April, 1635, Sir John Harvey thrust out of his government; and Capt. John West acts as governor <sup>Harvey</sup> <sub>deposed</sub> till the king's pleasure known." When the assembly met on May 7, these proceedings of the council were approved, and commissioners were appointed to go to London and lay their complaints before the king. The indignant Harvey went by the same ship, in the custody of his quondam prisoner, Francis Pott, whom he had been so anxious to hang without ceremony.

Such were the incidents of the ever memorable "thrusting out of Sir John Harvey," the first revolutionary scene that was acted in English America. When King Charles heard the story he did not feel quite so much fondness for his trusty and well-beloved burgesses as when he had been seeking commercial favours from them. He would not receive their commissioners or hear a word on their side of the case, and he swore that Sir John Harvey should straightway

go back to Virginia as governor, even were it only for one day. But when it came to acting, Charles was not quite so bold as his words. Harvey did not return until nearly two years had elapsed.<sup>1</sup> Then it was the turn of the rebellious councillors — Utie, Mathews, West, Menefie, and Dr. Pott — to go to London and defend themselves, while Harvey wreaked mean-spirited vengeance on his enemies. The day of reckoning had come for Anthony Panton, the minister who had called Mr. Secretary Kemp a “jackanapes,” and had, moreover, as it seemed, spoken irreverently of Archbishop Laud. Panton’s conduct was judged to be “mutinous, rebellious, and riotous,”<sup>2</sup> his estate was confiscated, and he was banished. A shameful clause was inserted in the sentence, declaring him outlawed if he should venture to return to Virginia, and authorizing anybody to kill him at sight ; but Harvey afterward tried to disown this clause, saying that it had been wickedly interpolated by the vindictive Kemp.

But Harvey’s new lease of power was brief. Enemies to the throne were getting too numerous for comfort, and we may well believe that Charles, having once vindicated his royal dignity in the matter, was quite ready to yield. The statements of the councillors under examination in London no doubt had weight, for no proceedings were taken against them, but in 1639 the king removed Harvey, and sent the excellent Sir Francis Wyatt once more to govern Virginia. Harvey’s numerous victims forthwith overwhelmed him with law-suits, his ill-gotten wealth was quickly disgorged, his estates were sold to indemnify Panton and others, and the fallen tyrant, bankrupt and friendless, soon sank into the grave, — such an instance of poetic justice as is seldom realized.

It was in December, 1637, during Harvey’s second administration, that the Kent Island troubles were renewed. After Claiborne’s victorious fight at Great Wighcocomoco,

<sup>1</sup> The interval was from April 28, 1635, to January 18, 1637.

<sup>2</sup> Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 143.

in May, 1635, he retained undisturbed possession of the island, but a quarrel was now brewing between himself and his London partners, Clobery & Company. They were dissatisfied because furs did not come in quantities sufficient to repay their advances to Claiborne. The disputes with the Marylanders had sadly damaged the business, and the partners sent over George Evelin to look after their interests, and armed him with power of attorney. They requested Claiborne to turn over to him the island, with everything on it, and to come to London and settle accounts. Claiborne tried to get a bond from Evelin not to surrender the island to Calvert, but that agent refused to give any assurances, except to express in strong language his belief that Calvert had no just claim to it. Nothing was left for Claiborne but to leave Evelin in possession. He did so under protest, and in May, 1637, sailed for England, where Clobery & Company immediately brought suit against him. Evelin then went to Virginia and attached all of Claiborne's property that he could find. Presently, whether from policy or from conviction, he changed his views as to the ownership of Kent Island and invited Leonard Calvert to come and take it. After some hesitation, in December, 1637, Calvert occupied the premises with forty or fifty armed men and appointed Evelin commandant of the island. Forthwith so many people were arrested for debts owed to Clobery & Company that an insurrection ensued, and in February, 1638, Calvert had to come over again and enforce his authority. Among his prisoners taken in December was Thomas Smith, the victor in the fight at Great Wighcocomoco, who was now tried for piracy and hanged, while the Maryland assembly passed a bill of attainder against Claiborne, and all his accessible property was seized for the benefit of Lord Baltimore's treasury.

Evelin sent  
to Kent  
Island

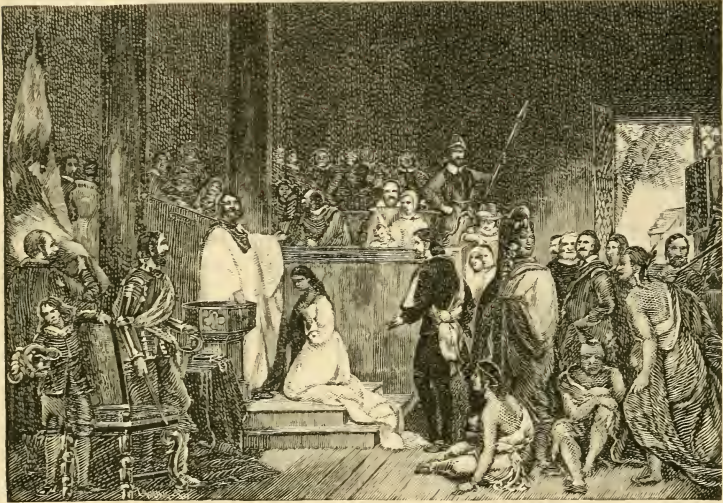
Kent Is-  
land seized  
by Calvert

Soon afterward the final and crushing blow was dealt in London. A Board of Commissioners for the Plantations had lately been created there, a germ that in later years was

to develop into the well-known body commonly called the Lords of Trade. To this board the dispute over Kent Island had been referred, and the decision was rendered in April, 1638. In the decision the claims of Virginia were ignored, and the matter was treated like a personal dispute between Claiborne and Lord Baltimore. The latter had a grant of sovereignty under the seal of England, the former had merely a trading license under the seal of Scotland, and this could not be pleaded in bar of the greater claim. Kent Island was thus adjudged to Lord Baltimore. Crestfallen but not yet conquered, the sturdy Claiborne returned to Virginia to await the turn of Fortune's wheel.

In curious ways the march of events was tending in Claiborne's favour. At first sight there is no obvious connection between questions of religion and the ownership of a small wooded island, but it would be difficult to name any kind of quarrel to which the Evil One has not contrived to give a religious colouring. By the year 1638 the population of Virginia had come to contain more than 1000 Puritans, or about seven per cent. of the whole. They had begun coming to Virginia in 1611 with Sir Thomas Dale, whose friend, the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, the famous "Apostle of Virginia," was a staunch Puritan, son of an eminent Puritan divine who was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. The general reader, who thinks of Whitaker correctly as a minister of the Church of England, must not forget that in 1611 the Puritans had not separated from the Established Church, but were striving to reform it from within. As yet there were few Separatists, save the Pilgrims who had fled to Holland three years before. The first considerable separation of Puritans occurred when the colony of Massachusetts Bay was founded in 1629. The great gulf between Puritans and Churchmen was dug by the Civil War, and the earliest date when it becomes strictly proper to speak of "Dissenters" is 1662, when the first parliament of Charles II. passed the Act of Uniformity. In

the earliest days of Virginia, Puritan Churchmen were common there. When in 1617 the good Whitaker was drowned in James River, he was succeeded by George Keith, who was also a Puritan.<sup>1</sup> Under the administration of Sandys and Southampton many came. Their chief settlements were



THE BAPTISM OF POCAHONTAS

south of James River, at first in Isle of Wight County and afterwards in Nansemond. Among their principal leaders were Richard Bennett, son of a wealthy London merchant and afterwards governor of Virginia, and Daniel Gookin, noted for his bravery in the Indian massacre of 1622.

An act of the assembly in 1631 prescribed "that there be a uniformity throughout this colony both in substance and

<sup>1</sup> In the famous picture of the baptism of Pocahontas, in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, Whitaker, as an Episcopal clergyman, is depicted as clothed in a surplice. A letter of Whitaker's, of June, 1614, tells us that no surplices were used in Virginia; see *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1771. Surplices began to be used there about 1724 (see Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, 1724, p. 69), and did not come into general use till the nineteenth century (Latané, *Early Relations*, etc. p. 64).

circumstances to the canons and constitution of the Church of England." This legislation probably reveals the hand of William Laud, who had three years before become bishop of London; and it may be taken to indicate that a large majority of Virginians had come to disapprove of Puritanism. Probably the act was not vigorously enforced, for Governor Harvey seems to have looked with favour upon Puritans, but it may have caused some of their pastors to quit the colony. In 1641 an appeal for more ministers was sent to Boston, and in response three clergymen — William Thompson of Braintree, John Knowles of Watertown, and Thomas James of New Haven — sailed from Narragansett Bay in December, 1642. Their little ship was wrecked at Hell Gate and their welcome from the Dutch at Manhattan was but surly; nevertheless they were able to procure a new ship, and so, after a wintry voyage of eleven weeks, arrived in James River.<sup>1</sup> They brought excellent letters of recommendation from Governor Winthrop to the governor of Virginia, but might as well have thrown them into the fire, for the new governor of Virginia, who arrived in 1642, was the famous Sir William Berkeley, a Cavalier of Cavaliers, a firm believer in the methods of Strafford and Laud, an implacable foe of Puritanism and all its advocates. At the next meeting of the assembly, in March, 1643, the following act was passed: "For the preservation of the purity of doctrine and unity of the Church, it is enacted that all ministers whatsoever, which shall reside in the colony, are to be conformed to the orders and constitution of the Church of England, and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach 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."<sup>2</sup>

Act of  
Uniform-  
ity, 1631

Puritan  
ministers  
from New  
England

New Act  
of Uni-  
formity,  
1643

<sup>1</sup> Randall, "A Puritan Colony in Maryland," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, iv.

<sup>2</sup> Hening's *Statutes at Large*, i. 277.





June 21<sup>st</sup> 1607

# The third Sunday after TRINITY.

us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Below, and if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God. And what ever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight. And this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment. And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him : and hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us.

*The gospel. S. Luke xiv. 16.*  
Certain men made a great supper, and bade many :

And sent his servant at supper-time to say to them that were bidden, Come, for all things are now ready. And they all with one consent began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of ground, and I must needs go and see it : I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have five yoke of oxen, and I am going to plow : I pray thee have me excused. The third said, I have just married my sister, and therefore cannot come.

*The epistle. 1 S. Pet. v. 5.*  
All of you be subject one to another, as to the Lord. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you. Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due season.

*The third Sunday after Trinity.*  
*The collect.*  
O Lord, we beseech thee mercifully to hear us; and grant, that we, to whom thou hast given an hearty desire to pray, may by thy mighty aid be defended and comforted in all dangers and adversities, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

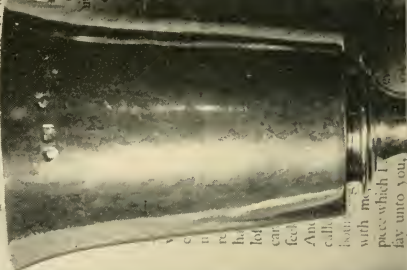
# The fourth Sunday after TRINITY.

Christ Jesus, after that ye have sinned a while, make you perfectly, stablish, strengthen, settle you. To him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

*The gospel. S. Luke xv. 4.*  
Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him. And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them. And he spake this parable unto them, saying, What man of you having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine, which are left, and go after that which is lost, and find it?

*The epistle. Rom. viii. 3.*  
Reckon that the sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. The earnest expectation of the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope; because the self also shall be delivered into the bondage of corruption, as the glorious liberty children of God. For we are the whole creation and travaileth in pain.

Si flow: and not on-  
all-fruits of the Spirit,  
that selves grove with  
waiting for the adop-  
wits, the redemption of  
*epistle. S. Luke vi. 36.*  
ye therefore merciful, as



EXPOSITION  
CATECHISM  
Church of England.

IRENICUM.  
WEAPON SALVE  
Churches Wound.  
DIVINE RIGHT

Parseque...  
N...  
W...  
Humbly sendeth in Compliment  
To, Edward, in the first Reformation...  
The second Edition...  
L...  
Such...  
Alphabet...  
1662

THE OLDEST COMMUNION VESSEL IN VIRGINIA (1619); USED IN ST. JOHN'S, HAMPTON



Armed with this fulmination, Berkeley was not long in getting rid of the parsons whom Winthrop had commended to his hospitality. Knowles and James went in April, after some weeks of incessant and successful preaching, but Thompson, "a man of tall and comely presence" as we are told, stayed through the summer and made many converts, among them the wayward son of Daniel Gookin, a junior Daniel whose conver-

Expulsion  
of the min-  
isters

*Daniel Gookin*

sion was from worldliness or perhaps devilry rather than from prelacy. This brand snatched from the

burning by Thompson went to Massachusetts, where for many years he was superintendent of Indian affairs and won fame by his character and writings. Thompson's work in Virginia is thus commemorated by Cotton Mather:—

"A constellation of great converts there  
Shone round him, and his heavenly glory were.  
Gookin was one of them; by Thompson's pains  
Christ and New England a dear Gookin gains."

The expulsion of the Boston ministers was the beginning of a systematic harassing of the Puritans in Virginia. It was strangely affected by the massacre perpetrated by the Indians in the spring of 1644.<sup>1</sup> We seem carried back to the times of John Smith when we encounter once more the grim figure of Opekankano alive and on the war-path. We have no need, however, with some thoughtless writers, to call him a hundred years old. It was only thirty-six years since Smith's capture by the Indians, although so much history had been made that the interval seems much longer. Though a wrinkled and grizzled warrior, Opekankano need not have been more than sixty or seventy when he wreaked upon the white men his second

Indian  
massacre  
of 1644

<sup>1</sup> Hildreth (*Hist. of the U. S.* i. 340) says that the Indians "were encouraged by signs of discord among the English, having seen a fight in James River between a London ship for the Parliament and a Bristol ship for the king."

massacre, on the eve of Good Friday, 1644. The victims numbered about 300, but the Indians were quickly put down by Berkeley, and a new treaty confined them to the north of York River ; any Indian venturing across that boundary, except as an envoy duly marked with a badge, was liable to be shot at sight. Opekankano was taken captive and carried on a litter to Jamestown, whence Berkeley intended to send him to London as a trophy and spectacle, but before sailing time the old chief was ignobly murdered by one of his guards. It was the end of the Powhatan confederacy.

Some worthy people interpreted this massacre as a judgment of Heaven upon the kingdom of Virginia for the sin of harbouring Puritans ; rather a tardy judgment, one would say, coming a year after the persecution of such heretics had begun in earnest. In Governor Winthrop's opinion,<sup>1</sup> on the contrary, the sin which received such gruesome punishment was the expulsion of the Boston ministers, with other acts of persecution that followed. Rev. Thomas Harrison, the bigoted Berkeley's bigoted chaplain, saw the finger of God in the massacre, repented of his own share in the work of persecution, and upbraided the governor, who forthwith dismissed him. Then Harrison turned Puritan and went to preaching at Nansmond, in flat defiance of Berkeley, who ordered and threatened and swore till he was out of breath, when suddenly business called him over to England.

It was the year of Marston Moor, an inauspicious year for Cavaliers, but a hopeful time for that patient waiter, William Claiborne. The governor of Maryland, as well as the governor of Virginia, had gone to England on business, and while the cats were away the mice did play. The king ordered that any Parliament ships that might be tarrying in Maryland waters should forthwith be seized. When this order was received at St. Mary's, the deputy-governor, Giles Brent, felt bound to obey it, and as there seemed to be no ships acces-

Conflicting  
views of  
theodicy

Invasion of  
Maryland  
by Clai-  
borne and  
Ingle

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop's *Journal*, ii. 164.

*Anne Arundel (Lady Baltimore)*









sible that had been commissioned by Parliament, he seized the ship of one Richard Ingle, a tobacco trader who was known to be a Puritan and strongly suspected of being a pirate. This incident caused some excitement and afforded the watchful Claiborne his opportunity of revenge. He made visits to Kent Island and tried to dispel the doubts of the inhabitants by assuring them that he had a commission from the king.<sup>1</sup> He may have meant by this some paper given him by Charles I. before the adverse decision of 1638 and held as still valid by some private logic of his own. When Governor Calvert returned from England in the autumn of 1644 he learned that Claiborne was preparing to invade his dominions, along with Ingle, who had brought upon the scene another ship well manned and heavily armed. It was a curious alliance, inasmuch as Claiborne had professed to be acting with a royal commission, while Ingle now boasted of a commission from Parliament. But this trifling flaw in point of consistency did not make the alliance a weak one. It is not sure that the invasion was concerted between Claiborne and Ingle, though doubtless the former welcomed the aid of the latter in reinstating himself in what he believed to be his right. The invasion was completely successful. While Claiborne recovered Kent Island, Ingle captured St. Mary's, and Leonard Calvert was fain to take refuge in Virginia. During two years of anarchy Ingle and his men roamed about "impressing" corn and tobacco, cattle and household furniture, stuffing ships with plunder to be exported and turned into hard cash. The estates of Cornwallis were especially ill-treated, the Indian mission was broken up, and good Father White, loaded with irons, was sent to England on a trumped-up charge of treason, of which he was promptly acquitted. Long afterward this Claiborne-Ingle frolic was remembered in Maryland as the "plundering time."

In 1645 Sir William Berkeley returned to Virginia, and from him the fugitive Calvert received effective aid and

<sup>1</sup> Browne's *Maryland*, p. 60.

sympathy, so that late in 1646 he was able to invade his own territory with a force of Virginians and fugitive Marylanders. Claiborne and Ingle were soon expelled, and Leonard Calvert's authority was fully reëstablished. Not long afterward, in June, 1647, this able governor died. For his brother Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, this was a trying time. He was a royalist at heart, with little sympathy for Puritans, but like many other Catholics he thought it wise to keep on good terms with Parliament, in the hope of securing more toleration than heretofore. Such a course between Charybdis and Scylla was attended with perils. In 1648 Cecilius appointed to his governorship William Stone, a liberal-minded Protestant and supporter of Parliament. Soon after the king's beheading, the young Charles II., a fugitive in the island of Jersey, hearing of Stone's appointment, interpreted it as an act of disloyalty on Baltimore's part, and so in a fit of spite made out a grant handing over the palatinate of Maryland to Sir William Davenant, that poet-laureate who was said to resemble Shakespeare until ravening vanity made him pretend to be Shakespeare's illegitimate son. Sir William actually set sail for America, but was overhauled in the Channel by a Parliament cruiser and carried off to the Tower, where amid sore distress he found a generous protector in John Milton. It was not very long before Charles II. came to realize his mistake about Lord Baltimore.

In Maryland the great event of the year 1649, which witnessed the death of Charles I., was the passage on April 21 of the Act concerning Religion. This famous statute, commonly known as the "Toleration Act," was drawn up by Cecilius himself, and passed the assembly exactly as it came from him, without amendment. With regard to Cecilius, therefore, it may be held to show, if not the ideas which he actually entertained, at least those which he deemed it prudent to embody in legislation. It is not likely to have surpassed his ideals, but it may easily have

Expulsion  
of Clai-  
borne and  
Ingle

Appoint-  
ment of  
William  
Stone as  
governor

The Toler-  
ation Act  
of 1649



# A L A W OF M A R Y L A N D Concerning R E L I G I O N.



**M**atters such as in well-governed and Christian Commonwealth, Matters concerning Religion and the Honour of God ought to be in the first place to be taken into serious consideration, and endeavoured to be settled. Be it therefore Ordained and Enacted by the Right Honourable *CÆCILIUS* Lord Baron of *Baltimore*, absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province, with the Advice and Consent of the Upper and Lower House of this General Assembly, That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging, shall from henceforth blaspheme GOD, that is curse him; or shall deny our Saviour *JESUS CHRIST* to be the Son of God; or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, & Holy Ghost; or the Godhead of any of the said Three Persons of the Trinity, or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words, or languages, concerning the Holy Trinity, or any of the said three Persons thereof, shall be punished with death, and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her Lands and Goods to the Lord Proprietary and his Heirs.

And be it also enacted by the Authority, and with the advice and assent aforesaid, That whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth use or utter any reproachful words or speeches concerning the blessed *Virgin MARY*, the Mother of our Saviour, or the holy Apostles or Evangelists, or any of them, shall in such case for the first Offence forfeit to the said Lord Proprietary and his Heirs, Lords and Proprietaries of this Province, the sum of Five pounds Have goods and chattels sufficient for the satisfying of such forfeiture, or that the same be not otherwise speedily satisfied, that then such offender or offenders shall be publickly whipped, and be imprisoned during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary, or the Lieutenant or Chief Governor of this Province for the time being: And that every such offender and offenders for every second offence shall forfeit Ten Pounds Sterling, or the value thereof to be levied as aforesaid; or in case such offender or offenders shall not then have goods and chattels within this Province sufficient for that purpose, then to be publickly and severely whipped and imprisoned as before is expressed: and that every person or persons before mentioned, offending herein the third time, shall for such third offence, forfeit all his lands and goods, and be for ever banished and expelled out of this Province.

And be it also further Enacted by the same Authority, advice, and assent, That whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth upon any occasion of offence, or otherwise in a reproachful manner or way, declare, call, or denominate, any person or persons whatsoever, inhabiting, residing, trafficking, trading, or commercing within this Province, or within any the Ports, Harbours, Creeks or Havens to the same belonging, an Heretic, Schismatick, Idolater, Puritan, Presbyterian, Independent, Popish Priest, Jesuit, Jeuit, Jesuited Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Barrowist, Antinomian, Roundhead, Separatist, or other name or term in a reproachful manner relating to matter of Religion shall for every such offence forfeit and lose the sum of Ten Pounds Sterling

of words, or shall be spoken or uttered, and the other shall recite to the Lord Proprietary his Heirs, Lords and Pro-  
prietarys of this Province: But if such person or persons who shall at any time utter or speak any such reproachful words or language, shall not have goods  
or chattels sufficient and overt within this Province to be taken to satisfy the penalty aforesaid, or that the same be not otherwise speedily satisfied, that then  
the person and persons so offending shall be publicly whipped, and shall suffer imprisonment without Bail or Main-prize until he, she, or they, respectively,  
shall satisfy the party offended or grieved by such reproachfull Language, by asking him or her respectively forgiveness publicly, for such his offence,  
before the Magistrate or chief Officer or Officers of the Town or place where such offence shall be given.

And be further likewise enacted by the authority and consent aforesaid, that every person and persons within this Province, that shall at any time hereaf-  
ter prophane the Sabbath, or Lords days, called Sundays, by frequent swearing, drunkennets, or by any unclean or disorderly Recreation, or by working on  
that day when absolute necessity doth not require, shall for every such first offence forfeit two shillings six pence Sterling, or the value thereof; and for the  
second offence five shillings Sterling, or the value thereof; and for the third offence, and for every time he shall offend in like manner afterwards, Ten shil-  
lings Sterling, or the value thereof; and in case such offender or offenders shall not have sufficient goods or chattels within this Province to satisfy any of  
the aforesaid penalties respectively hereby imposed for prophaning the Sabbath or Lords day called Sunday as aforesaid, then in every such case the party so  
offending shall for the first and second offence in that kind be imprisoned till he or she shall publicly in open Court before the chief Commander, Judge or  
Magistrate of that County, Town, or Precinct wherein such offence shall be committed, acknowledge the scandal and offence he hath in that respect given,  
against Gods, and the good and civil Government of this Province: and for the third offence and for every time after shall also be publicly whipt.

And whereas the enforcing of the Conscience in matter of Religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in thole Commonwealths  
where it hath been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable Government of this Province, and the better to preserve mutual love & unity amongst the  
Inhabitants here, Be it therefore also by the Lord Proprietary with the advice and assent of this Assembly, ordained and enacted, except as in this present Act  
is before declared and set forth, that no person or persons whatsoever within this Province, or the Islands, Ports, Harbors, Creeks, or Havens thereunto be-  
longings, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for, or in respect of his or her Re-  
ligion, or in respect of his or her consent, so as they be not unfaithfull to the Lord Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil Government, established or to be  
established in this Province under him and his Heirs. And that all and every person and persons that shall presume contrary to this Act and the true intent &  
meaning thereof, directly or indirectly, either in person or estate, willfully to wrong, disturb, or trouble, or molest any person or persons whatsoever within this  
Province, professing to be believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of his or her Religion, or the free exercise thereof within this Province, otherwise then is pro-  
vided for in this Act, that such person or persons so offending shall be compelled to pay treble damages to the party so wronged or molested, and for every such  
offence shall also forfeit Twenty shillings Sterling in Money, or the value thereof, half thereof for the use of the Lord Proprietary and his Heirs, Lords and Pro-  
prietarys of this Province, and the other half thereof for the use of the Party so wronged or molested as aforesaid; or if the party so offending as aforesaid, shall  
refuse or be unable to recompence the party so wronged, or to satisfy such fine or forfeiture, then such offender shall be severely punished by publick whipping  
and imprisonment during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary or his Lieutenant or chief Governor of this Province for the time being, without Bail or  
Main-prize.

And be it further also enacted by the authority and consent aforesaid, that the Sheriff or other Officer or Officers from time to time to be appointed and au-  
thorized for that purpose of the County, Town, or Precinct where every particular offence in this present Act contained, shall happen at any time to be com-  
mitted, and whereupon there is hereby a forfeiture, fine, or penalty imposed, shall from time to time distrain, and seize the goods and estate of every such person  
so offending as aforesaid against this present Act or any part thereof, and sell the same or any part thereof for the full satisfaction of such forfeiture, fine, or  
penalty as aforesaid, restoring to the party so offending, the remainder or over plus of the said goods or estate, after such satisfaction so made as aforesaid.





fallen somewhat short of them. The statute is so important that the pertinent sections of it deserve to be quoted at length :<sup>1</sup> —

“That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging, shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity, the ffather sonne and holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said three persons of the Trinity, or the unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachfull speeches, words or language concerning the said Holy Trinity, or any of the said three persons thereof, shall be punished with death, and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary and his heires.

“That whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth use or utter any reproachfull words, or speeches, concerning the blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Saviour, or the holy apostles, or Evangelists, or any of them, shall in such case for the first offence forfeit to the said Lord Proprietary and his heires the sume of ffive pound sterling.” —

“That whatsoever person shall henceforth upon any occasion, declare, call, or denominate any person or persons whatsoever inhabiting, residing, traffiqueing, trading or comerceing within this Province, or within any of the Ports, Harbors, Creeks or Havens to the same belonging, an heretick, Scismatick, Idolator, Puritan, Independent, Prespiterian, popish priest, Iesuit, Iesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvenist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barronist, Roundhead, Sep'atist, or any other name or term in a reproachful manner relating to matter of Religion, shall for every such offence forfeit the sume of tenne shillings sterling. —

“Whereas the inforcing of the conscience in matters of Religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceble government of

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1637-1664*, pp. 244-246.

this Province, and the better to preserve mutuall Love and amity amongst the Inhabitants thereof; Be it therefore also by the Lord Proprietary with the advice and consent of this Assembly, ordered and enacted (except as in this present act is before declared and sett forth,) that noe person or persons whatsoever within this Province, or the Islands: Ports, Harbors, Creeks or havens thereunto belonging, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth bee any waies troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect to his or her religion."

A statute which threatens Unitarians with death leaves something to be desired in the way of toleration, even though it fines a man ten shillings for calling his neighbour a Calvinist in a reproachful manner. Nevertheless, for the age when it was enacted this statute was eminently liberal, and it certainly reflects great credit upon Lord Baltimore. To be ruler over a country wherein no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in the name of religion was a worthy ambition, and one from which Baltimore's contemporaries in Massachusetts and elsewhere might have learned valuable lessons. Such a policy as was announced in this memorable Toleration Act was not easy to realize in the seventeenth century. The very year in which it was enacted saw the grim wolf of intolerance thrusting his paw in at the door.

As had happened before, the woes of the Virginia Leah brought woe upon the Maryland Rachel. When Governor Berkeley returned from England, he did more than swear at the defiant Chaplain Harrison and the other preachers of Puritanism south of James River. He banished the pastors and made life unendurable for the flocks. In 1648 two of the Nansemond elders, Richard Bennett and William Du-

Migration  
of Puritans  
from Vir-  
ginia to  
Maryland

rand, fleeing to Maryland, were kindly received by Governor Stone, who extended a most hospitable invitation to their people to leave Virginia and settle in the Baltimore palatinate. Cecilius had complained that settlers did not come fast enough and his colony

was still too weak, whereupon Stone had promised to do his best to bring in 500 new people. His opportunity had now come; early in 1649 an advance body of 300 Puritans came from Nansemond. The rest of their brethren hesitated, fearing lest Catholics might be no pleasanter neighbours than the king's men, but the course of events soon decided them. The news of the execution of Charles I. was generally greeted in Virginia with indignation and horror, feelings which were greatly intensified by the arrival of the Cavaliers who in that year began to flock

to Virginia. One ship in September brought 330 Cavaliers, and probably more than 1000 came in the course of the year. In October the assembly declared that the beheading of the king was an act of treason which nobody in Virginia must dare to speak in defence of under penalty of death. It also spoke of the fugitive Charles II. as "his Majesty that now is," and made it treason to call his authority in question. These were the last straws upon the back of the Puritan camel, and in the course of the next few months the emigration from Nansemond went on till as many as 1000 persons had gone over to Maryland. They settled upon land belonging to the Susquehannocks, near the mouth of a stream upon which they bestowed the name of the glorious English river that falls into the sea between Glamorgan and the Mendip Hills, and the county through which this new-found Severn flowed they called Providence from feelings like those which had led Roger Williams to give that comforting name to his settlement on Narragansett Bay.

*Acts of Assembly of  
Apr 21<sup>st</sup> 1649*

*Confirmed by the Lord  
Proprietary by an instru-  
ment under his hand &  
seal dated 26<sup>th</sup> of  
August 1650.*

*Philip Calvert.*

Presently this new Providence became a county bearing Lady Baltimore's name, Anne Arundel, and the city which afterwards grew up in it was called Annapolis. This country had not been cleared for agriculture by the Indians, like the region about St. Mary's, and there was some arduous pioneer work for the Puritan colony.

In changing the settlement or plantation of Providence into the county of Anne Arundel, something more than a question of naming was involved. The affair was full of political significance. These Puritans at first entertained an idea that they might be allowed to form an *imperium in imperio*, maintaining a kind of Greek autonomy on the banks of their Severn, instead of becoming an integral portion of Baltimore's palatinate. At first they refused to elect representatives to the assembly at St. Mary's; when presently they yielded to Governor Stone's urgency and sent two representatives in 1650, one of them was straightway chosen speaker of the House; nevertheless, in the next year the Puritans again held aloof. They believed that the Puritan government in England would revoke Lord Baltimore's charter, and they wished to remain separated from his fortunes. Their willingness to settle within his territory was coupled with the belief that it would not much longer be his.

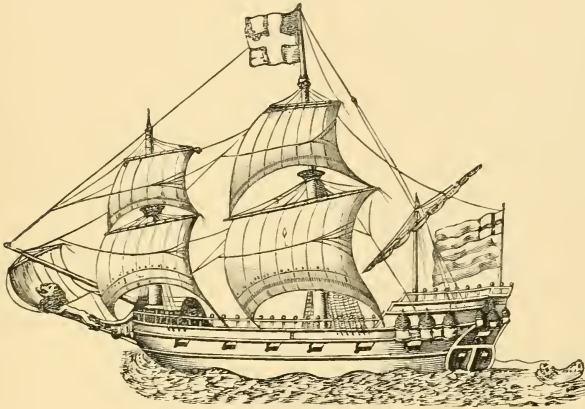
This belief was not wholly without reason. The warships of the Commonwealth were about to appear in Chesapeake Bay. Such audacious proceedings as those of the Virginia Assembly could not be allowed to go unnoticed by Parliament, and early in 1652 four commissioners were sent to receive the submission of Berkeley and his colony. One of these commissioners was Richard Bennett, the Puritan elder who had been driven from Nansemond. Another was the irrepressible Claiborne, whom Berkeley had helped drive out of Maryland. The Virginians at first intended to defy the commissioners and resist the fleet, but after some parley leading to negotiations, they changed their minds. It was not prudent to try to stand up against Oliver Cromwell, and

Designs of  
the Puri-  
tans

an idea that they might be allowed to form an *imperium in imperio*, maintaining a kind of Greek autonomy on the banks of their Severn, instead of

he, for his part, was no fanatic. Virginia must submit, but she might call it a voluntary submission. She might keep her assembly, by which alone could she be taxed, all prohibitions upon her trade should be repealed, and her people might toast the late king in private as much as they pleased ; only no public stand against the

Submission  
of Virginia  
to Crom-  
well



ENGLISH MAN-OF-WAR, 1646

Commonwealth would be tolerated. On these terms Virginia submitted. Sir William Berkeley resigned the governorship, sold his brick house in Jamestown, and went out to his noble plantation at Green Spring near by, there to bide his time. For the next eight years things moved along peaceably under three successive Roundhead governors, all chosen by the House of Burgesses. The first was Richard Bennett, who was succeeded in March, 1655, by Edward Digges ; and after a year Digges was followed by that gallant Samuel Mathews who had once given such a bear's hug to the arrogant Sir John Harvey. As for Claiborne, he was restored to his old office of secretary of state.

In Maryland there was more trouble. As soon as Claiborne had disposed of the elder sister, Leah, he went to settle accounts with the youthful Rachel, who had so many

woopers. There was Episcopal Virginia, whose pretensions to the fair damsel were based on its old charter; there was the Catholic lord proprietor, to whom Charles I. had solemnly betrothed her; there were the Congregational brethren of Providence on the Severn, whose new pretensions made light of these earlier vows; but the master of the situation was Claiborne, with his commission from Parliament and his heavily armed frigate. Mighty little cared he, says a contemporary writer, for religion or for punctilios; what he was after was that sweet and rich country. Claiborne's conduct, however, did not quite merit such a slur. In this his hour of triumph he behaved without violence, nor do we find him again laying hands upon Kent Island. On arriving with Bennett at St. Mary's, they demanded that Governor Stone and his council should sign a covenant "to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established without King or House of Lords." To this demand no objection was made, but the further demand, that all writs and warrants should run no longer in Baltimore's name, but in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty of England, was obstinately refused. For this refusal Stone was removed from office, a provisional government was established, and the commissioners sailed away. This was in April, 1652. After two months of meditation Stone sent word to Jamestown that he was willing to yield in the matter of the writs, whereupon Claiborne and Bennett promptly returned to St. Mary's and restored him to office.

But those were shifting times. Within a year, in April, 1653, Cromwell turned out of doors the Rump Parliament, otherwise called Keepers of the Liberty of England; and accordingly, as writs could no longer run in their name, Stone announced that he should issue them, as formerly, in the name of Lord Baltimore. He did this by order of Cecilius himself. Trouble arose at the same time between Stone and the Puritans of Providence, and the result of all this was the reappearance of Bennett

Renewal of  
the trou-  
bles

and Claiborne at St. Mary's, in July, 1654. Again they deposed Stone and placed the government in the hands of a council, with William Fuller as its president. Then they issued writs for the election of an assembly, and once more departed for Jamestown. According to the tenor of these writs, no Roman Catholic could either be elected as a

*William Stone*

burgess or vote at the election ; in this way a house was obtained that was almost unanimously Puritan, and in October this novel assembly so far forgot its sense of the ludicrous as to pass a new "Toleration Act" securing to all persons freedom of conscience, provided such liberty were not extended to "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness of opinion." In short, these liberal Puritans were ready to tolerate everybody except Catholics, Episcopalians, and anybody else who disagreed with them !

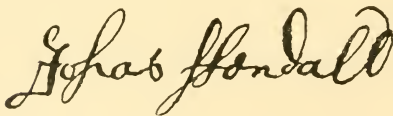
When Lord Baltimore heard how Stone had surrendered the government, he wrote a letter chiding him for it. The legal authority of the commissioners, Bennett and Claiborne, had expired with the Rump Parliament. Cromwell was now Lord Protector, and according to his own theory the Protectorate was virtually the assignee of the Crown and successor to all its rights and obligations. Baltimore's charter was therefore as sound under the Protectorate as it had ever been. Knowing that Cromwell favoured this view, Cecilius wrote to Stone to resume the government and withstand the Puritans. This led at once to civil war. Governor Stone gathered a force of 130 men and marched against the settlement at Providence, flying Baltimore's beautiful flag of black and gold. Captain Fuller, with 175 <sup>Battle of</sup> <sub>the Severn</sub> men, was ready for him, and the two little armies met on the bank of the Severn, March 25, 1655. Besides his superiority in numbers, Fuller was helped by two armed merchant ships, the one British, the other from New England, which kept up a sharp fire from the river. Stone's men were put to flight, leaving one third of their number in killed and wounded.

One old Puritan writer tells us with keen enjoyment that the field whence they fled was strewn with their "Papist beads." Among the prisoners taken was Stone himself, who was badly wounded. Fuller at once held a court-martial at which Stone and nine other leading men were sentenced to death. Four were executed, but on the intercession of some kind-hearted women Stone and the others were pardoned.

The supremacy of the Puritans in Maryland thus seemed to be established, but it was of short duration. Some of the leading Puritans in Virginia, such as Bennett and Mathews, visited London and tried to get Baltimore's charter annulled.

Lord Baltimore sustained by Cromwell

But their efforts soon revealed the fact that Cromwell was not on their side of the question, and so they gave up in despair, and the quarrel of nearly thirty years' standing was at last settled by a compromise in 1657. Lord Baltimore promised complete amnesty for all offences against his government from the very beginning, and he gave his word never to consent to the repeal of his Toleration Act of 1649. Upon these terms Virginia withdrew her opposition to his charter, and indemnified Claiborne by extensive land grants for the loss of Kent Island. Baltimore appointed Captain Josias Fendall to be governor of



Maryland and sent out his brother Philip Calvert to be secretary. The men of Providence were fain to accept toleration

at the hands of those to whom they had refused to grant it, and in March, 1658, Governor Fendall's authority was acknowledged throughout the palatinate. Peace reigned on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, the claims of Leah and Rachel were adjusted, and the fair sisters quarrelled no more.





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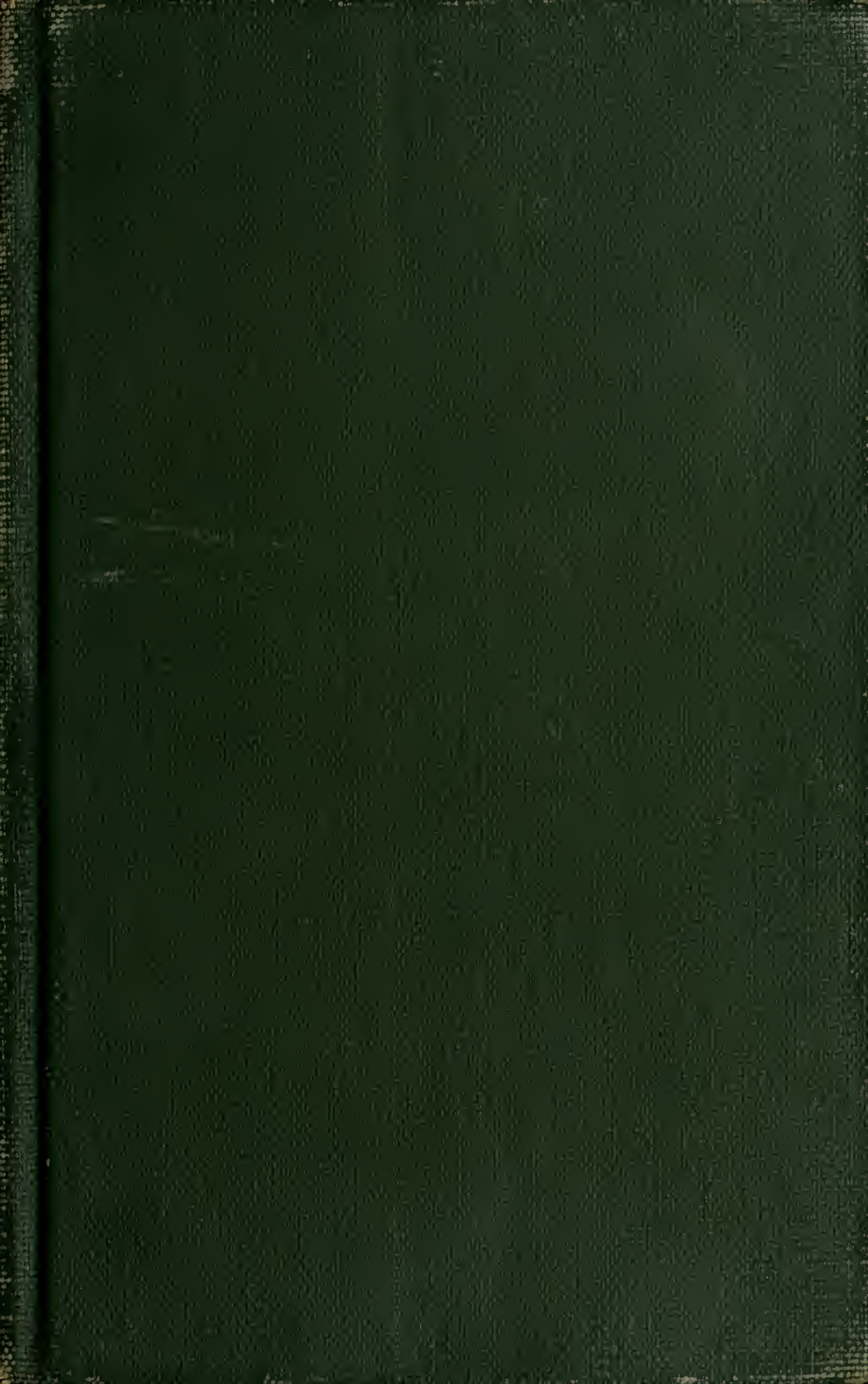












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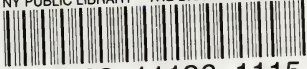
Old Virginia and her neighbors.  
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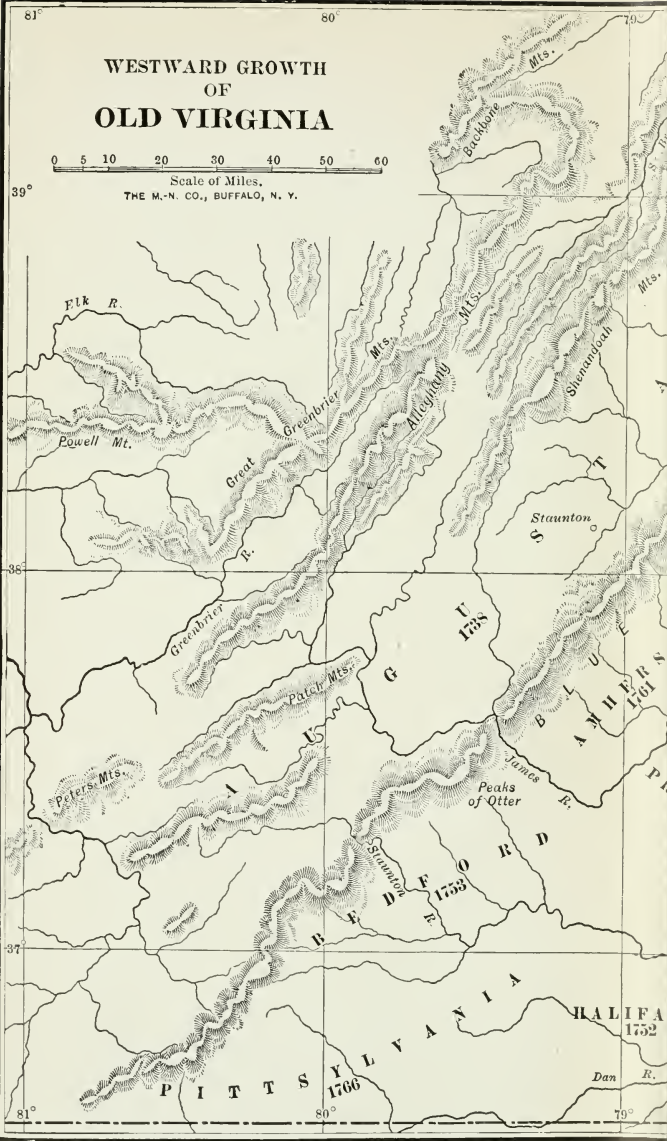




# WESTWARD GROWTH OF OLD VIRGINIA

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# OLD VIRGINIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

BY

JOHN FISKE

Οὐ λίθοι, οὐδὲ ξύλα, οὐδὲ  
Τέχνη τεκτόνων αἱ πόλεις εἰσιν  
'ΑΛΛ' ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν 'ΑΝΔΡΕΣ  
Αὐτοὺς σώζειν εἰδότες,  
'Ενταῦθα τείχη καὶ πόλεις.

*Alcæus*



IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOLUME II

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## CONTENTS.

## VOLUME II.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE COMING OF THE CAVALIERS.

|   | PAGE   |
|---|--------|
| Virginia depicted by an admirer . . . . .   | 1      |
| Her domestic animals, game, and song-birds . . . . .  | 2      |
| Her agriculture . . . . .   | 2, 3   |
| Her nearness to the Northwest Passage . . . . .   | 3      |
| Her commercial rivals . . . . .   | 3, 4   |
| Not so barren a country as New England . . . . .  | 4      |
| Life of body and soul were preserved in Virginia; Mr. Benjamin Symes and his school . . . . .                             | 5      |
| Worthy Captain Mathews and his household . . . . .  | 5      |
| Rapid growth in population . . . . .  | 6      |
| Historical lessons in names of Virginia counties . . . . .  | 7      |
| Scarcity of royalist names on the map of New England . . . . .  | 8, 9   |
| As to the Cavaliers in Virginia; some popular misconceptions . . . . .  | 9, 10  |
| Some democratic protests . . . . .  | 10, 11 |
| Sweeping statements are inadmissible . . . . .  | 11     |
| Difference between Cavaliers and Roundheads was political, not social . . . . .   | 12     |
| Popular misconceptions regarding the English nobility; England has never had a <i>noblesse</i> , or upper caste . . . . . | 13     |
| Contrast with France in this respect . . . . .  | 13, 14 |
| Importance of the middle class . . . . .  | 14     |
| Respect for industry in England . . . . .   | 15     |
| The Cavalier exodus . . . . .   | 16     |
| Political complexion of Virginia before 1649 . . . . .  | 16, 17 |
| The great exchange of 1649 . . . . .  | 17, 18 |
| Political moderation shown in Virginia during the Commonwealth period . . . . .   | 18     |

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Richard Lee and his family . . . . .   | 19     |
| How Berkeley was elected governor by the assembly . . . .  | 20     |
| Lee's visit to Brussels . . . . .  | 20     |
| How Charles II. was proclaimed king in Virginia, but not<br>before he had been proclaimed in England . . . . .   | 21     |
| The seal of Virginia . . . . .   | 22, 23 |
| Significant increase in the size of land grants . . . . .  | 23, 24 |
| Arrival of well-known Cavalier families . . . . .  | 25     |
| Ancestry of George Washington . . . . .  | 25     |
| If the pedigrees of horses, dogs, and fancy pigeons are im-<br>portant, still more so are the pedigrees of men . . . . .   | 26     |
| Value of genealogical study to the historian . . . . .   | 26     |
| The Washington family tree . . . . .   | 27     |
| How Sir William Jones paraphrased the epigram of Alcæus .  | 28     |
| Historical importance of the Cavalier element in Virginia .  | 28     |
| Differences between New England and Virginia were due<br>not to differences in social quality of the settlers, but<br>partly to ecclesiastical and still more to economical<br>circumstances . . . . . | 29, 30 |
| Settlement of New England by the migration of organized<br>congregations . . . . .   | 30     |
| Land grants in Massachusetts . . . . .   | 31     |
| Township and village . . . . .   | 31, 32 |
| Social position of settlers in New England . . . . .   | 32     |
| Some merits of the town meeting . . . . .  | 33     |
| Its educational value . . . . .  | 34     |
| Primogeniture and entail in Virginia . . . . .   | 35     |
| Virginia parishes . . . . .  | 35     |
| The vestry a close corporation; its extensive powers . . . .   | 36     |
| The county was the unit of representation . . . . .  | 37     |
| The county court was virtually a close corporation . . . .   | 38     |
| Powers of the county court . . . . .   | 39     |
| The sheriff and his extensive powers . . . . .   | 40     |
| The county lieutenant . . . . .  | 41     |
| Jefferson's opinion of government by town meeting . . . . .  | 42     |
| Court day . . . . .  | 42, 43 |
| Summary . . . . .  | 43     |
| Virginia prolific in great leaders . . . . .   | 44     |

## CHAPTER XI.

## BACON'S REBELLION.

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| How the crude mediæval methods of robbery began to give place to more ingenious modern methods . . . . .    | 45     |
| The Navigation Act of 1651 . . . . .  | 45, 46 |
| Second Navigation Act . . . . .   | 46     |
| John Bland's remonstrance . . . . .   | 47     |
| Some direct consequences of the Navigation Act . . . . .  | 47     |
| Some indirect consequences of the Navigation Act . . . . .  | 48     |
| Bland's exposure of the protectionist humbug . . . . .  | 49, 50 |
| His own proposition . . . . .   | 50, 51 |
| Effect of the Navigation Act upon Virginia and Maryland; disasters caused by low price of tobacco . . . . . | 51, 52 |
| The Surry protest of 1673 . . . . .   | 52     |
| The Arlington-Culpeper grant . . . . .  | 53     |
| Some of its effects . . . . .   | 54     |
| Character of Sir William Berkeley . . . . .   | 55     |
| Corruption and extortion under his government . . . . .   | 56     |
| The Long Assembly, 1661-1676 . . . . .  | 57     |
| Berkeley's violent temper . . . . .   | 57     |
| Beginning of the Indian war . . . . .   | 58     |
| Colonel John Washington . . . . .   | 59     |
| Affair of the five Susquehannock envoys . . . . .   | 60     |
| The killing of the envoys . . . . .   | 61     |
| Berkeley's perverseness in not calling out a military force . . . . .                                       | 62     |
| Indian atrocities . . . . .   | 62, 63 |
| Nathaniel Bacon and his family . . . . .  | 64     |
| His friends William Drummond and Richard Lawrence . . . . .   | 65     |
| Bacon's plantation is attacked by the Indians, May, 1676 . . . . .  | 65     |
| Bacon marches against the Indians and defeats them . . . . .  | 66     |
| Election of a new House of Burgesses . . . . .  | 66     |
| Arrest of Bacon . . . . .   | 67     |
| He is released and goes to lodge at the house of "thoughtful Mr. Lawrence" . . . . .                        | 67     |
| Bacon is persuaded to make his submission and apologizes to the governor . . . . .                          | 68, 69 |
| In spite of the governor's unwillingness, the new assembly reforms many abuses . . . . .                    | 70, 71 |
| How the "Queen of Pamunkey" appeared before the House of Burgesses . . . . .                                | 72-74  |
| The chairman's rudeness . . . . .   | 74     |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Bacon's flight . . . . .  | 74       |
| His speedy return . . . . .   | 75       |
| How the governor was intimidated . . . . .  | 76       |
| Bacon crushes the Susquehannocks while Berkeley flies to<br>Accomac and proclaims him a rebel . . . . . | 76       |
| Bacon's march to Middle Plantation . . . . .  | 77       |
| His manifesto . . . . .   | 78       |
| His arraignment of Berkeley; he specifies nineteen persons<br>as "wicked counsellors" . . . . .         | 80       |
| Oath at Middle Plantation . . . . .   | 81       |
| Bacon defeats the Appomattox Indians . . . . .  | 82       |
| Startling conversation between Bacon and Goode . . . . .  | 82-86    |
| Perilous situation of Bacon . . . . .   | 86       |
| The "White Aprons" at Jamestown . . . . .   | 87       |
| Bacon's speech at Green Spring . . . . .  | 88       |
| Burning of Jamestown . . . . .  | 89       |
| Persons who suffered at Bacon's hands . . . . .   | 89, 90   |
| Bacon and his cousin . . . . .  | 90       |
| Death of Bacon, Oct. 1, 1676 . . . . .  | 91       |
| Collapse of the rebellion . . . . .   | 92       |
| Arrival of royal commissioners, January, 1677 . . . . .   | 92       |
| Berkeley's outrageous conduct . . . . .   | 93       |
| Execution of Drummond . . . . .   | 94       |
| Death of Berkeley . . . . .   | 95       |
| Significance of the rebellion . . . . .   | 96       |
| How far Bacon represented popular sentiment in Virginia . . . . .                                       | 97       |
| Political changes since 1660; close vestries . . . . .  | 98, 99   |
| Restriction of the suffrage . . . . .   | 100, 101 |
| How the aristocrats regarded Bacon's followers . . . . .  | 102, 103 |
| The real state of the case . . . . .  | 104      |
| Effect of hard times . . . . .  | 104, 105 |
| Populist aspect of the rebellion . . . . .  | 106      |
| Its sound aspects . . . . .   | 106      |
| Bacon must ever remain a bright and attractive figure . . . . .   | 107      |

## CHAPTER XII.

## WILLIAM AND MARY.

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| A century of political education . . . . .                 | 108      |
| Robert Beverley, clerk of the House of Burgesses . . . . . | 109      |
| His refusal to give up the journals . . . . .              | 110      |
| Arrival of Lord Culpeper as governor . . . . .             | 110, 111 |



|  |          |
|--|----------|
| The plant-cutters' riot of 1682 . . . . .  | 111, 112 |
| Contracting the currency with a vengeance . . . . .  | 112      |
| Culpeper is removed and Lord Howard of Effingham comes<br>to govern in his stead . . . . .   | 113      |
| More trouble for Beverley . . . . .  | 114      |
| For stupid audacity James II., after all, was outdone by<br>George III. . . . .  | 114, 115 |
| Francis Nicholson comes to govern Virginia and exhibits<br>eccentric manners . . . . .   | 115      |
| How James Blair founded William and Mary College   | 116, 117 |
| How Sir Edmund Andros came as Nicholson's successor and<br>quarrelled with Dr. Blair . . . . .   | 118      |
| How young Daniel Parke one Sunday pulled Mrs. Blair out<br>of her pew in church . . . . .  | 119      |
| Removal of Andros . . . . .  | 119      |
| The Earl of Orkney draws a salary for governing Virginia<br>for the next forty years without crossing the ocean,<br>while the work is done by lieutenant-governors . . . . . | 120      |
| The first of these was Nicholson once more . . . . .   | 120      |
| Who removed the capital from Jamestown to Middle Planta-<br>tion, and called it Williamsburg . . . . .   | 121      |
| How the blustering Nicholson, disappointed in love, behaved<br>so badly that he was removed from office . . . . .  | 122, 123 |
| Fortunes of the college . . . . .  | 123      |
| Indian students . . . . .  | 124      |
| Instructions to the housekeeper . . . . .  | 125      |
| Horse-racing prohibited . . . . .  | 126      |
| Other prohibitions . . . . .   | 126      |
| The courtship of Parson Camm ; a Virginia Priscilla  | 127, 128 |
| Some interesting facts about the college . . . . .   | 128, 129 |
| Nicholson's schemes for a union of the colonies . . . . .  | 129, 130 |

## CHAPTER XIII.

## MARYLAND'S VICISSITUDES.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Maryland after the death of Oliver Cromwell . . . . .       | 131 |
| Fuller and Fendall . . . . .                                | 132 |
| The duty on tobacco . . . . .                               | 133 |
| Fendall's plot . . . . .                                    | 134 |
| Temporary overthrow of Baltimore's authority . . . . .      | 135 |
| Superficial resemblance to the action of Virginia . . . . . | 136 |
| Profound difference in the situations . . . . .             | 137 |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Collapse of Fendall's rebellion . . . . .   | 133      |
| Arrival of the Quakers . . . . .  | 138, 139 |
| The Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware River . . . . .  | 139      |
| Augustine Herman . . . . .  | 140      |
| He makes a map of Maryland and is rewarded by the grant<br>of Bohemia Manor . . . . .                                     | 141      |
| How the Labadists took refuge in Bohemia Manor . . . . .  | 142, 143 |
| How the Duke of York took possession of all the Delaware<br>settlements . . . . .   | 143      |
| And granted New Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George<br>Carteret . . . . .  | 144      |
| Which resulted in the bringing of William Penn upon the<br>scene . . . . .  | 144      |
| Charter of Pennsylvania . . . . .   | 145      |
| Boundaries between Penn and Baltimore . . . . .   | 145, 146 |
| Old manors in Maryland . . . . .  | 146      |
| Life on the manors . . . . .  | 147      |
| The court leet and court baron . . . . .  | 148      |
| Changes wrought by slavery . . . . .  | 148, 149 |
| A fierce spirit of liberty combined with ingrained respect for<br>law . . . . .   | 149      |
| Cecilus Calvert and his son Charles . . . . .   | 150      |
| Sources of discontent in Maryland . . . . .   | 150      |
| A pleasant little family party . . . . .  | 151      |
| Conflict between the Council and the Burgesses . . . . .  | 151, 152 |
| Burgesses claim to be a House of Commons, but the Council<br>will not admit it . . . . .                                  | 152      |
| How Rev. Charles Nichollet was fined for preaching politics . . . . .   | 153      |
| The Cessation Act of 1666 . . . . .   | 153      |
| Acts concerning the relief of Quakers and the appointment<br>of sheriffs . . . . .  | 153, 154 |
| Restriction of suffrage in 1670 . . . . .   | 154, 155 |
| Death of Cecilus, Lord Baltimore . . . . .  | 155      |
| Rebellion of Davis and Pate, 1676; their execution . . . . .  | 156      |
| How George Talbot, lord of Susquehanna Manor, slew a<br>revenue collector and was carried to Virginia for trial . . . . . | 157      |
| How his wife took him from jail, and how he was kept hidden<br>until a pardon was secured . . . . .                       | 158      |
| "A Complaint from Heaven with a Hue and Cry" . . . . .  | 159      |
| The anti-Catholic panic of 1689 . . . . .   | 159      |
| Causes of the panic . . . . .   | 160      |
| How John Coode overthrew the palatinate government . . . . .  | 161      |
| But did not thereby bring the millennium . . . . .  | 162      |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| How Nicholson removed the capital from St. Mary's to Annapolis . . . . .                              | 162, 163 |
| Unpopularity of the establishment of the Church of England  | 163      |
| Episcopal parsons . . . . .   | 164      |
| Exemption of Protestant dissenters from civil disabilities .  | 165      |
| Seymour reprimands the Catholic priests . . . . .   | 166      |
| Cruel laws against Catholics . . . . .  | 167      |
| Crown requisitions . . . . .  | 168      |
| Benedict Calvert, fourth Lord Baltimore, becomes a Protestant and the palatinate is revived . . . . . | 168, 169 |
| Change in the political situation . . . . .   | 170      |
| Charles Carroll entertains a plan for a migration to the Mississippi Valley . . . . .                 | 171      |
| How the seeds of revolution were planted in Maryland .  | 171      |
| End of the palatinate . . . . .   | 172, 173 |

## CHAPTER XIV.

## SOCIETY IN THE OLD DOMINION.

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| How the history of tobacco has been connected with the history of liberty . . . . .  | 174      |
| Rapid growth of tobacco culture in Virginia . . . . .  | 175      |
| Legislative attempts to check it . . . . .   | 176      |
| Need for cheap labour . . . . .  | 176      |
| Indentured white servants . . . . .  | 177      |
| How the notion grew up in England that Virginians were descended from convicts; Defoe's novels, a comedy by Mrs. Behn, Postlethwayt's Dictionary, and Gentleman's Magazine . . . . . | 178-180  |
| Who were the indentured white servants . . . . .   | 181      |
| Redemptioners . . . . .  | 182      |
| Distribution of convicts . . . . .   | 183      |
| Prisoners of war . . . . .   | 184      |
| Summary . . . . .  | 185      |
| Careers of white freedmen . . . . .  | 186      |
| Representative Virginia families were not descended from white freedmen . . . . .  | 187      |
| Some of the freedmen became small proprietors . . . . .  | 187      |
| Some became "mean whites" . . . . .  | 188, 189 |
| Development of negro slavery; effect of the treaty of Utrecht . . . . .  | 190      |
| Anti-slavery sentiment in Virginia . . . . .   | 191      |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Theory that negroes were non-human . . . . .  | 192      |
| Baptizing a slave did not work his emancipation . . . . .   | 193      |
| Negroes as real estate . . . . .  | 194      |
| Tax on slaves . . . . .   | 194      |
| Treatment of slaves . . . . .   | 195, 196 |
| Fears of insurrection . . . . .   | 196      |
| Cruel laws . . . . .  | 197, 198 |
| Free blacks a source of danger . . . . .  | 199      |
| Taking slaves to England; did it work their emancipation?<br>. . . . .  | 200      |
| Lord Mansfield's famous decision . . . . .  | 201      |
| Jefferson's opinion of slavery . . . . .  | 201      |
| Immoralities incident to the system . . . . .   | 202, 203 |
| Classes in Virginia society . . . . .   | 204      |
| Huguenots in Virginia . . . . .   | 204, 205 |
| Influence of the rivers upon society . . . . .  | 206      |
| Some exports and imports . . . . .  | 207      |
| Some domestic industries . . . . .  | 208      |
| Beverly complains of his countrymen as lazy, but perhaps<br>his reproachful tone is a little overdone . . . . . | 210      |
| Absence of town life . . . . .  | 210, 211 |
| Futile attempts to make towns by legislation . . . . .  | 212      |
| The country store and its treasures . . . . .   | 213, 214 |
| Rivers and roads . . . . .  | 215      |
| Tobacco as currency . . . . .   | 216      |
| Effect upon crafts and trades . . . . .   | 217      |
| Effect upon planters' accounts . . . . .  | 218      |
| Universal hospitality . . . . .   | 219      |
| Visit to a plantation; the negro quarter . . . . .  | 220      |
| Other appurtenances . . . . .   | 221      |
| The Great House or Home House . . . . .   | 222      |
| Brick and wooden houses . . . . .   | 222, 223 |
| House architecture . . . . .  | 223, 224 |
| The rooms . . . . .   | 224      |
| Bedrooms and their furniture . . . . .  | 225      |
| The dinner table; napkins and forks . . . . .   | 226      |
| Silver plate; wainscots and tapestry . . . . .  | 227      |
| The kitchen . . . . .   | 228      |
| The abundance of wholesome and delicious food . . . . .   | 228, 229 |
| The beverages, native and imported . . . . .  | 229, 230 |
| Smyth's picture of the daily life on a plantation . . . . .   | 230, 231 |
| Very different picture given by John Mason; the mode of<br>life at Gunston Hall . . . . .                       | 232-234  |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| A glimpse of Mount Vernon . . . . .   | 235      |
| Dress of planters and their wives . . . . .   | 236      |
| Weddings and funerals . . . . .   | 237      |
| Horses and horse-racing . . . . .   | 237-239  |
| Fox-hunting . . . . .   | 239      |
| Gambling . . . . .  | 239, 240 |
| A rural entertainment of the olden time . . . . .   | 240, 241 |
| Music and musical instruments . . . . .   | 242      |
| The theatre and other recreations . . . . .   | 243      |
| Some interesting libraries . . . . .  | 243-245  |
| Schools and printing . . . . .  | 245, 246 |
| Private free schools . . . . .  | 246      |
| Academies and tutors . . . . .  | 247      |
| Convicts as tutors . . . . .  | 248      |
| Virginians at Oxford . . . . .  | 249      |
| James Madison and his tutors . . . . .  | 250      |
| Contrast with New England in respect of educational advantages . . . . .                        | 251      |
| Causes of the difference . . . . .  | 252, 253 |
| Illustrations from the history of American intellect . . . . .                                  | 254      |
| Virginia's historians; Robert Beverley . . . . .  | 255      |
| William Stith . . . . .   | 255, 256 |
| William Byrd . . . . .  | 256-258  |
| Jefferson's notes on Virginia; McClurg's Belles of Williamsburg; Clayton the botanist . . . . . | 259      |
| Physicians, their prescriptions and charges . . . . .   | 260      |
| Washington's last illness . . . . .   | 260      |
| Some Virginia parsons, their tricks and manners . . . . .                                       | 261, 263 |
| Free thinking; superstition and crime . . . . .   | 264      |
| Cruel punishments . . . . .   | 265      |
| Lawyers . . . . .   | 266      |
| A government of laws . . . . .  | 267      |
| Some characteristics of Maryland . . . . .  | 267-269  |

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE CAROLINA FRONTIER.

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| How South Carolina was a frontier against the Spaniards . . . . . | 270      |
| How North Carolina was a wilderness frontier . . . . .            | 271      |
| The grant of Carolina to eight lords proprietors . . . . .        | 272      |
| John Locke and Lord Shaftesbury . . . . .                         | 272, 273 |
| "Fundamental Constitutions" of Carolina . . . . .                 | 274      |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| The Carolina palatinate different from that of Maryland . . . . .   | 275      |
| Titles of nobility . . . . .  | 276      |
| Albemarle colony . . . . .  | 276      |
| New Englanders at Cape Fear . . . . .   | 277      |
| Sir John Yeamans and Clarendon colony . . . . .   | 277      |
| The Ashley River colony and the founding of Charleston . . . . .  | 278      |
| First legislation in Albemarle . . . . .  | 279      |
| Troubles caused by the Navigation Act . . . . .   | 280      |
| The trade between Massachusetts and North Carolina . . . . .  | 281      |
| Eastchurch and Miller . . . . .   | 282      |
| Culpeper's usurpation . . . . .   | 283      |
| How Culpeper fared in London . . . . .  | 284      |
| How Charleston was moved from Albemarle Point to Oyster Point . . . . .   | 285      |
| Seth Sothel's tyranny in Albemarle and his banishment . . . . .   | 286, 287 |
| Troubles in Ashley River colony . . . . .   | 287      |
| The Scotch at Port Royal . . . . .  | 288      |
| A state without laws . . . . .  | 289      |
| Reappearance of Sothel, this time as the people's friend . . . . .  | 289      |
| His downfall and death . . . . .  | 290      |
| Clarendon colony abandoned . . . . .  | 290      |
| Philip Ludwell's administration . . . . .   | 290, 291 |
| Joseph Archdale and his beneficent rule . . . . .   | 291      |
| Sir Nathaniel Johnson and the dissenters . . . . .  | 292      |
| Unsuccessful attempt of a French and Spanish fleet upon Charleston . . . . .  | 293      |
| Thomas Carey . . . . .  | 294      |
| Porter's mission to England . . . . .   | 295      |
| Edward Hyde comes to govern North Carolina . . . . .  | 296      |
| Carey's rebellion . . . . .   | 296, 297 |
| Expansion of the northern colony; arrival of Baron Graf-fenried with Germans and Swiss; founding of New Berne . . . . . | 297      |
| Accusations against Carey and Porter of inciting the Indians against the colony . . . . .                               | 297      |
| These accusations are highly improbable and not well supported . . . . .  | 298      |
| Survey of Carolina Indians . . . . .  | 298-300  |
| Algonquin tribes . . . . .  | 298      |
| Sioux tribes; Iroquois tribes . . . . .   | 299      |
| Muscogi tribes . . . . .  | 300      |
| Algonquin-Iroquois conspiracy against the North Carolina settlements . . . . .  | 300      |

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Capture of Lawson and Graffenried by the Tuscaroras; Lawson's horrible death . . . . .                   | 301      |
| The massacre of September, 1711 . . . . .  | 302      |
| Aid from Virginia and South Carolina . . . . .   | 302, 303 |
| Barnwell defeats the Tuscaroras . . . . .  | 303      |
| Crushing defeat of the Tuscaroras by James Moore; their migration to New York . . . . .                  | 304      |
| Administration of Charles Eden . . . . .   | 304, 305 |
| Spanish intrigues with the Yamassees . . . . .   | 305      |
| Alliance of Indian tribes against the South Carolinians and nine months' warfare . . . . .               | 300      |
| Administration of Robert Johnson . . . . .   | 306      |
| The revolution of 1719 in South Carolina; end of the proprietary government in both colonies . . . . .   | 308      |
| Contrast between the two colonies . . . . .  | 308, 309 |
| Interior of North Carolina contrasted with the coast . . . . .   | 310, 311 |
| Unkempt life . . . . .   | 311      |
| A genre picture by Colonel Byrd . . . . .  | 312, 313 |
| Industries of North Carolina . . . . .   | 313      |
| Absence of towns . . . . .   | 314, 315 |
| A frontier democracy . . . . .   | 315      |
| Segregation and dispersal of Virginia poor whites . . . . .  | 316      |
| Spotswood's account of the matter . . . . .  | 317      |
| New peopling of North Carolina after 1720; the German immigration . . . . .                              | 318      |
| Scotch Highlanders and Scotch-Irish . . . . .  | 318, 319 |
| Further dispersal of poor whites . . . . .   | 319, 320 |
| Barbarizing effects of isolation . . . . .   | 321      |
| The settlers of South Carolina, churchmen and dissenters . . . . .                                       | 323      |
| The open vestries . . . . .  | 323      |
| South Carolina parish, purely English in its origin, not French like the parishes of Louisiana . . . . . | 324      |
| Free schools . . . . .   | 325      |
| Rice and indigo . . . . .  | 326      |
| Some characteristics of South Carolina slavery . . . . .   | 327, 329 |
| Negro insurrection of 1740 . . . . .   | 329      |
| Cruelties connected with slavery . . . . .   | 330      |
| Social life in Charleston . . . . .  | 331      |
| Contrast between the two Carolinas . . . . .   | 332, 333 |
| The Spanish frontier and the founding of Georgia . . . . .   | 333      |
| James Oglethorpe and his philanthropic schemes . . . . .   | 334      |
| Beginnings of Georgia . . . . .  | 335, 336 |
| Summary; Cavaliers and Puritans once more . . . . .  | 337      |

## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE GOLDEN AGE OF PIRATES.

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| The business of piracy has never thriven so greatly as in the seventeenth century . . . . .   | 338      |
| Pompey and the pirates . . . . .  | 338      |
| Chinese and Malay pirates on the Indian Ocean and Mussulman pirates on the Mediterranean Sea . . . . .  | 339      |
| The Scandinavian vikings cannot properly be termed pirates . . . . .  | 339, 340 |
| Sir William Blackstone's remarks about piracy . . . . .   | 340      |
| Character of piracy . . . . .   | 341      |
| To call the Elizabethan sea-kings pirates is silly and outrageous . . . . .   | 341, 342 |
| Features of maritime warfare out of which piracy could grow . . . . .   | 342, 343 |
| Privateering . . . . .  | 343      |
| Fighting without declaring war . . . . .  | 344      |
| Lack of protection for neutral ships . . . . .  | 344      |
| Origin of buccaneering; "Brethren of the Coast" . . . . .   | 345      |
| Illicit traffic in the West Indies . . . . .  | 346      |
| Buccaneers and filibusters . . . . .  | 347      |
| The kind of people who became buccaneers . . . . .  | 348      |
| The honest man who took to buccaneering to satisfy his creditors . . . . .  | 349      |
| The deeds of Olonnois and other wretches . . . . .  | 349, 350 |
| Henry Morgan and his evil deeds . . . . .   | 350, 351 |
| Alexander Exquemeling and his entertaining book . . . . .   | 352      |
| How Morgan captured Maracaibo and Gibraltar in Venezuela . . . . .  | 353      |
| The treaty of America of 1670 for the suppression of buccaneering and piracy . . . . .  | 353      |
| Sack of Panama by Morgan and his buccaneers . . . . .   | 354      |
| How Morgan absconded with most of the booty . . . . .   | 355      |
| How English and Spanish governors industriously scotched the snake . . . . .  | 355      |
| How the chief of pirates became Sir Henry Morgan, deputy-governor of Jamaica, and hanged his old comrades or sold them to the Spaniards . . . . . | 356      |
| How the treaty of America caused his downfall . . . . .   | 357      |
| Decline of buccaneering . . . . .   | 357      |
| Pirates of the South Sea . . . . .  | 358, 359 |



|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Plunder of Peruvian towns . . . . .  | 360      |
| Effects of the alliance between France and Spain in 1701 .   | 360      |
| Pirates in the Bahama Islands and on the Carolina coast .  | 361      |
| Effect of the navigation laws in stimulating piracy .  | 362, 363 |
| Effect of rice culture upon the relations between South<br>Carolina settlers and the pirates . . . . . | 363      |
| Wholesale hanging of pirates at Charleston . . . . .   | 364      |
| How pirates swarmed on the North Carolina coast . . .  | 365      |
| Until Captain Woodes Rogers captured the Island of New<br>Providence in 1718 . . . . .                 | 365      |
| The North Carolina waters furnished the last lair for the<br>pirates . . . . .                         | 365      |
| How Blackbeard, the last of the pirates, levied blackmail<br>upon Charleston . . . . .                 | 366, 367 |
| Epidemic character of piracy; cases of Kidd and Bonnet .   | 368      |
| Fate of Bonnet and Blackbeard, and final suppression of<br>piracy . . . . .                            | 369      |

## CHAPTER XVII.

## FROM TIDEWATER TO THE MOUNTAINS.

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Family and early career of Alexander Spotswood . . . .  | 370      |
| He brings the privilege of <i>habeas corpus</i> to Virginia, but<br>wrangles much with his burgesses . . . . .  | 371      |
| His energy and public spirit . . . . .  | 372      |
| How the Post-Office Act was resisted by the people .  | 373, 375 |
| Disputes as to power of appointing parsons . . . . .  | 376      |
| Beginnings of continental politics in America . . . . .   | 376      |
| Beginning of the seventy years' struggle with France .  | 377      |
| How the continental situation in America was affected by<br>the war of the Spanish succession . . . . .   | 378, 379 |
| Different views of Spotswood and the assembly with regard<br>to sending aid to Carolina . . . . .   | 379, 380 |
| How the royal governors became convinced that the thing<br>most needed in English America was a continental gov-<br>ernment that could impose taxes . . . . . | 381      |
| Franklin's plan for a federal union . . . . .   | 381, 383 |
| It was the failure of the colonies to adopt Franklin's plan<br>that led soon afterwards to the Stamp Act . . . . .  | 382, 383 |
| How Spotswood regarded the unknown West . . . . .   | 383      |
| Attempts to cross the Blue Ridge . . . . .  | 384      |
| How the Blue Ridge was crossed by Spotswood . . . . .   | 385      |

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Knights of the Golden Horseshoe . . . . .   | 386      |
| Spotswood's plan for communicating between Virginia and<br>Lake Erie . . . . .  | 387, 388 |
| Condition of the postal service in the English colonies under<br>Spotswood's administration . . . . .                             | 389      |
| Brief mention of Governors Gooch and Dinwiddie . . . . .  | 390      |
| Importance of the Scotch-Irish migration to America . . . . .   | 390, 391 |
| In 1611 James I. began colonizing Ulster with settlers from<br>Scotland and England . . . . .                                     | 391      |
| In Ulster they established flourishing manufactures of wool-<br>lens and linens . . . . .   | 392      |
| Which excited the jealousy of rival manufacturers in Eng-<br>land . . . . .   | 393      |
| Legislation against the Ulster manufacturers . . . . .  | 393      |
| Civil disabilities inflicted upon Presbyterians in Ulster . . . . .   | 393      |
| These circumstances caused such a migration to America<br>that by 1770 it amounted to more than half a million<br>souls . . . . . | 394      |
| Many Scotch-Irish settled in the Shenandoah Valley, and<br>were closely followed by Germans . . . . .                             | 395      |
| This Shenandoah population exerted a most powerful demo-<br>cratizing influence upon the colony . . . . .                         | 396      |
| Jefferson found in them his most powerful supporters . . . . .  | 396      |
| Lord Fairfax's home at Greenway Court; Fairfax's affection<br>for Washington . . . . .  | 397      |
| How the surveying of Fairfax's frontier estates led Wash-<br>ington on to his public career . . . . .                             | 398      |
| The advance of Virginians from tidewater to the mountains<br>brought on the final struggle with France . . . . .                  | 398, 399 |
| Advance of the French from Lake Erie . . . . .  | 399      |
| Washington goes to warn them from encroaching upon<br>English territory . . . . .   | 399      |

## MAPS.

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| Westward Growth of Old Virginia, <i>from a sketch by the<br/>author</i> . . . . .                                   | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| North Carolina Precincts in 1729, <i>after a map in Hawks's<br/>History of North Carolina</i> . . . . .             | 276                 |
| A Map of y <sup>e</sup> most Improved Part of Carolina, <i>from Winsor's<br/>America</i> , vol. v. p. 351 . . . . . | 306                 |

OLD VIRGINIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS.

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CHAPTER X.

THE COMING OF THE CAVALIERS.

“THESE things that follow in this ensuing relation are certified by divers letters from Virginia, by men of worth and credit there, written to a friend in England, that for his own and others’ satisfaction was desirous to know <sup>Virginia</sup> <sub>depicted.</sub> these particulars and the present estate of that country. And let no man doubt of the truth of it. There be many in England, land and seamen, that can bear witness of it. And if this plantation be not worth encouragement, let every true Englishman judge.”

Such is the beginning of an enthusiastic little pamphlet, of unknown authorship, published in London in 1649,<sup>1</sup> the year in which Charles I. perished on the scaffold. It is entitled “A Perfect Description of Virginia,” and one of its effects, if not its purpose, must have been to attract immigrants to that colony from the mother

<sup>1</sup> It is reprinted in Force’s *Tracts*, vol. ii.; and in Maxwell’s *Virginia Historical Register*, ii. 61-78. The original, of which there is one in the library of Harvard University, was priced by Rich, in 1832, at £1 10 s., and by Quaritch, in 1879, at £20. See Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.* iii. 157.

country. In Virginia "there is nothing wanting" to make people happy; there are "plenty, health, and wealth." Of English about 15,000 are settled there, with 300 negro servants. Of kine, oxen, bulls, and calves, there are 20,000, and there is plenty of good butter and cheese. There are 200 horses, 50 asses, 3,000 sheep with good wool, 5,000 goats, and swine and poultry innumerable. Besides these European animals, there are many deer, with "raccoons, as good meat as lamb," and "passonnes" [opossums], otters and beavers, foxes and dogs that "bark not." In the waters are "above thirty sorts" of fish "very excellent good in their kinds." The wild turkey sometimes weighs sixty pounds, and besides partridges, ducks, geese, and pigeons, the woods abound in sweet songsters and "most rare coloured parraketoes, and [we have] one bird we call the mock-bird; for he will imitate all other birds' notes and cries, both day and night birds, yea, the owls and nightingales."

The farmers have under cultivation many hundred acres of excellent wheat; their maize, or "Virginia corn," yields an increase of 500 for 1, and makes "good bread and furrity" [porridge]; they have barley in plenty, and six brew-houses which brew strong and well-flavoured beer. There are fifteen kinds of fruit that for delicacy rival the fruits of Italy; in the gardens grow potatoes, turnips, carrots, parsnips, onions, artichokes, asparagus, beans, and better peas than those of England, with all manner of herbs and "physick flowers." The tobacco is

everywhere "much vented and esteemed," but such immense crops are raised that the price is but three pence a pound. There is also a hope that indigo, hemp and flax, vines and silk-worms, can be cultivated with profit, since it is chiefly hands that are wanted. It surely would be better to grow silk here, where mulberry trees are so plenty, than to fetch it as we do from Persia and China "with great charge and expense and hazard," thereby enriching "heathen and Mahumetans."

At the same time they are hoping soon to discover a way to China, "for Sir Francis Drake was on the back side of Virginia in his voyage about the world in 37 degrees . . . and now all the question is only how broad the <sup>Northwest</sup> passage. land may be to that place [*i. e.* California] from the head of James River above the falls." By prosecuting discovery in this direction "the planters in Virginia shall gain the rich trade of the East India, and so cause it to be driven through the continent of Virginia, part by land and part by water, and in a most gainful way and safe, and far less expensive and dangerous, than now it is."

It behooves the English, says our pamphlet, to be more vigilant, and to pay more heed to their colonies; for behold, "the Swedes have come and crept into a river called Delawar, that is within the limits of Virginia," and they are driving "a great and secret trade of furs." More- <sup>Commercial</sup> rivals. over, "the Hollanders have stolen into a river called Hudson's River, in the limits also of Virginia, . . . they have built a strong fort . . .

and drive a trade of fur there with the natives for above £10,000 a year. These two plantations are . . . on our side of Cape Cod which parts us and New England. Thus are the English nosed in all places, and out-traded by the Dutch. They would not suffer the English to use them so; but they have vigilant statesmen, and advance all they can for a common good, and will not spare any encouragements to their people to discover."

"Concerning New England," which is but four days' sail from Virginia, a trade goes to and fro; but except for the fishing, "there is not much in that land," which in respect of frost and snow is as Scotland compared with England, and so barren withal that, "except a herring be put into the hole that you set the corn or maize in, it will not come up." What a pity that the New England people, "being now about 20,000, did not seat themselves at first to the south of Virginia, in a warm and rich country, where their industry would have produced sugar, indigo, ginger, cotton, and the like commodities!" But here in Virginia the land "produceth, with very great increase, whatsoever is committed into the bowels of it; . . . a fat rich soil everywhere watered with many fine springs, small rivulets, and wholesome waters." As to healthiness, fewer people die in a year proportionately than in England; "since that men are provided with all necessaries, have plenty of victual, bread, and good beer, . . . all which the Englishman loves full dearly." Nor is their spiritual welfare neglected, for there are twenty churches, with

New  
England.

Health of  
body and  
soul.

“doctrine and orders after the church of England;” and “the ministers’ livings are esteemed worth at least £100 per annum; they are paid by each planter so much tobacco per poll, and so many bushels of corn; they live all in peace and love.”

“I may not forget to tell you we have a free school, with 200 acres of land, a fine house upon it, 40 milch kine, and other accommodations; the benefactor deserves perpetual memory; his name, Mr. Benjamin Symes, worthy Schools. to be chronicled; other petty schools also we have.” Various details of orchards and vineyards, of Mr. Kinsman’s pure perry and Mr. Pelton’s strong metheglin, entertain us; and a pleasant tribute is paid to “worthy Captain Mathews,” the same who fourteen years before had assisted at the thrusting out of Sir John Harvey. “He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it; he sows yearly store of hemp and flax, and causes it to be spun; he keeps weavers, and hath a tan house, causes leather to Captain Mathews and his household. be dressed, hath eight shoemakers employed in their trade, hath forty negro servants, brings them up to trades in his house; he yearly sows abundance of wheat, barley, &c., the wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushel, kills store of beeves, and sells them to victual the ships when they come thither; hath abundance of kine, a brave dairy, swine great store, and poultry; he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton, and, in a word, keeps a good house, lives bravely, and a true lover of Virginia; he is worthy of much honour.”

It will be observed that Captain Mathews possessed, in his forty black servants, nearly one seventh part of the negro population. Of the conditions under which wholesale negro slavery grew up, I shall treat hereafter. In the third quarter of the seventeenth century it was still in its beginnings. Between 1650 and 1670, along with an extraordinary growth in the total population, we observe a marked increase in the number of black slaves. In the latter year Berkeley estimated the population at 32,000 free whites, 6,000 indentured white servants, and 2,000 negroes. Large estates, cultivated by wholesale slave labour, were coming into existence, and a peculiar type of aristocratic or in some respects patriarchal society was growing up in Virginia. It was still for the most part confined to the peninsula between the James and York rivers and the territory to the south of the former, from Nansemond as far as the Appomattox, although in Gloucester likewise there was a considerable population, and there were settlements in Middlesex and Lancaster counties, on opposite banks of the Rappahannock, and even as far as Northumberland and Westmoreland on the Potomac. In the course of the disputes over Kent Island, settlements began upon those shores and increased apace.

Some significant history is fossilized in the names of Virginia counties. When they are not the old shire names imported from England, like those just mentioned, they are apt to be personal names indicating the times when the counties were

Rapid  
growth of  
population.



first settled, or when they acquired a distinct existence as counties. For a long time such personal names were chiefly taken from the royal household. Thus, while Charles City County bears the name of Charles I., bestowed upon the region before that king ascended the throne, the portion of it south of James River, set off in 1702 as Prince George County, was named for George of Denmark, consort of Queen Anne. So King William County on the south bank of the Mattapony, and King and Queen County on its north bank, carry us straight to the times of William and Mary, and indicate the position of the frontier in the days of Charles II.; while to the west of them the names of Hanover and the two Hanoverian princesses, Caroline and Louisa, carry us on to the days of the first two Georges.<sup>1</sup> At the time with which our narra-

Names of  
Virginia  
counties.

<sup>1</sup> The following list of Virginia counties bearing royal names, founded between 1689 and 1765, is interesting:—

|                 |       |   |
|-----------------|-------|---|
| King and Queen, | 1691, | after William and Mary.   |
| Princess Anne,  | 1691, | the princess who was afterwards Queen Anne.                                 |
| King William,   | 1701, | William III.  |
| Prince George,  | 1702, | the Prince Consort.   |
| King George,    | 1720, | George I.   |
| Hanover,        | 1720, | one of the king's foreign dominions.  |
| Brunswick,      | 1720, | do. do.   |
| Caroline,       | 1727, | the queen of George II.   |
| Prince William, | 1730, | William, Duke of Cumberland.  |
| Orange,         | 1734, | the Prince of Orange, who in that year married Anne, daughter of George II. |
| Amelia,         | 1734, | a daughter of George II.  |
| Frederick,      | 1738, | Frederick, Prince of Wales.   |

tive is now concerned, all that region to the south of Spottsylvania was unbroken wilderness. In 1670 a careful estimate was made of the number of Indians comprised within the immediate neighbourhood of the colony, and there were counted up 725 warriors, of whom more than 400 were on the Appomattox and Pamunkey frontiers, and nearly 200 between the Potomac and Rappahannock.

The map of Virginia, in the light in which I have here considered it, shows one remarkable point of contrast with the map of New England. On the coast of the latter one finds a very few names commemorative of royalty, such as Charles River, named by Captain John Smith, Cape Anne, named by Charles I. when Prince of Wales, and the Elizabeth Islands, named by Captain Gosnold still earlier and in the lifetime of the great Queen. But when it comes to names given by the settlers themselves, one cannot find in all New England a county name taken from any English sovereign or prince, except Dukes for the island of Martha's Vineyard, and that simply recalls the fact that the island once formed a part of the proprietary domain of James, Duke of York, and sent a del-

Scarcity of  
royalist  
names on  
the map of  
New Eng-  
land.

|                |       |                                      |
|----------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| Augusta,       | 1738, | after the Princess of Wales.         |
| Louisa,        | 1742, | a daughter of George II.             |
| Lunenburg.     | 1746, | one of the king's foreign dominions. |
| Prince Edward, | 1753, | a son of Frederick, Prince of Wales. |
| Charlotte,     | 1764, | the queen of George III.             |
| Mecklenburg,   | 1764, | her father, Duke of Mecklenburg.     |

egate to the first legislature that assembled at Manhattan. Except for this one instance, we should never know from the county names of New England that such a thing as kingship had ever existed. As for names of towns, there is in Massachusetts a Lunenburg, which is said to have received its name at the suggestion of a party of travellers from England in the year 1726;<sup>1</sup> it was afterward copied in Vermont; and by diligently searching the map of New England we may find half a dozen Hanovers and Brunswicks, counting originals and copies. Between this showing and that of Virginia, where the sequence of royal names is full enough to preserve a rude record of the country's expansion, the contrast is surely striking. The difference between the Puritan temper and that of the Cavaliers seems to be written ineffaceably upon the map.

We are thus brought to the question as to how far the Cavalier element predominated in the composition of Old Virginia. It is a subject concerning which current general statements are apt to be loose and misleading. It has given rise to much discussion, and, like a good deal of what passes for historical discussion, it has too often been conducted under the influence of personal or sectional prejudices. Half a century ago, in the days when the people of the slave states and those of the free states found it difficult to think justly or to speak kindly

The Cavaliers in Virginia: some popular misconceptions.

<sup>1</sup> Jewett's *History of Worcester County, Massachusetts*, ii. 30. Charlestown was named from the river at the mouth of which it stands.

of one another, one used often to hear sweeping generalizations. On the one hand, it was said that Southerners were the descendants of Cavaliers, and therefore presumably of gentle blood, while Northerners were descendants of Roundheads, and therefore presumably of ignoble origin. Some such notion may have prompted the famous remark of Robert Toombs, in 1860: "We [*i. e.* the Southerners] are the gentlemen of this country." On the other hand, it was retorted that the people of the South were in great part descended from indentured white servants sent from the jails and slums of England.<sup>1</sup> This point will receive due attention in a future chapter. At present we may note that descent from Cavaliers has not always been a matter of pride with Southern speakers and writers. There was a time when the fierce spirit of democracy was inclined to regard such a connection as a stigma. The father of President Tyler "used to say that he cared naught for any other ancestor than Wat Tyler the blacksmith, who had asserted the rights of oppressed humanity, and that he would have no other device on his shield than a sledge hammer raised in the act of striking."<sup>2</sup> On the subject of Cavaliers a well known Virginian writer, Hugh Blair Grigsby, once grew very warm. "The Cavalier," said he, "was essentially a

Some democratic pro-  
tests.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Whitmore, *The Cavalier Dismounted*, Salem, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 53. In the same connection we are told that Beverley Tucker apologized for putting on record a brief account of his family, saying "at this day it is deemed arrogant to remember one's ancestors. But the fashion may change," etc.

slave, a compound slave, a slave to the King and a slave to the Church. I look with contempt on the miserable figment which seeks to trace the distinguishing points of the Virginia character to the influence of those butterflies of the British aristocracy.”<sup>1</sup> Historical questions are often treated in this way. We grow up with a vague conception of something in the past which we feel in duty bound to condemn, and then if we are told that our own forefathers were part and parcel of the hated thing we lose our tempers. Mr. Grigsby’s remarks are an expression of American feeling in what may be called its Elijah Pogram period, when the knowledge of history was too slender and the historic sense too dull to be shocked at the incongruity of classing such men as Strafford and Falkland with “butterflies.” The study of history in such a mood is not likely to be fruitful of much beside rhetoric.

Before we proceed, a few further words are desirable concerning the fallacies and misconceptions which abound in the opinions cited in the foregoing paragraph. It is impossible to make any generalization concerning the origin of the white people of the South as a whole, or of the North as a whole, further than to say that their ancestors came from Europe, and a large majority of them from the British islands. The facts are too complicated to be embraced in any generalization more definitely limited than this. When sweeping statements are made about “the North” and “the South,” it is

Sweeping  
statements  
are inadmis-  
sible.

<sup>1</sup> See Cooke’s *Virginia*, p. 161.

often apparent that the speaker has in mind only Massachusetts and tidewater Virginia, making these parts do duty for the whole. The present book will make it clear that it is only in connection with tidewater Virginia that the migration of Cavaliers from England to America has any historical significance.

It is a mistake to suppose that the contrast between Cavaliers and Roundheads was in any wise parallel with the contrast between high-born people and low-born. A majority of the landed gentry, titled and untitled, supported Charles I., while the chief strength of the Parliament lay in the smaller landholders and in the merchants of

Difference  
between  
Cavaliers  
and Round-  
heads was  
political, not  
social.

the cities. But the Roundheads also included a large and powerful minority of the landed aristocracy, headed by the Earls of Bedford, Warwick, Manchester, Northumberland, Stamford, and Essex, the Lords Fairfax and Brooke, and many others. The leaders of the party, Pym and Hampden, Vane and Cromwell, were of gentle blood; and among the officers of the New Model were such as Montagues, Pickering, Fortescue, Sheffield, and Sidneys. In short, the distinction between Cavalier and Roundhead was no more a difference in respect of lineage or social rank than the analogous distinction between Tory and Whig. The mere fact of a man's having belonged to the one party or the other raises no presumption as to his "gentility."

It is worth while here to correct another error which is quite commonly entertained in the United

States. It is the error of supposing that in Great Britain there are distinct orders of society, or that there exists anything like a sharp and well defined line between the nobility and the commonalty. The American reader is apt to imagine a "peerage," the members of which have from time immemorial constituted a kind of caste clearly marked off from the great body of the people, and into which it has always been very difficult for plain people to rise. In this crude conception the social differences between England and America are greatly exaggerated. In point of fact the British islands are the one part of Europe where the existence of a peerage has not resulted in creating a distinct upper class of society. The difference will be most clearly explained by contrasting England with France. In the latter country, before the Revolution of 1789, there was a peerage consisting of great landholders, local rulers and magistrates, and dignitaries of the church, just as in England. But in France all the sons and brothers of a peer were nobles distinguished by a title and reckoned among the peerage, and all were exempt from sundry important political duties, including the payment of taxes. Thus they constituted a real *noblesse*, or caste apart from the people, until the Revolution at a single blow destroyed all their privileges. At the present day French titles of nobility are merely courtesy titles, and through excessive multiplication have become cheap. On the other hand, in England, the families of peers have never been

England has never had a *noblesse*, or upper caste.

Contrast with France.

exempt from their share of the public burdens. The "peerage," or hereditary right to sit in the House of Lords, belongs only to the head of the family; all the other members of the family are commoners, though some may be addressed by courtesy titles. During the formative period of modern political society, from the fourteenth century onward, the sons of peers habitually competed for seats in the House of Commons, side by side with merchants and yeomen. This has prevented anything like a severance between the interests of the higher and of the lower classes in England, and has had much to do with the peaceful and healthy political development which has so eminently characterized our mother country. England has never had a *noblesse*. As the upper class has never been sharply distinguished politically, so it has not held itself separate socially. Families with titles have intermarried with families that have none, the younger branches of a peer's family become untitled gentry, ancient peerages lapse while new ones are created, so that there is a "circulation of gentle blood" that has thus far proved eminently wholesome. More than two thirds of the present House of Lords are the grandsons or great-grandsons of commoners. Of the 450 or more hereditary peerages now existing, three date from the thirteenth century and four from the fourteenth; of those existing in the days of Thomas Becket not one now remains in the same family. It has always been easy in England for ability and character to raise their possessor in the social scale;

Importance  
of the mid-  
dle class.



and hence the middle class has long been recognized as the abiding element in England's strength. Voltaire once compared the English people to their ale, — froth at the top and dregs at the bottom, but sound and bright and strong in the middle. As to the last he was surely right.

One further point calls for mention. In mediæval and early modern England, great respect was paid to incorporated crafts and trades.

The influence and authority wielded by county magnates over the rural popula-

Respect paid  
to industry  
in England.

tion was paralleled by the power exercised in the cities by the livery companies or guilds. Since the twelfth century, the municipal franchise in the principal towns and cities of Great Britain has been for the most part controlled by the various trade and craft guilds. In the seventeenth century, when the migrations to America were beginning, it was customary for members of noble families to enter these guilds as apprentices in the crafts of the draper, the tailor, the vintner, or the mason, etc. Many important consequences have flowed from this. Let it suffice here to note that this fact of the rural aristocracy keeping in touch with the tradesmen and artisans has been one of the safeguards of English liberty; it has been one source of the power of the Commons, one check upon the undue aspirations of the Crown. It indicates a kind of public sentiment very different from that which afterward grew up in our southern states under the malignant influence of slavery, which proclaimed an antagonism between industry and gentility that is contrary to the whole spirit of English civilization.

With these points clear in our minds, we may understand the true significance of the arrival of the Cavaliers in Virginia. The date to be remembered in connection with that event is 1649, and it is instructive to compare it with the exodus of Puritans to New England. The little settlement of the Mayflower Pilgrims was merely a herald of the great Puritan exodus, which really began in 1629, when Charles I. entered upon his period of eleven years of rule without a parliament, and continued until about 1642, when the Civil War broke out. During those thirteen years more than 20,000 Puritans came to New England. The great Cavalier exodus began with the king's execution in 1649, and probably slackened after 1660. It must have been a chief cause of the remarkable increase of the white population of Virginia from 15,000 in 1649 to 38,000 in 1670.

The period of the Commonwealth in England thus marks an important epoch in Virginia, and we must be on our guard against confusing what came after with what preceded it. As to the political complexion of Virginia in the earliest time, it would be difficult to make a general statement, except that there was a widespread feeling in favour of the Company as managed by Sandys and Southampton. This meant that the settlers knew when they were well governed. They did not approve of a party that sent an Argall to fleece them, even though it were the court party. So, too, in the thrusting out of Sir John Harvey in 1635 we see the temper of

The Cava-  
lier exodus.

Political  
complexion  
of Virginia  
before 1649.

the councillors and burgesses flatly opposed to the king's unpopular representative. But such instances do not tell us much concerning the attitude of the colonists upon questions of English politics. The fortunes of the Puritan settlers in Virginia afford a surer indication. At first, as we have seen, when the Puritans as a body had not yet separated from the Church, there were a good many in Virginia; and by 1640 they probably formed about seven per cent. of the population. The legislation against them beginning in 1631 seems to indicate that public sentiment in Virginia favoured the policy of Laud; while the slackness with which such legislation was enforced raises a suspicion that such sentiment was at first not very strong. It seems probable that as the country party in England came more and more completely under the control of Puritanism, and as Puritanism grew more and more radical in temper, the reaction toward the royalist side grew more and more pronounced in Virginia. If there ever was a typical Cavalier of the more narrow-minded sort, it was Sir William Berkeley, who at the same time was by no means the sort of person that one might properly call a "butterfly." If the eloquent Mr. Grigsby had once got into those iron clutches, he would have sought some other term of comparison. When Berkeley arrived in Virginia, and for a long time afterward, he was extremely popular. We have seen him acting with so much energy against the Puritans that in the course of the year 1649 not less than 1,000 of them left the colony.

The great  
exchange of  
1649.

Upon the news of the king's death, Berkeley sent a message to England inviting royalists to come to Virginia, and within a twelvemonth perhaps as many as 1,000 had arrived, picked men and women of excellent sort. Thus it curiously happened that the same moment which saw Virginia lose most of her Puritan population, also saw it replaced by an equal number of devoted Cavaliers.

From this moment we may date the beginnings of Cavalier ascendancy in Virginia. But for the next ten years that growing ascendancy was qualified by the necessity of submitting to the Puritan government in England. In 1652 Berkeley was obliged to retire from the governorship, and the king's men in Virginia found it prudent to put some restraint upon the expression of their feelings. But in this change, as we have seen, there was no violence. It is probable that there was a considerable body of colonists "comparatively indifferent to the struggle of parties in England, anxious only to save Virginia from spoliation and bloodshed, and for that end willing to throw in their lot with the side whose success held out the speediest hopes of peace. There is another consideration which helps to explain the moderation of the combatants. In England each party was exasperated by grievous wrongs, and hence its hour of triumph was also its hour of revenge. The struggle in Virginia was embittered by no such recollections." <sup>1</sup>

A name inseparably associated with Berkeley is

<sup>1</sup> Doyle's *Virginia*, etc. p. 283.

Moderation  
shown in  
Virginia.

that of Colonel Richard Lee, who is described as “a man of good stature, comely visage, an enterprising genius, a sound head, vigorous spirit, and generous nature,”<sup>1</sup> qualities that may be recognized in many of his famous descendants. This Richard Lee belonged to an ancient family, the Lees of Coton Hall, in Shropshire, whom we find from the beginning of the thirteenth century in positions of honour and trust. He came to Virginia about 1642, and obtained that year an estate which he called Paradise, near the head of Poropotank Creek, on the York River. He was from the first a man of much importance in the colony, serving as justice, burgess, councillor, and secretary of state. In 1654 we find him described as “faithful and useful to the interests of the Commonwealth,” but, as Dr. Edmund Lee says, “it is only fair to observe that this claim was made for him by a friend in his absence;”<sup>2</sup> or perhaps it only means that he was not one of the tribe of fanatics who love to kick against the pricks.<sup>3</sup> Certain it is that Colonel Lee was no Puritan, though doubtless he submitted loyally to the arrangement of 1652, as so many others did. There was nothing for the king’s men to do but possess their souls in quiet

<sup>1</sup> Written in 1771 by his great-grandson William Lee, alderman of London, and quoted in Edmund Lee’s *Lee of Virginia* Philadelphia, 1895, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> “The petition of John Jeffreys, of London,” in Sainsbury’s *Calendar of State Papers, 1574–1660*, p. 430; *Lee of Virginia*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Compare L. G. Tyler’s remarks in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 155.

until 1659, when news came of the resignation of Richard Cromwell. "Worthy Captain Mathews," whom the assembly had chosen governor, died about the same time. Accordingly, in March, 1660, the assembly resolved that, since there was then in England no resident sovereign generally recognized, the supreme power in Virginia must be regarded as lodged in the assembly, and that all writs should issue in the name of the Grand Assembly of Virginia until such a command should come from England as the assembly should judge to be lawful. Having passed this resolution, the assembly showed its political complexion by electing Sir William Berkeley for governor: and in the same breath it revealed its independent spirit by providing that he must call an assembly at least once in two years, and oftener if need be; and that he must not dissolve it without the consent of a majority of the members. On these terms Berkeley accepted office at the hands of the assembly.

Before this transaction, perhaps in 1658, Colonel Lee seems to have visited Charles II. at Brussels, where he handed over to the still exiled prince the old commission of Berkeley, and may have obtained from him a new one for future use, reinstating him as governor.<sup>1</sup> There is a vague tradition that on this occasion he asked how soon Charles would be likely to be able to protect the colony in case it should declare its allegiance to him; and from this source may have arisen the wild statement, recorded by Beverley

Election of  
Berkeley by  
the assem-  
bly.

Lee's visit to  
Brussels.

<sup>1</sup> See the testimony of John Gibbon, in *Lee of Virginia*, p. 60.

and promulgated by the eminent historian Robertson, that Virginia proclaimed Charles II. as sovereign a year or two before he was proclaimed in England.<sup>1</sup> The absurdity of this story was long ago pointed out;<sup>2</sup> but since error has as many lives as a cat, one may still hear it repeated.

Charles II. was proclaimed king in England on the 8th of May, 1660, and in Virginia on the 20th of September following.<sup>3</sup> In October the royal commission for Berkeley arrived, and the governor may thus have felt that the conditions on which he accepted his office from the assembly were no longer binding. Our next chapter will show how lightly he held them.

Charles II.  
proclaimed  
king.

If one may judge from the public accounts of York County in 1660, expressed in the arithmetic of a tobacco currency, the 20th of September must have been a joyful occasion:—

Att the proclaiming of his sacred Maisty :

|   |           |        |
|---|-----------|--------|
| To y <sup>e</sup> Ho <sup>ble</sup> Govn <sup>r</sup> p a barrell powd <sup>r</sup> , | 112 lb.   | .00996 |
| To Cap <sup>t</sup> ffox six cases of drams   | . . . . . | .00900 |
| To Cap <sup>t</sup> ffox for his great gunnes   | . . . . . | .00500 |
| To M <sup>r</sup> Philip Malory   | . . . . . | .00500 |
| To y <sup>e</sup> trumpeters  | . . . . . | .00800 |
| To M <sup>r</sup> Hansford 176 Gallons Syd <sup>r</sup> at 15                         |           |        |
| & 35 gall at 20, caske 264  | . . . . . | .03604 |

There can be no doubt that it was an occasion

<sup>1</sup> Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, London-1705, p. 56; Robertson, *History of America*, iv. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, i. 526.

<sup>3</sup> The document is given in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 158, where the bill of items quoted in the next paragraph may also be found. Mr. Philip Malory was an officiating clergyman.

prolific in legend. The historian Robert Beverley, who was born about fifteen years afterward, tells us that Governor Berkeley's proclamation named Charles II. as "King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia." The document itself, however, calls him "our most gracious sovereigne, Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, & Ireland," and makes no mention of Virginia.

William Lee tells us that it was "in consequence of this step" that the motto *En dat Virginia quintam* was placed upon the seal of the colony.<sup>1</sup> Since "this step" was never taken, the statement needs some qualification. The idea of designating Virginia as an additional kingdom to those over which the English sovereign ruled in Europe was already entertained in 1590 by Edmund Spenser, who dedicated his "Faëry Queene" to Elizabeth as queen of "England, France,<sup>2</sup> and Ireland, and of Virginia."<sup>3</sup> As early as 1619 the London Company adopted a coat-of-arms, upon which was the motto *En dat Virginia quintum*, in which the unexpressed noun is *regnum*; "Behold, Virginia gives the fifth [kingdom]." After the restoration of Charles II. a new seal for Virginia, adopted about

The seal of  
Virginia.

<sup>1</sup> Meade's *Old Churches*, ii. 137.

<sup>2</sup> The claim to the French crown set up by Edward III. in 1328 led to the so-called Hundred Years' War, in the course of which Henry VI. was crowned King of France in the church of Notre Dame at Paris in 1431. His sway there was practically ended in 1436, but the English sovereigns continued absurdly to call themselves Kings of France until 1801.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 250.



1663, has the same motto, the effect of which was to rank Virginia by the side of his Majesty's other four dominions, England, Scotland, "France," and Ireland. We are told by the younger Richard Henry Lee that in these circumstances originated the famous epithet "Old Dominion." In 1702, among several alterations in the seal, the word *quintum* was changed to *quintam*, to agree with the unexpressed noun *coronam*; "Behold, Virginia gives the fifth [crown]." After the legislative union of England with Scotland in 1707, another seal, adopted in 1714, substituted *quartam* for *quintam*.<sup>1</sup>

Just how many members of the royalist party came to Virginia while their young king was off upon his travels, it would be difficult to say. But there were unquestionably a great many. We have already remarked upon the very rapid increase of white population, from about 15,000 in 1649 to 38,000 in 1670. Along with this there was a marked increase in the size of the land grants, both the average size and the maximum; and in this coupling of facts there is great significance, for they show that the increase of population was predominantly an increase in the numbers of the upper class, of the people who could afford to have large estates. In these respects the year 1650 marks an abrupt change,<sup>2</sup> which may best be shown by a tabular view of the figures:—

Increase in  
the size of  
land grants.

<sup>1</sup> See the able paper by Dr. L. G. Tyler on "The Seal of Virginia," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iii. 81-96.

<sup>2</sup> For my data regarding land grants I am much indebted

| Years.            | Largest number of acres<br>in a single grant. | Average number of<br>acres in a grant. |
|-------------------|---|--|
| 1632 . . . . .    | 350 . . . . .                                 | . . . . .                              |
| 1634 . . . . .    | 5,350 . . . . .                               | 719                                    |
| 1635 . . . . .    | 2,000 . . . . .                               | 380                                    |
| 1636 . . . . .    | 2,000 . . . . .                               | 351                                    |
| 1637 . . . . .    | 5,350 . . . . .                               | 445                                    |
| 1638 . . . . .    | 3,000 . . . . .                               | 423                                    |
| 1640 . . . . .    | 1,300 . . . . .                               | 405                                    |
| 1641 . . . . .    | 872 . . . . .                                 | 343                                    |
| 1642 . . . . .    | 3,000 . . . . .                               | 559                                    |
| 1643 . . . . .    | 4,000 . . . . .                               | 595                                    |
| 1644 . . . . .    | 670 . . . . .                                 | 370                                    |
| 1645 . . . . .    | 1,090 . . . . .                               | 333                                    |
| 1646 . . . . .    | 1,200 . . . . .                               | 360                                    |
| 1647 . . . . .    | 650 . . . . .                                 | 361                                    |
| 1648 . . . . .    | 1,800 . . . . .                               | 412                                    |
| 1649 . . . . .    | 3,500 . . . . .                               | 522                                    |
| 1650 . . . . .    | 5,350 . . . . .                               | 677                                    |
| 1651-55 . . . . . | 10,000 . . . . .                              | 591                                    |
| 1656-66 . . . . . | 10,000 . . . . .                              | 671                                    |
| 1667-79 . . . . . | 20,000 . . . . .                              | 890                                    |
| 1680-89 . . . . . | 20,000 . . . . .                              | 607                                    |

Another way of showing the facts is still more striking:—

| Years.            | Number of grants exceed-<br>ing 5,000 acres. |
|-------------------|--|
| 1632-50 . . . . . | 3  |
| 1651-55 . . . . . | 3  |
| 1656-66 . . . . . | 20   |
| 1667-79 . . . . . | 37   |
| 1680-89 . . . . . | 19   |

The increase in the number of slaves after 1650 is a fact of similar import with the greater size of the estates. All the circumstances agree in showing that there was a large influx of eminently well-to-do people. It is well known, moreover, who these people were. It is in the reign of Charles II.

to the very learned and scholarly work of Mr. Philip Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, i. 487-571.

that the student of Virginian history begins to meet frequently with the familiar names, such as Randolph, Pendleton, Madison, Mason, Cavalier families. Monroe, Cary, Ludwell, Parke, Robinson, Marshall, Washington, and so many others that have become eminent. All these were Cavalier families that came to Virginia after the downfall of Charles I. Whether President Tyler was right in claiming descent from the Kentish rebel of 1381 is not clear, but there is no doubt that his first American ancestor, who came to Virginia after the battle of Worcester, was a gentleman and a royalist.<sup>1</sup> Until recently there was some uncertainty as to the pedigree of George Washington, but the researches of Mr. Fitz Gilbert Waters of Salem have conclusively proved that he was descended from the Washingtons of Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire, a family that had for generations worthily occupied positions of honour and trust. In the Civil War the Washingtons were distinguished royalists. The commander who surrendered Worcester in 1646 to the famous Edward Whalley was Colonel Henry Washington;<sup>2</sup> and his cousin John, who came to Virginia in 1657, was great-grandfather of George Washington. After the fashion that prevailed a hundred years ago, the most illustrious of Americans felt little interest in his ancestry; but with the keener his-

Ancestry of  
George  
Washington.

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, i. 41.

<sup>2</sup> He is mentioned by Pepys in his *Diary*, Oct. 12, 1660: "Office day all the morning, and from thence with Sir W. Batten and the rest of the officers to a venison party of his at the Dolphin, where dined withal Colonel Washington, Sir Edward Brett, and Major Norwood, very noble company."

toric sense and broader scientific outlook of the present day, the importance of such matters is better appreciated. The pedigrees of horses, dogs, and fancy pigeons have a value that is quotable in terms of hard cash. Far more important, for the student of human affairs, are the pedigrees of men. By no possible ingenuity of constitution-making or of legislation can a society made up of ruffians and boors be raised to the intellectual and moral level of a society made up of well-bred merchants and yeomen, parsons and lawyers. One might as well expect to see a dray horse win the Derby. It is, moreover, only when we habitually bear in mind the threads of individual relationship that connect one country with another, that we get a really firm and concrete grasp of history. Without genealogy the study of history is comparatively lifeless. No excuse is needed, therefore, for giving in this connection a tabulated abridgment of the discoveries of Mr. Waters concerning the forefathers of George Washington.<sup>1</sup> Beside the personal interest attaching to everything associated with that immortal name, this pedigree has interest and value as being in large measure typical. It is a fair sample of good English middle-class pedigrees, and it is typical as regards the ancestry of leading Cavalier families in Virginia; an inspection of many genealogies of those who came between 1649 and 1670 yields about the same general impression. Moreover, this pedigree is equally typical as regards the

<sup>1</sup> Waters, *An Examination of the English Ancestry of George Washington*. Boston, 1889.

## WASHINGTON OF NORTHAMPTON AND VIRGINIA.

ARMS. — *Argent, two bars and in chief three mullets Gules.*

John Washington,  
of Whitfield, Lancashire, time of Henry VI.

Robert Washington,  
of Warton, Lancashire, 2d son.

John Washington,  
of Warton, m. Margaret Kitson, sister of Sir Thomas Kitson,  
alderman of London.

Lawrence Washington,  
of Gray's Inn, mayor of Northampton, obtained grant of  
Sulgrave Manor, 1539, d. 1584; m. Anne Pargiter, of Gretworth.

Robert Washington,  
of Sulgrave, b. 1544; m. Elizabeth Light.

Lawrence Washington,  
of Gray's Inn, register of High  
Court of Chancery, d. 1619.

Lawrence Washington,  
of Sulgrave and Brington,  
d. 1616; m. Margaret Butler.

Sir Lawrence Washington,  
register of High Court of  
Chancery, d. 1643.

William Washington,  
b. 1543; m. Anne Villiers,  
sister of George Villiers,  
Duke of Buckingham.

Sir John Washington,  
d. 1678.

Rev. Lawrence Washington,  
M. A., Fellow of Brasenose  
College, Oxford, Rector of  
Purleigh, d. before 1655.

Lawrence Washington,  
d. 1662; m. Eleanor Gyse.

Henry Washington,  
Colonel in the royalist  
army, governor of  
Bristol, d. 1664.

John Washington,  
b. 1631, d. 1677; came  
to Virginia, 1657;  
m. Anne Pope.

Lawrence Washington,  
b. 1635, came to  
Virginia, 1657.

Elizabeth Washington,  
heiress, d. 1693;  
m. Earl Ferrers.

Lawrence Washington,  
d. 1697; m. Mildred, dau. of Augustine Warner.

Augustine Washington,  
b. 1694, d. 1749; m. Mary Ball.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
b. 1732, d. 1799.

*First President of the United States.*

ancestry of leading Puritan families in New England. The genealogies, for example, of Winthrop, Dudley, Saltonstall, Chauncey, or Baldwin give the same general impression as those of Randolph, or Cary, or Cabell, or Lee. The settlers of Virginia and of New England were opposed to each other in politics, but they belonged to one and the same stratum of society, and in their personal characteristics they were of the same excellent quality. To quote the lines of Sir William Jones, written as a paraphrase of the Greek epigram of Alcæus inscribed upon my title-page:—

“What constitutes a State?  
 Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound,  
 Thick wall or moated gate;  
 Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;  
 Not bays and broad-armed ports,  
 Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;  
 Not starred and spangled courts,  
 Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.  
 No:—MEN, high-minded MEN,  
 . . . . .  
 “Men who their duties know,  
 But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,  
 Prevent the long-aimed blow,  
 And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:  
 These constitute a State.”<sup>1</sup>

Such men were the Cavaliers of Virginia and the Puritans of New England.

There can be little doubt that these Cavaliers were the men who made the greatness of Virginia. To them it is due that her history represents ideas and enshrines events which mankind will always find interesting. It is apt to be the case that men

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Jones's *Works*, ed. Lord Teignmouth, London, 1807, x. 389.

who leave their country for reasons connected with conscience and principle, men who have once consecrated themselves to a cause, are picked men for ability and character. Such men are likely to exert upon any community which they may enter an influence immeasurably greater than an equal number of men taken at random. It matters little what side they may have espoused. Very few of the causes for which brave men have fought one another have been wholly right or wholly wrong. Our politics may be those of Samuel Adams, but we must admit that the Thomas Hutchinson type of mind and character is one which society could ill afford to lose. Of the gallant Cavaliers who drew the sword for King Charles, there were many who no more approved of his crooked methods and despotic aims than Hutchinson approved of the Stamp Act. No better illustration could be found than Lord Falkland, some of whose kinsmen emigrated to Virginia and played a conspicuous part there. A proper combination of circumstances was all that was required to bring the children of these royalists into active political alliance with the children of the Cromwellians.

Both in Virginia and in New England, then, the principal element of the migration consisted of picked men and women of the same station in life, and differing only in their views of civil and ecclesiastical polity. The differences that grew up between the relatively aristocratic type of society in Virginia and the relatively democratic type in

Importance  
of the Cavalier  
element  
in Virginia.

Differences  
between  
New Eng-  
land and  
Virginia.

New England were due not at all to differences in the social quality of the settlers, but in some degree to their differences in church politics, and in a far greater degree to the different economic circumstances of Virginia and New England. It is worth our while to point out some of these contrasts and to indicate their effect upon the local government, the nature of which, perhaps more than anything else, determines the character of the community as aristocratic or democratic.

That extreme Puritan theory of ecclesiastical polity, according to which each congregation was to be a little self-governing republic, had much to do with the way in which New England was colonized. The settlers came in congregations, led by their favourite ministers, — such men, for example, as Higginson and Cotton, Hooker and Davenport. When such men, famous in England for their bold preaching and imperilled thereby, decided to move to America, a considerable number of their parishioners would decide to accompany them, and similarly minded members of neighbouring churches would leave their own pastor and join in the migration. Such a group of people, arriving on the coast of Massachusetts, would naturally select some convenient locality, where they might build their houses near together and all go to the same church.

This migration, therefore, was a movement, not of individuals or of separate families, but of church-congregations, and it continued to be so as the settlers made their way inland and westward. The first river towns of Connecticut were thus

Settlement  
of New Eng-  
land by con-  
gregations.



founded by congregations coming from Dorchester, Cambridge, and Watertown. This kind of settlement was favoured by the government of Massachusetts, which made grants of land, not to individuals but to companies of people who wished to live together and attend the same church.

Land grants  
in Massa-  
chusetts.

It was also favoured by economic circumstances. The soil of New England was not favourable to the cultivation of great quantities of staple articles, such as rice or tobacco, so that there was nothing to tempt people to undertake extensive plantations. Most of the people lived on small farms, each family raising but little more than enough food for its own support; and the small size of the farms made it possible to have a good many in a compact neighbourhood. It appeared also that towns could be more easily defended against the Indians than scattered plantations; and this doubtless helped to keep people together, although if there had been any strong inducement for solitary pioneers to plunge into the great woods, as in later years so often happened at the West, it is not likely that any dread of the savages would have hindered them.

Small farms.

Thus the early settlers of New England came to live in townships. A township would consist of about as many farms as could be disposed within convenient distance from the meeting-house, where all the inhabitants, young and old, gathered every Sunday, coming on horseback or afoot. The meeting-house was thus centrally situated, and near it was the town pasture or

Township  
and village.

“common,” with the school-house and the block-house, or rude fortress for defence against the Indians. For the latter building some commanding position was apt to be selected, and hence we so often find the old village streets of New England running along elevated ridges or climbing over beetling hilltops. Around the meeting-house and common the dwellings gradually clustered into a village, and after a while the tavern, store, and town-house made their appearance.

Among the people who thus tilled the farms and built up the villages of New England, the differences in what we should call social position, though noticeable, were not extreme. While in

Social position of settlers in New England. England some had been esquires or country magistrates, or “lords of the manor,” — a phrase which does not mean a member of the peerage, but a landed proprietor with dependent tenants, — some had been yeomen, or persons holding farms by some free kind of tenure; some had been artisans or tradesmen in cities. All had for many generations been more or less accustomed to self-government and to public meetings for discussing local affairs. That self-government, especially as far as church matters were concerned, they were stoutly bent upon maintaining and extending. Indeed, that was what they had crossed the ocean for. Under these circumstances they developed a kind of government which has remained practically unchanged down to the present day. In the town meeting the government is the entire adult male population. Its merits, from a genuine democratic point of view,

have long been recognized, but in these days of rampant political quackery they are worth recalling to mind, even at the cost of a brief digression.

Within its proper sphere, government by town meeting is the form of government most effectively under watch and control. Everything is done in the full daylight of publicity. Some merits of the town meeting. The specific objects for which public money is to be appropriated are discussed in the presence of everybody, and any one who disapproves of any of these objects, or of the way in which it is proposed to obtain it, has an opportunity to declare his opinions. Under this form of government people are not so liable to bewildering delusions as under other forms. I refer especially to the delusion that "the Government" is a sort of mysterious power, possessed of a magic inexhaustible fund of wealth, The "magic fund" delusion. and able to do all manner of things for the benefit of "the People." Some such notion as this, more often implied than expressed, is very common, and it is inexpressibly dear to demagogues. It is the prolific root from which springs that luxuriant crop of humbug upon which political tricksters thrive as pigs fatten upon corn. In point of fact no such government, armed with a magic fund of its own, has ever existed upon the earth. No government has ever yet used any money for public purposes which it did not first take from its own people,— unless when it may have plundered it from some other people in victorious warfare.

The inhabitant of a New England town is perpetually reminded that "the Government" is "the People." Although he may think loosely about the government of his state or the still more remote government at Washington, he is kept pretty close to the facts where local affairs are concerned, and in this there is a political training of no small value.

In the kind of discussion which it provokes, in the necessity of facing argument with argument and of keeping one's temper under control, the town meeting is the best political training school in existence. Its educational value is far higher than that of the newspaper, which, in spite of its many merits as a diffuser of information, is very apt to do its best to bemuddle and sophisticate plain facts. The period when town meetings were most important from the wide scope of their transactions was the period of earnest and sometimes stormy discussion that ushered in our Revolutionary War. In those days great principles of government were discussed with a wealth of knowledge and stated with masterly skill in town meeting.

In Virginia the economic circumstances were very different from those of New England, and the effects were seen in a different kind of local institutions. In New England the system of small holdings facilitated the change from primogeniture to the Kentish custom of gavelkind, with which many of the settlers were already familiar, in which the property of an intestate is equally

Educational  
value of the  
town meet-  
ing.

divided among the children.<sup>1</sup> In Virginia, on the other hand, the large estates, cultivated by servile labour, were kept together by the combined customs of primogeniture and entail, which lasted until they were overthrown by Thomas Jefferson in 1776. In this circumstance, more than in anything else, originated the more aristocratic features in the local institutions of Virginia. To this should be added the facts that before the eighteenth century there was a large servile class of whites, to which there was nothing even remotely analogous in New England; and that the introduction of negro slavery, which was beginning to assume noticeable dimensions about 1670, served to affix a stigma upon manual labour.

Primogeni-  
ture and  
entail in  
Virginia.

In view of this group of circumstances we need not wonder that in Old Virginia there were no town meetings. The distances between plantations coöperated with the distinction between classes to prevent the growth of such an institution. The English parish, with its churchwardens and vestry and clerk, was reproduced in Virginia under the same name, but with some noteworthy peculiarities. If the whole body of ratepayers had assembled in vestry meeting, to enact by-laws and assess taxes, the course of development would have been like that of the New England town meeting. But instead

Virginia  
parishes.

<sup>1</sup> The change was somewhat gradual, *e. g.* in Massachusetts at first the eldest son received a double portion. See *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, reprinted from the edition of 1660*, ed. W. H. Whitmore, Boston, 1889, pp. 51, 201.

of this the vestry, which exercised the chief authority in the parish, was composed of twelve chosen men. This was not government by a primary assembly, it was representative government. At first the twelve vestrymen were elected by the people of the parish, and thus resembled the selectmen of New England; but in 1662 "they obtained the power of filling vacancies in their own number," so that they became what is called a "close corporation," and the people had nothing to do with choosing them. Strictly speaking, that was not representative government; it was a step on the road that leads towards oligarchical or despotic government. It was, as we shall see, one of the steps ineffectually opposed in Bacon's rebellion.

The vestry  
a close  
corporation.

It was the vestry, thus constituted, that apportioned the parish taxes, appointed the churchwardens, presented the minister for induction into office, and acted as overseers of the poor. The minister presided in all vestry meetings. His salary was paid in tobacco, and in 1696 it was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco yearly. In many parishes the churchwardens were the collectors of the parish taxes. The other officers, such as the sexton and the parish clerk, were appointed either by the minister or by the vestry.

Powers of  
the vestry.

With the local government thus administered, we see that the larger part of the people had little directly to do. Nevertheless, in those small neighbourhoods government could be kept in full sight of the people, and so long as its proceedings went on in broad daylight and were sustained by public

sentiment, all was well. As Jefferson said, "The vestrymen are usually the most discreet farmers, so distributed through the parish that every part of it may be under the immediate eye of some one of them. They are well acquainted with the details and economy of private life, and they find sufficient inducements to execute their charge well, in their philanthropy, in the approbation of their neighbours, and the distinction which that gives them."<sup>1</sup>

The difference, however, between the New England township and the Virginia parish, in respect of self-government, was striking enough. We have now to note a further difference. In New England, the township was the unit of representation in the colonial legislature; but in Virginia the parish was not the unit of representation. The county was that unit. In the colonial legislature of Virginia the representatives sat, not for parishes but for counties.

The county was the unit of representation.

The difference is very significant. As the political life of New England was in a manner built up out of the political life of the towns, so the political life of Virginia was built up out of the political life of the counties. This was partly because the vast plantations were not grouped about a compact village nucleus like the small farms at the North, and partly because there was not in Virginia that Puritan theory of the church according to which each congregation is a self-governing democracy. The conditions which made the New England town meeting were absent. The only alternative

<sup>1</sup> See Howard, *Local Constitutional History of the United States*, i. 122.

was some kind of representative government, and for this the county was a small enough area. The county in Virginia was much smaller than in Massachusetts or Connecticut. In a few instances the county consisted of only a single parish; in some cases it was divided into two parishes, but oftener into three or more.

In Virginia, as in England and in New England, the county was an area for the administration of justice. There were usually in each county eight justices of the peace, and their court was the counterpart of the quarter sessions in England. They were appointed by the governor, but it was customary for them to nominate candidates for the governor to appoint, so that practically the court filled its own vacancies and was a close corporation, like the parish vestry. Such an arrangement tended to keep the general supervision and control of things in the hands of a few families.

This county court usually met as often as once a month in some convenient spot answering to the shire town of England or New England. More often than not, the place originally consisted of the court-house and very little else, and was named accordingly from the name of the county, as Hanover Court House or Fairfax Court House; and the small shire towns that have grown up in such spots often retain these names to the present day. Such names occur commonly in Virginia, West Virginia, and South Carolina, and occasionally elsewhere. Their number has diminished from the tendency to omit the

The county court was virtually a close corporation.

The county seat or Court House.



phrase "Court House," leaving the name of the county for that of the shire town, as for example in Culpeper, Va. In New England the process of naming has been just the reverse; as in Hartford County, Conn., or Worcester County, Mass., which have taken their names from the shire towns. Here, as in so many cases, whole chapters of history are wrapped up in geographical names.<sup>1</sup>

The county court in Virginia had jurisdiction in criminal actions not involving peril of life or limb, and in civil suits where the sum at stake exceeded twenty-five shillings. Smaller suits could be tried by a single justice. The court also had charge of the probate and administration <sup>Powers of the court.</sup> of wills. The court appointed its own clerk, who kept the county records. It superintended the construction and repair of bridges and highways, and for this purpose divided the county into "precincts," and appointed annually for each precinct a highway surveyor. The court also seems to have appointed constables, one for each precinct. The justices could themselves act as coroners, but annually two or more coroners for each parish were appointed by the governor. As we have seen that the parish taxes—so much for salaries of minister and clerk, so much for care of church buildings, so much for the relief of the poor, etc.—were computed and assessed by the vestry; so the county taxes, for care of court-house and jail,

<sup>1</sup> A few of the oldest Virginia counties, organized as such in 1634, had arisen from the spreading and thinning of single settlements originally intended to be cities and named accordingly. Hence the curious names (at first sight unintelligible) of "James City County" and "Charles City County."

roads and bridges, coroner's fees, and allowances to the representatives sent to the colonial legislature, were computed and assessed by the county court. The general taxes for the colony were estimated by a committee of the legislature, as well as the county's share of the colony tax. The taxes for the county, and sometimes the taxes for the parish also, were collected by the sheriff. They were usually paid, not in money, but in

The sheriff. tobacco; and the sheriff was the cus-

todian of this tobacco, responsible for its proper disposal. The sheriff was thus not only the officer for executing the judgments of the court, but he was also county treasurer and collector, and thus exercised powers almost as great as those of the sheriff in England in the twelfth century. He also presided over elections for representatives to the legislature. It is interesting to observe how this very important officer was chosen.

"Each year the court presented the names of three of its members to the governor, who appointed one, generally the senior justice, to be the sheriff of the county for the ensuing year."<sup>1</sup> Here again we see this close corporation, the county court, keeping the control of things within its own hands.

One other important county officer needs to be mentioned. In early New England each town had its train-band or company of militia, and the companies in each county united to form the county regiment. In Virginia it was just the other way. Each county raised a certain number of troops,

<sup>1</sup> Edward Channing, "Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America," *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, vol. ii.

and because it was not convenient for the men to go many miles from home in assembling for purposes of drill, the county was subdivided into military districts, each with its company, according to rules laid down by the governor. The military command in each county was vested in the county lieutenant, an officer answering in many respects to the lord lieutenant of the English shire at that period. Usually he was a member of the governor's council, and as such exercised sundry judicial functions. He bore the honorary title of "colonel," and was to some extent regarded as the governor's deputy; but in later times his duties were confined entirely to military matters.<sup>1</sup>

The county  
lieutenant.

If now we sum up the contrasts between local government in Virginia and that in New England, we observe:—

1. That in New England the management of local affairs was mostly in the hands of town officers, the county being superadded for certain purposes, chiefly judicial; while in Virginia the management was chiefly in the hands of county officers, though certain functions, chiefly ecclesiastical, were reserved to the parish.

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent account of local government in Virginia before the Revolution, see Howard, *Local Const. Hist. of the U. S.* i. 388-407; also Edward Ingle in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, iii. 103-229. With regard to the county lieutenant's honorary title, Mr. Ingle suggests that it may help to explain the superabundance of military titles in the South, and he quotes from a writer in the *London Magazine* in 1745: "Wherever you travel in Maryland (as also in Virginia and Carolina) your ears are astonished at the number of colonels, majors, and captains that you hear mentioned."

2. That in New England the local magistrates were almost always, with the exception of justices, chosen by the people; while in Virginia, though some of them were nominally appointed by the governor, yet in practice they generally contrived to appoint themselves,—in other words, the local boards practically filled their own vacancies and were self-perpetuating.

These differences are striking and profound. There can be no doubt that, as Thomas Jefferson clearly saw, in the long run the interests of political liberty are much safer under the New England

Jefferson's  
opinion of  
township  
government.

system than under the Virginia system. Jefferson said: "Those wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation.<sup>1</sup> . . . As Cato, then, concluded every speech with the words *Carthago delenda est*, so do I every opinion with the injunction: 'Divide the counties into wards!'"<sup>2</sup>

We must, however, avoid the mistake of making too much of this contrast. As already hinted, in those rural societies where people generally knew one another, its effects were not so far-reaching as they would be in the more complicated society of to-day. Even though Virginia had not the town meeting, "it had its familiar court-day," which "was a holiday for all the countryside, especially in the fall and spring. From all

"Court-day."

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson's *Works*, vii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* vi. 544.

directions came in the people on horseback, in wagons, and afoot. On the court-house green assembled, in indiscriminate confusion, people of all classes,—the hunter from the backwoods, the owner of a few acres, the grand proprietor, and the grinning, heedless negro. Old debts were settled, and new ones made; there were auctions, transfers of property, and, if election times were near, stump-speaking.”<sup>1</sup>

For seventy years or more before the Declaration of Independence the matters of general public concern, about which stump speeches were made on Virginia court-days, were very similar to those that were discussed in Massachusetts town meetings when representatives were to be chosen for the legislature. Such questions generally related to some real or alleged encroachment upon popular liberties by the royal governor, who, being appointed and sent from beyond sea, was apt to have ideas and purposes of his own that conflicted with those of the people. This perpetual antagonism to the governor, who represented British imperial interference with American local self-government, was an excellent schooling in political liberty, alike for Virginia and for Massachusetts. When the stress of the Revolution came, these two leading colonies cordially supported each other, and their political characteristics were reflected in the kind of achievements for which each was especially distinguished. The Virginia system, concentrating the administration of local affairs in the hands of a few county families, was eminently

<sup>1</sup> Ingle, in *J. H. U. Studies*, iii. 90.

favourable for developing skilful and vigorous leadership. And while in the history of Massachusetts during the Revolution we are chiefly impressed with the remarkable degree in which the mass of the people exhibited the kind of political training that nothing in the world except the habit of parliamentary discussion can impart ; on the other hand, Virginia at that time gave us — in Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Mason, Madison, and Marshall, to mention no others — such a group of leaders as has seldom been equalled.

Virginia prolific in great leaders.

## CHAPTER XI.

### BACON'S REBELLION.

THE rapid development of maritime commerce in the seventeenth century soon furnished a new occasion for human folly and greed to assert themselves in acts of legislation. Crude mediæval methods of robbery began to give place to the ingenious modern methods in which men's pockets are picked under the specious guise of public policy. Your mediæval baron would allow no ship or boat to pass his Rhenish castle without paying what he saw fit to extort for the privilege, and at the end of his evil career he was apt to compound with conscience and buy a ticket to heaven by building a chapel to the Virgin. Your modern manufacturer obtains legislative aid in fleecing his fellow-countrymen, while he seeks popularity by bestowing upon the public a part of his ill-gotten gains in the shape of a new college or a town library. This change from the more brutal to the more subtle devices for living upon the fruits of other men's labour was conspicuous during the seventeenth century, and one of the most glaring instances of it was the Navigation Act of 1651, which forbade the importation of goods into England except in English ships, or ships of the nation that produced

The Navigation Act  
of 1651.

the goods. This foolish act was intended to cripple the Dutch carrying trade, and speedily led to a lamentable and disgraceful war between England and Holland. In its application to America it meant that English colonies could trade only with England in English ships, and it was generally greeted with indignation. Cromwell, however, did little or nothing to enforce it in America. Charles II.'s government was more active in the matter and soon became detested. One of the earliest causes of the American Revolution was thus set in operation. The policy begun in the Navigation Act was one of the grievances that kept Massachusetts in a chronic quarrel with Charles II. during the whole of his reign, and it was a source of no less irritation in Virginia.

A second Navigation Act, passed at the beginning of the reign of Charles II., prescribed that "no goods or commodities whatsoever shall be im-  
The second Navigation Act. ported into or exported from any of the king's lands, islands, plantations, or territories in Asia, Africa, or America, in any other than English, Irish, or plantation built ships, and whereof the master and at least three-fourths of the mariners shall be Englishmen, under forfeiture of ships and goods." It was further provided that "no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustic and other dyeing woods, of the growth or manufacture of our Asian, African, or American colonies, shall be shipped from the said colonies to any place but to England, Ireland, or to some other of his Majesty's said plantations, there to be landed, under forfeiture of goods and ships."



The motive in these restrictions is obvious enough. Their effects were ably set forth in 1677, in a memorial by John Bland, a sagacious London merchant, whose grasp of the principles of political economy was very remarkable for that age.<sup>1</sup> In order that merchants in England might buy Virginia tobacco very cheap, the demand for it was restricted by cutting off the export to foreign markets. In order that they might sell their goods to Virginia at exorbitant prices, the Virginians were prohibited from buying anything elsewhere. The shameless rapacity of these merchants was such as might have been expected under such fostering circumstances. If the planter shipped his own tobacco to England, the charges for freight would be put so high as to leave him scarcely any margin of profit.

Bland's re-  
monstrance.

Such restrictions were apt to have other effects than those contemplated. The "protected" merchants chuckled over their sagacity in keeping Dutchmen away from Virginia, for thus it would become possible to make the Dutchmen pay three or four shillings in England for tobacco that cost a ha'penny in the colony. But the worthy burghers of the Netherlands took a different view of the matter. They began planting tobacco for themselves in the East Indies, so that it became less necessary to buy it of the English. Another somewhat curious conse-

Some direct  
conse-  
quences.

<sup>1</sup> "The humble Remonstrance of John Bland, of London, Merchant, on the behalf of the Inhabitants and Planters in Virginia and Mariland," reprinted in *Virginia Historical Magazine*, i. 142-155.

quence may be stated in Bland's own words: "Again, if the Hollanders must not trade to Virginia, how shall the planters dispose of their tobacco? The English will not buy it [all], for what the Hollander carried thence was a sort of tobacco not . . . used by us in England, but merely to transport for Holland. Will it not then perish on the planters' hands? which undoubtedly is not only an apparent loss of so much stock and commoditie to the plantations who suffer thereby, but for want of its employment an infinite prejudice to the commerce in general."

There was yet another aspect of the matter. "I demand then, in the next place, which way shall the charge of the governments be maintained, if the Hollanders be debarred trade in Virginia and Maryland, or anything raised to defray the constant and yearly levies for the securing the inhabitants from invasions of the Indians? How shall the forts and public places be built and repaired, with many other incident charges daily arising, which must be taken care for, else all will come to destruction? for when the Hollanders traded thither, they paid upon every anchor of brandy (which is about 25 gallons) 5 shillings import brought in by them, and upon every hogshead of tobacco carried thence 10 shillings; and since they were debarred trade, our English, as they did not, whilst the Hollander traded there, pay anything, neither would they when they traded not . . .; so that all these charges being taxed on the poor planters, it hath so impoverished them that they scarce can recover

Some indirect consequences.

wherewith to cover their nakedness. As foreign trade makes rich and prosperous any country that hath within it any staple commodities to invite them thither, so it makes men industrious, striving with others to gather together into societies, and building of towns, and nothing doth it sooner than the concourse of shipping, as we may see before our eyes, Dover and Deal what they are grown into, the one by the Flanders trade, the other by ships riding in the Downs."

But if in spite of all these arguments the Navigation Act must stand, then, says this acute writer, "let me on the behalf of <sup>Exposure of</sup> the humbug. the said colonies of Virginia and Maryland make these following proposals, which I hope will appear but equitable: —

"*First*, that the traders to Virginia and Maryland from England shall furnish and supply the planters and inhabitants of those colonies with all sorts of commodities and necessaries which they may want or desire, at as cheap rates and prices as the Hollanders used to have when the Hollander was admitted to trade thither.

"*Secondly*, that the said traders out of England to those colonies shall not only buy of the planters such tobacco . . . as is fit for England, but take off all that shall be yearly made by them, at as good rates and prices as the Hollanders used to give for the same, by bills of exchange or otherwise. . . .

"*Thirdly*, that if any of the inhabitants or planters of the said colonies shall desire to ship his tobacco or goods for England, that the traders

from England to Virginia and Maryland shall let them have freight in their ships at as low and cheap rates as they used to have when the Hollanders and other nations traded thither.

“*Fourthly*, that for maintenance of the governments, raising of forces to withstand the invasions of the Indians, building of forts and other public works needful in such new discovered countries, the traders from England to pay there in Virginia and Maryland as much yearly as was received of the Hollanders and strangers as did trade thither, whereby the country may not have the whole burden to lie on their hard and painful labour and industry, which ought to be encouraged but not discouraged.

“Thus having proposed in my judgment what is both just and equal, to all such as would not have the Hollanders permitted to trade into Virginia and Maryland, I hope if they will not agree hereunto, it will easily appear it is their own profits and interest they seek, not those colonies’s nor your Majesty’s service, but in contrary the utter ruin of all the inhabitants and planters there; and if they perish, that vast territory must be left desolate, to the exceeding disadvantage of this nation and your Majesty’s honour and revenue.”

After this keen exposure of the protectionist humbug the author concludes by offering his own proposal. “Let all Hollanders and other nations  
Bland’s own proposal. whatsoever freely trade into Virginia and Maryland, and bring thither and carry thence whatever they please,” with only one

qualification. It had been urged that, without legislative aid, English shipping could not compete successfully with that of other countries. Insatiableness of commercial greed begets a fidgetty, unreasoning dread of anything like free competition. Just as the Frenchman puts tariff duties upon German goods because he knows he cannot compete with Germans in a free market, while at the same moment the German puts tariff duties upon French goods because he knows he cannot compete with Frenchmen in a free market, so it was with men's arguments two centuries ago. It was urged that French and Dutch ships could be built and navigated at smaller expense than English ships; and this point our author meets by suggesting a differential tonnage-duty "to counterpoise the cheapness," only great care must be taken not to make it prohibitory.

The principal effect of the Navigation Act upon Virginia and Maryland was to lower the price of tobacco while it increased the cost of all articles imported from England. As tobacco was the circulating medium in these colonies, the effect was practically a depreciation of the currency with the usual disastrous consequences. There was an inflation of prices, and all commodities became harder to get. Efforts were made from time to time to contract the currency by curtailing the tobacco crop. It was proposed, for example, in 1662, that no tobacco should be planted in Maryland or Virginia for the following year. Such proposals recurred from time to time, but it proved impossible to

Distress  
caused by  
low price  
of tobacco.

secure concerted action between the two colonies. In 1664 the whole tobacco crop of Virginia was worth less than £3 15s. for each person in the colony. In 1666 so much tobacco was left on the hands of the planters that a determined effort was made to enforce the cessation of planting, and after much discussion an agreement was reached between Maryland, Virginia, and the new settlements in Carolina, but the plan was defeated by disapproval in Maryland which led to a veto from Lord Baltimore. In 1667 the price of tobacco fell to a ha'penny a pound, and Thomas Ludwell, writing to Lord Berkeley in London, "declared that there were but three influences restraining the smaller landowners of Virginia from rising in rebellion, namely, faith in the mercy of God, loyalty to the king, and affection for the government."<sup>1</sup>

The discontent sometimes took the form of a disposition to resist the collection of taxes, as in Surry, in December, 1673, when "a company of seditious and rude people to y<sup>e</sup> number of ffourteene did unlawfully Assemble at y<sup>e</sup> pish church of Lawnes Creeke, w<sup>th</sup> Intent to declare they would not pay theirre publiq taxes, & y<sup>t</sup> they Expected diverse oth<sup>rs</sup> to meeete them, who faileing they did not put theirre wicked design in Execution." Nevertheless these persons assembled again, some three weeks later, in an old field "called y<sup>e</sup> Divell's field," where they passed divers lawless resolutions interspersed with

The Surry  
protest,  
1673.

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, i. 394.

heated harangues. In particular one Roger Delke did say, "we will burne all before one shall Suffer," and when brought before the magistrates, "y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Delke Acknowledged he said y<sup>e</sup> same words, & being asked why they meet at y<sup>e</sup> church he said by reason their taxes were soe unjust, & they would not pay it."<sup>1</sup> The ringleaders in this affair were fined, but Governor Berkeley remitted the fines, provided "they acknowledged their faults and pay the court charges."

Another cause of trouble was the king's recklessness in rewarding public services or gratifying favourites by extensive grants of wild land in America. It was an easy way to pay debts, for it cost the king nothing, and all the labour and expense of making the grant valuable fell upon the grantee. To many of these grants there could, of course, be no objection. Those that founded the Carolinas and Pennsylvania and the Hudson Bay Company were all proper enough. The trouble began when territory already granted and occupied by Englishmen was given away again. There were some complicated and obscure instances of this in New England, but a flagrant and exasperating case occurred in Virginia in 1673, when Charles made a grant of the whole country to the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpeper, to hold for thirty-one years at a yearly rent of 40 shillings to be paid at Michaelmas.

The Arlington-Culpeper grant, 1673.

The practical effect of this grant was to convert

<sup>1</sup> Papers from the Records of Surry County, *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iii. 123-125.

Virginia into something like a proprietary government, with Arlington and Culpeper for proprietors. It was, of course, not the intention to disturb individuals in the possession of lands already acquired by a valid title ; but escheated lands were

Some of its effects. to go to these proprietors instead of the crown, and there was an opportunity for grievous injustice, for many escheated lands were occupied by persons who had purchased them in good faith. The lord proprietors were to receive the revenues of the colony, to appoint all public officers, and to present pastors for installation. In short, the entire control of the internal administration of the colony was to be placed in their hands, and against such favourites of the king an appeal at any time was likely to be of little avail. It is needless to add that the grant was made without consulting the Virginians. For people who had lavished so much loyalty upon a worthless sovereign, this was a scurvy requital. To find its match for ingratitude one must go to the story of Inkle and Yarico. No sooner did the House of Burgesses hear of it than they sent commissioners to England to make an energetic protest. They found the king rather surprised to hear that the Virginians cared anything about such a trifle ; he promised to satisfy everybody, and that naturally took some time, so that the matter was still under discussion when things came to a blaze in Virginia.

The unprincipled government of Charles II. in England was matched in some respects by the oppressive administration of Sir William Berkeley



in Virginia. We have already met this gentleman on several occasions; it is now time to notice him more particularly. He was son of Sir Maurice Berkeley, who was one of the members of the London Company when it was first organized in 1606. Several members of the family were interested in American affairs. Sir William's elder brother, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, was a favourite of Charles II., and one of the group of proprietors to whom that king granted Carolina in 1663. Sir William was an aristocrat to the ends of his fingers, a man of velvet and gold lace, a brave soldier, a devoted husband, a chivalrous friend, and withal as narrow and bigoted and stubborn a creature as one could find anywhere. He had no sympathy with common people, nor any very clear sense of duty toward them. When he first arrived in Virginia in 1642, at the age of thirty-four, he was considered very gracious and affable in manners, and during the ten years of his first governorship he seems to have been generally popular. From 1652 to 1660 he lived in retirement on his rural estate of Greenspring near Jamestown, where he had an orchard of more than 2,000 fruit trees — apples, pears, quinces, peaches, and apricots — and a stable of seventy fine horses. There he entertained Cavalier guests and drank healths to King Charles until he was once more called to Jamestown to be governor. In 1661 he went to London and stayed for a year, and it was afterwards thought that his visit with his froward and hot-tempered brother<sup>1</sup> worked a

Character of  
Sir William  
Berkeley.

<sup>1</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, Nov. 29, Dec. 3, 1664.

change in him for the worse. Berkeley's errand in London was to oppose an attempt which the old London Company was making to have its charter restored; the people of Virginia had long ago passed the stage at which they regretted the overthrow of the Company. During his stay in London, Berkeley saw one of his own plays performed at the theatre, for this courtier and Cavalier dabbled in literature. Of this tragi-comedy, "The Lost Lady," Pepys tells us in his Diary that at first he did not care much for it, but liked it better the next time he saw it.<sup>1</sup>

After Berkeley's return to Virginia the evils of Charles's misgovernment soon began to show themselves. A swarm of place-hunters beset the king, who carelessly gave them appointments in Virginia, or recommended them to Berkeley for places. Judges and sheriffs, revenue collectors and parsons, were thus appointed without reference to fitness, with the natural results; the law was ill-administered, the public money embezzled, and the church scandalized. The custom-house charges on exported tobacco afforded chances for extortion and blackmailing, of which abundant advantage was taken, and Berkeley was not the sort of man who was quick to punish the rogues of his own party. Enemies accused him of profiting by the maladministration of his officials, and he himself confessed in a rather cynical letter to Lord Arlington that, while advancing years had taken away his ambition, they had left him covetous. A little

Corruption  
and extor-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, Jan. 19 and 28, 1661.

group of wealthy planters, friends of Berkeley, obtained places on the council, and contrived to have everything their own way for several years. With their aid the governor tried to do away with the popular election of representatives. Amid the blaze of royalist exultation over the restoration of monarchy, the House of Burgesses elected in 1661 contained a large majority of members who believed in high prerogative and divine right; and Berkeley, having thus secured a legislature that was quite to his mind, kept it alive for fifteen years, until 1676, simply by the ingenious expedient of *adjourning* it from year to year, and refusing to issue writs for a new election. The effect of such things was to carry more than one staunch Cavalier over into what was by no means a Puritan but none the less a strong opposition party. As this opposition could not find adequate voice in the legislature, it became ready for an explosion. As Berkeley's old popularity ebbed away he grew arrogant and cross, and now and then some instance of mean vindictiveness swelled the rising tide of hatred against him. He became subject to fits of violent passion. The famous Quaker preacher, William Edmundson, who visited Virginia in 1672, called on the governor and sought to intercede with him for the Society of Friends, the members of which were shamefully treated in that colony. "He was very peevish and brittle," says Edmundson, "and I could fasten nothing on him, with all the soft arguments I could use. . . . The next day was the men's meeting at William Wright's house

The Long  
Assen bly,  
1661-1676.

Berkeley's  
violent  
temper.

[where I met] Major-General Bennett. . . . He asked me 'How I was treated by the governor?' I told him 'he was brittle and peevish.' . . . He asked me 'if the governor called me dog, rogue, etc.' I said 'No.' 'Then,' said he, 'you took him in his best humour, those being his usual terms when he is angry, for he is an enemy to every appearance of good.'"<sup>1</sup>

Such was the governor of Virginia and such the state of things there, when to the many troubles that were goading the people to rebellion the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife were suddenly added. In 1672, after a fearful struggle of twenty years' duration, the Five Nations of

New York had completely overthrown and nearly annihilated their kinsmen the

Beginning of  
the Indian  
war, 1675.

Susquehannocks. The defeated barbarians, slowly retreating southward, roamed on both sides of the Potomac, while parties of the victors, mostly from the Seneca tribe, pursued and harassed them. Early in the summer of 1675 some Algonquins of the Doeg tribe, dwelling in Stafford County, not far from the site of Fredericksburg, got into a dispute with one of the settlers and stole some of his pigs. The thieves were pursued, and in the chase one or two of them were shot. A few days afterward a herdsman was found mortally wounded at the door of his cabin, and said with his dying breath that it was Doegs who had done it. Then the county lieutenant of Stafford turned out with his militia to punish the offenders. This officer was Colonel George

<sup>1</sup> Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 341.

Mason, whose cavalry troop had gone down before Cromwell's resistless blows in the crowning mercy at Worcester. He was great-grandfather of the George Mason who sat in the Federal Convention of 1787. One party of Colonel Mason's men overtook and slew eleven of the Algonquins, and another party at some distance in the forest had already shot fourteen red men, when a chief came running up to Colonel Mason and told him that these latter were friendly Susquehannocks, and that the murderers of the herdsman were neither Algonquins nor Susquehannocks, but Senecas. The firing was instantly stopped, but the unfortunate affair had evil consequences. Murders by Indians along the Potomac became frequent. The Susquehannocks occupied an old blockhouse on the Maryland side of the river, and a force of Marylanders, commanded by Major Thomas Truman, marched out to dislodge them.

At the request of the Maryland government, Virginia sent a party to coöperate in this task. Its commander bore a name which his great-grandson was to make forever illustrious. John Washington. Colonel John Washington had come over from England in 1657, with his younger brother Lawrence, and settled in Westmoreland County. He was now forty-four years old, a man of wealth and influence, a leading judge, and member of the House of Burgesses.

When the Virginia troops crossed the Potomac they found their Maryland allies assembled before the blockhouse, with five Susquehannocks in custody. These Indians were envoys who had come

out for a parley, but had apparently taken alarm and sought to escape, whereupon Major Truman seized and detained them until the Vir-  
The five  
Susquehan-  
nock  
envoys. ginians should arrive. Then Colonel Washington, with his next in command, Major Isaac Allerton, proceeded to interrogate the Indians, while Major Truman listened in silence. Washington demanded satisfaction for the murders and other outrages committed in Virginia, but the Indians denied everything and declared that their deadly enemies the Senecas were the sole offenders. Washington then asked how it happened that several canoe-loads of beef and pork, stolen from the plantations, had been carried into the Susquehannock fort; was it their foes the Senecas who were thus supplying them with food? And how did it happen that a party of Susquehannocks just captured in Virginia were dressed in the clothes of Englishmen lately murdered? The falsehood was too palpable. The guilt of the Susquehannocks was plain, and they must either make amends or taste the rigours of war.

There can be little doubt that Colonel Washington was right. Then, as always until after 1763, the Long House was from end to end the steadfast ally of the English, and nothing could be more unlikely than that one of its tribes should have been guilty of these murders. It is quite clear that the Susquehannocks lied, with the double purpose of saving themselves and bringing down vengeance upon the Senecas. The first murders had been committed by Algonquins, and

evidently the Susquehannocks had joined in the work in retaliation for the unfortunate mistake committed by Colonel Mason's men.

At the close of the conference Major Truman called to Colonel Washington, asking if these were not impudent rogues to deny the murders they had done, when at that very moment the corpses of nine of their own tribe were lying unburied at Hurston's plantation, where in a fight the defenders of the place had just slain them. As the envoys persisted in denying that these dead Indians were Susquehannocks, Washington suggested that they should be taken to Hurston's and confronted with the bodies. So Truman's men marched away with the five The killing of the envoys. envoys, and presently put them to death, "w<sup>ch</sup> was occation," says one of the Virginian witnesses, "y<sup>t</sup> much amaized & startled us & ou<sup>r</sup> Comanders, being a thing y<sup>t</sup> was never imagined or expected."<sup>1</sup>

The killing of these envoys was in violation of a rule that holds in all warfare, whether savage or civilized, and Truman was impeached for it in the Maryland assembly; but owing to an obstinate disagreement between the two houses as to the

<sup>1</sup> In describing this affair I have relied chiefly upon the affidavits from the records of Westmoreland County, reprinted by Dr. L. G. Tyler, in his admirable *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ii. 39-43. The affidavits were taken by Nicholas Spencer and Richard Lee, son of the Richard Lee mentioned in the preceding chapter. In Browne's *Maryland*, p. 131, an attempt is made to throw the blame for killing the envoys upon the Virginians, but the affidavits seem to me trustworthy and conclusive. It is not likely that there was or is any discernible difference between human nature in Virginia and in Maryland, and public opinion in both colonies condemned Truman's conduct.

penalty to be inflicted, he escaped without further punishment than the loss of his seat in the council.

Colonel Washington's force proved too small to hold in check the infuriated Susquehannocks, who seem to have entered into alliance with the Algonquins of the country. Soon the whole border, from the Potomac to the falls of the James, was swarming with painted barbarians, and day after day renewed the tale of burning homes and slaughtered wives and children. This sort of thing

went on through the fall and winter, driving people into frenzy, but Berkeley's perverseness would not call out a military force for

the occasion. He insisted that it was enough to instruct the county lieutenants, each in his county, to keep his militia in readiness. It was charged against him that fear of losing his share in a very lucrative fur trade made him unwilling to engage in war with the Indians. However this may have been, the spirit of the people had become so mutinous that he was probably afraid to entrust himself to the protection of a popular militia. Whatever the motive of his conduct, its consequences

were highly disastrous. On a single day in January, 1676, within a circle of ten miles' radius, thirty-six people were murdered; and when the governor was notified, he coolly answered that "nothing could be done until the assembly's regular meeting in March"!<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the work of firebrand and tomahawk went on. In Essex County (then known as Rappahannock),

<sup>1</sup> "Cittensborne Parish Grievances, reprinted from Winder Papers, Virginia State Library," in *Virginia Magazine*, iii. 35.



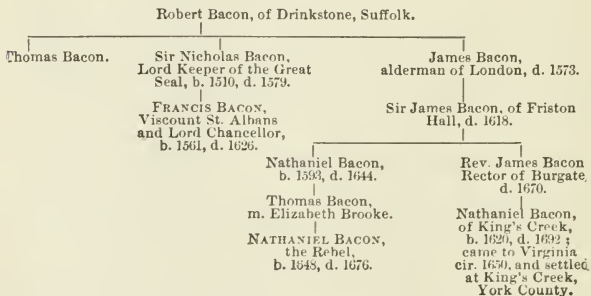
sixty plantations were destroyed within seventeen days. It was thought by some persons that the Indians were stimulated by reports of the fearful havoc which their brethren were making in New England, where King Philip's war was raging. Surely the wrath of the planters must have been redoubled when they heard of the stalwart troop led by Josiah Winslow into the Narragansett country, and noted the stern vengeance it wrought there on a December day of 1675, and contrasted these things with what they saw before them. As the Charles City people afterward declared with bitterness, "we do acknowledge we were so unadvised then . . . as to believe it our duty incumbent on us both by the laws of God and nature, and our duty to his sacred Majesty, notwithstanding . . . Sir William Berkeley's prohibition, . . . to take up arms . . . for the just defence of ourselves, wives, and children, and this his Majesty's country."<sup>1</sup> At length, in March, the Long Assembly, as people called it, which had been elected in 1661, was convened for the last time; a force of 500 men was gathered, and all things were in readiness for a campaign, when Berkeley by proclamation disbanded the little army, declaring that the frontier forts, if duly prepared and equipped, afforded all the protection the country needed. To many people this seemed to be adding insult to injury; for while no fortress could prevent the skulking approach of the enemy through the tangled wilderness, it was widely believed that the

<sup>1</sup> "Charles City County Grievances," *Virginia Magazine*, iii. 137.

repairing of forts was simply a device for enabling the governor's friends to embezzle the money granted for the purpose.

At this time there was a young man of eight-  
 and-twenty living on his plantation on  
 Nathaniel Bacon. James River, hard by Curl's Wharf. His  
 name was Nathaniel Bacon, son of Thomas Bacon,  
 of Friston Hall, Suffolk, a kinsman of the great  
 Lord Bacon.<sup>1</sup> His mother was daughter of a Suffolk knight, Sir Robert Brooke. He had studied law at Gray's Inn, and after extensive travel on the continent of Europe had come to Virginia with his young wife shortly before the beginning of these Indian troubles. His father's cousin, Nathaniel Bacon, of King's Creek, who had dwelt in the colony since about 1650, was a man of large wealth and influence. The abilities and character of the young Nathaniel were rated so high that he already had a seat in the council. He was clearly an impetuous youth, brave and cordial, fiery at times, and gifted with a persuasive tongue. He

<sup>1</sup> The following abridged table shows the relationship (see *Virginia Magazine*, ii. 125): —



was in person tall and lithe, with swarthy complexion and melancholy eyes, and a somewhat lofty demeanour. One writer says that his discourse was "pestilent and prevalent logical," and that it "tended to atheism," which doubtless means that he criticised things freely. Two other prominent men were much of his way of thinking. One was a hard-headed and canny Scotchman, William Drummond, who had been governor of the Albemarle colony in Carolina.<sup>1</sup> The other was Richard Lawrence, an Oxford graduate of scholarly tastes, whom an old chronicler has labelled for posterity as "thoughtful Mr. Lawrence." Both Drummond and Lawrence were wealthy men, and lived, it is said, in the two best built and best furnished houses in Jamestown, which, it should be remembered, had scarcely more than a score of houses all told.

Drummond  
and Lawrence.

Beside the estate where Bacon lived, he had another one farther up, on the site still marked by the name "Bacon Quarter Branch" in the suburbs of Richmond. "If the redskins meddle with me," quoth the fiery young man, "damn my blood but I'll harry them, commission or no commission!" One

Bacon's  
plantation  
attacked,  
May, 1676.

May morning in 1676 news came to Curl's Wharf that the Indians had attacked the upper estate, and killed Bacon's overseer and one of his servants. A crowd of armed planters on horseback assembled, and offered to march under Bacon's lead. He made an eloquent speech, accepted the command, and sent a courier to the governor to

<sup>1</sup> Drummond Lake, in the Dismal Swamp, was named for him

ask for a commission. Berkeley returned an evasive answer, whereupon Bacon sent him a polite note, thanking him for the promised commission, and forthwith started on his campaign. He had not gone many miles when a proclamation from the governor overtook him, commanding the party to disperse. A few obeyed; the rest kept on their way and inflicted a severe defeat upon the Indians. Then Bacon and his volunteers marched homeward.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the indignant Berkeley had gathered a troop of horse and taken the field in person to arrest this refractory young man. But suddenly came the news that the whole York peninsula was in revolt. The governor must needs hasten back to Jamestown, where he soon realized that if he would avoid civil war he must dissolve his moss-grown House of Burgesses and issue writs for a new election. This was done. In anticipation of such an emergency, an act had been passed in 1670 restricting the suf-

Election of a  
new House  
of Bur-  
gesses.

<sup>1</sup> For the picturesque details of this narrative I have followed the well-known document found by Rufus King when minister to Great Britain in 1803, and published by President Jefferson in the *Richmond Enquirer* in 1804; since reprinted in Force's *Tracts*, vol. i., Washington, 1836, and in Maxwell's *Virginia Historical Register*, vol. iii., Richmond, 1850. The original manuscript was written in 1705, and addressed to Robert Harley, Queen Anne's secretary of state, afterward Earl of Oxford. The writer signs himself "T. M.," and speaks of himself as dwelling in Northumberland County and possessing a plantation also in Stafford County, which he represented in the House of Burgesses. From these indications it is pretty certain that he was Thomas Mathews, son of Governor Samuel Mathews heretofore mentioned. His account of the scenes of which he was an eye-witness is quite vivid.

frage by a property qualification, which had called forth much indignation, since previously universal suffrage had prevailed. In this excited election of 1676 the restriction was openly disregarded in many places, and unqualified persons voted illegally. Bacon offered himself as a candidate for Henrico County and was elected by a large majority. As he drew near to Jamestown in his sloop with thirty followers, a war-ship lay at anchor awaiting him, and the high sheriff arrested him with his whole party. He was taken into the brick State House and confronted with the governor, who simply said, "Mr. Bacon, have you forgot to be a gentleman?" "No, may it please your honour," said Bacon. "Very well," said Berkeley, "then I'll take your parole." This was discreet in the governor, since the election had gone so heavily against him. Bacon was released and went to lodge in the house of Richard Lawrence.

Arrest of  
Bacon.

This "thoughtful" gentleman, the Oxford scholar, "for wit, learning, and sobriety equalled by few," is said to have "kept an ordinary," while his house was one of the best in Jamestown. It should be remembered that the permanent residents in the town numbered less than a hundred,<sup>1</sup> while the sessions of the assembly brought a great influx of temporary sojourners, so that any or every house would be made to serve as a tavern. Some years before, Mr. Lawrence had been "partially treated at law, for a considerable estate on behalf of a corrupt

"Thoughtful" Mr.  
Lawrence.

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *Economic History*, ii. 455.

favourite" of Sir William Berkeley; a fact well certified by the testimony of the governor's friend, Colonel Lee. For this reason Lawrence bore the governor a grudge and spoke of him as a treacherous old villain. It was believed by some people that in the conduct of the rebellion Lawrence was the Mephistopheles and Bacon simply the Faust whom he prompted.

There seems to have been an understanding that, if Bacon were to acknowledge his offence in marching without a commission, he should be received back to his seat in the council, and the Bacon's sub-  
mission. governor would give him a commission to go and finish the Indian war. The old Nathaniel Bacon, of King's Creek, being "a very rich politic man and childless," and intending to leave his estates to young Nathaniel, succeeded in persuading him, "not without much pains," to accept the compromise. The old gentleman wrote out a formal recantation, which his young kinsman consented to read in public, and a scene was made of it. The State House was a two-story building in which the burgesses had lately begun sitting apart on the second floor, while the governor and council (in point of dignity the "upper house") held their session on the first floor. On the 5th of June, 1676, the burgesses were summoned to attend in the council chamber while Berkeley opened parliament. In his opening speech the governor referred to the Indian troubles, and expressed himself with strong emphasis on the slaying of the five envoys: "If they had killed my grandfather and grandmother,

my father and mother and all my friends, yet if they had come to treat of peace they ought to have gone in peace!"<sup>1</sup> Then, changing the subject, the governor announced: "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." The young man knelt at the bar of the assembly and read aloud the prepared paper in which he confessed that he had acted illegally, and offered sureties for future good behaviour. Then said the governor impressively, and thrice repeating the words, "God forgive you! I forgive you." "And all that were with him," interposed a member of the council. "Yea," continued Berkeley, "and all those that were with you." The sheriff at once released Bacon's followers, and he took his old seat in the council, while the burgesses filed off upstairs. Our informant, the member for Stafford, tells us that while he was on his way up to the burgesses that afternoon, and through the open door of the council chamber descried "Mr. Bacon on his quondam seat," it seemed "a marvellous indulgence" to one who had so lately been proscribed as a rebel.

<sup>1</sup> T. M. goes on to remark that "the two chief commanders . . . who slew the four Indian great men" were present among the burgesses. This may seem to implicate Colonel Washington and Major Allerton in the killing of the envoys; but T. M.'s recollection, thirty years after the event, is of not much weight when contradicted by the sworn affidavits above cited. The facts that, while Truuan was impeached in Maryland, no such action seems to have been undertaken in Virginia against Washington and Allerton, and that, after the governor's strong words regarding the slaying, the friendly relations between him and these gentlemen continued, would indicate that their skirts were clear.

The governor's chief dread was the free discussion of affairs in general by a hostile assembly. Now that the Indian imbroglio had brought these new burgesses together, he wanted them to confine their talk to Indian affairs and then go home, but this was not their way of thinking. They aimed, though feebly, at greater independence than heretofore, and the governor's intent was to frustrate this aim. It was moved by one of his partisans in the House of Burgesses "to entreat the governor would please to assign two of his council to sit with and assist us in our debates, as had been usual." At this the friends of Bacon scowled, and the member for Stafford ventured to suggest that such aid might not be necessary, whereat there was an uproar. The Berkeleyans urged that "it had been customary and ought not to be omitted," but a shrewd old assemblyman named Presley replied, "'T is true it has been customary, but if we have any bad customs amongst us, we are come here to mend 'em."<sup>1</sup> This happy retort was greeted with laughter, but the Cavalier feeling of loyalty to the king's repre-

<sup>1</sup> Beverley (*History and Present State of Virginia*, London, 1705, bk. iv. p. 3) tells us that before 1680 the council and burgesses sat together, like the Scotch parliament, and that the separation occurred under Lord Culpeper's administration; and his statement is generally repeated by historians without qualification. Yet here in 1676 we find the two houses sitting separately, and the discussion cited shows that it had often been so before; otherwise the sending of two councillors to sit with the burgesses could not have been customary. Beverley's date of 1680 was evidently intended as the final date of separation; not as the date before which the two houses never sat separately, but as the date after which they never sat together.



sentative was still strong, and Berkeley's friends had their way, apparently in a tumultuous fashion. As the member for Stafford says, the affair "was huddled off without coming to a vote," so that the burgesses must "submit to be overawed and have every carped at expression carried straight to the governor." Nevertheless, they went sturdily on to their work of reform, and the acts which they passed most clearly reveal the nature <sup>Reform of abuses.</sup> of the evils from which the people had been suffering. They restored universal suffrage; they enacted that vestrymen should be elected by popular vote, and limited their term of office to three years; they reduced the sheriff's term to a single year; they declared that no person should hold at one and the same time any two of the offices of sheriff, surveyor, escheator, and clerk of court; and they imposed penalties upon the delay of public business and the taking of excessive fees. Councillors with their families, and the families of clergymen, had been exempted from taxation; this odious privilege was now abolished. Sundry trade monopolies were overthrown; two magistrates, Edward Hill and John Stith, were disfranchised for alleged misconduct; and provision was made for a general inspection of public expenses and the proper auditing of accounts.<sup>1</sup>

The Indian troubles were not neglected. Arrangements were made for raising and maintaining an army of 1,000 men, and the aid of friendly Indians was solicited. There was a picturesque

<sup>1</sup> The acts of this assembly, known as "Bacon's Laws," are given in Hening's *Statutes*, ii. 341-365.

scene when the "Queen of Pamunkey" was brought before the House of Burgesses. That interesting squaw sachem appears to have been a descendant of the fierce Opekankano. Her tribe was the same that John Smith had visited on the winter day when he held his pistol to the old warrior's head, with the terse mandate, "Corn or your life!" That remnant of the Powhatan confederacy was still flourishing in Bacon's time, and indeed it has survived to the present day, a mongrel compound of Indian and negro, on two small reservations in King William County.<sup>1</sup>

An Indian "princess." The "Queen of Pamunkey" in Bacon's time commanded about 150 warriors, and what the assembly wanted was to secure their aid in suppressing the hostile Indians. The dusky princess "entered the chamber with a comportment graceful to admiration, bringing on her right hand an Englishman interpreter, and on the left her son, a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peag three inches broad in imitation of a crown, and was clothed in a mantle of dressed deerskins with the hair outwards and the edge cut round six inches deep, which made strings resembling twisted

<sup>1</sup> "It is still their boast that they are the descendants of Powhatan's warriors. A good evidence of their present laudable ambition is an application recently made by them for a share in the privileges of the Hampton schools. These bands of Indians are known by two names: the larger band is called the Pamunkys (120 souls); the smaller goes by the name of the Mattaponies (50). They are both governed by chiefs and councillors, together with a board of white trustees chosen by themselves." Hendren, "Government and Religion of the Virginia Indians," *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, xiii. 591.

fringe from the shoulders to the feet; thus with grave courtlike gestures and a majestic air in her face she walked up our long room to the lower end of the table, where after a few entreaties she sat down: the interpreter and her son standing by her on either side as they had walked up. Our chairman asked her what men she would lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians. She spake to the interpreter to inform her what the chairman said (though we believed she understood him). He told us she bid him ask [her] son to whom the English tongue was familiar (and who was reputed the son of an English colonel), yet neither would he speak to or seem to understand the chairman, but, the interpreter told us, he referred all to his mother, who being again urged, she, after a little musing, with an earnest passionate countenance as if tears were ready to gush out, and a fervent sort of expression, made a harangue about a quarter of an hour, often interlacing (with a high shrill voice and vehement passion) these words, *Totapotamoy chepiack!* i. e. *Totapotamoy dead!* Colonel Hill, being next me, shook his head. I asked him what was the matter. He told me all she said was too true, to our shame, and that his father was general in that battle where divers years before<sup>1</sup> Totapotamoy her husband had led a hundred of his

<sup>1</sup> In 1656 a tribe called Ricahecrians, about 700 in number, from beyond the Blue Ridge, had advanced eastward as far as the falls of the James River, where they encountered and defeated Hill and Totapotamoy. After this the Ricahecrians may have retraced their steps westward; we hear no more of them on the Atlantic seaboard.

Indians in help to the English against our former enemy Indians, and was there slain with most of his men; for which no compensation at all had been to that day rendered to her, wherewith she now upbraided us."

The candid member for Stafford calls the chairman of the committee morose and rude for not so much as "advancing one cold word towards assuaging the anger and grief" of the squaw sachem. Having once obtained a favour and so ill requited it, the white men in an emergency were now suppliants for further good offices of the same sort. But disregarding all this, the chairman imperiously demanded to be informed how many Indians she would now contribute. A look of angry disdain passed over the cinnamon face; she turned her head away and "sat mute till that same question being pressed a third time, she, not returning her face to the board, answered with a low slighting voice in our own language, *Six!* but, being further importuned, she, sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between, said, *Twelve!* . . . and so rose up and walked gravely away, as not pleased with her treatment."

Small wisdom was shown in this mean and discourteous treatment of a useful ally, but men's thoughts were at once abruptly turned from such matters. "One morning early a bruit ran about the town, Bacon is fled! Bacon is fled!" and for the moment Indian alliances and legislative reforms were alike forgotten. Mr. Bacon's flight. Lawrence's house was searched at daybreak, but

his lodger had gone. Not only had the governor withheld the expected commission, but the air was heavy with suspicion of treachery. The elder Bacon, of King's Creek, who was fond of "this uneasy cousin" without approving his conduct, secretly informed him that his life was in danger at Jamestown. So the young man slipped away to his estate at Curl's, and within a few days marched back upon Jamestown at the head of 600 men. Berkeley's utmost efforts could scarcely muster 100 men, of whom we are told that not half could be relied on. Early in the warm June afternoon Bacon halted his troops upon the green before the State House, and walked up toward the building with a little guard of fusileers. <sup>His return.</sup>

The upper windows were filled with peering burghesses, and crowds of expectant people stood about the green. Out from the door came the old white-haired governor, trembling with fury, and plucking open the rich lace upon his bosom, shouted to Bacon, "Here I am! Shoot me! 'Fore God, a fair mark, a fair mark—shoot!" Bacon answered mildly, "No, may it please your honour, we have not come to hurt a hair of your head or of any 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."

But we are told that after the old man had gone in to talk with his council, Bacon fell into a rage and swore that he would kill them all if the commission were not granted. The fusileers presented their pieces at the windows and yelled, "We will have it! we will have it!" till shortly one of the

burgesses shook "a pacifick handkercher" and called down, "you shall have it." All was soon quiet again. The assembly drew up a memorial to the king, setting forth the grievances of the colony and Bacon's valuable services; and it made out a commission for him as general of an army to be sent against the Indians. Next day the governor was browbeaten into signing both these papers; but the same ship that carried the memorial to Charles II. carried also a private letter wherein Berkeley told his own story in his own way. The assembly was then dissolved.

Bacon was a commander who could move swiftly and strike hard. Within four weeks the remnant of the Susquehannocks had been pretty nearly wiped out of existence, when he heard that the governor had proclaimed him and his followers rebels. It was

Bacon crushes the Susquehannocks.

like a cry of despair from the old man, who felt his power and dignity gone while this young Cromwell rode over him rough-shod. He tried to raise the people in Gloucester, reputed the most loyal of the counties, but his efforts were vain. Ominous groans and calls of "a Bacon! a Bacon!" greeted him, until in anticipation of still worse difficulties he fled across Chesapeake Bay to the Accomac peninsula, launching the proclamation behind him like a Parthian arrow. This was on July 29, and Richard Lawrence carried the news up-stream to Bacon, who was probably somewhere about the North Anna River. The young leader was stung by what he felt to be cruel injustice. "It vexed

Berkeley flies to Accomac, and proclaims Bacon a rebel.

him to the heart for to think that while he was hunting Indian wolves, tigers, and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, that he and those with him should be pursued with a full cry, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast." He quickly marched back at the head of his troops to Middle Plantation, half way between Jamestown and York River, the site where Williamsburg was afterward built. What had best be done was matter of discussion between Bacon and his friends, and the affair began to assume a more questionable and dangerous aspect than before. The Scotch adviser, William Drummond, was a gentleman who did not believe in half measures. When some friend warned him of the danger of rebellion he was heard to reply, "I am in over shoes; I will be over boots!" His wife was equally bold. It was suggested one day that King Charles might by and by have something to say about these proceedings, whereupon Sarah Drummond picked up a stick and broke it in two, exclaiming, "I care no more for the power of England than for this broken straw!" Bacon was advised by Drummond to have Berkeley deposed and the more placable Sir Henry Chicheley put in his place; and as a precedent he cited the thrusting out of Sir John Harvey, forty-one years before. But Bacon preferred a different course of action. First, he issued a manifesto in rejoinder to Berkeley's proclamation. A few ringing sentences from it will serve as a sample of his peculiar eloquence.

Bacon's  
march to  
Middle  
Plantation.

“ If virtue be a sin, if piety be guilt, all the principles of morality, goodness and justice be perverted, we must confess that those who are <sup>His</sup> now called Rebels may be in danger of <sub>manifesto.</sub> those high imputations. Those loud and several bulls would affright innocents, and render the defence of our brethren and the inquiry into our sad and heavy oppressions Treason. But if there be (as sure there is) a just God to appeal to, if religion and justice be a sanctuary here, if to plead the cause of the oppressed, if sincerely to aim at his Majesty’s honour and the public good without any reservation or by-interest, if to stand in the gap after so much blood of our dear brethren bought and sold, if after the loss of a great part of his Majesty’s colony deserted and dispeopled freely with our lives and estates to endeavour to save the remainders, be treason — God Almighty judge and let guilty die. But since we cannot in our hearts find one single spot of rebellion or treason, or that we have in any manner aimed at subverting the settled government or attempting of the person of any either magistrate or private man, notwithstanding the several reproaches and threats of some who for sinister ends were disaffected to us and censured our innocent and honest designs, and since all people in all places where we have yet been can attest our civil, quiet, peaceable behaviour, far different from that of rebellion [rebellious?] and tumultuous persons, let Truth be bold and all the world know the real foundations of pretended guilt. We appeal to the country itself, what and of what nature their



oppressions have been, or by what cabal and mystery the designs of many of those whom we call great men have been transacted and carried on. But let us trace these men in authority and favour to whose hands the dispensation of the country's wealth has been committed." <sup>1</sup>

This is the prose of the seventeenth century, which had not learned how to smite the reader's mind with the short incisive sentences to which we are at the present day accustomed; but there is no mistaking the writer's passionate earnestness, his straightforward honesty and dauntless courage. As we read, we seem to see the gleam of lightning in those melancholy eyes, and we quite understand how the impetuous youth was a born leader of men. With strong words tumbling from a full heart the manifesto goes on to "trace these men in authority," these "juggling parasites whose tottering fortunes have been repaired at the public charge." He points out at some length the character of the public grievances, and appeals to the king with a formal indictment of Sir William Berkeley: —

His arraignment of Berkeley.

"For having upon specious pretences of public works raised unjust taxes upon the commonalty for the advancement of private favourites and other sinister ends, but no visible effects in any measure adequate.

"For not having, during the long time of his

<sup>1</sup> The original MS. of the manifesto is in the British State Paper Office. It is printed in full in the *Virginia Magazine*, i. 55-61.

government, in any measure advanced this hopeful colony either by fortification, towns, or trade.

“For having abused and rendered contemptible the majesty of justice, of advancing to places of judicature scandalous and ignorant favourites.

“For having wronged his Majesty’s prerogative and interest by assuming the monopoly of the beaver trade.

“[For] having in that unjust gain bartered and sold his Majesty’s country and the lives of his loyal subjects to the barbarous heathen.

“For having protected, favoured, and emboldened the Indians against his Majesty’s most loyal subjects, never contriving, requiring or appointing any due or proper means of satisfaction for their many invasions, murders, and robberies committed upon us.”

And so on through several further counts. At the close of the indictment nineteen persons are mentioned by name as the governor’s “wicked and pernicious counsellors, aiders and assistants against the commonalty in these our cruel commotions.” Among these names we read those of Sir Henry Chicheley, Richard Lee, Robert Beverley, Nicholas Spencer, and the son of our old friend William Claiborne, who had once been such a thorn in the side of Maryland. The manifesto ends by demanding that Berkeley and all the persons on this list be promptly arrested and confined at Middle Plantation until further orders. Let no man dare aid or harbour any one of them, under penalty of being declared a traitor and losing his estates.

“Wicked  
counsel-  
lors.”

When he had launched this manifesto Bacon called for a meeting of notables at Middle Plantation, to concert measures for making it effective. There on August 3, accordingly, were assembled "most of the prime gentlemen of those parts," including four members of the council. The discussion lasted all day, and was kept up by the light of torches until midnight. There were many who were not willing to go all lengths with Bacon. All were willing to subscribe an agreement not to aid Berkeley in molesting Bacon and his men, but all were not prepared to promise military aid to Bacon in resisting Berkeley. Bacon insisted upon this and even more. It was not unlikely that the king, influenced by calumnies and misrepresentations, might send troops to Virginia to suppress the so-called "rebellion." In that case all must unite in opposing the royal forces until his Majesty should be brought to see these matters in their true light. Many demurred at this. It was equivalent to armed rebellion. They would sign the first part of the agreement, but not this. Bacon replied that the governor had already proclaimed them rebels, and would hang them for signing any part of the agreement; one might as well be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb, and as for himself he was not going to be satisfied with half support. They must choose between Berkeley and himself. It is said that they might have argued all that summer night but for a sudden Indian scare which emphasized the need for prompt action. Then the hesitating gentlemen came forward and signed the

The oath at  
Middle  
Plantation.

entire paper, while the whole company, and no one more emphatically than Bacon himself, asseverated that these proceedings in no way impaired their allegiance. In other words, they were ready if need be to make war on the king for his own good. It was "We, the inhabitants of Virginia," that drew up this remarkable agreement, which Charles II. was presently to read. Writs were then made out in the king's name for a new election of burgesses and signed by the four councilmen. Then Bacon crossed the James River and defeated the Appomattox Indians near the spot where Petersburg now stands. After this he moved about the country, capturing and dispersing the barbarians, until early in September it might be said that every homestead in the colony was safe.

Defeat of  
the Indians.

In the proceedings which attended the taking of the oath at Middle Plantation it may be plainly seen that Bacon was in danger of alienating his followers by pursuing too radical a policy. This is strikingly confirmed by a document which has only lately attracted attention, a letter from John Goode to Sir William Berkeley, dated January 30, 1677. This John Goode was a veteran frontiersman of sixty years, a man of importance in the colony. He seems to have been a faithful adherent of Bacon from his first march against the Indians in May until the beginning of September, when there occurred the conversation which, after all was over, he reported to the governor as follows. The affair is so important and so little known that I

Startling  
conversation  
between  
Bacon and  
Goode.

quote the dialogue entire, with the original spelling and punctuation : <sup>1</sup> —

HON'D SR. — In obedient submission to your honours command directed to me by Capt. Wm. Bird <sup>2</sup> I have written the full substance of a discourse Nath : Bacon, deceased, propos'd to me on or about the 2d day of September last, both in order and words as followeth : —

BACON. — There is a report Sir Wm. Berkeley hath sent to the king for 2,000 Red Coates, and I doe believe it may be true, tell me your opinion, may not 500 Virginians beat them, wee having the same advantages against them the Indians have against us.

GOODE. — I rather conceive 500 Red Coats may either Subject or ruine Virginia.

B. — You talk strangely, are not wee acquainted with the Country, can lay Ambussadoes, and take Trees and putt them by, the use of their discipline, and are doubtlesse as good or better shott than they.

G. — But they can accomplish what I have sayd without hazard or coming into such disadvantages, by taking Opportunities of landing where there shall bee noe opposition, firing out [our?] houses and Fences, destroying our Stocks and preventing all Trade and supplies to the Country.

B. — There may bee such prevention that they shall not bee able to make any great Progressse in Mischeifes. and the Country or Clime not agreeing with their Con-

<sup>1</sup> The original is in the *Colonial Entry Book*, lxxi. 232-240. It is printed in G. B. Goode's *Virginia Cousins; a Study of the Ancestry and Posterity of John Goode, of Whitby*, Richmond, 1887, pp. 30A-30D. A brief summary is given in Doyle's *Virginia*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Bacon's neighbour and adherent, William Byrd, purchaser of the Westover estate, and father of William Byrd the historian.

stitutions, great mortality will happen amongst them, in their Seasoning which will weare and weary them out.

G. — You see Sir that in a manner all the principall Men in the Countrey dislike your manner of proceedings, they, you may bee sure will joine with the Red Coates.

B. — But there shall none of them bee [permitted?].

G. — Sir, you speake as though you design'd a totall defection from Majestie, and our native Country.

B. — Why (smiling) have not many Princes lost their Dominions soe.

G. — They have been such people as have been able to subsist without their Prince. The poverty of Virginia is such, that the Major part of the Inhabitants can scarce supply their wants from hand to mouth, and many there are besides can hardly shift, without Supply one yeare, and you may bee sure that this people which soe fondly follow you, when they come to feele the miserable wants of food and rayment, will bee in greater heate to leave you, then [than] they were to come after you, besides here are many people in Virginia that receive considerable benefitts, comforts, and advantages by Parents, Friends and Correspondents in England, and many which expect patrimonyes and Inheritances which they will by no meanes decline.

B. — For supply I know nothing: the Country will be able to provide it selfe withall, in a little time, save Amunition and Iron, and I believe the King of France or States of Holland would either of them entertaine a Trade with us.

G. — Sir, our King is a great Prince, and his Amity is infinitely more valuable to them, then [than] any advantage they can reape by Virginia, they will not therefore provoke his displeasure by supporting his

Rebells here ; besides I conceive that your followers do not think themselves engaged against the King's Authority, but against the Indians.

B. — But I think otherwise, and am confident of it, that it is the mind of this country, and of Mary Land, and Carolina also, to cast off their Governor and the Governors of Carolina have taken no notice of the People, nor the People of them, a long time ;<sup>1</sup> and the people are resolv'd to own their Governour further ; And if wee cannot prevaile by Armes to make our Conditions for Peace, or obtaine the Priviledge to elect our own Governour, we may retire to Roanoke.

And here hee fell into a discourse of seating a Plantation in a great Island in the River, as a fitt place to retire to for Refuge.

G. — Sir, the prosecuting what you have discoursed will unavoidably produce utter ruine and destruction to the people and Countrey, & I dread the thoughts of putting my hand to the promoting a designe of such miserable consequence, therefore hope you will not expect from me.

B. — I am glad I know your mind, but this proceeds from meer Cowardlynesse.

G. — And I desire you should know my mind, for I desire to harbour noe such thoughts, which I should fear to impart to any man.

B. — Then what should a Gentleman engaged as I am, doe, you doe as good as tell me, I must fly or hang for it.

G. — I conceive a seasonable Submission to the Authority you have your Commission from, acknow-

<sup>1</sup> Bacon's allusion is to the troubles in North Carolina which broke out during the governorship of George Carteret and were chiefly due to the Navigation Act. See below, p. 280 ; and as to Maryland, see p. 156.

ledging such Errors and Excesse, as are yett past, there may bee hope of remission.

I perceived his cogitations were much on this discourse, hee nominated, Carolina, for the watch word.

Three days after I asked his leave to goe home, hee sullenly Answered, you may goe, and since that time, I thank God, I never saw or heard from him.

This interesting dialogue reveals the nature of the situation into which Bacon had drifted. As the days went by, he could hardly fail to see that the king was more likely to take Berkeley's view of the case than his.

Bacon's  
perilous  
situation.

According to that view the deliverer of Virginia from the Indians was a proscribed rebel who must "fly or hang for it." There was little hope for Bacon in "seasonable submission." He would, therefore, consider it safer and better for Virginia to hold out until the king could be induced to take Bacon's view of the case; or failing this, it might still be possible to wear out the king's troops and achieve independence for Virginia, with the aid of the discontented people in the neighbouring colonies. These were the speculations of a man whom circumstances were making desperate, and the effect which they wrought upon John Goode was likely to be repeated with many who had hitherto loyally followed his fortunes.

Thus far Bacon's fighting had been against Indians. His quarrel with the governor had been confined to fulminations. Now the two men were to come into armed collision and give Virginia a brief taste of civil war. Bacon sent Giles Bland, "a gentleman of an active and stirring dispo-



sition," with four armed vessels, to arrest Berkeley in Accomac, but Colonel Philip Ludwell, aided by treachery, succeeded in capturing Bland with his flotilla. Bland was put in irons, and one ship's captain was hanged for an example. Meanwhile Berkeley was enlisting troops by promising as rewards the estates of all the gentlemen who had taken the oath at Middle Plantation. He also sought to win over the indentured servants of gentlemen fighting under Bacon by promising to give them the estates of their masters. Many longshoremen also were enrolled. Having in these ways scraped together about 1,000 men, the governor sailed up the river to Jamestown and took possession of the place, from which Lawrence and Drummond fled in the nick of time.

Berkeley  
takes the  
offensive.

When this news reached Bacon it found him at West Point, with the work of subduing the red men practically finished. Not four months had yet elapsed since the first attack on his plantation. It was clearly no ordinary young man that had done that summer's arduous work. Now he advanced upon Jamestown, and made his headquarters in his adversary's comfortable mansion at Green Spring. Sir William had thrown an earthwork across the neck of the promontory, and Bacon began building a parallel. It is said that he compelled a number of ladies in white aprons — wives of leading Berkeleyans — to stand upon the works, and sent a message to the governor not to fire upon these guardian angels. "The poor gentlewomen were mightily astonished,"

The white  
aprons.

says the chronicle, "and neither were their husbands void of amazement at this subtle invention."<sup>1</sup> The incident is an ugly spot in that brief career. One would gladly disbelieve the story, but our contemporary authority for it seems unimpeachable, and is friendly withal to Bacon.

The speech made by the young commander to his men at Green Spring before the final assault is a good specimen of his eloquence: Bacon's speech. "Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers, how I am transported with gladness to find you thus unanimous, bold and daring, brave and gallant. You have the victory before the fight, the conquest before the battle. . . . Your hardiness will invite all the country along as we march to come in and second you. . . . The ignoring of their actions cannot but so much reflect upon their spirit, as they will have no courage left to fight you. I know you have the prayers and well wishes of all the people in Virginia, while the others are loaded with their curses. Come on, my hearts of gold; he that dies in the field lies in the bed of honour!"<sup>2</sup>

The governor's motley force was indeed no match for these determined men. In the desultory fighting that ensued about Jamestown he was badly defeated and at last fled again to Accomac.

<sup>1</sup> One of these ladies is said to have been the wife of the elder Nathaniel Bacon!

<sup>2</sup> "A True Narrative of the Rise, Progress, and Cessation of the Late Rebellion in Virginia, most humbly and impartially reported by his Majestyes Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Affairs of the said Colony," [Winder Papers, Virginia State Library], reprinted in *Virginia Magazine*, iv. 117-154.

Jamestown remained at Bacon's mercy, and he burned it to the ground, that it might no longer "harbour the rogues." We are told that Lawrence and Drummond took the lead in this work by applying the torch to their own houses with their own hands. At Green Spring an "oath of fidelity" was drawn up, which was taken voluntarily by many people and forced upon others. Bacon seems now to have shown more severity than formerly in sending men to prison and seizing their property. One deserter he shot, but from bloodthirstiness he was notably free. Among the gentlemen who suffered most at his hands were Richard Lee and Sir Henry Chichely, who were kept several weeks in prison, Philip and Thomas Ludwell, Nicholas Spencer and Daniel Parke, Robert Beverley and Philip Lightfoot, whose estates were at various times plundered. John Washington and others who were denounced as "delinquents" saw their corn and tobacco, cattle and horses, impressed and carried away. Colonel Augustine Warner, another great-grandfather of George Washington, "was plundered as much as any, and yet speaks little of his losses, though they were very great."<sup>1</sup> Among the sufferers appears "the good Queen of Pamunkey," who was "driven out into the wild woods and there almost famished, plundered of all she had, her people taken prison-

Burning of  
Jamestown.

Sufferers at  
Bacon's  
hands.

<sup>1</sup> "Persons who suffered by Bacon's Rebellion; Commissioners' Report," [Winder Papers], reprinted in *Virginia Magazine*, v. 64-70. See, also, the extracts from the Westmoreland County records, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ii. 43.

ers and sold; the queen was also robbed of her rich watchcoat for which she had great value, and offered to redeem at any rate." The next paragraph in the commissioners' report is delightful: "We could not but present her case to his Majesty, who, though he may not at present so well or readily provide remedies or rewards for the other worthy sufferers, yet since a present of small price may highly oblige and gratify this poor Indian Queen, we humbly supplicate his Majesty to bestow it on her."

One of the accusations against Bacon was that to him a good Indian meant a dead Indian, so that he did not take the trouble to discriminate between friends and foes. But what shall we say when we find him plundering his own kinsman, Bacon and his cousin. the affectionate cousin whose timely warning had once perhaps saved his life? The commissioners report the losses of Nathaniel Bacon the elder, at the hands of his "unnatural kinsman," as at least £1,000 sterling. The old gentleman was "said to have been a person soe desirous and Industrious to divert the evil consequences of his Rebell kinsman's proceedings, that at the beginning hee freely proposed and promised to invest him in a considerable part of his Estate in present, and to leave him the Remainder in Reversion after his and his wife's death, offering him other advantages upon condicion hee would lay downe his Armes, and become a good subject to his Majestie, that that colony might not be disturbed or destroyed, nor his owne ffamily stained with soe foule a Blott."

At the burning of Jamestown the end of Bacon and of his rebellion was not far off. "This Prosperous Rebell, concluding now the day his owne, marcheth with his army into Gloster County, intending to visit all the northern part of Virginia . . . and to settle affairs after his own measures . . . But before he could arrive to the Perfection of his designes (w<sup>ch</sup> none but the eye of omniscience could Penetrate) Providence did that which noe other hand durst (or at least did) doe and cut him off." Death of Bacon, Oct. 1, 1676. Malicious Jamestown wreaked its own vengeance upon its destroyer. When Bacon marched away from it he was already ill with fever, and on the first day of October, at the house of a friend in Gloucester, he "surrendered up that fort he was no longer able to keep, into the hands of the grim and all-conquering Captain, Death." Accusations of poison were raised, but it is not likely that any other poison was concerned than impure water and marsh gases. The funeral was conducted with extraordinary secrecy. If a sudden turn of fortune should put Berkeley in possession of the body, he would surely hang it on a gibbet; so thoughtful Mr. Lawrence took measures to prevent any such indignity. One chronicler darkly hints that Bacon's remains were buried in some very secret place in the woods, but another mentions stones laid in the coffin, which suggests that it was sunk beneath the waves of York River, as Soto was buried in the Mississippi and mighty Alaric in the Busento.

A strange meteoric career was that of young

Bacon, begun and ended as it was in the space of about twenty weeks. On the news of his death the rebellion collapsed with surprising suddenness. His followers soon began giving in their submissions to the governor; the few that held out were dispersed or captured. Although it was not until January that the work of suppression was regarded as complete, yet that work consisted chiefly in catching fugitives. In

Collapse  
of the  
rebellion.

Arrival of  
royal com-  
missioners,  
January,  
1677.

January an English fleet arrived, with a regiment of troops, and a commission for investigating the affairs of Virginia. The commissioners were Sir John Berry, Sir Herbert Jeffries, and Colonel Francis Morison, three worthy and fair-minded gentlemen. They found nothing left for soldiers to do. They had authority for trying rebels, but in that business Berkeley had been beforehand. Soon after Bacon's death one of his best officers, Colonel Thomas Hansford, was captured by Robert Beverley, and carried over to Accomac. He asked no favour save that he might be "shot like a soldier and not hanged like a dog," but this was not granted. Hansford has been called "the first native martyr to American liberty."<sup>1</sup> Soon afterward two captains were hanged, and the affair of Major Edward Cheesman seems to have occurred while Berkeley was still at Accomac. It is the foulest incident recorded in Berkeley's career. When Cheesman

<sup>1</sup> See F. P. Brent, "Some unpublished facts relating to Bacon's Rebellion on the Eastern Shore of Virginia," and Mrs. Tyler, "Thomas Hansford, the First Native Martyr to American Liberty," in *Virginia Historical Society's Collections*, vol. xi.

was brought before him, the governor fiercely demanded, "Why did you engage in Bacon's designs?" Before the prisoner could answer, his young wife stepped forward and said, "It was my provocations that made my husband join the cause; but for me he had never done what he has done." Then falling on her knees before the governor, she implored him that she might be hanged as the guilty one instead of her husband.<sup>1</sup> The old wretch's answer was an insult so atrocious that the royalist chronicler can hardly abide it. "His Honour" must have been beside himself with anger and could not have meant what he said; for no woman could have "so small an affection for her husband as to dishonour him by her dishonesty, and yet retain such a degree of love, that rather than he should be hanged she will be content to submit her own life to the sentence." Perhaps the governor's thirst for vengeance was satisfied by his ruffian speech, for Major Cheesman was not put to death, but remanded to jail, where he died of illness.

Outrageous  
conduct of  
Berkeley.

After Berkeley had occupied the York peninsula little work remained for him but that of the hangman. Not all the leaders were easy to find. Richard Lawrence, thoughtful as always, escaped from the scene. "The last account of him," says T. M., "was from an uppermost plantation, whence he and four other desperadoes, with horses, pistols, etc., marched away in a snow ankle-deep." Here the scholarly rebel vanishes from our sight,

<sup>1</sup> Some interesting information about the Cheesmans may be found in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, vol. i.

and whether he perished in the wilderness or made his way to some safer country, we do not know. On a cold day in January his friend Drummond, hiding in White Oak Swamp was found and taken to the governor. "Aha!" cried the old man, with a low bow, "you are very welcome. I would rather see you just now than any other man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour!" "What your honour pleases," said the undaunted Scotchman. He was strung up that afternoon, but not until his wife's ring had been pulled from his finger, for rapacity vied with ferocity in the governor's breast. Before the end of January some twenty more had been hanged. An election was then going on, and the newly-elected assembly called upon Berkeley to desist from this carnival of blood. "If we had let him alone," said Presley, the venerable member for Northampton, to T. M., the member for Stafford, "he would have hanged half the country!"

The governor's rage had carried him too far. His conduct did not meet with the approval of the commissioners, whose report on the disturbances is written in a fair and impartial spirit. He treated the commissioners with crazy rudeness. It is said that when they had called on him at Green Spring and were about to return to their boat on the river, he offered them his state-coach with the hangman for driver! whereupon they preferred to walk to the landing-place. Fresh seeds of contention were sown, to bear fruit in the future. The complaints of Drummond's widow and others



found their way to the throne. "As I live," quoth the king, "the old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." In the spring the royal order for Berkeley's removal arrived, and on April 27 he sailed for England, apparently expecting to return, for he left his wife at Green Spring. Sir Herbert Jeffries, one of the commissioners, succeeded him with a special commission as lieutenant governor. Berkeley's departure was joyfully celebrated with bonfires and salutes of cannon. He cherished hopes of justifying himself in a personal interview with the king, but the interview was delayed until, about the middle of July, the old man fell sick and <sup>Death of Berkeley.</sup> died. It was believed that his death was caused by vexation and chagrin. A few weeks afterward the other two commissioners, Sir John Berry and Colonel Morison, returned to England; and we are told that one day the late governor's brother, Lord Berkeley, meeting Sir John Berry in the council chamber, told him "with an angry voice and a Berkeleyan look," that he and Morison had murdered his brother.<sup>1</sup> In October a royal order for the relief of Sarah Drummond declared that her husband "had been sentenced and put to death contrary to the laws of the kingdom."

Thus ended the first serious and ominous tragedy in the history of the United States, a story preserved for us in many of its details with striking vividness, yet concerning the innermost signifi-

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 379.

cance of which we would fain know more than we do. It may fairly be pronounced the most interesting episode in our early history, surpassing in this regard the Leisler affair at New York, which alone can be compared with it for intensity of human interest. As ordinarily told, however, the story of Bacon presents some features that are unintelligible. It is customary to liken the little rebellion of 1676 to the great rebellion of 1776, and we are thus led to contemplate Bacon and Virginia as arrayed against Berkeley and England. In such a view the facts are unduly simplified and strangely distorted. If it were possible thus fully to identify Bacon's cause with the cause of Virginia, it would become impossible to explain the ease with which his followers were suppressed by Virginians, without any aid from England. But when all the facts are considered, we can see at once that such a result was inevitable.

Significance  
of the  
rebellion.

Careful inspection of the relevant facts will show us that Bacon was contending against four things:—

1. The Indian depredations.
2. The misrule of Sir William Berkeley.
3. The English navigation laws.
4. The tendency toward oligarchical government which had been rapidly growing since the beginning of the great influx of Cavaliers in 1649.

Under the first three heads little need be said. The facts have been generally recognized. It was by Bacon's zeal and success in suppressing the

Indian power that he acquired public favour. As for the speculation and extortion practised or permitted by Berkeley, it cannot for a moment be supposed that such men as John Washington, Richard Lee, etc., were inclined to tolerate or connive at it. As for the navigation laws, it was a common remark, after the oath at Middle Plantation, that now Virginians might look forward hopefully to trading with all countries. It is therefore altogether probable that on all these grounds the public sentiment of Virginia was overwhelmingly on the side of Bacon.

How far Bacon represented public sentiment in Virginia.

Under the fourth head some explanation is needed, for historians have generally overlooked or disregarded it. One of the most conspicuous facts in the story of Bacon's rebellion is the fact that a great majority of the wealthiest and most important men in the colony were opposed to him from first to last. The list of those who were pillaged by his followers is largely a list of the names most honoured in Virginia, the great-grandfathers of the illustrious men who were among the foremost in winning independence for the United States and in building up our federal government. It is also largely a list of the names of Cavaliers who had come from England to Virginia since 1649. The political ideas of these men were surely not democratic. If they were devout disbelievers in popular government, the fact is in nowise to their discredit. Popular government is still on its trial in the world, and the last word on

The leading families were in general opposed to him.

the subject has not yet been said. In our day the men who do the most to throw discredit upon it are often those who prate most loudly in its favour; political blatherskites, like the famous "Colonel Yell of Yellville," whose accounts were sadly delinquent though his heart beat with fervour for his native land. The Cavaliers who came to Virginia were staunch and honourable men who believed — with John Winthrop and Edmund Burke and Alexander Hamilton — that society is most prosperous when a select portion of the community governs the whole. Such a doctrine seems to me less defensible than the democratic views of Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson and Herbert Spencer, but it is still entitled to all the courtesies of debate. Two centuries ago it was of course the prevailing doctrine.

In the preceding chapter I pointed out that the period of Cavalier immigration, between 1650 and 1670, was characterized by a rapid increase in the dimensions of landed estates and in the employment of servile labour. The same period witnessed a change of an eminently symptomatic kind in local government. In any state the local institutions are the most vitally important part of the whole political structure. Now, as I have already mentioned,<sup>1</sup> the English parish was at an early time reproduced in Virginia, and its authority was exercised by a few chosen men, usually twelve, who constituted a vestry. At first, and until after 1645,<sup>2</sup> the vestrymen were elected by the people of the parish,

Political changes since 1660; the close vestry.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Henning's *Statutes*, i. 290.

so that they were analogous to the selectmen of New England. A vestry thus elected is called an open vestry. Now soon after the Long Assembly had begun its sessions in 1661, in the full tide of royalist reaction, we find on its records a statute which transformed the open vestry into a close vestry. In March, 1662, it was enacted that "in case of the death of any vestryman, or his departure out of the parish, . . . the minister and vestry make choice of another to supply his room."<sup>1</sup> The speedy effect of this was to dispense with the popular election and to convert the vestry into a self-perpetuating close corporation. When we consider the great powers wielded by the vestry, we realize the importance of this step. The vestry made up the parish budget, apportioned the taxes, and elected the churchwardens, who were in many places the tax-collectors. By its "processioning of the bounds of every person's land," the vestry exercised control over the record of land-titles. Its supervision of the counting of tobacco was also a function of no mean importance. The vestry also presented the minister for induction. All the local government not in the hands of the vestry was administered by the county court, which consisted of eight justices appointed by the governor. So that when the people lost the power of electing vestrymen they parted with the only share they had

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, ii. 45. In the same statute it was further enacted "that none shall be admitted to be of the vestry that doth not take the oath of allegiance and supremacy to his Majesty and subscribe to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." This effectually excluded Dissenters from taking a part in local government.

in the local government.<sup>1</sup> Nothing was left them except the right to vote for burgesses, and not only was this curtailed in 1670 by a property qualification, but it was of no avail while the Long Assembly lasted, since during those fifteen years there were no elections. That political power should thus rapidly become concentrated in the hands of the leading families was under the circumstances but natural. That the deprivation of suffrage was by many people felt to be a grievance is unquestionable.<sup>2</sup> No testimony can outweigh that of the statute book, and two of the notable acts of Bacon's assembly in June, 1676, were those which restored universal suffrage and the popular election of vestrymen, and limited the terms of service of vestrymen to three years. The first assembly after the rebellion, which met at Green Spring in February, 1677, with Augustine Warner as speaker, declared all the acts of Bacon's assembly null and void. Then in the course of that year and the three years following several of those wholesome acts were reënacted, especially those which related to exorbitant fees and the misuse of public money. Great pains were taken to guard against extortion and corruption,<sup>3</sup> but the provisions concerning vestrymen

<sup>1</sup> See Channing, "Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America," *J. H. U. Studies*, ii. 484; Howard, *Local Constitutional History of the United States*, i. 388-404.

<sup>2</sup> "We have not had liberty to choose vestrymen wee humbly desire that the wholle parish may have a free election." "Surry County Grievances," *Virginia Magazine*, ii. 172.

<sup>3</sup> See *e. g.* Hening's *Statutes*, ii. 402, 411, 412, 419, 421, 443, 445, 478, 486.

were not reënacted. A law was passed allowing the freeholders and housekeepers in each parish to elect six "sober and discreet" representatives to sit with the vestry and have equal votes with the vestrymen in assessing the parish taxes; in case the parish should neglect to choose such representatives, or in case they should fail to appear at the time appointed, the vestry was to proceed without them.<sup>1</sup> This act seems to have had little effect, and the law of 1662, which created the close vestry, still remained law after more than a century had passed.<sup>2</sup> As for the right to vote for burgesses, the royal instructions received from Charles II. in January, 1677, restricted it to "ffreeholders, as being more agreeable to the custome of England, to which you are as nigh as you conveniently can to conforme yourselves."<sup>3</sup> According to the same instructions the assembly was to be called together only once in two years, "unlesse some emergent occasion shall make it necessary;" and it was to sit "ffourteene days . . . and noe longer, unlesse you find goode cause to continue it beyond that tyme;" qualifications which could easily be made to defeat the restriction.

The legislation of Bacon's assembly concerning the suffrage and the vestries proves that the people whom he represented were not in sympathy with the political and social changes which had been growing up since the middle of the century. These

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, ii. 396.

<sup>2</sup> *Laws in Force in 1769*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, ii. 425.

enactments were a protest against the increasing tendency toward a more aristocratic type of society. It was, therefore, natural that a large majority of the aristocrats should have been opposed to Bacon. Doubtless they sympathized with his protests against legislative oppression and official corruption, but they did not approve of his levelling schemes. Their language concerning Bacon's followers shows how they felt about them and toward them. William Sherwood calls them "y<sup>e</sup> scum of the Country."<sup>1</sup> According to Philip Ludwell, deputy secretary and member of the council, Bacon "gathers about him a Rabble of the basest sort of People, whose Condicion was such, as by a change could not admitt of worse, w<sup>th</sup> these he begins to stand at Defyance ag't the Governm't."<sup>2</sup> Again, "Mr. Bacon had Gotten at severall places about 500 men, whose fortune and Inclinations being equally desperate, were ffit for y<sup>e</sup> purpose there being not 20 in y<sup>e</sup> whole Route, but what were Idle & will not worke, or such whose Debaucherie or Ill Husbandry has brought in Debt beyond hopes or thought of payment these are the men that are sett up ffor the Good of ye Countrey;

<sup>1</sup> Sherwood to Sir Joseph Williamson, June 28, 1676, *Virginia Magazine*, i. 171. Sherwood was a gentleman, probably educated as a lawyer, who had been convicted of robbery in England and pardoned through the intercession of Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of state. (As to gentlemen robbers, compare the reference to Sir John Popham, above, vol. i. p. 81 of the present work.) Sherwood became attorney-general of Virginia in 1677, and was for thirty years an esteemed member of society.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwell to Sir Joseph Williamson, June 28, 1676, *Virginia Magazine*, i. 170.

How the  
aristocrats  
regarded  
Bacon's  
followers.



who for ye ease of the poore will have noe taxes paied, though for ye most p<sup>t</sup> of them, they pay none themselves, would have all magistracie & Governm<sup>'</sup>nt taken away & sett up one themselves, & to make their Good Intentions more manifest *stick not to talk openly of shareing mens Estates among themselves,*<sup>1</sup> with these (being Drawne together) Mr. Bacon marches speedly toward the towne, etc.”<sup>2</sup> Governor Berkeley's testimony should not be omitted; he wrote to the king in June, “I have above thirty-five years governed the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over, but am now encompassed with rebellion like waters in every respect like to that of Masaniello except their leader.”<sup>3</sup> In other words, the rebels were a mere rabble, except their leader, who was not a humble fisherman like the Italian, but a gentleman of high birth and breeding. According to the careful and fair-minded commissioners, Bacon “seduced the Vulgar and most ignorant People (two-thirds of each county being of that Sort) Soe that their whole hearts and hopes were set now upon” him.<sup>4</sup>

Allowance for prejudice must of course be made in considering the general statements of hostile

<sup>1</sup> In other words, they entertained communisti<sup>c</sup> ideas. I have italicised the statement, to mark its importance.

<sup>2</sup> The same letter, *Virginia Magazine*, i. 183.

<sup>3</sup> T. M.'s Narrative, *Virginia Historical Register*, iii. 126. It will be remembered that Masaniello's insurrection occurred in 1647, and was thus fresh in men's memories. Masaniello was twenty-four years of age, and was murdered in his hour of apparent triumph.

<sup>4</sup> “A True Narrative, etc.” *Virginia Magazine*, iv. 125.

witnesses, such as Berkeley and Sherwood and Philip Ludwell. It is quite clear that Bacon's followers were by no means all of the baser sort. This is distinctly recognized in a letter to the king by Thomas Ludwell and Robert Smith, containing proposals for reducing the rebels. In a certain event, they say, "there will be a speedy separation of the sound parts from the rabble."<sup>1</sup> Here we have an explicit admission that there was a "sound part." It will be remembered that Drummond had been a colonial governor, and that his house and Lawrence's were the best in Jamestown. The officers we have met in the story, Hansford and Bland and Cheesman, were men of good family; and among the foremost men in the colony we are told that Colonel George Mason was inclined to sympathize with the insurgents.<sup>2</sup> In this he was clearly by no means alone. On the whole, however, there can be no doubt that Bacon's cause was to a considerable extent the cause of the poor against the rich, of the humble folk against the grandees.

When we take into account this aspect of the case, which has never received the attention it deserves, the whole story becomes consistent and intelligible. The years preceding the rebellion were such as are commonly called "hard times."

Effect of hard times. People felt poor and saw fortunes made by corrupt officials; the fault was with the Navigation Act and with the debauched civil

<sup>1</sup> *Virginia Magazine*, i. 433.

<sup>2</sup> See Miss Rowland's admirable *Life of George Mason*, 1725-1792, New York, 1892, i. 17.

service of Charles II. and Berkeley. Besides these troubles, which were common to all, the poorer people felt oppressed by taxation in regard to which they were not consulted and for which they seemed to get no service in return.<sup>1</sup> The distribution of taxation by polls, equal amounts for rich and for poor, was resented as a cruel injustice.<sup>2</sup> The subject of taxation was closely connected with the Indian troubles, for people paid large sums for military defence and nevertheless saw their houses burned and their families massacred. Under these circumstances the sudden appearance of the brave and eloquent Bacon seemed to open the way of salvation. The indomitable queller of Indians could also curb the tyrant. Naturally, along with a more respectable element, the rabble gathered under his standard; it is always the case in revolutions with the men who have little or nothing

<sup>1</sup> From the list of Surry grievances we may cite "6. That the 2 s per hhd Imposed by ye 128<sup>th</sup> act for the payment of his majestyes officers & other publique debts thereby to ease his majestyes poore subjects of their great taxes: wee humbly desire that an account may be given thereof. . . . 10. That it has been the custome of County Courts att the laying of the levy to withdraw into a private Roome by w<sup>ch</sup> meanes the poore people not knowing for what they paid their levy did allways admire how their taxes could be so high. Wee most humbly pray that for the future the County levy may be laid publickly in the Court house." From the Isle of Wight grievances, "21. Wee doe also desire to know for what purpose or use the late publique leavies of 50 pounds of tobacco and cask per poll and the 12 pound per polle is for and what benefit wee are to have for it." *Virginia Magazine*, ii. 171, 172, 389.

<sup>2</sup> Isle of Wright grievances, "16. Also wee desire that evrie man may be taxed according to the tracks [tracts] of Land they hold." *Virginia Magazine*, ii. 388.

to lose. It is likewise usual for men with much property at stake to be conservative on such occasions. Philip Ludwell's statement, that some of the rebels entertained communistic notions, is just what one might have expected. There is always more or less socialist tomfoolery at such times. In some of its aspects there is a resemblance between Bacon's rebellion and that of Daniel Shays in Massachusetts one hundred and ten years later. But the Massachusetts leader was a weak and silly creature, and his resistance to government had nothing to justify it, though there were palliating circumstances. The course of Bacon, on the other hand, was in the main a justifiable protest against misgovernment, and until after the oath at Middle Plantation a great deal of the sound sentiment in Virginia must have sympathized with him. In the unwillingness of some of the gentlemen present to take the oath, we seem to see the first ebbing of the tide. Evidently there began to be, as Thomas Ludwell had predicted, "a separation of the sound parts from the rabble;" and this appears very distinctly in the defection of Goode about four weeks later.

In the intention of resisting the king's troops, which thus weakened Bacon's position, he certainly showed more zeal than judgment. It has the look of the courage that comes from desperation. Had he lived to persist in this course, the policy most likely to strengthen him would have been to make his foremost demand the repeal of the Navigation Act which all Virginians detested

Populist  
aspects of  
the rebel-  
lion.

Its sound  
aspects.

and even Berkeley disapproved. But it is not likely that anything could have saved him from defeat and the scaffold. Death seems to have intervened in kindness to him and to Virginia.<sup>1</sup>

In the early history of our country Bacon must ever remain one of the bright and attractive figures. Our heart is always with the man who boldly stands out against corruption and oppression. To many persons the name of rebel seems fraught with blame and reproach; but the career of mankind so abounds in examples of heroic resistance to intolerable wrongs that to any one familiar with history the name of rebel is often a title of honour. Bacon's brief career was an episode in the perennial fight against taxation without representation, the ancient abuse of living on other men's labour. We cannot fail to admire his quick incisiveness, his cool head, his determined courage; and the spectacle of this young Cavalier taking the lead, like Tiberius Gracchus, in a movement for justice and liberty will always make a pleasing picture.

<sup>1</sup> "One proclamation commanded all men in the land on pain of death to joine him, and retire into the wilderness upon arrival of the forces expected from England, and oppose them untill they should propose or accept to treat of an accomodation, which we who lived comfortably could not have undergone, so as the whole land must have become an Aceldama if god's exceeding mercy had not timely removed him." So says T. M., whose narrative is by no means unfriendly to Bacon.

## CHAPTER XII.

### WILLIAM AND MARY.

BETWEEN the breaking out of Bacon's rebellion in the summer of 1676 and the Declaration of Independence, the interval was exactly a hundred years. It was for Virginia a century of political education. It prepared her for the great work to come, and it brought her into sympathy more or less effective with other colonies that were struggling with similar political questions, especially with Massachusetts. It was in that same year, 1676, that Charles II. sent Edward Randolph to Boston, to enforce the Navigation Act and to report upon New England affairs in general. This mission of Randolph led to quarrels which resulted in the overthrow of the charter and the sending of royal governors to Massachusetts. From that time forth the legislatures of Massachusetts and Virginia had to contend with similar questions concerning the powers and prerogatives of the royal governors, so that the two colonies kept a close watch upon each other's proceedings, while both received a thorough training in constitutional politics. Amid such circumstances came into existence the necessary conditions for the establishment of political independence and the formation of our Federal Union.

The suppression of Bacon's rebellion was far from equivalent to a surrender to Charles II. or his representatives. Questions of privilege soon arose, and it was not long before Berkeley's most efficient officer came himself to be regarded almost in the light of a rebel. Major Robert Beverley, of Beverley in Yorkshire, an Robert Beverley. ardent royalist, had come to Virginia in 1663. He was elected clerk of the House of Burgesses in 1670, and held that office for many years. No one was more active in stamping out rebellion in the autumn of 1677, but after the arrival of the royal commissioners he was soon at feud with them. As the disturbances had been quieted without the aid of their troops, there was a disposition to resent their coming as an interference, especially as they seemed to lend too ready an ear to the complaints of the malcontents. In the list of grievances of Gloucester County we find "a complaint against Major Robert Beverley that when the country had (according to Order) raised 60 armed men to be an Out-guard for the Governor — who not finding the Governor nor their appointed Comander they were by Beverly commanded to goe to work, fall trees and maule and toate railes, which many of them refusing to doe, he presently disbanded them & sent them home at a tyme when the countrey were infested by the Indians, who had a little before cut off six persons in one family, and attempted others." Upon this the commissioners remarked, "Wee conceive this dealing of Beverly's to be a notorious abuse and Grievance, to take away the peoples armes while

ther families were cutt off by the Indians, and they deserve just reparation here." But Berkeley declared that what Beverley had done was by his orders, and the newly elected House of Burgesses stood by its clerk. After Berkeley had sailed for England, in April, 1677, the commissioners called upon the House of Burgesses to give up

His refusal  
to give up  
the journals.

its journals for their inspection, and Beverley refused to comply with the demand.

No king in England, said the burgesses, would venture to make such a demand of the House of Commons. Then the commissioners seized the journals, and the burgesses indignantly voted that such an act was a violation of privilege. This enraged the king, and in February, 1679, the privy council ordered that Beverley should be removed from office.

A change of governors, however, altered the situation. After Jeffries and Chichely, who served but a year each, came Lord Culpeper, whom Charles II. had undertaken to make co-proprietor of Virginia, along with the Earl of Arlington.

Lord Cul-  
peper.

Culpeper was an average specimen of the public officials of the time, fairly agreeable and easy-going, but rapacious and utterly unprincipled. In one respect he might be contrasted unfavourably with all the governors since Harvey. Such men as Bennett and Mathews and Berkeley looked upon Virginia as home. After his own fashion the tyrannical Berkeley had the interest of Virginia at heart. But Culpeper regarded the Virginians simply as people to be fleeced. Through four years of chronic brawl he



kept coming and going, coming to manage the assembly and returning to consult with the king. Charles wished to have the power of initiating legislation taken away from the burgesses. All laws were to be drafted by the governor and council, and then sent to England for the royal approval, before being submitted to the burgesses. With such an arduous task before him, it was wise for Culpeper to avoid giving needless offence; and seeing the high regard in which Beverley was held, he caused the order for his removal to be revoked.

The evil effects of the Navigation Act still continued. In 1679 the tobacco crop was so large that a considerable surplus was left over till the next year unsold. In 1680 the surplus was still greater, so that there was evidently more than enough to supply the English market for two years. The assembly therefore proposed to order a cessation of planting for the year 1681, but on account of the customs revenue it was necessary to obtain the king's assent to such an order. By the same token the assent was refused, and great was the indignation in Virginia. The price of tobacco had fallen so low that, according to Nicholas Spencer, a whole year's crop would not so much as buy the clothes which people needed.<sup>1</sup> The distress was like that which was caused in the War of Independence by the Continental currency and the rag money issued by the several states. It was the kind of sickness that has always come and always will come with

The Plant-  
cutter's  
Riot, 1682.

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, i. 402.

“cheap money.” Culpeper insisted that the only chance of relief was in exporting beef, pork, and grain to the West Indies. A more effective measure would have been the repeal of the Navigation Act. In the spring of 1682, on the petition of several counties, the assembly was convened for the purpose of ordering a cessation of planting. Amid great popular excitement the assembly adjourned without taking any decisive action. Then a fury for destroying the young plants seized upon the people. “The growing tobacco of one plantation was no sooner destroyed than the owner, having been deprived either with or without his consent of his crop, was seized with the same frenzy and ran with the crowd as it marched to destroy the crop of his neighbour.”<sup>1</sup> The contagion spread until ten thousand hogsheads of tobacco had been destroyed. In Gloucester, where the most damage was done, two hundred plantations were laid waste. The riot was suppressed by the militia, three ringleaders were hung, and the rest pardoned. One, we are told, received pardon on condition that he should build a bridge.<sup>2</sup>

This was contracting the currency with a vengeance, but it produced the desired effect. In 1683 the purchasing power of tobacco was greatly increased, and a feeling of contentment returned. But the destruction of the plants served to heighten the king’s indignation at Culpeper’s ill success in curtailing the power of the burgesses. Cul-

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, i. 405 ; Hening’s *Statutes*, ii. 562.

<sup>2</sup> Doyle’s *Virginia*, p. 261.

peper tried to play a double part and appear complaisant to the assembly without offending the king. Consequently he pleased nobody, and early in 1684 he was removed. Shortly afterward the king confirmed him in the possession of the territory known as the Northern Neck, and he relinquished all proprietary claims upon the rest of Virginia, in exchange for a pension of £600 yearly for twenty years.

Culpeper's successor was Lord Howard of Effingham, an unworthy descendant of Elizabeth's gallant admiral. He was as greedy and dishonest as Culpeper, without his conciliatory temper. The difference between the two has been aptly compared to the difference between Charles II. and his brother. Howard was indeed as domineering and wrong-headed as James II., and rapacious besides. He treated public opinion with contempt. His administration was noted for corruption and tyranny. No accounts were rendered of the use of public funds, and men were arbitrarily sent to jail. Howard went so far as to claim the right to repeal the acts of the assembly, and over this point there was hot contention. The subject of "plant-cutting," or the destruction of growing tobacco, came up again, and the crown was enabled in one and the same act to wreak its vengeance upon an eminent victim and to aim a blow at the independence of the House of Burgesses.

Robert Beverley, as we have seen, had incurred the royal displeasure by refusing to hand over to the commissioners the journals of the House of

Culpeper's  
removal.

Lord  
Howard of  
Effingham.

Burgesses. In 1682 he was strongly in favour of a cessation of planting, and accordingly it suited the purposes of his enemies to point to him as the prime instigator of the plant-cutting riots. On this accusation he was turned out of office and several times imprisoned. At last, just after Lord Howard's arrival, he was set free after asking pardon on his bended knees and giving security for future good behaviour. A statute passed about this time made plant-cutting high treason, punishable with death and confiscation.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as Beverley was set free the House of Burgesses again chose him for its clerk. But presently Lord Howard tried to get the burgesses to allow him to levy a tax, and in the course of the quarrel sundry trumped-up charges were brought against Beverley, so that in 1686 James II. instructed Howard to declare him incapable of holding any office of public trust. The same letter ordered that henceforth the clerk of the House of Burgesses should be appointed by the governor.<sup>2</sup>

It is worthy of note that the most despicable and lawless of modern English kings did not venture to deny the right of Virginians to tax themselves by their own representatives. Howard's instructions merely authorized him to "recommend" certain

More trouble  
for Bever-  
ley.

For stupid  
audacity  
James II.  
was outdone  
by George  
III.

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, iii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Doyle's *Virginia*, pp. 259-265; Stanard, "Robert Beverley and his Descendants," *Virginia Magazine*, ii. 405-413; Hening's *Statutes*, iii. 41, 451-571.

measures to the assembly. His attempt to get permission to levy a tax independently of the burgesses was such a recommendation. However arrogant and illegal in spirit, it still conceded to the colonists the constitutional principle over which the fatuous George III. and his rotten-borough parliaments were to try to ride rough-shod.

By 1688 Howard concluded that it would be pleasant and comfortable for him to live on his governor's salary in England and send out a deputy-governor to deal with refractory burgesses. When he arrived in England he found William and Mary on the throne, but they showed no disposition to interfere with his plans. Just the right sort of man for deputy-governor appeared at the right moment. Francis Nicholson had held that position in New York under the viceroy of united New York and New England, Sir Edmund Andros. When that unpopular viceroy was deposed and cast into jail in Boston, Nicholson was deposed in New York by Jacob Leisler, and went to England with the tale of his woes, which King William sought to assuage by sending him to Virginia as deputy-governor.

Nicholson was a man of integrity and fair ability, though highly eccentric and cantankerous. "Laws of Virginia," he cried one day, seizing the attorney-general by the lapel of his silk robe, "I know no laws of Virginia! I know my commands are going to be obeyed here!" At another time he told the council that they were "mere brutes who understood not manners, . . . that he would beat them into better manners

and make them feel that he was governor of Virginia.”<sup>1</sup>

In spite of his queer peppery ways, the rule of Nicholson was a decided relief after such worthless creatures as Culpeper and Howard. It is chiefly memorable for the founding of the second American college, a work which encountered such obstacles on both sides of the ocean as only an iron will could vanquish. Such was found in the

person of James Blair, a Scotch clergyman, who in 1689 was appointed commissioner of the Church in Virginia. The need for a bishop was felt, and a little

later there was some talk of sending out the famous Jonathan Swift in that capacity, but no Episcopal bishopric was created in America until after the War of Independence. Dr. Blair had a seat in the colonial council, presided at ecclesiastical trials, and exercised many of the powers of a bishop. Since the old scheme of Nicholas Ferrar and his friends for a college in Virginia had been extinguished amid lurid scenes of Indian massacre, nearly seventy years had elapsed<sup>2</sup> when Blair in 1691 revived it. He began by collecting some £2,500 by subscription, and then went to England to get more money and obtain a charter. He was aided by two famous divines, Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, but from the treasury commissioner, Sir Edward Seymour, he received a coarse rebuff,

James Blair,  
founder of  
William  
and Mary  
College.

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 66.

<sup>2</sup> From time to time there had been futile attempts to take up the matter afresh; see, for example, Hening's *Statutes*, ii. 30.

which shows the frankly materialistic view at that time entertained by the British official mind regarding England's colonies. When Blair urged that a college was needed for training up clergymen, Seymour thought it was no time to be sending money to America for such purposes; every penny was wanted in Europe for carrying on the necessary and righteous war against Louis XIV. Blair could not deny that it was an eminently righteous war, but he was not thus to be turned from his purpose. "You must not forget," said he, "that people in Virginia have souls to save, as well as people in England." "Souls!" cried Seymour, "damn your souls! Grow tobacco!" In spite of this discouraging view of the case, the good doctor persevered until he obtained from William and Mary the charter that founded the college ever since known by their names.

The college was established in 1693, with Blair for its president.<sup>1</sup> Governor Nicholson, with seventeen other persons appointed by the assembly, formed the board of trustees. From the outset Nicholson was warmly in sympathy with the enterprise, but now this friend was called away for a time. In the anti-Catholic fervour which attended the accession of King William and Queen Mary, the palatinate government in Maryland had been overturned, and the new royal governor, Sir Lionel Copley, died in 1693. Nicholson was then promoted from deputy-governor of Virginia to be governor of Maryland. About the same time Lord

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Blair held the presidency for fifty years, until his death in 1743.

Howard of Effingham resigned or was removed, and Sir Edmund Andros was sent out to Virginia as governor. It may seem a strange appointment in view of the obloquy which Andros had incurred at the north. But in all these appointments William III. seems to have acted upon a consistent policy of not disturbing, except in cases of necessity, the state of things which he found. As a rule he retained in his service the old officials against whom no grave charges were brought; and while the personality of Andros was not prepossessing, there can be no doubt as to his integrity.

Nicholson's career as royal governor of Maryland lasted until 1698, while Andros was having a hard time in Virginia trying to enforce with rigour the Navigation Act and to make life miserable for Dr. Blair. His conduct was far more moderate than it had been in New England, but he had his full share of trouble in Virginia. The moving cause of his hostility to the college of William and Mary is not distinctly assigned, but he is not unlikely to have believed, like many a dullard of his stripe, that education is apt to encourage a seditious and froward spirit. He did everything he could think of to thwart and annoy President Blair. At the election of burgesses he predicted that the establishment of a college would be sure to result in a terrible increase of taxes. He tried to persuade subscribers to withhold the payment of their subscriptions. He sought to arouse an absurd prejudice against Scotchmen, for which it

Nicholson  
succeeded  
by Sir  
Edmund  
Andros.

Andros  
quarrels  
with Blair.



was rather late in the day. Finally he connived at gross insults to the president and friends of the college. Among the young men to whom Andros showed especial favour was Daniel Parke, whose grandson, Daniel Parke Custis, is now remembered as the first husband of Martha Washington. This young Daniel did some things to which posterity could hardly point with pride. He is described as a "sparkish gentleman," or as some would say a slashing blade. He was an expert with the rapier and anxious to thrust it between the ribs of people who supported the college. His challenges were numerous, but clergymen could not be reached in such a way. So "he set up a claim to the pew in church in which Mrs. Blair sat, and one Sunday," as we are told, "with fury and violence he pulled her out of it in the presence of the minister and congregation, who were greatly scandalized at this ruffian and profane action."<sup>1</sup>

This was going too far. The stout Scotchman had powerful friends in London; the outrage was discussed in Lambeth Palace; and Sir Edmund Andros, for winking at such behaviour, was removed. He was evidently a slow-witted official. His experiences in Boston, with Parson Willard of the Old South, ought to have cured him of his propensity to quarrel with aggressive and resolute clergymen. For two or three years after going home, Sir Edmund governed the little channel island of Jersey, and the rest of his days were spent in retirement, until his death in 1714.

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 65.

The system of absentee governors, occasionally exemplified in such cases as those of Lord Delaware and Lord Howard, was now to be permanently adopted. A great favourite with William III. was George Hamilton Douglas, whose distinguished gallantry at the battle of the Boyne and other occasions had been rewarded with the earldom of Orkney. In 1697 he was appointed governor-in-chief of Virginia, and for the next forty years he drew his annual salary of £1,200 without ever crossing the ocean. Henceforth the official who represented him in Virginia was entitled lieutenant-governor, and the first was Francis Nicholson, who was brought back from Maryland in 1698.

One of Nicholson's achievements in Maryland, as we shall see in the next chapter, had been the change of the seat of government from St. Mary's to Annapolis. He now proceeded to make a similar change in Virginia. After perishing in Bacon's rebellion, Jamestown was rebuilt by Lord Culpeper, but in the last decade of the century it was again destroyed by an accidental fire, and has never since risen from its ashes. Of that sacred spot, the first abiding-place of Englishmen in America, nothing now is left but the ivy-mantled ruins of the church tower and a few cracked and crumbling tombstones. The site of the hamlet is more than half submerged, and unless some kind of sea-wall is built to protect it, the unresting tides will soon wash everything away.<sup>1</sup> Jamestown had always a bad

<sup>1</sup> I leave this as it was first written a few years ago, and take

reputation for malaria, and after its second burning people were not eager to restore it. Plans for moving the government elsewhere had been considered on more than one occasion. In 1699 the choice fell upon the site of Middle Plantation, half way between James and York rivers, with its salubrious air and wholesome water. It had already, in 1693, been selected as the site of the new college.<sup>1</sup> Nicholson called the place Williamsburg, and began building a town there with streets so laid out as to make W and M, the initials of the king and queen, a plan soon abandoned as inconvenient. The town thus founded by Nicholson remained the capital of Virginia until 1780, when it was superseded by Richmond.

Founding  
of Williams-  
burg.

Nicholson was in full sympathy with President Blair as regarded the college, but occasions for disagreement between them were at hand. On the lieutenant-governor's arrival the wise parson read him a lesson upon the need for moderation in the display of his powers. The career of his predecessor Andros, in more than

Nicholson  
and Blair.

pleasure in adding to it the following quotation from Mr. Bruce: "That the entire site of the town will not finally sink beneath the waves of the river will be due to the measures of protection which the National Government have adopted at the earnest solicitation of the *Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities*. This organization is performing a noble and sacred work in rescuing so many of the ancient landmarks of the state from ruin, a work into which it has thrown a zeal, energy, and intelligence entitling it to the honour and gratitude of all who are interested in the history, not merely of Virginia, but of America itself." *Economic History of Virginia*, ii. 562.

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, iii. 122.

one colony, furnished abundant examples of the need for such moderation. Blair offered him some good advice tendered by the Bishop of London, whereupon Nicholson exclaimed, with a big round oath, "I know how to govern Virginia and Maryland better than all the bishops in England. If I had not hampered them in Maryland and kept them under, I should never have been able to govern them." The doctor replied: "Sir, I do not pretend to [speak for] Maryland, but if I know anything of Virginia, they are a good-natured [and] tractable people as any in the world, and you may do anything with them by way of civility, but you will never be able to manage them in that way you speak of, by hampering and keeping them under."<sup>1</sup> The eccentric governor did not profit by this advice. Of actual tyranny there was not much in his administration, but his blustering tongue would give utterance to extravagant speeches whereat company would sit "amazed and silent."

At last in a laughable way this blustering habit proved his ruin. Not far from Williamsburg lived Major Lewis Burwell, who had married a cousin of the rebel Bacon and had a whole household of blooming daughters. With one of these young ladies the worshipful governor fell madly in love, but to his unspeakable chagrin she promptly and decisively refused him. Poor Nicholson could not keep the matter to himself, but raved about it in public. He suspected that Dr. Blair's brother was a favoured rival!

A scolding  
swain.

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 66.

and threatened the whole family with dire vengeance. He swore that if Miss Burwell should undertake to marry anybody but himself, he would "cut the throats of three men: the bridegroom, the minister, and the justice who issued the license." This truculent speech got reported in London, and one of Nicholson's friends wrote him a letter counselling him not to be so unreasonable, but to remember that English women were the freest in the world, and that Virginia was not like those heathen Turkish countries where tender ladies were dragged into the arms of some pasha still reeking with the blood of their nearest relatives. But nothing could quiet the fury of a "governor scorned;" and one day when he suspected the minister of Hampton parish of being his rival, he went up to him and knocked his hat off. This sort of thing came to be too much for

Dr. Blair; a memorial was sent to Queen Removal of Nicholson.

Anne, and Nicholson was recalled to England in 1705. Afterwards we find him commanding the expedition which in 1710 captured the Acadian Port Royal from the French. He then served as governor of the newly conquered Nova Scotia and afterwards of South Carolina, was knighted, rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and died in 1728.

Meanwhile the college of William and Mary, in which Nicholson felt so much interest, The college. was flourishing. Unfortunately its first hall, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, was destroyed by fire in 1705, but it was before long replaced by another. Until 1712 the faculty consisted of the president, a grammar master, writing

master, and an usher; in that year a professor of mathematics was added. By 1729 there were six professors. Fifty years later the departments of law and medicine were added, and the name "College" was replaced by "University."<sup>1</sup>

As in the case of Harvard, it was hoped that this college might prove effective in converting and educating Indians. In 1723 Brafferton Hall was built for their use, from a fund given by Robert Boyle, the famous chemist. It is still standing and used as a dormitory. We are told that the "Queen of Pamunkey" sent her son to college with a boy to wait upon him, and likewise two chiefs' sons, "all handsomely cloathed after the Indian fashion;"<sup>2</sup> but as to any effects wrought upon the barbarian mind by this Christian institution of learning, there is nothing to which we can point.

The first Commencement exercises were held in the year 1700, and it is said that not only were Virginians and Indians present on that gala day, but so great was the fame of it that people came in sloops from Maryland and Pennsylvania, and even from New York.<sup>3</sup> The journals of what we may call the "faculty meetings" throw light upon the manner of living at the college. There is a matron, or housekeeper, who is thus carefully instructed: "1. That you never concern yourself with any of the Boys only when you have a Complaint against any of them, and then that you make it to his or their

Indian  
students.

Instructions  
to the house-  
keeper.

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ii. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* i. 187.

<sup>3</sup> *Cooke's Virginia*, p. 306.

proper Master. — 2. That there be always both fresh and salt Meat for Dinner; and twice in the Week, as well as on Sunday in particular, that there be either Puddings or Pies besides; that there be always Plenty of Victuals; that Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper be serv'd up in the cleanest and neatest manner possible; and for this Reason the Society not only allow but desire you to get a Cook; that the Boys Suppers be not as usual made up of different Scraps, but that there be at each Table the same Sor<sup>t</sup>: and when there is cold fresh Meat enough, that it be often hashed for them; that when they are sick, you yourself see their Victuals before it be carry'd to them, that it be clean, decent, and fit for them; that the Person appointed to take Care of them be constantly with them, and give their Medicine regularly. The general Complaints of the Visitors, and other Gentlemen throughout the whole Colony, plainly shew the Necessity of a strict and regular Compliance with the above Directions. . . . 4. That a proper Stocking-mender be procured to live in or near the college, and as both Masters and Boys complain of losing their Stockings, you are desired to look over their Notes given with their Linnen to the Wash, both at the Delivery and Return of them. . . . 5. That the Negroes be trusted with no keys; . . . that fresh Butter be look'd out for in Time, that the Boys may not be forced to eat salt in Summer. — 6. As we all know that Negroes will not perform their Duties without the Mistress' constant Eye, especially in so large a Family as the College, and as

we all observe You going abroad more frequently then even the Mistress of a private Family can do without the affairs of her province greatly suffering, We particularly request it of you, that your visits for the future in Town and Country may not be so frequent, by which Means we doubt not but Complaints will be greatly lessened.”<sup>1</sup>

At another meeting it is ordered “y<sup>t</sup> no scholar belonging to any school in the College, of w<sup>t</sup> Age, Rank, or Quality, soever, do keep any  
Horse-racing prohibited. race Horse at y<sup>e</sup> College, in y<sup>e</sup> Town — or any where in the neighbourhood — y<sup>t</sup> they be not anyway concerned in making races, or in backing, or abetting, those made by others, and y<sup>t</sup> all Race Horses, kept in y<sup>e</sup> neighbourhood of y<sup>e</sup> College & belonging to any of y<sup>e</sup> scholars, be immediately dispatched & sent off, & never again brought back, and all of this under Pain of y<sup>e</sup> severest Animadversion and Punishment.”

There is a stress in the wording of this order which makes one suspect that the faculty had encountered difficulty in suppressing horse-racing.

Other prohibitions. Similar orders forbid students to take part in cock-fighting, to frequent “y<sup>e</sup> Ordinaries,” to bet, to play at billiards, or to bring cards or dice into the college. Punishment is most emphatically threatened for any student who may “presume to go out of y<sup>e</sup> Bounds of y<sup>e</sup> College, particularly towards the mill pond” without express leave; but why the mill pond was to be so sedulously shunned, we are left to conjecture. Finally, “to y<sup>e</sup> End y<sup>t</sup> no Person may pretend

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iii. 263.



Ignorance of y<sup>e</sup> foregoing . . . Regulations, . . . it is Ordered . . . y<sup>t</sup> a clear & legible copy of y<sup>m</sup> be posted up in every School of y<sup>e</sup> College.”<sup>1</sup>

One of the brightest traditions in the history of the college is that which tells of the wooing and wedding of Parson Camm, a gentleman famous once, whose fame deserves to be revived. John Camm was born in 1718 and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a man of good scholarship and sturdy character, an uncompromising Tory, one of the leaders in that “Parsons’ Cause” which made Patrick Henry famous.<sup>2</sup> He lived to be the last president of William and Mary before the Revolution. After he had attained middle age, but while he was as yet only a preacher and professor, and like all professors in those days at William and Mary a bachelor, there came to him the romance which brightened his life, Among those who listened to his preaching was Miss Betsy Hansford, of the family of Hansford the rebel and martyr. A young friend, who had wooed Miss Betsy without success, persuaded the worthy parson to aid him with his eloquence. But it was in vain that Mr. Camm besieged the young lady with texts from the Bible enjoining matrimony as a duty. She proved herself able to beat him at his own game when she suggested that if the parson would go home and look at 2 Samuel xii. 7, he might be able to divine the reason of her obduracy. When Mr. Camm proceeded to search the

The story  
of Parson  
Camm.

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ii. 55, 56.

<sup>2</sup> See my *American Revolution*, i. 18, 19.

Scriptures he found these significant words staring him in the face: "And Nathan said to David, *Thou art the man!*" The sequel is told in an item of the Virginia Gazette, announcing the marriage of Rev. John Camm and Miss Betsy Hansford.<sup>1</sup>

So, Virginia, too, had its Priscilla! In the words of the sweet mediæval poem: —

El fait que dame, et si fait bien,  
Car sos ciel n'a si france rien  
Com est dame qui violt amer,  
Quant Deus la violt à ço torner:  
Deus totes dames beneie.<sup>2</sup>

But this marriage was an infringement of the customs of the college, and was rebuked in an order that *hereafter* the marriage of a professor should *ipso facto* vacate his office.

The college founded by James Blair was a most valuable centre for culture for Virginia, and has been remarkable in many ways. It was the first college in America to introduce teaching by lectures, and the elective system of study; it was the first to unite a group of faculties into a university; it was the second in the English world to have a chair of Municipal Law, George Wythe coming to such a professorship a few years after Sir William Blackstone; it

Some interesting facts about the college.

<sup>1</sup> This charming story is only one of many good things for which I am indebted to President L. G. Tyler; see *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Partonopeus de Blois*, 1250, ed. Crapelet, tom. i. p. 45. "She acts like a woman, and so does well, for under the heavens there is nothing so daring as the woman who loves, when God wills to turn her that way: God bless the ladies all!"

was the first in America to establish a chair of History and Political Science; and it was one of the first to pursue a thoroughly secular and unsectarian policy. Though until lately its number of students at any one time had never reached one hundred and fifty, it has given to our country fifteen senators and seventy representatives in congress; seventeen governors of states, and thirty-seven judges; three presidents of the United States, — Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler; and the great Chief Justice Marshall.<sup>1</sup> It was a noble work for America that was done by the Scotch parson, James Blair.

As for Governor Nicholson, who was so deeply interested in that work, he played a memorable part in the history of the United States, which deserves mention before we leave the subject of his connection with Virginia. When he was first transferred from the governorship of New York to that of the Old Dominion, with his head full of experiences gained in New York, he proposed a grand Union of the English colonies for mutual defence against the encroachments of the French. King William approved the scheme and recommended it to the favourable consideration of the colonial assemblies. But a desire for union was not strong in any of these bodies, and as for Virginia, she was too remote from the Canadian border to feel warmly interested in it. The act of 1695, authorizing the governor to apply £500 from the liquor excise to the relief of New York, shows a notably generous

Nicholson's  
schemes for  
a union of  
the colonies.

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Annual Catalogue*, 1894-95.

spirit in the Virginia burgesses, but the pressure which was to drive people into a Federal Union was still in the hidden future. The attitude of the several colonies so exasperated Nicholson as to lead him to recommend that they should all be placed under a single viceroy and taxed for the support of a standing army. When this plan was submitted to Queen Anne and her ministers, it was rejected as unwise, and no British ministry ever ventured to try any part of such a policy until the reign of George III. Francis Nicholson should be remembered as one of the very first to conceive and suggest the policy that afterward drove the colonies into their Declaration of Independence.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### MARYLAND'S VICISSITUDES.

THE accession of William and Mary, which wrought so little change in Virginia, furnished the occasion for a revolution in the palatinate of Maryland. To trace the causes of this revolution, we must return to 1658, the year which witnessed the death of Oliver Cromwell <sup>Virginia and Maryland.</sup> and saw Lord Baltimore's government firmly set upon its feet through the favour of that mighty potentate. The compromises which were then adopted put an end to the conflict between Virginia and Maryland, and from that time forth the relations between the two colonies were nearly always cordial. For the next century the constitutional development of Maryland proceeded without interference from Virginia, although on many occasions the smaller colony was profoundly influenced by what went on in its larger neighbour, as well as by those currents of feeling that from time to time pervaded the English world and swayed both colonies alike. We shall presently see, for example, that marked effects were wrought in Maryland by Bacon's rebellion, and we shall observe what various echoes of the political situation in England were heard in all the colonies, from the wild scare of the Popish Plot in 1678

down to the assured triumph of William III. in 1691, and even later.

It will be remembered that when the Puritans of Providence, in March, 1658, gave in their assent to the compromises by which Lord Baltimore's authority was securely established in Maryland, only three years had elapsed since their victory at the Severn had given them supreme control over the country. While the defeated Governor Stone languished in jail, the victorious leader, William Fuller, exercised complete sway and for a moment could afford to laugh at the pretensions of Josias Fendall, the new governor whom Baltimore appointed in 1656. But this state of things came abruptly to an end when it was discovered that Lord Baltimore was upheld by Cromwell. Virginia, with her Puritan rulers, Bennett and Claiborne and Mathews, was thus at once detached from the support of Fuller, so that nothing was left for him but to come to terms. Fendall's policy toward his late antagonists was pacific and generous, so much so that in the assembly of 1659 we find the names of Fuller and other Puritan leaders enrolled among the burgesses. Associated with Fendall, and second to him in authority, was the secretary and receiver-general, Philip Calvert, younger brother of Cecilus, Lord Baltimore.

After the fires of civil dudgeon had briskly burned for so many years, it was not strange that their smouldering embers should send forth a few fitful gleams before dying. Apart from questions of religion or of loyalty, there were difficulties in

Fuller and  
Fendall.

regard to taxation that can hardly have been without their effect. There seems to have been more or less widely diffused a feeling of uneasiness upon which agitators could play. In 1647 the assembly had granted to the lord proprietor a duty of ten shillings per hogshead on all tobacco exported from the colony. This <sup>The duty on tobacco.</sup> grant called forth remonstrances which seem to have had their effect, as in 1649 the act was replaced by another which granted to the proprietor for seven years a similar duty upon all tobacco exported on Dutch vessels if not bound to some English port.<sup>1</sup> This act seemed to carry with it the repeal of that of 1647, concerning which it was silent; if the first act continued in force, the second was meaningless. During the turbulence that ensued after 1650 it is not likely that the revenue laws were rigidly enforced. In 1659 Baltimore directed Fendall to have the act of 1647 explicitly repealed on condition that the assembly should grant him two shillings per hogshead on tobacco when shipped to British ports and ten shillings when shipped to foreign ports. Whether this demand was popular or not, we may gather from dates that are more eloquent than words. The act of 1647 was repealed by the assembly in 1660, but no grant in return was made to the proprietor until 1671, and then it was a uniform duty of two shillings. Unless the demand had been unpopular it would not have been resisted for eleven years.

<sup>1</sup> See Sparks, "Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. xiv. p. 501, a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

When the assembly met on the last day of February, 1660, to consider this and other questions, memorable changes had occurred in England. The death of mighty Oliver, in September, 1658, threatened the realm with anarchy; and the prospect for a moment grew darker when in May, 1659, his gentle son Richard dropped the burden which he had not strength to carry. For nine months England seemed drifting without compass or helm. When our assembly met, one notable thing had just happened, early in February, when George Monk, "honest old George," entered London at the head of his army, and assumed control of affairs. The news of this event had not yet crossed the ocean, and even if it had, our Marylanders would not have understood what it portended.

Fendall's  
plot.

To some of them it seemed as if in this season of chaos whoever should seize upon the government of their little world would be likely to keep it. So Governor Fendall seems to have thought, and with him Thomas Gerrard, a member of the council and a Catholic, but disloyal to Baltimore. Why should not the government be held independently of the lord proprietor and all fees and duties to him be avoided? In this view of the case Fendall had two or three sympathizers in the council, and probably a good many in the House of Burgesses, especially among the Puritan members, who were in number three fourths of the whole.

In the course of the discussion over the tobacco duty the burgesses sent a message to Governor Fendall and the council, saying that they judged



themselves to be a lawful assembly without dependence upon any other power now existing within the province, and if anybody had any objections to this view of the case they should like to hear them. The upper house answered by asking the lower house if they meant that they were a complete assembly without the upper house, and also that they were independent of the lord proprietor. These questions led to a conference, in which, among other things, Fendall declared it to be his opinion that laws passed by the assembly and published in the lord proprietor's name should at once be in full force. Two of the council, Gerrard and Utie, agreed with this view, while the secretary, Philip Calvert, and all the rest, dissented. In these proceedings the governor was plainly in league with the lower house, and this vote demonstrated the necessity of getting rid of the upper house. Accordingly the burgesses sent word to the governor and council, that they would not acknowledge them as an upper house, but they might come and take seats in the lower house if they liked. Secretary Calvert observed that in that case the governor would become president of the joint assembly, and the speaker of the burgesses must give place to him. A compromise was presently reached, according to which the governor should preside, with a casting vote, but the right of adjourning or dissolving the assembly should be exercised by the speaker. Hereupon Calvert protested, and demanded that his protest be put on record, but Fendall refused. Then Cal-

Temporary  
overthrow  
of Balti-  
more's au-  
thority.

vert and his most staunch adherent, Councillor Brooke, requested permission to leave the room. "You may if you please," quoth Fendall, "we shall not force you to go or stay." With the departure of these gentlemen the upper house was virtually abolished, and now Fendall quite threw off the mask by surrendering his commission from Lord Baltimore and accepting a new one from the assembly. Thus the palatinate government was overthrown, and it only remained for Fendall and his assembly to declare it felony for anybody in Maryland to acknowledge Lord Baltimore's authority.

These proceedings in Maryland become perfectly intelligible if we compare them with what was going on at the very same moment in Virginia. In March, 1660, the assembly at Jamestown, in view of the fact that there was no acknowledged supreme authority then resident in England, declared that the supreme power in Virginia was in the assembly, and that all writs should issue in its name, until such command should come from England as the assembly should judge to be lawful. This assembly then elected Sir William Berkeley to the governorship, and he accepted from it provisionally his commission.<sup>1</sup>

Now in Maryland there was a superficial resemblance to these proceedings, in so far as the supreme power was lodged in the assembly and the governor accepted his commission from it. But there was a profound difference in the two

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 20.

situations, and while the people of Virginia read their own situation correctly, Fendall and his abettors did not. The assembly at Jamestown was predominantly Cavalier in its composition and in full sympathy with the expected restoration of the monarchy ; and its proceedings were promptly sanctioned by Charles II., whose royal commission to Sir William Berkeley came in October of the same year. On the other hand, the assembly at St. Mary's was predominantly Puritan in its composition, and one of its most influential members was that William Fuller who five years before had defeated Lord Baltimore's governor in the battle of the Severn, and executed drumhead justice upon several of his adherents. The election had been managed in the interest of the Puritans, as is shown by Fuller's county, Anne Arundel, returning seven delegates, whereas it was only entitled to four. The collusion between Fuller and Fendall is unmistakable. For two years the Puritans had acquiesced in Lord Baltimore's rule, because they had not dared resist Cromwell. Now if Puritanism were to remain uppermost in England, they might once more hope to overthrow him ; if the monarchy were to be restored, the prospect was also good, for it did not seem likely that Charles II. would befriend the man whom Cromwell had befriended. Here was the fatal error of Fendall and his people. Charles II. had long ago recovered from his little tiff with Cecilius for appointing a Parliamentary governor, and as a Romanist at heart he was more than ready to

Profound  
difference in  
the situa-  
tions.

Fendall's  
error.

show favour to Catholics. Thus with rare good fortune — defended in turn by a king and a lord protector, and by another king, and aided at every turn by his own consummate tact, did Cecilius triumphantly weather all the storms. When the news of Fendall's treachery reached London it found Charles II. seated firmly on the throne. All persons were at once instructed to respect Lord Baltimore's authority over Maryland, and Sir William Berkeley was ordered to bring the force of Virginia to his aid if necessary; Cecilius appointed his brother Philip to the governorship; the rebellion instantly collapsed, and its ringleaders were seized. Vengeance was denounced against Fendall and Fuller and all who had been concerned in the execution of Baltimore's men after the battle of the Severn. Philip Calvert was instructed to hang them all, and to proclaim martial law if necessary, but on second thought so much severity was deemed impolitic. Such punishments were inflicted as banishment, confiscation, and loss of civil rights, but nobody was put to death. Such was the end of Fendall's rebellion. In the course of the year 1661, Cecilius sent over his only son, Charles Calvert, to be governor of the palatinate, while Philip remained as chancellor; and this arrangement continued for many years.

Fendall's administration had witnessed two events of especial interest, in the arrival of Quakers in the colony and of Dutchmen in a part of its territory. Quakers came from Massachusetts and Virginia, where they suf-

Collapse  
of the  
rebellion.

The  
Quakers.

ferred so much ill usage, into Maryland, where they also got into trouble, though it does not appear that the objections against them were of a religious nature. The peculiar notions of the Quakers often brought them into conflict with governments on purely civil grounds, as when they refused to be enrolled in the militia, or to serve on juries, or give testimony under oath. For such reasons, two zealous Quaker preachers, Thurston and Cole, were arrested and tried in 1658, but it does not appear that they were treated with harshness or that at any time there was anything like persecution of Quakers in Maryland. When George Fox visited the country in 1672, his followers there were numerous and held regular meetings.

With the arrival of Quakers there appeared on the northeastern horizon a menace from the Dutch, and incidents occurred that curiously affected the future growth of Lord Baltimore's princely domain. Since 1638 parties of Swedes had been establishing themselves on the western bank of the Delaware River, on and about the present sites of Newcastle and Wilmington. This region they called New Sweden, but in 1655 Peter Stuyvesant despatched from Manhattan a force of Dutchmen which speedily overcame the little colony. Stuyvesant then divided his conquest into two provinces, which he called New Amstel and Altona, and appointed a governor over each. It was now Maryland's turn to be aroused. The governor of New Netherland had no business to be setting up jurisdictions west of Delaware River. That whole region was ex-

pressly included in Lord Baltimore's charter. Accordingly the Dutch governors of New Amstel and Altona were politely informed that they must either acknowledge Baltimore's jurisdiction or leave the country. This led to Stuyvesant's sending an envoy to St. Mary's, to discuss the proprietorship of the territory in question. The person selected for this business was a man of no ordinary mould, a native of Prague, with the German name of Augustine Herman. He came to New Amsterdam at some time before 1647, in which year he was appointed one of the Nine Men whose business it was to advise the governor. This Herman was a man of broad intelligence, rare executive ability, and perfect courage. He was by profession a land surveyor and draughtsman, but in the course of his life he accumulated a great fortune by trade. His portrait, painted from life, shows us a masterful face, clean shaven, with powerful jaw, firm-set lips, imperious eyes, and long hair flowing upon his shoulders over a red coat richly ruffled.<sup>1</sup> Such was the man whom Stuyvesant chose to dispute Lord Baltimore's title to the smiling fields of New Amstel and Altona. He well understood the wisdom of claiming everything, and when the discovery of North America by John Cabot was cited against him, he boldly set up the priority of Christopher Columbus as giving the Spaniards a

<sup>1</sup> For this description of Herman I am much indebted to E. H. Vallandigham's paper on "The Lord of Bohemia Manor," reprinted in Lee Phillips, *Virginia Cartography*, Washington, 1896, pp. 37-41.

claim upon the whole hemisphere. To the Dutch, he said, as victors over their wicked stepmother Spain, her claims had naturally passed! One is inclined to wonder if such an argument was announced without something like a twinkle in those piercing eyes. At all events, it was not long before the astute ambassador abandoned his logic and changed his allegiance. Romantic tradition has assigned various grounds for Herman's leaving New Amsterdam. Whether it was because of a quarrel with Stuyvesant, and whether the quarrel had its source in love of woman or love of pelf, we know not; but in 1660 Herman wrote to Lord Baltimore, asking for the grant of a manor, and offering to pay for it by making a map of Maryland. The proposal was accepted. The map, which was completed after careful surveys extending over ten years and was engraved in London in 1673, with a portrait of Herman attached, is still preserved in the British Museum. For this important service the enterprising surveyor received an estate on the Elk River, <sup>Bohemia</sup> which by successive accretions came to <sup>Manor.</sup> include more than 20,000 acres.<sup>1</sup> It is still called by the name which Herman gave it, Bohemia Manor. There he grew immensely rich by trade with the Indians along the very routes which Claiborne had hoped to monopolize, and there in his great manor house, in spite of matrimonial

<sup>1</sup> To enable him to hold real estate in Maryland, Herman received letters of naturalization, the first ever issued in that province, and he is supposed by some writers to have been the first foreign citizen thus naturalized in America.

infelicities like those of Socrates and the elder Mr. Weller, he lived to a good old age and dispensed a regal hospitality, in which the items of rum and brandy, strong beer, sound wines, and "best cider out of the orchard" were not forgotten. Herman's tomb is still to be seen hard by the vestiges of his house and his deer park. Six of his descendants succeeded him as lords of Bohemia Manor, until its legal existence came to an end in 1789. The fact is not without interest that Margaret Shippen, wife of Benedict Arnold, counted among her ancestors the sturdy Augustine Herman.

A noteworthy episode in the history of Bohemia Manor is the settlement of a small sect of Mystics, known as Labadists, from the name of The Labadists. their French founder, Jean de Labadie. Their professed aim was to restore the simplicity of life and doctrine attributed to the primitive Christians. Their views of spiritual things were brightened by an inward light, their drift of thought was toward antinomianism, they held all goods in common, and their notions about marriage were such as to render them liable to be molested on civil grounds. The persistent recurrence of such little communities, age after age, each one ignorant of the existence of its predecessors and supremely innocent of all knowledge of the world, is one of the interesting freaks in religious history. Even in the tolerant atmosphere of Holland these Labadists led an uneasy life, and in 1679 two of their brethren, Sluyter and Dankers, came over to New York, to make fresh



converts and find a new home. One of their first converts was Ephraim, the weak-minded son of Augustine Herman, and it may have been through the son's persuasion that the father was induced to grant nearly 4,000 acres of his manor to the community. A company settled there in 1683 and were joined by persons from New York. As often happens in such communities the affair ended in a despotism, in which the people were ruled with a rod of iron by Brother Sluyter and his wife, who set themselves up as a kind of abbot and abbess. On Sluyter's death in 1722 the sect seems to have come to an end, but to this day the land is known as "the Labadie tract."

Long before Augustine Herman's death, Lord Baltimore had granted him a second estate, called the manor of St. Augustine, extending eastward from Bohemia Manor to the shore of Delaware Bay; but to the greater part of it the Herman family never succeeded in making good their title, for the territory passed out of Lord Baltimore's domain. Once more the heedlessness and bad faith of the Stuart kings, in their grants of American lands, was exhibited, and as Baltimore's patent had once encroached upon the Virginians, so now he was encroached upon by the Duke of York and presently by William Penn. The province of New Netherland, which Charles II. took from the Dutch in 1664 and bestowed upon his brother as lord proprietor, extended from the upper waters of the Hudson down to Cape May at the entrance to Delaware Bay, but did not include a square foot

The Duke of York takes possession of the Delaware settlements.

of land on the west shore of the bay, since all that was expressly included in the Maryland charter. It was not to be expected that Swedes or Dutchmen would pay any heed to that English charter; but it might have been supposed that Charles II. and his brother James would have shown some respect for a contract made by their father. Not so, however. The little Swedish and Dutch settlements on the west shore were at once taken in charge by officers of the Duke of York, as if they had belonged to his domain of New Netherland, while the southern part of that domain was granted by him, under the name of New Jersey, to his friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.

Nothing more of consequence occurred for several years, in the course of which interval, in 1675, Cecilius Calvert died and was succeeded by his son Charles, third Lord Baltimore. Not long afterward William Penn appeared on the scene, at first as trustee of certain Quaker estates in New Jersey, but presently as ruler over a princely domain of his own. The Quakers had been ill treated in many of the colonies; why not found a colony in which they should be the leaders? The suggestion offered to Charles II. an easy way of paying an old debt of £16,000 owed by the crown to the estate of the late Admiral Penn, and accordingly

Charter of  
Pennsyl-  
vania.

William was made lord proprietor of a spacious country lying west of the Delaware River and between Maryland to the south and the Five Nations to the north. His charter created a government very similar to Lord

Baltimore's but far less independent, for laws passed in Pennsylvania must be sent to England for the royal assent, and the British government, which fifty years before had expressly renounced the right to lay taxes upon Marylanders, now expressly asserted the right to lay taxes upon Pennsylvanians. This change marks the growth of the imperial and anti-feudal sentiment in England, the feeling that privileges like those accorded to the Calverts were too extensive to be enjoyed by subjects.

According to Lord Baltimore's charter his northern boundary was the fortieth parallel of latitude, which runs a little north of the site of Philadelphia. The latitude was marked by a fort erected on the Susquehanna River, and when the crown lawyers consulted with Baltimore's attorneys, they were informed that all questions of encroachment would be avoided if the line were to be run just north of this fort, so as to leave it on the Maryland side.<sup>1</sup> Penn made no objection to this, but when the charter was drawn up no allusion was made to the Susquehanna fort. Penn's southern boundary was made to begin twelve miles north of Newcastle, thence to curve northwestward to the fortieth parallel and follow that parallel. Measurement soon showed that such a boundary would give Penn's province inadequate access to the sea. His position as a royal favourite enabled him to push the whole line twenty miles to the south. Even then he was disappointed in not gaining the head of Chesapeake Bay, and,

Boundaries  
between  
Penn and  
Baltimore.

<sup>1</sup> See Browne's *Maryland*, p. 137.

being bent upon securing somewhere a bit of sea-coast, he persuaded the Duke of York to give him the land on the west shore of Delaware Bay which the Dutch had once taken from the Swedes. By further enlargement the area of this grant became that of the present state of Delaware, the whole of which was thus, in spite of vehement protest, carved out of the original Maryland. In such matters there was not much profit in contending against princes.

In the course of this narrative we have had occasion to mention the grants of Bohemia and other manors. In order that we should understand the course of Maryland history before and after the Revolution of 1689, some description of the manorial system is desirable. One of the most interesting features in the early history of English America is the way in which different phases of English institutions were reproduced in the different colonies. As the ancient English town meeting reached a high development in New England, as the system of close vestries was very thoroughly worked out in Virginia, so the old English manor was best preserved in Maryland. In 1636 Lord Baltimore issued instructions that every grant of 2,000 acres or more should be erected into a manor, with court baron and court leet. "The manor was the land on which the lord and his tenants lived, and bound up with the land were also the rights of government which the lord possessed over the tenants, and they over one another."<sup>1</sup> Such manors were

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, "Old Maryland Manors," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. i.

scattered all over tidewater Maryland. Mr. Johnson, in his excellent essay on the subject, cites at random the names of "George Evelin, lord of the manor of Evelinton, in St. Mary's county; Marmaduke Tilden, lord of Great Oak Manor, and Major James Ringgold, lord of the manor on Eastern Neck, both in Kent; Giles Brent, lord of Kent Fort, on Kent Island; George Talbot, lord of Susquehanna Manor, in Cecil county," and he mentions a sale, in 1767, of "twenty-seven manors, embracing 100,000 acres."

In the life upon these manors there was a kind of patriarchal completeness; each was a little world in itself. There was the Life in the manors. great house with its generous dining-hall, its panelled wainscoat, and its family portraits; there was the chapel, with the graves of the lord's family beneath its pavement and the graves of common folk out in the churchyard; there were the smoke-houses, and the cabins of negro slaves; and here and there one might come upon the dwellings of white freehold tenants, with ample land about them held on leases of one-and-twenty years. In establishing these manors, Lord Baltimore had an eye to the military defence of his colony. It was enacted in 1641 that the grant of a manor should be the reward for every settler who should bring with him from England twenty able-bodied men, each armed with a musket, a sword and belt, a bandelier and flask, ten pounds of powder, and forty pounds of bullets and shot.

These manors were little self-governing communities. The court leet was like a town meeting.

All freemen could take part in it. It enacted by-laws, elected constables, bailiffs, and other local officers, set up stocks and pillory, and sentenced offenders to stand there, for judicial and legislative functions were united in this court leet. It empanelled its jury, and with the steward of the manor presiding as judge, it visited with fine or imprisonment the thief, the vagrant, the poacher, the fraudulent dealer.

Side by side with the court leet was the court baron, an equally free institution in which all the freehold tenants sat as judges determining questions of law and of fact. This court decided all disputes between the lord and his tenants concerning such matters as rents, or trespass, or escheats. Here actions for debt were tried, and transfers of land were made with the ancient formalities.

These admirable manorial institutions were brought to Maryland in precisely the same shape in which they had long existed in England. They were well adapted for preserving liberty and securing order in rural communities before the days of denser population and more rapid communication. In our progress away from those earlier times we have gained vastly, but it is by no means sure that we have not also lost something. In the decadence of the Maryland manors there was clearly an element of loss, for that decadence was chiefly brought about by the growth of negro slavery, which made it more profitable for the lord of the manor to cultivate the whole of it himself, instead

The court  
leet.

The court  
baron.

Changes  
wrought by  
slavery.

of leasing the whole or parts of it to tenants. Slavery also affixed a stigma upon free labour and drove it off the field, very much as a debased currency invariably drives out a sound currency. From these causes the class of freehold tenants gradually disappeared, "the feudal society of the manor" was transformed into "the patriarchal society of the plantation,"<sup>1</sup> and the arbitrary fiat of a master was substituted for the argued judgments of the court leet.

Among the people of Lord Baltimore's colony, as among English-speaking people in general, one might observe a fierce spirit of political liberty coupled with engrained respect for law and a disposition to achieve results by argument rather than by violence. Such a temper leads to interminable parliamentary discussion, and in the reign of Charles II. the tongues of the Maryland assembly were seldom quiet. As compared with the stormy period before 1660, the later career of Cecilius and that of his son Charles down to the Revolution of 1689 seem peaceful, and there are writers who would persuade us that when the catastrophe arrived, it came quite unheralded, like lightning from a cloudless sky. A perusal of the transactions in the Maryland assembly, however, shows that the happy period was not so serene as we have been told, but there were fleecy specks on the horizon, with now and then a faint growl of distant thunder.

A fierce  
spirit of  
liberty.

That the proprietary government had many devoted friends is not to be denied, and it is clear

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.* p. 21.

that some of the opposition to it was merely factious. There is no doubt as to the lofty personal qualities of the second Lord Baltimore, his courage and sagacity, his disinterested public spirit, his devotion to the noble ideal which he had inherited. As for Charles, the third lord, he seems to have been a paler reflection of his father, like him for good intentions, but far inferior in force. The period of eight-and-twenty years which we are considering, from 1661 to 1689, is divided exactly in the middle by the death of Cecilius in 1675. Before that date we have Charles administering the affairs of Maryland subject to the approval of his father in London; after that date Charles is supreme.

Now the circumstances were such that father and son would have had to be more than human to carry on the government without serious opposition. In the first place, they were Catholics, ruling a population in which about one twelfth part were Catholics, while one sixth belonged to the Church of England, and three fourths were dissenting Puritans. To most of the people the enforced toleration of Papists must have seemed like keeping on terms of polite familiarity with the devil. In the second place, the proprietor was apt to appoint his own relatives and trusted friends to the highest offices, and such persons were usually Catholics. As these high officers composed the council, or upper house of the assembly, the proprietor had a permanent and irreversible majority in that body. When we read the minutes of a council composed of

Cecilius and  
Charles.

Sources of  
discontent.



Governor Charles Calvert, his uncle Philip, his cousin William, Mr. Baker Brooke, who had married cousin William's sister, Mr. William Talbot, who was another cousin, and Mr. Henry Coursey, who was uncle Philip's bosom friend, we seem to be assisting at a pleasant little The family party. family party. Again, when the governor marries a widow, and each of his five stepchildren marries, and we are told that "every one who became related to the family soon obtained an office,"<sup>1</sup> we begin to realize that there was coming to be quite a clan to be supported from the revenues of a small province. Nepotism may not be the blackest of crimes, but it is pretty certain to breed trouble.

The governing power opposed to this family party was the House of Burgesses, or lower house of assembly. Those freeholding tenants and small proprietors who had brought with them from England their time-honoured habits of self-government in court leet and court baron, represented the democratic element in the constitution of Maryland, as the upper house represented the oligarchical element. Conflict in the assembly. The history of the period we are considering is the history of a constitutional struggle between the two houses. We have seen that it was not a part of the proprietor's original scheme that the assembly should take an initiative in legislation, and that on this ground he refused his assent to the first group of laws sent to him in 1635 for his signature. Apparently it was his idea that his burgesses should simply comment on acts passed

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Sparks, *op. cit.* p. 65.

by their betters, as on old Merovingian fields of March the magnates legislated while the listening warriors clashed their shields in token of approval. If such was the first notion of Cecilius he promptly relinquished it and gracefully conceded the claim of the assembly to take the initiative in legislation. But the veto power, without any limitation of time, was a prerogative which he would not give up. At any moment he could use this veto power to repeal a law, and this was felt by the colonists to be a grievance. On such constitutional matters, when we read of antagonism between the proprietor and the assembly, it is the burgesses that we are to understand as in opposition, since the council was almost sure to uphold the proprietor.

One point upon which the upper house always insisted was that the burgesses were not a house of commons with inherent rights of legislation, but that they owed their existence to the charter, with powers that must be limited as strictly as possible. But this point the burgesses would never concede. They were Englishmen, with the rights and privileges of Englishmen, and it was an inherent right in English representatives to make laws for their constituents; accordingly they insisted that they were, to all intents and purposes, a house of commons for Maryland.<sup>1</sup> On one occasion a clergyman, Charles Nichollet, preached a sermon, in which he warned the burgesses not to forget that they had no real liberty unless they could pass

Rights of  
the bur-  
gesses.

<sup>1</sup> *Archives of Maryland: Assembly*, ii. 64.

laws that were agreeable to their conscience ; as a house of commons they must keep their hand upon the purse strings and consider if the taxes were not too heavy. The family party of the upper house called such talk seditious, and the parson was roundly fined for preaching politics.

But it would be grossly unfair to the proprietor to overlook the fact that on some important occasions he took sides with the representatives of the people against his own little family party. As an instance may be cited the act of 1666 concerning the "Cessation of Tobacco." Cessation Act of 1666.

As the fees of public officials were paid in tobacco, a large crop was liable to diminish their value, and accordingly the upper house wished to contract the currency by an act stopping all planting of tobacco for one year. The lower house objected to this, but after a long dispute was induced to give consent, provided Virginia should pass a similar act. The speaker, however, wrote to Cecilius urging him to veto the act, and he did so.<sup>1</sup>

The occasions of difference between the two houses were many and various. One concerned the relief of Quakers. In Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Jamaica, they were allowed to make affirmations instead of taking oaths. When the Quakers of Maryland petitioned for a similar relief, the burgesses granted it, but the council refused to concur. A more important matter was the appointment of sheriffs. Sheriffs.

In addition to the ordinary functions of the sheriff,

<sup>1</sup> *Archives of Maryland : Council*, ii. 18.

with which we are familiar in more modern times, these officers collected all taxes, superintended all elections, and made out the returns. These were formidable powers, for a dishonest or intriguing sheriff might alter the composition of the House of Burgesses. Sheriffs were appointed by the governor, and were in no way responsible to the county courts. The burgesses tried to establish a check upon them by enacting that the county court should recommend three persons out of whom the governor should choose one, and that the sheriff thus selected should serve for one year; but the upper house declared that such an act infringed the proprietor's prerogative. No check upon the sheriffs, therefore, was left to the people except the regulating of their fees, and upon this point the burgesses were stiff.

In 1669 the disputes between the houses were more stormy than usual, and in the election of the next year the suffrage was restricted to freemen owning plantations of fifty acres or more, or possessed of personal property to the amount of £50 sterling. This restriction was not accomplished by legislation; it must have been a sheer assertion of prerogative, either by Cecilus or by Charles acting on his own responsibility. All that is positively known is that the sheriffs were instructed to that effect in their writs. It is worthy of note that a similar restriction of suffrage had just occurred in Virginia. Perhaps Charles Calvert was imprudently taking a lesson from Berkeley. But still worse, in summoning to the assembly the members who had

Restriction  
of suffrage,  
1670.

been elected, he omitted a few names, presumably those of persons whose opposition was likely to prove inconvenient. When the burgesses demanded the reason for this omission, Charles made a shuffling explanation which they saw fit to accept for the moment, and thus a precedent was created of which he was not slow to avail himself, and from which endless bickering ensued. For the present a house of burgesses was obtained which was much to the governor's liking; accordingly, instead of allowing its term to expire at the end of a year, he simply adjourned it, and thus kept it alive until 1676, — another lesson learned from Berkeley.

It was this comparatively submissive assembly that in 1671 passed the act which for eleven years had been resisted, granting to the proprietor a royalty of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported. In return for this grant, however, the lower house obtained some concessions. With the death of Cecilius, in 1675, the situation was certainly changed for the worse. Now for the first time the people of Maryland had their lord proprietor dwelling among them and not in England; but Charles was narrower and less public-spirited than his father, his measures were more arbitrary, and the feeling that the country was governed in the interests of a small coterie of Papists rapidly increased. In 1676 Maryland seemed on the point of following Virginia into rebellion. Lord Baltimore went to England in the spring, and by midsummer it had become evident that Bacon had able sympathizers

Death of  
Cecilius,  
1675.

in Maryland. A set of manuscript archives, recently recovered from long oblivion,<sup>1</sup> make it probable that but for Bacon's sudden death in October and the collapse of the movement in Virginia, there would have been bloodshed in the sister colony. In August a seditious paper was circulated, alleging grievances similar to those of Virginia,

Rebellion of  
Davis and  
Pate, 1676.

and threatening the proprietor's government. Two gentlemen named Davis and Pate, with others, gathered an armed force in Calvert county with the design of intimidating the governor and council, and extorting from them sundry concessions. When the governor, Thomas Notley, ordered them to disband, promising that their demands should be duly considered at the next assembly, they refused on the ground that the assembly had been tampered with and no longer represented the people. As Notley afterward wrote to Lord Baltimore, never was there a people "more replete with malignancy and frenzy than our people were about August last, and they wanted but a monstrous head to their monstrous body." But this incipient Davis and Pate rebellion derived its strength from the

Execution  
of Davis  
and Pate.

Bacon rebellion, and the collapse of the one extinguished the other. Davis and Pate were hanged, at which Notley tells us the people were "terrified," and so peace was preserved.

An episode which occurred before the final ca-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. Archives of Maryland, Liber R. R. and R. R. R. and Council Books 1677-1683, of the Council Proceedings: Maryland Historical Society.

tastrophe throws some light upon the relations of parties at the time. An Irish kinsman of Lord Baltimore's, by name George Talbot, obtained in 1680 an extensive grant of land <sup>George Talbot.</sup> on the Susquehanna River, where he lived in feudal style, with a force of Irish retainers at his beck and call, hunting venison, drinking strong waters, browbeating Indians, and picking quarrels with William Penn's newly arrived followers. In 1684 Lord Baltimore went again to England, leaving his son, Benedict Calvert, in the governorship; and as Benedict was a mere boy, there was a little regency of which George Talbot was the head. Now the exemption of Maryland from king's taxes did not extend to custom-house duties. These were collected by crown officers and paid into the royal treasury; and the collectors were apt to behave themselves, as in all ages and countries, like enemies of the human race. Between them and the proprietary government there was deep-seated antipathy. They accused Lord Baltimore of hindering them in their work, and this complaint led the king to pounce upon him with a claim for £2,500 alleged to have been lost to the revenue through his interferences. One of these collectors, Christopher Rousby, was especially overbearing, and some called him a rascal. Late in 1684 a small ship of the royal navy was lying at St. Mary's, and one day, while Rousby was in the cabin drinking toddies with the captain, Talbot came on board, and a quarrel ensued, in the course of which Talbot drew a dagger and plunged it into Rousby's heart. The captain refused to allow

Talbot to go ashore to be tried by a council of his relatives; he carried him to Virginia and handed him over to the governor, Lord Howard of Effingham. Talbot was imprisoned not far from the site where once had stood the red man's village, Werowocomoco, where he was in imminent danger of the gallows, or perhaps of having to pay his whole fortune as a bribe to the greedy Howard. But Talbot's brave wife, with two trusty followers, sailed down the whole length of Chesapeake Bay and up York River in a boat. On a dark winter's night, they succeeded in freeing Talbot from his jail, and returning as they came, carried him off exulting to Susquehanna Manor. For the sake of appearances his friends in the Maryland council thought it necessary to proclaim the hue and cry after him, and there is a local tradition that he was for a while obliged to hide in a cave, where a couple of his trained hawks kept him alive by fetching him game — canvas-back ducks, perhaps, and terrapin — from the river! It is not likely, however, that the search for him was zealous or thorough. For some time he staid unmolested in his manor house, but presently deemed it prudent to go and surrender himself. The council refused to bring him to trial in any court held in the king's name, until a royal order came from England to send him over there for trial, but before this was done Lord Baltimore interceded with James II. and secured a pardon.

The general effect of this Talbot affair was to weaken the palatinate government by making it appear lukewarm in its allegiance and remiss in its



duties to the crown. The custom-house became a subject of hot discussion, and the charges of defrauding the royal revenue were reiterated with effect. Some time before this, a remarkable pamphlet had appeared with the title, "Com-  
 A "Com-  
 plaint from Heaven with a Huy and  
 Heaven."  
 Crye and a petition out of Virginia and Maryland." It was evidently written by some Puritan friend of Fendall's. After a bitter denunciation of the palatinate administration some measures of relief were suggested, one of which was that the king should assume the government of Maryland and appoint the governors. The time was now at hand when this suggestion was to bear fruit.

The forced abdication of James II. in 1688, with his flight to France, was the occasion of an anti-Catholic panic throughout the  
 The anti-  
 Catholic  
 panic.  
 greater part of English America. It was as certain as anything future could be that the antagonism between Louis XIV. and William of Orange would at once break out in a great war, in which French armies from Canada would invade the English colonies. There was a widespread fear that Papists in these colonies would turn traitors and assist the enemy. It was in this scare that Leisler's rebellion in New York originated, although there too a conflict between democracy and oligarchy was concerned, somewhat as in Maryland. Everywhere the ordinary dread of Papists became more acute. It was soon after this time that the clause of an act depriving Roman Catholics of the franchise found its way into the Rhode Island statutes, the only instance in which that

commonwealth ever allowed itself to depart from the noble principles of Roger Williams.<sup>1</sup>

While there were absurdities in this anti-Catholic panic, it contained an element that was not unreasonable. Throughout the century the Papist counter-reformation had made alarming progress,

Causes of the panic. In France, the strongest nation in the world, it had just scored a final victory in the expulsion of the Huguenots. In Germany the Thirty Years' War had left Protestantism weaker than it had been at the death of Martin Luther. England had barely escaped from having a Papist dynasty settled upon her; nor was it yet sure that she had escaped. A caprice of fortune might drive King William out as suddenly as he had come. Ireland still held out for the Stuarts, and there in May, 1689, James II. landed with French troops, in the hope of winning back his crown. The officer who held Ireland for James was Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel, a distant relative and intimate friend of Lord Baltimore. Under these circumstances a panic was natural. There were absurd rumours of a plot between Catholics and Indians to massacre Protestants. More reasonable was the jealous eagerness with which men watched the council to see what it would do about proclaiming William and Mary. Lord Baltimore was prompt in sending from London directions to the council to proclaim them; whatever his political leanings might have been, he could in prudence hardly do less. But the messenger died on the voyage, and a second messenger was too late.

<sup>1</sup> See Greene's *History of Rhode Island*, ii. 490-494.

Meanwhile, in April, 1689, there was formed "An Association in arms for the defense of the Protestant Religion, and for asserting the right of King William and Queen Mary to the Province of Maryland and all the English Dominions." The president of this association was John Coode, who had married a daughter of that Thomas Gerrard who took a part in Fendall's rebellion. Another leader, who had married another daughter of Gerrard, was Nehemiah Blackiston, collector of customs, who had been foremost in accusing the Calverts of obstructing his work. Others were Kenelm Cheseldyn, speaker of the house, and Henry Jowles, colonel of the militia. As the weeks passed by, and news of the proclaiming of William and Mary by one colony after another arrived, and still the council took no action in the matter, people grew impatient and the association kept winning recruits. At last, toward the end of July, Coode appeared before St. Mary's at the head of 700 armed men. No resistance was offered. The council fled to a fort on the Patuxent River, where they were besieged and in a few days surrendered. Coode detained all outward-bound ships until he had prepared an account of these proceedings to send to King William in the name of the Protestant inhabitants of Maryland. Like the insurrection in Boston, three months earlier, which overthrew Sir Edmund Andros, this bold stroke wore the aspect of a rising against the deposed king in favour of the king actually reigning. William was asked to undertake the government

Coode's  
*coup d'état*,  
1689.

of Maryland, and the whole affair met with his approval. He issued a *scire facias* against the Baltimore charter, and before a decision had been reached in the court of chancery he sent out Sir Lionel Copley in 1691, to be royal governor of Maryland. In such wise was the palatinate overturned.

Overthrow  
of the palati-  
nate, 1691.

If any party in Maryland expected the millenium to follow this revolution, they were disappointed. Taxes were straightway levied for the support of the Church of England, the further immigration of Catholics was prohibited under heavy penalties, and the public celebration of the mass was strictly forbidden within the limits of the colony. When Governor Nicholson arrived upon the scene, in 1694, he summoned his first assembly to meet at the Anne Arundel town formerly known as Providence; and in the course of that session it was decided to move the seat of government thither from St. Mary's. The purpose was to deal a blow at the old capital, the social and political centre of Catholicism in Maryland. Bitter indignation was felt at St. Mary's, and a petition signed by the mayor and other municipal officers, with a number of the freemen, was sent to the assembly, praying that the change might be reconsidered. The House of Burgesses returned an answer, brutal and vulgar in tone, which shows the wellnigh incredible virulence of political passion in those days.<sup>1</sup> The blow was final, so far as

Oppressive  
enactments.

Removal of  
the capital  
to Annapo-  
lis, 1694.

<sup>1</sup> The petition and answer are given in Scharf's *History of Maryland*, i. 345-348.

St. Mary's was concerned. Her civic life had evidently depended upon the presence of the government. At one time, with its fifty or sixty houses, the little city founded by Leonard Calvert was much larger than Jamestown; but after the removal it dwindled till little was left save a memory. The name of the new capital on the Severn was doubtless felt to be cumbrous, for it was presently changed to Annapolis,<sup>1</sup> the first of a set of queer hybrid compounds with which the map of the United States is besprinkled. Nicholson wished to crown the work of founding a new capital by establishing a school or college there, and accordingly in 1696 King William School was founded. For many years the income for supporting this and other free schools was derived from an export duty on furs.<sup>2</sup>

The change of the capital was perhaps bewailed only by the Catholics and others who were most strongly attached to the proprietary government. But the change in ecclesiastical policy disgusted everybody. Taxation for the support of the Episcopal church, of which only a small part of the population were members, was as unpopular with Puritans as with Papists. The Puritans, who had worked so zealously to undermine the proprietary government, had not bargained for such a result as this. The manner in which the church revenue was raised

Unpopularity of the establishment of the Episcopal church.

<sup>1</sup> Probably in honour of Princess Anne, the heiress presumptive, afterward Queen Anne.

<sup>2</sup> Every bearskin paid 9d., elk 12d., deer or beaver 4d., raccoons 3 farthings, muskrats 4d. per dozen, etc. Scharf, i. 352.

was also extremely irritating. The rate was forty pounds of tobacco per poll, so that rich and poor paid alike. A more inequitable and odious measure could hardly have been devised. The statute, however, with the dullness that usually characterizes the work of legislative bodies, forgot to specify the quality of tobacco in which the rates should be paid. Naturally, therefore, they were paid in the vilest unmarketable stuff that could be found, and the Episcopal clergymen found it hard to keep the

Episcopal  
parsons. wolf from the door. There was thus no inducement for competent ministers to come to Maryland, and those that were sent from England were of the poorest sort which the English Church in that period of its degradation could provide. Dr. Thomas Chandler, of New Jersey, who visited the eastern shore of Maryland in 1753, wrote to the Bishop of London as follows: "The general character of the clergy . . . is wretchedly bad. . . . It would really, my lord, make the ears of a sober heathen tingle to hear the stories that were told me by many serious persons of several clergymen in the neighbourhood of the parish where I visited; but I still hope that some abatement may be fairly made on account of the prejudices of those who related them."<sup>1</sup> The Swedish botanist, Peter Kalm, who visited Maryland about the same time, tells us that it was a common trick with a parson, when performing the marriage service for a poor couple, to halt midway

<sup>1</sup> Meade's *Old Churches*, ii. 352. Bishop Meade adds: "My own recollection of statements made by faithful witnesses . . . accords with the above."

and refuse to go on till a good round fee had been handed over to him.<sup>1</sup> On such occasions it may be presumed that the tobacco was of unimpeachable quality.

The last decade of the seventeenth century was a period of ceaseless wrangling over church matters. Almost every year saw some new act passed from which its opponents succeeded in causing the assent of the crown to be withheld. The government of William III. was not ill-disposed toward a policy of toleration, except toward Papists. Accordingly, although the act of 1692 remained substantially in force until the American Revolution, it was so qualified in 1702 as to exempt Quakers and other Protestant Dissenters from civil disabilities, and to allow them the free exercise of public worship in their own churches or meeting-houses. They were not exempted, however, from the poll tax for the maintenance of the Episcopal church.

Exemption  
of Protestant  
Dissenters  
from civil  
disabilities.

For the Catholics there was neither exemption nor privilege; they were shamefully insulted and vexed. In the autumn of 1704 two priests were summoned before the council: the one, William Hunter, was accused of consecrating a chapel,

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Graydon tells us that in his early days any jockeying, fiddling, wine-bibbing clergyman, not over-scrupulous as to stealing his sermons, was currently known as a "Maryland parson." Graydon's *Memoirs*, Edinburgh, 1822, p. 102. This was in Pennsylvania, and any sneering remark or phrase current in any of our states with reference to its next neighbours is entitled to be taken *cum grano salis*. But there was doubtless justification for what Graydon says.

which he answered with a plea that was in part denial and in part "confession and avoidance;" the other, Robert Brooke, acknowledged the truth of the charge that he had said mass at the chapel of St. Mary's. The request of these gentlemen for legal counsel was refused. As the complaint against them was a first complaint, they were let off with a reprimand, which the newly installed governor, John Seymour, thus politely administered: "It is the unhappy temper of you and all your tribe to grow insolent upon civility and never know how to use it, and yet of all people you have the least reason for considering that, if the necessary laws that are made were let loose, they are sufficient to crush you, and which (if your arrogant principles have not blinded you) you must need to dread. You might, methinks, be content to live quietly as you may, and let the exercise of your superstitious vanities be confined to yourselves, without proclaiming them at public times and in public places, unless you expect by your gaudy shows and serpentine policy to amuse the multitude and beguile the unthinking, . . . an act of deceit well known to be amongst you. But, gentlemen, be not deceived. . . . In plain and few words, if you intend to live here, let me hear no more of these things; for if I do, and they are made good against you, be assured I'll chastise you. . . . I'll remove the evil by sending you where you may be dealt with as you deserve. . . . Pray take notice that I am an English Protestant gentleman, and can never equivocate." After this fulmination the governor

Seymour's  
reprimand  
to the Catho-  
lic priests.



ordered the sheriff of St. Mary's county to lock up the Catholic chapel and "keep the key thereof;" and for all these proceedings the House of Burgesses declared themselves "cheerfully thankful" to his excellency, whom they found "so generously bent to protect her majesty's Protestant subjects here against insolence and growth of Popery."<sup>1</sup>

From 1704 to 1718 several ferocious acts were passed against Catholics. A reward of £100 was offered to any informer who should "ap-  
prehend and take" a priest and convict  
him of saying mass, or performing any  
of a priest's duties; and the penalty for the priest  
so convicted was perpetual imprisonment. Any  
Catholic found guilty of keeping a school, or  
taking youth to educate, was to spend the rest of  
his life in prison. Any person sending his child  
abroad to be educated as a Catholic was to be  
fined £100. No Catholic could become a pur-  
chaser of real estate. Certain impossible test  
oaths were to be administered to every Papist  
youth within six months after his attaining ma-  
jority, and if he should refuse to take them he was  
to be declared incapable of inheriting land, and  
his nearest kin of Protestant faith could supplant  
him. The children of a Protestant father might  
be forcibly taken away from their widowed mother  
and placed in charge of Protestant guardians.  
When extra taxes were levied for emergencies,  
Catholics were assessed at double rates.<sup>2</sup>

Cruel laws  
against  
Catholics.

These atrocities of the statute book were a

<sup>1</sup> Scharf, i. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Scharf, i. 370, 383.

symptom of the inflammatory effect wrought upon the English mind by the gigantic war against Louis XIV., and immediately afterward by the wild attempt of the so-called James III. to seize the crown of Great Britain. From the accession of William and Mary to the end of the reign of Anne, war against France was perpetual except for the breathing spell after the Peace of Ryswick. This state of things brought a fresh burden upon Maryland. War between France and Great Britain meant war between the Algonquin tribes and the English colonies aided by the Five Nations. The new situation was heralded in the Congress which met at New York in 1690, at Leisler's invitation, when Maryland was called upon to contribute men and money toward the invasion of Canada. With the advent of the royal government came royal requisitions for military purposes; and although this new burden was due to the new continental situation rather than to the change in the provincial government, it was one thing the more to make Marylanders look back with regret to the days of the proprietary rule.

For four-and-twenty years after 1691 the third Lord Baltimore lived in England in the full enjoyment of his private rights and revenues, though deprived of his government. His son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, was a prince who took secular views of public policy, like the great Henry of Navarre. He preferred his palatinate to his church, and abjured the Catholic faith, much to the wrath and disgust

Crown  
requisitions.

Benedict  
Calvert  
becomes a  
Protestant.

of his aged father, who at once withdrew his annual allowance of £450. Benedict was obliged to apply to the crown for a pension, which was granted by Anne and continued by George I. until on February 20, 1715, the situation was completely changed by the father's death. On the petition of Benedict, fourth Lord Baltimore, the proprietary government of Maryland was revived in his behalf. But Benedict survived his father only six weeks, and on April 5 his son Charles Calvert became fifth Lord Baltimore. As Charles was a lad of sixteen, whose Romanist faith had been forsworn with his father's, he was forthwith proclaimed Lord Proprietor of Maryland, and royal governors no more vexed that colony.

Revival of the palatinate, 1715.

Despite all troubles it had thriven under their administration. The population had doubled within less than twenty years, and on Charles's accession it was reckoned at 40,700 whites and 9,500 negroes.<sup>1</sup> Oppressive statutes had not prevented

<sup>1</sup> The following estimate of the population of the twelve colonies in 1715 (from Chalmer's *American Colonies*, ii. 7) may be of interest: —

|                          | White.        | Black.       | Total.        |
|--------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Massachusetts . . . . .  | 94,000        | 2,000        | 96,000        |
| Virginia . . . . .       | 72,000        | 23,000       | 95,000        |
| Maryland . . . . .       | 40,700        | 9,500        | 50,200        |
| Connecticut . . . . .    | 46,000        | 1,500        | 47,500        |
| Pennsylvania } . . . . . | 43,300        | 2,500        | 45,800        |
| Delaware }               |               |              |               |
| New York . . . . .       | 27,000        | 4,000        | 31,000        |
| New Jersey . . . . .     | 21,000        | 1,500        | 22,500        |
| South Carolina . . . . . | 6,250         | 10,500       | 16,750        |
| North Carolina . . . . . | 7,500         | 3,700        | 11,200        |
| New Hampshire . . . . .  | 9,500         | 150          | 9,650         |
| Rhode Island . . . . .   | 8,500         | 500          | 9,000         |
|                          | <hr/> 375,750 | <hr/> 58,850 | <hr/> 434,600 |

the Catholics from increasing in numbers and the influence which ability and character always wield. They were preëminently the picked men of the colony. Entire suppression of their forms of worship had been recognized as impracticable. An act of 1704 had allowed priests to perform religious services in Roman Catholic families, though not in public. From this permission advantage was taken to build chapels as part of private mansions, so that the family with their guests might worship God after their manner, relying upon the principle that an Englishman's house is his castle. By some of these people it was hoped that the restoration of the palatinate would revive their political rights and privileges. But this renewal of the palatinate was far from restoring the old state of things. The position of the fifth Lord Baltimore was very different from that of the second and third. They were Catholic princes, and were steadily supported by two Catholic kings of England. The new proprietor was a Protestant, dependent upon the favour of a Protestant king. The features of the old palatinate government, therefore, which lend the chief interest to its history, were never restored. Catholic citizens remained disfranchised, and continued to be taxed for the support of a church which they disapproved.

An interesting project was entertained about this time, by Charles Carroll and other Catholic gentlemen, of leading a migration to the Mississippi valley, thus transferring their allegiance from Great Britain to France.

Change in  
the political  
situation.

Charles  
Carroll.

Mr. Carroll, a descendant of the famous Irish sept of O'Carrolls, and one of the foremost citizens of Maryland, had long been agent and receiver of rents for the third Lord Baltimore. The scheme which he was now contemplating might have led to curious results, but it was soon abandoned. A grant of territory by the Arkansas River was sought from the French government,<sup>1</sup> but it proved impossible to agree upon terms, and that region remained a wilderness until several questions of world-wide importance had been settled.

Though the accession of the fifth Lord Baltimore did not reinstate the Catholics in their civil rights, it nevertheless did much to mitigate the operation of the oppressive statutes against them. An early symptom of Charles's temper was shown by his reappointment of Carroll as his agent. He went on to do such justice to Catholics as was in his power, and under his mild and equitable rule the fierceness of political passion was much abated. The proprietary government retained its popularity until it came to an end with the Declaration of Independence. But the interval of crown government from 1691 to 1715 had for the first time made the connection with Great Britain seem oppressive, and had planted the Seeds of revolution. seeds of future sympathy with the revolutionary party in Massachusetts and Virginia. As the long struggle with France increased in dimensions, the political questions at issue in the several colonies became more and more continental in character. All were more or less assimilated one to another,

<sup>1</sup> Scharf, i. 390.

and thus the way toward federation was prepared. Thus the discussions in Maryland came more and more to deal with the rights of the colonial legislature and British interference with them. At the same time Maryland had a grievance of her own in the poll tax for maintaining a foreign and hated church. In 1772 an assault upon that tax was the occasion of one of the most remarkable legal controversies in American annals; and the leader in that assault, Charles Carroll's grandson and namesake, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, soon afterward signed his name to the Declaration of Independence.

In 1751, after a tranquil reign, only two years of which were spent in Maryland, Charles Calvert died in London, and was succeeded by his son Frederick, sixth and last Lord Baltimore. After a series of Antonines, at last came the Commodus. Frederick was a miserable debauchee, unworthy scion of a noble race. For Maryland he cared nothing except to spend its revenues in riotous living in London. One adventure of his, for which he was tried and acquitted on a mere technicality, fills one of the most loathsome chapters of the *Newgate Calendar*.<sup>1</sup> But this villain was represented in Maryland by two excellent governors, Horatio Sharpe from 1753 to 1768, and then Sir Robert Eden, who had married Frederick's younger sister. Eden remained in authority until June 24, 1776, when he embarked for England with the good wishes of the

<sup>1</sup> Knapp and Baldwin, *Newgate Calendar*, ii. 385-397; Pelham, *Chronicles of Crime*, i. 213-220.

people. The wretched Frederick died in 1771, without legitimate children, and the barony of Baltimore became extinct. By the will of Charles, the fifth baron, the proprietorship of Maryland was now vested in Frederick's elder sister, Louisa, wife of John Browning. But Frederick had also left a will, in which he devised the province to an illegitimate son, called Henry Harford. This young man laid claim to the proprietorship, but before the chancery suit was ended the Palatinate of Maryland had become one of the thirteen United States.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### SOCIETY IN THE OLD DOMINION.

A LEARNED son of Old Virginia, who is fond of wrapping up a bookful of meaning in a single pithy sentence, has declared that "a true history of tobacco would be the history of English and American liberty." This remark occurs near the beginning of Mr. Moncreu Conway's dainty volume printed for the Grolier Club, entitled "Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock." When construed liberally, as all such sweeping statements need to be, it contains a kernel of truth. It was tobacco that planted an English nation in Virginia, and made a corporation in London so rich and powerful as to become a formidable seminary of sedition: it was the desire to monopolize the tobacco trade that induced Charles I. to recognize the House of Burgesses; discontent with the Navigation Act and its effect upon the tobacco trade was potent among the causes of Bacon's Rebellion; and so on down to the eve of Independence, when Patrick Henry won his first triumph in the famous Parson's Cause, in which the price of tobacco furnished the bone of contention, the Indian weed has been strangely implicated with the history of political freedom.

Furthermore, when we reflect upon the splendid



part played by Virginia in winning American independence and bringing into existence the political framework of our Federal Republic; when we recollect that of the five founders of this nation who were foremost in constructive work — Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, and Marshall — four were Virginians, — it becomes interesting to go back and study the social features of the community in which such leaders of men were produced. The economic basis of that community was the cultivation of tobacco on large plantations, and from that single economic circumstance resulted most of the social features which we have now to pass in review.

We have seen in a previous chapter how important was the cultivation of tobacco in setting the infant colony at Jamestown upon its feet in 1614 and the following years. In the rapid development of the colony during the reign of Charles I. other kinds of agriculture thrived, there were good crops of wheat, and Indian corn was exported. But tobacco culture increased rapidly and steadily until in the latter part of the century it nearly extinguished all other kinds of activity, except the raising of domestic animals and vegetables needed for food. Long before this result was reached, the tendency was deplored by the colonists themselves. To use a modern political phrase, it was “viewed with alarm.” This is quite intelligible. “We know now that tobacco, though not strictly a necessary of life, is one of those articles whose consumption may be looked on as certain and permanent. In

Rapid  
growth of  
tobacco  
culture.

the seventeenth century, men could hardly be blamed if they regarded the use of tobacco as a precarious fashion.”<sup>1</sup> It was also felt that in case of war it would be dangerous for Virginia to be forced to rely upon importing the manufactured necessaries of life. Moreover, the absorption of the colony’s industry in the production of a single staple made it especially easy for the home government to depress that industry by stupid legislation, as in the reign of Charles II., when the Navigation Act so seriously diminished the purchasing power of tobacco. For these various

Attempts to check it. reasons many attempts were made to check the cultivation of the Indian weed.

The legislation of the seventeenth century was full of instances. It was attempted to establish rival industries and to produce silk, cotton, and iron; laws were made forbidding any planter to raise more than 2,000 plants in one year’s crop, and so on. All such attempts proved futile; in spite of everything that could be done, tobacco drove all competitors from the field.

This tobacco was generally cultivated upon large estates. The policy of making extensive grants of land as an inducement to settlers was begun at an early date, and all that was needed to

Need for cheap labour. develop the system was an abundance of cheap labour. English yeomanry, such

as came to New England, was too intelligent and enterprising to furnish the right sort. English yeomanry, coming to Virginia, came to own estates for itself, not to work them for others.

<sup>1</sup> Doyle’s *Virginia*, p. 192.

It soon became necessary to have recourse to servile labour. We have seen negro slaves first brought into the colony from Africa in 1619, but their numbers increased very slowly, and it was only toward the end of the century that they began to be numerous. In the early period the demand for servile labour was supplied from other sources. Convicted criminals were sent over in great numbers from the mother country, as in later times they were sent to Botany Bay. On their arrival they were indented as servants for a term of years. Kidnapping was also at that time in England an extensive and lucrative business. Young boys and girls, usually but not always of the lowest class of society, were seized by press-gangs on the streets of London and Bristol and other English seaports, hurried on board ship, and carried over to Virginia to work on the plantations or as house servants. These poor wretches were not, indeed, sold into hopeless slavery, but they passed into a state of servitude which might be prolonged indefinitely by avaricious or cruel masters. The period of their indenture was short, — usually not more than four years; but the ordinary penalty for serious offences, such as were very likely to be committed, was a lengthening of the time during which they were to serve. Among such offences the most serious were insubordination or attempts to escape, while of a more venial character were thievery, or unchaste conduct,<sup>1</sup> or attempts to make money on

Indented  
white  
servants.

<sup>1</sup> For runaways additional terms of from two to seven years were sometimes prescribed. The birth of a bastard was pun-

their own account. Their lives were in theory protected by law, but where an indented servant came to his death from prolonged ill-usage, or from excessive punishment, or even from sudden violence, it was not easy to get a verdict against the master. In those days of frequent flogging, the lash was inflicted upon the indented servant with scarcely less compunction than upon the purchased slave; and in general the condition of the former seems to have been nearly as miserable as that of the latter, save that the servitude of the negro was perpetual, while that of the white man was pretty sure to come to an end. For him, Pandora's box had not quite spilled out the last of its contents.

In England the notion presently grew up that the aristocracy of Virginia was recruited from the ranks of these kidnapped paupers and convicts. This impression may have originated in statements, based upon real but misconstrued facts, such as we find in Defoe's widely read stories, "Moll Flanders"<sup>1</sup>

Notion that Virginians are descended from convicts.

ished by an additional term of from one and a half to two and a half years for the mother and a year for the father. See Ballagh, "White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia," *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, xiii. 315.

<sup>1</sup> "Among the rest, she often told me how the greatest part of the inhabitants of that colony came thither in very indifferent circumstances from England; that, generally speaking, they were of two sorts: either, 1st, such as were brought over by masters of ships to be sold as servants; or, 2nd, such as are transported after having been found guilty of crimes punishable with death. When they come here . . . the planters buy them, and they work together in the field till their time is out. . . . [Then] they have a certain number of acres of land allotted them by the country, and they go to work to clear and cure the land, and then to plant it with tobacco and corn for their own use; and as the merchants

and "Colonel Jack." So, too, in Mrs. Aphra Behn's comedy, "The Widow Ranter, or, The History of Bacon in Virginia," one of the personages, named Hazard, sails to Virginia, and on arriving at Jamestown suddenly meets an old acquaintance, named Friendly, whereupon the following conversation ensues: —

*Hazard.* This unexpected happiness o'erjoys me. Who could have imagined to have found thee in Virginia? . . .

*Friendly.* My uncle dying here left me a considerable plantation. . . . But prithee what chance (fortunate to me) drove thee to this part of the New World?

*Hazard.* Why, 'faith, ill company and that common vice of the town, gaming. . . . I had rather starve abroad than live pitied and despised at home.

*Friendly.* Would [the new governor] were landed; we hear he is a noble gentleman.

*Hazard.* He has all the qualities of a gallant man. Besides, he is nobly born.

*Friendly.* This country wants nothing but to be peopled with a well-born race to make it one of the best colonies in the world; but for want of a governor we are ruled by a council, some of whom have been perhaps transported criminals, who having acquired great

will trust them with tools and necessaries upon the credit of their crop before it is grown, so they again plant every year a little more [etc.]. . . . Hence, child, says she, many a Newgate-bird becomes a great man, and we have . . . several justices of the peace, officers of the trained bands, and magistrates of the towns they live in, that have been burnt in the hand. . . . You need not think such a thing strange; . . . some of the best men in the country are burnt in the hand, and they are not ashamed to own it; there's Major —, says she, he was an eminent pickpocket; there's Justice B— was a shoplifter, . . . and I could name you several such as they are." *Moll Flanders*, p. 66.

estates are now become Your Honour and Right Worshipful, and possess all places of authority.<sup>1</sup>

It is not only in novels and plays, however, that we encounter such statements. Malachy Postlethwayt, author of several valuable and scholarly treatises on commerce, tells us: “Even your transported felons, sent to Virginia instead of Tyburn, thousands of them, if we are not misinformed, have, by turning their hands to industry and improvement, and (which is best of all) to honesty, become rich, substantial planters and merchants, settled large families, and been famous in the country; nay, we have seen many of them made magistrates, officers of militia, captains of good ships, and masters of good estates.”<sup>2</sup> Either from the study of Postlethwayt, or perhaps simply from reading “Moll Flanders,”

we may suppose that Dr. Johnson got the notion to which he gave vent in 1769 when quite out of patience because the ministry seemed ready to make some concessions to the Americans. “Why, they are a race of convicts,” cried the irate doctor, “and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging!”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Plays written by the late Ingenious Mrs. Behn*, London, 1724, iv. 110–112.

<sup>2</sup> Postlethwayt's *Dictionary of Commerce*, 3d ed., London, 1766, vol. ii. fol. 4 M, 2 recto, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii. 312. Professor James Butler, in an excellent paper on “British Convicts shipped to American Colonies,” *American Historical Review*, ii. 12–33, suggests that Johnson's impression may have been derived from his long connection with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, wherein the lists of felons, reprieved from the gallows and sent to America were regularly published.

Thus we witness the progress of generalization: first it is some Virginians that are jail-birds, or offspring of jail-birds, then it is all Virginians, finally it is all Americans. A few years ago, in the time of our Civil War, one used to find this grotesque notion still surviving in occasional polite statements of European newspapers, informing their readers that the citizens of the United States are the "offspring of the vagabonds and felons of Europe."<sup>1</sup>

The statement of the worthy Postlethwayt seems based partly on observation, partly on information, and has unquestionably been the source of inferences much more sweeping than <sup>The real</sup> <sub>question.</sub> facts will sustain. In order to arrive at clear views of the subject, we must distinguish between two questions: —

1. What sort of people, on the whole, were the indented white servants in Virginia?

2. How far did they ever succeed, as freedmen, in attaining to high social position in the colony?

In answering the first question, a mere reference to "felons" and "convicts" will carry us but little way. A considerable proportion of the indented white servants were poor but honest persons who sold themselves into slavery for a brief term to defray the cost of the voyage from England. The ship-owner received from the planter the passage-money in the shape of tobacco, and in exchange he handed over the passenger to be the planter's servant until the debt was wiped out. Indented servants of this class were known as

<sup>1</sup> Whitmore, *The Cavalier Dismounted*, p. 17.

“redemptioners,” and many of them were eminently industrious and of excellent character. Such redemptioners came in large numbers to Virginia, Maryland, and the middle colonies, and much more rarely to New England, where the demand for any kind of servile labour was but small.

Again, among the transported convicts were many who had been sentenced to death for what would now be considered trivial offences; the poor woman who stole a joint of meat to relieve her starving children was not necessarily a hardened criminal, yet if the price of the joint were more than a shilling she incurred the death penalty. For counterfeiting a lottery ticket, or for personating the holder of a stock and receiving the dividends due upon it, the punishment was the same as for wilful murder.<sup>1</sup> The favourite remedy prescribed in law was the gallows, as in medicine the lancet. Yet many judges and officers of state were conscious of the excessive severity of the system, and welcomed the device of sending the less hardened offenders out of the kingdom instead of putting them to death. There is reason for believing that murderers, burglars, and highwaymen continued to be summarily sent to Tyburn, while for offences of a lighter sort and in cases with extenuating circumstances the death penalty was often commuted to transportation. As a rule it was not the worst sort of offenders who were sent to the colonies.

The practice of sending rogues beyond sea began

<sup>1</sup> Pike, *History of Crime in England*, ii. 447.



soon after the founding of Virginia, and continued until it was cut short in America by the War of Independence; thereafter the Australasian colonies were made a receptacle for them until the practice came to an end soon after the middle of the nineteenth century. It has been estimated that between 1717 and 1775 not less than 10,000 "involuntary emigrants" were sent from the Old Bailey alone;<sup>1</sup> and possibly the total number sent to America from the British islands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may have been as high as 50,000.<sup>2</sup> In the lists of such offenders their particular destinations are apt to be very loosely and carelessly indicated; the name Virginia, for example, is often used so vaguely as to include the West Indies.<sup>3</sup> The destinations most commonly specified are Virginia, Maryland, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, but it is certain that all English colonies outside of New England received considerable numbers of convicts. Very few were brought to New England, because the demand for such labour was less than elsewhere, and therefore the prisoners would not fetch so high a price.<sup>4</sup> Stringent laws were made against bringing in such people. In 1700 Massa-

Number and  
distribution  
of convicts.

<sup>1</sup> *American Historical Review*, ii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Penny Cyclopædia*, xxv. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of Royal Historical MSS. Commission*, xiii. 605.

<sup>4</sup> The only specific mention which Professor Butler has been able to find of a criminal sent to New England is that of Elizabeth Canning, who was sent out for seven years under penalty of death if she returned to England during that time. She was brought to Connecticut in 1754, married John Treat two years afterward, and died in Wethersfield in 1773. *American Historical Review*, ii. 32.

Massachusetts enacted that every master of a ship arriving with passengers must hand to the custom-house officer a written certificate of the "name, character, and circumstances" of each passenger, under penalty of a fine of £5 for every name omitted; and the custom-house officer was obliged to deliver to the town clerk the full list of names with the accompanying certificates.<sup>1</sup> The existence of this wholesome statute indicates that undesirable persons had been brought into the colony; and the reënactment of it in 1722, with the fine raised from £5 to £100, is clear proof that the nuisance was not yet abated. Nevertheless, partly because of such vigilant measures of prevention, but much more because of the economic reason above alleged, the four New England colonies received but few convicts.

A very different class of transported persons consisted of those who were not criminals at all, but merely political offenders, or even prisoners of war. For example, of the Scotch prisoners taken at Dunbar in 1650, Cromwell sent about 150 to Boston. The next year orders were issued for sending 1,610 of the Worcester captives to Virginia, but very few of them seem to have arrived there.<sup>2</sup> In 1652 a party of 272

Prisoners of war.

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, i. 452; ii. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, i. 609; Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, i. 464. It is commonly said that many of the prisoners condemned for taking part in Monmouth's rebellion, 1685, were sent to Virginia (see Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.* i. 471; Ballagh, *J. H. U. Studies*, xiii. 293). But an examination of the lists shows that nearly all were sent to Barbadoes, and probably none to Virginia. See Hotten, *Original Lists of Persons*

men captured at Worcester were landed in Boston, but so small was the demand for their labour that they were soon exported southward, — perhaps to the West Indies in exchange for sugar or rum. After the restoration of the monarchy so many non-conformists were sold into servitude in Virginia as to lead to an insurrection in 1663, followed by legislation designed to keep all convicts out of the colony.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, the number of political offenders brought to those colonies that have since become the United States was certainly much smaller than the number of criminal convicts, while the latter were in all probability much less numerous than the redemptioners. During the seventeenth century the demand for wholesale servile white labour was much greater in Virginia and Maryland than elsewhere, and there are many indications that they received more convicts and redemptioners than the other colonies. In the eighteenth century, however, the middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania, probably received at least as large a share.

Our survey shows that in the class of indented white servants there was a wide range of gradation, from thrifty redemptioners<sup>2</sup> and gallant *of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, etc.*, pp. 315-344.

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, ii. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bruce has well said that in the seventeenth century the white servant was "the main pillar of the industrial fabric" of Virginia, and "performed the most honourable work in establishing and sustaining" that colony. There can be no doubt, as he goes on to say, that the work of colonization which has been performed by the people of England surpasses, both in extent and beneficence, that of any other race which has left an impression

rebels at the one extreme down to ruffians and pickpockets at the other. Bearing this in mind, we come to our second question, How far did white freedmen succeed in attaining to high social position in such a colony as Virginia? There is no doubt that, as Postlethwayt declares, some of the best of them did work their way up to the ownership of plantations. In the seventeenth century they were occasionally elected to the House of Burgesses. The composition of that assembly for 1654 affords an interesting example. One of the two members for Warwick was the worthy Samuel Mathews, soon to be elected governor; and one of the four members for Charles City was Major Abraham Wood, who, as a child of ten years, had been brought from England in 1620, and had been a servant of Mathews. John Trussel, the member for Northumberland, and William Worlidge, one of the two members for Elizabeth City, had been servants brought over in 1622, aged respectively nineteen and eighteen.<sup>1</sup> Whether these lads had been offenders against the law does not appear, nor do we know whether the child had come with parents not mentioned, or as the victim of kidnapers. We only know that all three were servants,<sup>2</sup>

upon universal history, and the part the manual labourers have taken in this work is not less memorable than the part taken by the higher classes of the nation." *Economic History of Virginia*, i. 573, 582.

<sup>1</sup> Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 279; Hotten's *Original Lists*, pp. 207, 233, 254; Hening's *Statutes*, i. 386.

<sup>2</sup> In the absence of detailed specific knowledge it is unsafe to base inferences upon the word "servant," inasmuch as in the

Careers  
of white  
freedmen.

and, if the word is to be understood in the ordinary sense, it was much to their credit that they rose to be burgesses. Cases of ordinary indented servants thus rising were certainly exceptional in the seventeenth century, and still more so in the eighteenth. Nothing can be more certain than that the representative families of Virginia were not descended from convicts, or from indented servants of any sort. Although family records were until of late less carefully preserved than in New England, yet the registered facts abundantly prove that the leading families had precisely the same sort of origin as the leading families in New England. For the most part they were either country squires, or prosperous yeomen, or craftsmen from the numerous urban guilds; and alike in Virginia and in New England there was a similar proportion of persons connected with English families ennobled or otherwise eminent for public service.

Representative Virginia families are not descended from white freedmen.

As for the white freedmen, those of the better sort often acquired small estates, while some became overseers of white servants and black slaves. The kind of life which they led is described in Defoe's "Colonel Jack" with that great writer's customary minuteness of information. The class of small proprietors always remained in Virginia, and included many other persons beside freedmen. With the increasing tendency toward the predominance of

Some white freedmen became small proprietors.

seventeenth century it included not only menials but clerks and apprentices, even articulated students in a lawyer's or doctor's office, etc. See *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 22; Bruce, *Economic History*, i. 573-575; ii. 45.

great estates in tidewater Virginia, there was a tendency for the smaller proprietors to move westward into the Piedmont region or southward into North Carolina, as will appear in the next chapter.

While it was true that "the convicts . . . sometimes prove very worthy creatures and entirely forsake their former follies,"<sup>1</sup> it was also true that many of them "have been and are the poorest, idlest, and worst of mankind, the refuse of Great Britain and Ireland, and the outcast of the people."<sup>2</sup> These degraded freedmen

Some became "mean whites."

were apt to be irreclaimable vagabonds. According to Bishop Meade, they gave the vestrymen a great deal of trouble. "The number of illegitimate children born of them and thrown upon the parish led to much action on the part of the vestries and the legislature. The lower order of persons in Virginia in a great measure sprang from those apprenticed servants and from poor exiled culprits. It is not wonderful that there should have been much debasement of character among the poorest population, and that the negroes of the first families should always have considered themselves a more respectable class. To this day [1857] there are many who look upon poor white folks (for so they call them) as much beneath themselves; and, in truth, they are so in many respects."<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the fact that manual labour was a badge of servitude, while the white

<sup>1</sup> "Tour through the British Plantations," *London Magazine*, 1755.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, 1724, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Meade's *Old Churches*, i. 366.

freedmen of degraded type were by nature and experience unfitted to perform any work of a higher sort, was of itself enough to keep them from doing any work at all, unless driven by impending starvation. As manual labour came to be more and more entirely relegated to men of black and brown skins, this wretched position of the mean whites grew worse and worse. The negro slave might take a certain sort of pride in belonging to the grand establishment of a powerful or wealthy master, and from this point of view society might be said to have a place for him, even though he possessed no legal rights. There was no such haven of security for the mean whites. If the negro was like a Sudra, they were simply Pariahs. Crimes against person and property were usually committed by persons of this class. They were loungers in taverns and at horse-races, earning a precarious livelihood, or violent death by gambling and thieving; or else they withdrew from the haunts of civilization to lead half-savage lives in the backwoods. In these people we may recognize a strain of the English race which has not yet on American soil become extinct or absorbed. There can be little doubt that the white freedmen of degraded type were the progenitors of a considerable portion of what is often called the "white trash" of the South. Originating in Virginia and Maryland, the greater part of it seems to have been gradually sifted out by migration to wilder regions westward and southward, much to the relief of those colonies. As to the probable manner of its distribution, something will be said in the next chapter.

Long before the end of the seventeenth century, Virginia and Maryland had begun to protest against the policy of sending criminals from England,<sup>1</sup> and as negro slaves became more numerous white servitude was greatly diminished. The rapid increase of negroes began toward the end of the century, and an immense impetus was

Develop-  
ment of ne-  
gro slavery;  
treaty of  
Utrecht.

given it by the *asiento* clause of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. By way of indemnifying herself for the cost of the

War of the Spanish Succession, victorious England bade Spain and France keep their hands off from Africa, while she monopolized for herself the slave-trade. We are reminded by Mr. Lecky that this was the one clause in the treaty that seemed to give the most general satisfaction; and while an eminent prelate affixed his name to the treaty and a magnificent *Te Deum* by Handel was sung in the churches, it occurred to nobody to denounce as unchristian a national scheme for kidnapping thousands of black men and selling them into slavery.<sup>2</sup> Before 1713 the part which English ships had taken in the slave-trade was comparatively small; and it is curious now to look back and think how Marlborough and Eugene at Blenheim were un-

<sup>1</sup> Before the Revolution this grievance had come to awaken fierce resentment. A letter printed in 1751 exclaims: "In what can Britain show a more sovereign contempt for us than by emptying their gaols into our settlements, unless they would likewise empty their offal upon our tables? . . . And what must we think of those merchants who for the sake of a little paltry gain will be concerned in importing and disposing of these abominable cargoes!" — *Virginia Gazette*, May 24, 1751.

<sup>2</sup> Lecky, *History of England*, i. 127.



consciously cutting out work for Grant and Sherman at Vicksburg. In 1700 there were probably 60,000 Englishmen and 6,000 negroes in Virginia; by 1750 there were probably 250,000 whites and 250,000 blacks, while during that same half century the peopling of the Carolinas was rapidly going on.<sup>1</sup> This portentous increase of the slave population presently began to awaken serious alarm in Virginia. Attempts were made to restrict the importation of negroes, and at the time of the Revolutionary War the humanitarian spirit of the eighteenth century showed itself in the rise of a party in favour of emancipation. In 1784 Thomas Jefferson announced the principle upon which Abraham Lincoln was elected to the presidency in 1860, the prohibition of slavery in the national domain; Jefferson attempted to embody this principle in an ordinance for establishing territorial government west of the Alleghanies. In 1787 George Mason denounced the "infernal traffic" in flesh and blood with phrases quite like those which his grandchildren were to resent when they fell from the lips of Wendell Phillips. The life of the anti-slavery party in Virginia was short. After the abolition of the African slave-trade in 1808 had increased the demand for Virginia-bred slaves in the states farther south, the very idea of emancipation faded out of memory.

Anti-slavery  
sentiment in  
Virginia.

<sup>1</sup> Smyth's *Tour in the United States*, London, 1784, i. 72. In 1748 Maryland had 98,357 free whites, 6,870 redemptioners, 1,981 convicts, and 42,764 negroes. See Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America*, i. 247.

I have already remarked upon the approval with which negro slavery was by many people regarded in the days of Queen Elizabeth. To bring black heathen within the pale of Christian civilization was deemed a meritorious business.<sup>1</sup> But there were people who took a lower and coarser view of the matter. They denied that the negro was strictly human; it was therefore useless to try to make him a Christian, but it was right to make him a beast of burden, like asses and oxen.<sup>2</sup> This point of view was illustrated in the remark made by a lady of Barbadoes, noted for her exemplary piety, to Godwyn, the able author of "The Negro's and Indian's Advocate;" she told him that "he might as well baptize puppies as negroes."<sup>3</sup> This line of thought was pur-

Theory that negroes were non-human.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> At the famous meeting in the Tabernacle at New York, in May, 1850, when Isaiah Rynders and his ruffians made a futile attempt to silence Garrison, one of the speakers maintained "that the blacks were not men, but belonged to the monkey tribe." *William Lloyd Garrison: the Story of his Life, told by his Children*, iii. 294. Defenders of slavery at that time got much comfort from Agassiz's opinion that the different races of men had distinct origins. It was perhaps even more effective than the favourite "cursed be Canaan" argument.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce, *Economic History*, ii. 94. About 1854 (I am not quite sure as to the date) it was reported in Middletown, Conn., that the "horrid infidel," Rev. Theodore Parker, had, on a recent Sunday in the Boston Music Hall, brought forward sundry cats and dogs and baptized them in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!!! I shall never forget the chill of horror which ran through the neighbourhood at this tale of wanton blasphemy. In 1867 I found the belief in the story still surviving among certain persons in Middletown with a tenacity that no argument or explanation could shake. The origin of the ridiculous tale was as follows: The famous abolitionist, Parker Pillsbury, made a speech in which

sued to all sorts of grotesque conclusions. Some held that mulattoes were made half human by the infusion of white blood, and might accordingly be baptized. Others deemed it poor economy to baptize the slave, since it would be incumbent on the master to feed Christians better than heathen, and to flog them less. And there were yet others who had heard the doctrine that Christians ought not to be held in bondage, and feared lest baptism should be judged equivalent to emancipation.<sup>1</sup> This notion was at first so prevalent in Virginia that in 1667 it was enacted: "Whereas some doubts have risen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners made partakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made ffree; It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly and the authority thereof, that the conferringe of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or ffreedom; that diverse masters, ffreed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of christianity

he quoted what the lady said to Godwyn, that "he might as well baptize puppies as negroes." In passing from mouth to mouth the report of this incident underwent an astounding transformation. First the speaker's name was exchanged for that of another famous abolitionist, the strong and lovely Christian saint, Theodore Parker; and then the figure of speech was developed into an act and clothed with circumstance. Thus from the true statement, that Parker Pillsbury told a story in which an allusion was made to baptizing puppies, grew the false statement that Theodore Parker actually baptized cats and dogs. A great deal of what passes current as history has no better foundation than this outrageous calumny.

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 96-98.

by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable, to be admitted to that sacrament.”<sup>1</sup>

During the seventeenth century the slave was regarded as personal property, but a curious statute of 1705 declared him to be for most purposes a kind of real estate. He could be sold, however, without the registry of a deed; he could be recovered by an action of trover; and he was not reckoned a part of the property qualification which entitled his master to the political privileges of a freeholder.<sup>2</sup>

In the system of taxation white servants and negro slaves played an important part. The primary tax upon all landholders was the quit-rent of a shilling for every fifty acres, payable at Michaelmas. This quit-rent was at first collected in the name of the Company, but after 1624 in the King's name; and the proceeds were devoted to various public uses. It was always an unpopular tax, inasmuch as there was no feasible way (as now-a-days with our blessed tariffs) of making dullards believe that “the foreigner paid it,” and there were frequent complaints of delinquency. Another tax was the duty of two shillings upon every hogshead of tobacco exported. A third was the tax upon slaves and servants. At the close of the seventeenth century adult negroes were valued at from £25 to £40, and children at £10 or £12; there seems to have been little if any difference between the prices of men and

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, ii. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Hening, iii. 333-335.

women.<sup>1</sup> The taxation of slave property was equitable, inasmuch as it bore most heavily upon those best able to pay.

It is generally admitted that the treatment of slaves by their masters was mild and humane. There were instances of cruelty, of course. Cruelty forever lurks as a hideous possibility in the mildest system of slavery ; it is part of its inner-  
Treatment  
of slaves.  
 most essence. In every community there are brutes unfit to have the custody of their fellow-creatures. Such a ruffian was the Rev. Samuel Gray, who had his runaway black boy tied to a tree and flogged to death. Separation of families also occurred, though much less frequently than in later times. But cases of cruelty were on the whole rare. The cultivation of tobacco was not such a drain upon human life as the cultivation of sugar in the West Indies, or the raising of indigo and rice in South Carolina. It created a kind of patriarchal society in which the master felt a genuine interest in the welfare of his slaves. "The solicitude exhibited by John Page of York was not uncommon : in his will he instructed his heirs to provide for the old age of all the negroes who descended to them from him, with as much care in point of food, clothing, and other necessaries as if they were still capable of the most profitable labour."<sup>2</sup> The historian, Robert Beverley, writing in 1705, tells us that "the male servants

<sup>1</sup> For many of these details concerning slavery I am indebted to Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia*, chap. xi., — a book which it would be difficult to praise too highly.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 107.

and the slaves of both sexes are employed together in tilling and manuring the ground, in sowing and planting corn, tobacco, etc. Some distinction indeed is made between them in their clothes and food; but the work of both is no other than what the overseers, the freemen, and the planters themselves do. . . . And I can assure you with a great deal of truth that generally their slaves are not worked near so hard, nor so many hours in a day, as the husbandmen and day-labourers in England." As for cruelty, he exclaims, with honest fervour, "no people more abhor the thoughts of such usage than the Virginians, nor take more precaution to prevent it."<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, a state of enforced servitude is something which human nature does not willingly endure. A slave-holding community must provide for catching runaways and suppressing or preventing insurrections. It is one of the remarkable facts in American history that there have been so few insurrections of negroes. There have been, however, occasional instances and symptoms which have kept slave-owners in dread and given rise to harsh legislation. In 1687 a conspiracy among the blacks on the Northern Neck was detected just in time to prevent the explosion.<sup>2</sup> In 1710 a similar plot in Surry County was betrayed by one of the conspirators, whom the assembly proceeded to reward by giving him his

Fears of insurrection.

<sup>1</sup> Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, London, 1705, part iv. pp. 36-39. The historian was son of Major Robert Beverley mentioned above, on pages 109-114 of the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> Burk's *History of Virginia*, Petersburg, 1805, ii. 300.

freedom with permission to remain in the colony.<sup>1</sup> The fears engendered by such discoveries are revealed in the statute book. Slaves were not allowed to be absent from their plantations without a ticket-of-leave signed by their master. The negro who could not show such a passport must receive twenty lashes, and was liable to be treated as a fugitive or "outlying" slave. Such runaways were formally outlawed; a proclamation issued by two justices of the peace was read on the next Sunday by the parish clerk from the door of every church in the county, after which anybody might seize the fugitive and bring him home, or kill him if he made any resistance. In the latter event the master was indemnified from the public funds. At the discretion of the county court, such mutilation might be inflicted upon the outlying negro as to protect white women against the horrible crime which then as now he was prone to commit.<sup>2</sup> In 1701 we find an act of the assembly directed against "one negro man named Billy," who "has severall years unlawfully absented himselfe from his masters services, lying out and lurking in obscure places, . . . devouring and destroying stocks and crops, robing the houses of and committing and threatening other injuryes to severall of his majesty's good and leige people." It was enacted

Cruel laws.

<sup>1</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, iii. 537. For the loss of this slave by emancipation his master was indemnified by a payment of £40 from the colonial treasury.

<sup>2</sup> Hening, iii. 461; vi. 111. In England in the Middle Ages such mutilation was a common punishment for rape; sometimes, in addition, the culprit's eyes were put out. See Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I.* ii. 489.

that whosoever should bring in the said Billy alive or dead should receive a thousand pounds of tobacco in reward, and if dead, his master's loss should be repaired with four thousand pounds. Anybody who should aid or harbour Billy was to be adjudged guilty of felony.<sup>1</sup> No penalty was attached to the murder of a slave by his master ; but if he were killed by any one else, the master could recover his value, just as in case of damage done to a dog or a horse. Slaves were not allowed to have fire-arms or other weapons in their possession ; “ and whereas many negroes, under pretence of practising physic, have prepared and exhibited poisonous medicines, by which many persons have been murdered, and others have languished under long and tedious indispositions, and it will be difficult to detect such pernicious and dangerous practices if they should be permitted to exhibit any sort of medicine,” it was enacted that any slave who should prepare or administer any medicine whatsoever, save with the full knowledge and consent of the master or mistress, should suffer death.<sup>2</sup> The testimony of a slave could not be received in court except when one of his own race was on trial for life ; then, if he should be found to testify falsely, he was to stand for an hour with one ear nailed to the pillory, and then be released by slicing off the ear ; the same process was then repeated with the other ear, after which the ceremony was finished at the whipping-post with nine-and-thirty lashes on the bare back, “ well laid

<sup>1</sup> Hening, iii. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Hening, vi. 105.



on.”<sup>1</sup> Stealing a slave from a plantation was a capital offence.<sup>2</sup> No master was allowed to emancipate one of his slaves, except for meritorious services, in which case he must obtain a license from the governor and council. If a slave were set free without such a license, the church-wardens could forthwith arrest him and sell him at auction, appropriating the proceeds for the parish funds, and thereby lightening the taxes.<sup>3</sup> When a license was granted, the master received the usual indemnity, and by an act of 1699 the freedman was required to quit the colony within six months;<sup>4</sup> for obviously the presence of a large number of free blacks in the same community with their enslaved brethren was a source of danger. They were apt, moreover, to become receivers of stolen goods, and their shiftless habits made them paupers.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless there were some free negroes in the colony, and at one time they even appear to have had the privilege of voting, for an act of 1723 deprived them of it; but no free negroes, whether men or women, were exempt from taxation.<sup>6</sup>

Since gentlemen from the North American colonies and from the West Indies not unfrequently visited England, and sometimes remained there for months or years, it was quite natural that they should take with them household slaves to whose personal attendance they were accustomed. In

<sup>1</sup> Hening, vi. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Hening, v. 558.

<sup>3</sup> Hening, vi. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Hening, iii. 87, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 129.

<sup>6</sup> Hening, iv. 133, 134.

course of time the question thus arose whether  
 the arrival of a slave upon the free soil  
 of England worked his emancipation.

Taking  
 slaves to  
 England.

According to Virginia law it did not.<sup>1</sup>

The opinion expressed in 1729 by Lord Talbot, the attorney-general, and supported by Lord Hardwicke, agreed with the Virginia theory. These eminent lawyers held that mere arrival in England was not enough to free a slave without some specific act of emancipation, but Chief Justice Holt expressed a contrary opinion. Meanwhile masters kept carrying negroes to London until in 1764 the "Gentleman's Magazine" asserted (surely with wild exaggeration) that no less than 20,000 were domiciled there. Escape was so easy for them that their owners felt obliged to put collars on them, duly inscribed with name and address. In 1685 the "London Gazette" advertised Colonel Kirke's runaway black boy, upon whose silver collar the colonel's arms and cipher were engraved; in 1728 the "Daily Journal" informs us that a stray negro has on his collar the inscription, "My Lady Bromfield's black in Lincoln's Inn Fields;" and in the "London Advertiser," 1756, a goldsmith in Westminster announces that he makes "silver padlocks for Blacks' or Dogs' collars." Colonel Kirke and Lady Bromfield were not American visitors, but residents in London, and there is evidence, not abundant but sufficient, that negroes were now and then bought and sold there for household service. When the forger John Rice was hanged at Tyburn in 1763, his effects were sold at auction,

<sup>1</sup> Hening, iii. 448, act of 1705.

and a black boy brought £32. A similar sale at Richmond in 1771 was mentioned in terms of severe condemnation by the "Stamford Mercury."<sup>1</sup> However the English people may have sanctioned the establishment of slavery beyond sea, they were not disposed to tolerate it at home; and in the sixty years withal since the treaty of Utrecht, the public conscience had grown tender on the subject. The days of Clarkson and Wilberforce were at hand. A cry was raised by the press, a test case was brought before the King's Bench, and in 1772 Lord Mansfield pronounced the immortal decision that "as soon as a slave sets foot on the soil of the British islands he becomes free."

Lord Mansfield's decision.

It is not long after this that we find Thomas Jefferson — himself the kindest of masters, and familiar with slavery in its mild Virginia form — thus writing about it: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. . . . The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. . . . With the morals of the people their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion, indeed, are ever

Jefferson on slavery.

<sup>1</sup> See Larned's excellent *History for Ready Reference*, iv. 2921, where the case is ably summed up.

seen to labour. And can the liberties of the nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.”<sup>1</sup>

In no respect was the system of slavery more reprehensible than in the illicit sexual relations that grew out of it. The extent of the evil may be realized when we simply reflect that the numerous race of mulattoes and quadroons did not originate from wedlock. In 1691 it was enacted that any white man or woman, whether bond or free, intermarrying with a negro, mulatto, or Indian, should be banished for life. In 1705 the penalty was changed to fine and imprisonment, and for any minister who should dare to perform the ceremony there was prescribed a fine nearly equal to his whole year's salary.<sup>2</sup> Yet the “abominable mixture and spurious issue,” against which these statutes were aimed, went on, unsanctioned by law and unblessed by the church. Usually mulattoes were the children of negresses by white fathers, but it was not always so. Some of the wretched women from English jails seem to have had fancies as unaccountable as those of the frail sultanas of the Arabian Nights. In such cases the white mother, if free, was fined £15, or in default thereof was sold into servitude for five years; if she were a bondwoman, the church-wardens waited

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, 1782, Query xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Henning, iii. 87, 454.

for her term of service to expire, and then sold her for five years; her child was bound to service until thirty years of age.<sup>1</sup> The case of the bastards of negresses was very simply disposed of by enacting that the legal status of children was the same as that of their mother.<sup>2</sup> This made them all slaves, from the prognathous and platyrrhine creature with woolly hair to the handsome and stately octoroon, and secured their labour to the master. At first the illicit relations between masters and their female slaves were frowned at, and in some instances visited with church discipline or punished by fines.<sup>3</sup> But public opinion seems to have lost its sensitiveness in the presence of a custom which lasted until slavery was abolished.<sup>4</sup> With the signal advance in refinement which the nineteenth century ushered in, there is reason to believe that in many a southern home there were earnest hearts that deplored the dreadful evil, and welcomed at last the downfall of the system that sustained it.

Some writers divide Old Virginia society into four classes, — the great planters, the small planters, the white servants and freedmen, and the negro slaves. The division is sound, provided we remember that be-

Classes in  
Virginia  
society.

<sup>1</sup> Hening, iii. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Hening, ii. 170, act of 1662.

<sup>3</sup> See Bruce, *Economic History*, ii. 109, where we are told that Jamestown was sorely scandalized by the loose behaviour of "thoughtful Mr. Lawrence."

<sup>4</sup> "The gain from the African labour outweighed all fears of evil from the intermixture." Foote's *Sketches of Virginia*, i. 23.

tween the two upper classes no hard and fast line can be drawn. Already in England the classes of rural gentry and yeomen shaded into one another ; in Virginia both alike became land-holders and slave-owners, they mingled together in society, and their families intermarried. A typical instance is that of the parents of Thomas Jefferson. His paternal ancestors were yeomanry who in Virginia developed into country squires. The first Jefferson in Virginia was a member of the first House of Burgesses in 1619 ; Thomas's father, who was also a burgess and county lieutenant, owned about thirty slaves. Thomas's mother, Jane Randolph, whose grandfather migrated to Virginia in 1674, belonged to a family that had been eminent in England since the thirteenth century, including among its members a baron of the exchequer, a number of knights, a foreign ambassador, a head of one of the colleges at Oxford, etc.

There can be no doubt that the white blood of tidewater Virginia was English almost without admixture until the end of the seven-  
Huguenots  
in tidewater  
Virginia.
 tenth century, and of the very slight admixture nearly all was from the British islands. There was a desultory sprinkling of Protestant Frenchmen, Walloons, and Dutch, scarcely appreciable in the mass of the population. But after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, Virginia received a small part of the Huguenot exodus from France. The largest company, more than seven hundred in number, led by the Breton nobleman, Olivier, Marquis de la Muce, arrived in the year 1700, and settled in various

places, more particularly at Monacan Town in Henrico County. A part of this company were Waldenses from Piedmont, who had taken refuge in Switzerland, and thence made their way through Alsace and the Low Countries to England.<sup>1</sup> Other parties came from time to time, adding to Virginia many estimable citizens whom France could ill afford to lose. Among the Huguenot names in Virginia, the reader will recognize Maury, Flournoy, Jouet, Moneure, Fontaine, Marye, Bertrand, and others.<sup>2</sup> Dabneys (*D'Aubigné*) and Bowdoin (*Baudouin*) came to Virginia as well as to Boston. Such was the principal foreign admixture while Virginia was still tidewater Virginia, before the crossing of the Blue Ridge. The advent of Germans and Scotch-Irish will be treated in a future chapter.

Having thus considered the composition of society in its different strata, as connected with wholesale tobacco culture, let us observe one of the most conspicuous results of this industry as influenced by the physical geography of the country. One might suppose that the necessity for exporting the enormous crops of tobacco would have called into existence a large class of thriving merchants, who would naturally congregate at points favourable for shipping, and thus give rise to towns. In most countries that is what would

<sup>1</sup> Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, ii. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Brock, *Documents relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia*, Va. Hist. Soc. Coll. N. S. v.; cf. Hayden's *Virginia Genealogies*, Wilkes-Barré, 1891.

have happened. But the manner in which the Virginia planter disposed of his crops was peculiar. Most of the large plantations lay on or near the wide and deep rivers of that tidewater country;<sup>1</sup> and each planter would have his own wharf, from which his own slaves might load the tobacco on to the vessels that were to carry it to England. If the plantation lay at some distance from a navigable river, the tobacco was conveyed to the nearest creek and tied down upon a raft of canoes, and so floated and paddled down stream until some head of navigation was reached, where a warehouse was ready to receive it. The vessels which carried away this tobacco usually paid for it in all sorts of manufactured articles that might be needed upon the plantations. Every manufactured article that required skill or nicety of workmanship was brought from England, in ships of which the owners, masters, and crews were for the most part either natives of the British islands or of New

<sup>1</sup> Chesapeake Bay, says Rev. Francis Makemie, is "a bay in most respects scarce to be outdone by the universe, having so many large and spacious rivers, branching and running on both sides; . . . and each of these rivers richly supplied, and divided into sundry smaller rivers, spreading themselves . . . to innumerable creeks and coves, admirably carved out and contrived by the omnipotent hand of our wise Creator, for the advantage and conveniency of its inhabitants; . . . so that I have oft, with no small admiration, compared the many rivers, creeks, and rivulets of water . . . to veins in human bodies." *A Plain and Friendly Perswasive*, London, 1705, p. 5. "One receives the impression in reading of colonial Virginia that all the world lived in country-houses, on the banks of rivers. And the Virginia world did live very much in this way." Miss Rowland's *Life of George Mason*, i. 90.



England. Such a ship would unload upon the planter's wharf some part of its motley cargo of mahogany tables, chairs covered with russia leather, wines in great variety from the Azores and Madeira,<sup>1</sup> brandy, Gloucester cheeses, linens and cottons, silks and dimity, quilts and featherbeds, carpets, shoes, axes and hoes, hammers and nails, rope and canvas, painters' white lead and colours, saddles, demijohns, mirrors, books, — pretty much everything.<sup>2</sup> If she came from a New England port she was likely to bring salted cod and mackerel, with fragrant rum, either out of the distilleries at Newport and Boston,<sup>3</sup> or imported from Antigua or Jamaica. Sometimes the rum came from Barbadoes, along with sugar and molasses, and occasionally ginger and lime-juice, in return for which the ship often carried away some of the planter's live hogs or packed pork, as well as butter, and corn, and tanned leather. The landing of rum was sometimes private and confidential, for there were duties on it which lent a charm to evasion.

Some exports and imports.

It would be too much to say that there was no manufacturing done in colonial Virginia. There were probably few if any plantations where the

<sup>1</sup> The Huguenots seem to have preferred a French wine, for one of the first things they did (in 1704) was to "begin an essay of wine, which they made of the wild grapes gathered in the woods; the effect of which was noble, strong-bodied claret, of a curious flavour." Beverley, *History of Virginia*, London, 1705, part iv. p. 46. This has the earmark of truth. American clarets are to this day strong-bodied, with a curious flavour!

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, ii. 340-342.

<sup>3</sup> Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England*, ii. 601.

spinning - wheel and hand - loom were not busy.

Some  
domestic  
industries.

Female slaves and white servants wove coarse cloth and made it up into suits of clothes<sup>1</sup> for people of their sort, and doubtless for some of the small planters. Such artisans as blacksmiths, carpenters, and coopers, shipwrights, tailors, tanners, and shoemakers were often to be found among the indentured servants. Boys of this class were sometimes upon their arrival made apprentices in these crafts. Occasionally negro slaves became more or less skilled as workmen, especially as coopers and joiners. There must always have been some demand for the labour of white freedmen acquainted with any of the mechanical arts, and in fact instances of free labourers in these departments are found. There can be no doubt, however, that the style of work thus attained was apt to be unsatisfactory ; for we find such planters as Colonel Byrd and Colonel Fitzhugh, late in the seventeenth century, sending to England for skilled workmen, and offering to pay very high wages, on the ground that it was wasting money to employ such workmen as were to be had in the colony.<sup>2</sup>

The historian Beverley, who sometimes indulged himself (like the late Matthew Arnold) in upbraiding his fellow-countrymen for their own good, says of the Virginians in 1705 : “ They have their Cloathing of all sorts from *England*, as Linnen,

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 471, where we are also told that “ in many cases the wealthy planters imported from England the clothes worn by these servants and slaves.”

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 395, 399, 403, 405.

Woollen, Silk, Hats, and Leather. Yet Flax and Hemp grow no where in the World, better than there; their Sheep yield a mighty Increase, and bear good Fleeces, but they shear them only to cool them. The Mulberry-Tree, whose Leaf is the proper Food of the Silk-worm, grows there like a Weed, and Silk-worms have been observ'd to thrive extreamly, and without any hazard. The very Furrs that their Hats are made of, perhaps go first from thence; and most of their Hides lie and rot, or are made use of, only for covering dry Goods, in a leaky House. Indeed some few Hides with much adoe are tann'd, and made into Servants Shoes; but at so careless a rate, that the Planters don't care to buy them, if they can get others; and sometimes perhaps a better manager than ordinary, will vouchsafe to make a pair of Breeches of a Deer-Skin. Nay, they are such abominable Ill-husbands, that tho' their Country be over-run with Wood, yet they have all their Wooden Ware from *England*; their Cabinets, Chairs, Tables, Stools, Chests, Boxes, Cart-wheels, and all other things, even so much as their Bowls, and Birchen Brooms, to the Eternal Reproach of their Laziness. . . . Thus they depend altogether upon the Liberality of Nature, without endeavoring to improve its Gifts, by Art or Industry. They sponge upon the Blessings of a warm Sun, and a fruitful Soil, and almost grutch the Pains of gathering in the Bounties of the Earth. I should be asham'd to publish this slothful Indolence of my Countrymen, but that I hope it will rouse them out of their

Beverley's  
complaint  
against his  
countrymen.

Lethargy, and excite them to make the most of all those happy Advantages which Nature has given them; and if it does this, I am sure they will have the Goodness to forgive me.”<sup>1</sup>

It was not, however, as Mr. Bruce reminds us, from any “inherent repugnance” that Englishmen in Virginia did not take kindly to manufactures, and perhaps the good Beverley’s reproachful tone is a trifle overdone. When the planter could get sharp knives, well-made boots, and fine blankets at his own wharf, simply by handing over to the skipper a few hogsheads of tobacco, he was not greatly to be blamed for preferring them to such dull knives, clumsy boots, and coarse blankets as could be made by the workmen within reach. Many inconveniences, however, grew out of the absence of local means for supplying local needs, and I have little doubt that sundry trades and crafts could have been made to flourish much better than they did, had it not been for the baneful effects of a tobacco currency, which we shall presently have to consider.

The most conspicuous result of the absorption of all activities in tobacco-planting, and the absence of developed arts and trades, was the non-existence of town life. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there was hardly so much as a village in Virginia, unless we make an exception in honour of Williamsburg, the new seat of government and of the college. By the middle of the century Williamsburg contained

<sup>1</sup> Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, book iv. pp 58, 83.

about 200 houses, chiefly wooden, and its streets were unpaved. Richmond, founded in 1737, had a population of 3,761 in the census of 1790. The growth of Norfolk, founded in 1705, was exceptional. The trade with the West Indies, for sugar, molasses, and rum, tended to become concentrated there, and the proximity of North Carolina made it a mart for lumber at a time when Virginia forests in the lower tidewater region had been largely cleared away. Colonel Byrd in 1728 says of the Norfolk people: "They have a pretty deal of lumber from the borderers on the Dismal, who make bold with the king's land thereabouts, without the least ceremony." Besides boards and shingles, they sent beef and pork to the West Indies, and it was not unusual to see a score of sloops and brigantines riding in the noble harbour. Under these favourable circumstances the population of Norfolk had come by 1776 to be about 6,000. At that time Philadelphia had some 35,000 inhabitants, and New York 25,000, though the population of their two states taken together scarcely equalled that of Virginia.

The lack of urban life was deplored by the legislators at Jamestown and Williamsburg, and assiduous efforts were made to correct the evil; but neither bounties nor orders to build were of avail. To make towns on paper was as easy as to make a promissory note, but nobody would go and settle in the towns. Most of the county seats consisted simply of the court-house, flanked by the jail, the dismal country inn, and the nondescript country "store,"

Futile attempts to make towns by legislation.

where the roving peddler sometimes replenished his pack on his route through the plantations. Among the legislative acts designed to encourage the building of towns, three were especially important. The act of 1662 ordered that thirty-two brick houses should be erected at Jamestown, and forbade the building or repairing of wooden houses there; all tobacco grown in the three counties of James City, Charles City, and Surry was to be sent to Jamestown and stored there for shipping, and the penalty for disobedience of this order was a fine of 1,000 lbs. of tobacco; every ship, moreover, ascending the river above Mulberry Island, must land its cargo at Jamestown and nowhere else, under penalty of forfeiting the cargo. Half of these fines was to be paid to the town, the other half to the informer.<sup>1</sup> The statute of 1680, commonly known as the Cohabitation Act, undertook in somewhat similar fashion to establish a town in every county; and the attempt was renewed on a larger scale in 1691.<sup>2</sup> But all these acts were either disregarded or suspended. When the Surry planter could effect an exchange at his own wharf, without incidental expense or risk, it was useless to command him to load his crop on shallops and send it to Jamestown, with a charge for freight, a chance of capsizing, and warehouse dues at the end of the journey. The skipper withal had no wish to be saddled with port dues, or to be hindered from stopping and trading wherever a customer hove in sight. So skipper and planter had

<sup>1</sup> Hening, ii. 172-176.

<sup>2</sup> Hening, ii. 471-478; iii. 53-69.

their way, and towns refused to grow.<sup>1</sup> When Thomas Jefferson entered William and Mary College in 1760, a lad of seventeen years, he had never seen so many as a dozen houses grouped together.

The country store was an important institution in Old Virginia. Under some conditions it would have formed a nucleus around which a town would have been developed, but in <sup>The country store.</sup> Virginia the store seems to have been regarded as a kind of rival against which the town could not compete.<sup>2</sup> It furnished a number of petty centres which did away with the need for larger centres. The store was apt to be an appendage to a plantation, unless its size became such as to reverse the relationship, after the manner of Dundreary's dog. It might be a room in a planter's house, or it might be a detached barnlike building on the estate. Mr. Bruce tells us that to enumerate its contents would be to mention pretty much every article for which Virginians had any use. For example, the inventory of the Hubbard store in

<sup>1</sup> There was much strong feeling and vehement writing on the subject by those who were disgusted at the prevalent state of things: "I always judged such as are averse to towns to be three sorts of persons: 1. Fools, who cannot, neither will see their own interest and advantage in having towns. 2. Knaves, who would still carry on fraudulent designs and cheating tricks in a corner or secret trade, afraid of being exposed at a public market. 3. Sluggards, who rather than be at labour and at any charge in transporting their goods to market, though idle at home, and lose double thereby rather than do it. To which I may add a fourth, which are Sots, who may be best cured of their disease by a pair of stocks in town." Makemie's *Plain and Friendly Perswasive*, London, 1705, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 12.

York County, taken in 1667, "contained lockram, canvas, dowlas, Scotch cloth, blue linen, oznaburg, cotton, holland, serge, kersey, and flannel in bales, full suits for adults and youths, bodices, bonnets, and laces for women, shoes, . . . gloves, hose, cloaks, cravats, handkerchiefs, hats, and other articles of dress, . . . hammers, hatchets, chisels, augers, locks, staples, nails, sickles, bellows, froes,<sup>1</sup> saws, axes, files, bed-cords, dishes, knives, flesh-forks, porringers, sauce-pans, frying-pans, grid-irons, tongs, shovels, hoes, iron posts, tables, physic, wool-cards, gimlets, compasses, needles, stirrups, looking-glasses, candlesticks, candles, funnels, 25 pounds of raisins, 100 gallons of brandy, 20 gallons of wine, and 10 gallons of aqua vitæ. The contents of the Hubbard store were valued at £614 sterling, a sum which represented about \$15,000 in our present currency."<sup>2</sup> One can imagine how dazzling to youthful eyes must have been the miscellaneous variety of desirable things. Not only were the manufactured articles pretty sure to have come from England, but everything else, to be salable, must be labelled English, "insomuch that fanciers used to sell the songsters unknown to England, if they sang particularly well, as *English mocking-birds*."<sup>3</sup>

We have seen how the rivers and creeks were used as highways of traffic; for a long time they were the only highways, and the sloop or the

<sup>1</sup> A kind of cleaver.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, *Economic History*, ii. 382-383.

<sup>3</sup> Conway, *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock*, p. 116.



canoe was the only kind of vehicle, public or private, in which it was possible to get about with ease and safety.<sup>1</sup> Until after the middle of the eighteenth century there were but few roads save bridle-paths, and such as there were became impassable in rainy weather. There <sup>Roads.</sup> were also but few bridges, and these were very likely to be unsound, while the ferry-boats were apt to be leaky. It was often necessary for the traveller to swim across the stream, with a fair chance of getting drowned, and more than a fair chance of losing his horse. The course of the bridle-path often became so obscure that it was necessary to blaze the trees. It was not uncommon for people to lose their way and find themselves obliged to stay overnight in the woods, perhaps with the howls of the wolf and panther sounding in their ears. The highway robber was even a more uncomfortable customer to meet than such beasts of prey; and in those days, when banking was in its infancy and travellers used to carry gold coins sewed under the lining of their waistcoats, the highwayman enjoyed opportunities which in this age of railways and check-books are denied him. Nevertheless crime was far less common than in England or France, and travelling was much safer than one might suppose. This was true of the whole colonial period. In 1777 a young Rhode Island merchant, Elkanah Watson, armed with a sabre and pair of pistols,

<sup>1</sup> Though the attempts to stimulate shipbuilding met with little success, the manufacture of barges, pinnaces, and shallops was sustained by imperative necessity. See Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 426-439.

journeyed from Providence to Charleston in South Carolina, with several hundred pounds sterling in gold quilted into his coat. In seventy days he accomplished the distance of 1,243 miles, partly on horseback and partly in a sulky, without encountering any more serious mishaps than being arrested for a British spy in Pennsylvania, and meeting a large bear in North Carolina; and he has left us a narrative of his journey, which is as full of instruction as of interest.<sup>1</sup>

The traveller in Old Virginia, however, was not likely to carry large sums of money concealed on his person, for he dealt in a circulating medium too bulky for that. In the course of this book we have had frequent occasions to observe that the Virginian's current money was tobacco. Tobacco as currency. The prices of all articles of merchandise were quoted in pounds of tobacco. In tobacco taxes were assessed and all wages and salaries were paid. This use of tobacco as a circulating medium and as a standard of values was begun in the earliest days of the colony, when coin was scarce, and the structure of society was simple enough to permit a temporary return toward the primitive practice of barter. Under such circumstances tobacco was obviously the article most sure to be used as money. It was exchangeable for whatever anybody wanted in the shape of service or merchandise, and it was easily procured from the bountiful earth. But as time went on this ease of attainment made it an extremely

<sup>1</sup> Elkanah Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 2d ed., New York, 1856, chap. ii.

vicious currency. In the course of our narrative we have encountered some of the disastrous financial and social results that flowed from the use of so cheap a substitute for money. Many reasons have been alleged for the scarcity of coin throughout the whole colonial period in Virginia;<sup>1</sup> but assuredly the chief reason was the fact that tobacco was currency. The bad money drove away the good money, as it always does. There are indications that there was always a small stock of coin in the colony, but it was hoarded or sent to other colonies or to England in the settlement of trade balances. Yet it was not easy to demonetize tobacco without a radical revolution in the industrial system and in the commercial relations of the colony.

The nature of the currency evidently had much to do with the ill success of the attempts to encourage manufactures. The carpenter or shoemaker, after doing his work, must wait for his pay until the year's crop of tobacco was gathered and cured. Meanwhile he had nothing to live on unless he raised it for himself; he might either plant grain and rear cattle, or else grow tobacco wherewith to buy things. But the time consumed in these agricultural operations was time taken from his handicraft. The evil was attacked by legislation. "In 1633 brickmakers, carpenters, joiners, sawyers, and turners were expressly forbidden to take part in any form of tillage." In 1662 tradesmen and artisans were exempted from all taxes except

Effect upon  
crafts and  
trades.

<sup>1</sup> See Ripley's *Financial History of Virginia*, pp. 119-124.

church-rates, on condition that they should abstain from all interest, direct or indirect, in the growing of tobacco. But the evil was not cured.<sup>1</sup>

Further disaster came from the fact that tobacco was a highly speculative crop. The fluctuations in its value were liable to be great and sudden, and they affected the price of every article that was bought and sold throughout the colony. No one could estimate from one year to another, with any approach to accuracy, what the purchasing power of his income was going to be. The inevitable results of this were extravagance in living and chronic debt. The planter was drawn into a situation from which it was almost impossible to extricate himself. "The system of keeping open accounts in London was calculated to encourage extravagance; and these accounts were habitually overdrawn. Many of the merchants even made it a rule to encourage this indebtedness, so as to assure the continuance of their customers. It gave them a certain advantage in all their dealings with the planters."<sup>2</sup> They charged nearly twice as much for their goods sent to Norfolk or Williamsburg as for the same goods sent to New York.<sup>3</sup> In all this they were aided by the Navigation Act.

Extravagance in living was further stimulated by the regal hospitality for which the great planters early became famous. Although the life upon

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 411-416.

<sup>2</sup> Ripley, *Financial History of Virginia*, p. 122; cf. Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 368.

<sup>3</sup> McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, i. 273.

Effect upon  
planters' ac-  
counts.

their estates was much more busy than some writers seem to suppose, yet the drudgery of business did not consume all their time; <sup>Hospitality.</sup> and in their rural isolation, with none of the diversions of town life, the entertainment of guests by the month together was regarded both as a duty and as a privilege; and the example set by the large plantations was followed by the smaller. Even the keeper of an inn, if he wished to make a charge for food and shelter, must notify the guest upon his arrival, for a statute of 1663 declared that in the absence of such preliminary understanding not a penny could be recovered from the guest, however long he might have staid in the house.<sup>1</sup> As a

<sup>1</sup> Hening, ii. 192. An old satirical writer mentions the same custom at a Maryland inn, where, however, he did not seem in all respects to relish his supper: —

So after hearty Entertainment  
 Of Drink and Victuals without Payment;  
 For Planters Tables, you must know,  
 Are free for all that come and go.  
 While Pon and Milk, with Mush well stoar'd,  
 In Wooden Dishes grac'd the Board;  
 With Homine and Syder-pap,  
 (Which scarce a hungry dog would lap)  
 Well stuff'd with Fat from Bacon fry'd,  
 Or with *Mollossus* dulcify'd.  
 Then out our Landlord pulls a Pouch  
 As greasy as the Leather Couch  
 On which he sat, and straight begun  
 To load with Weed his *Indian* Gun. . . .  
 His Pipe smoak'd out, with awful Grace,  
 With aspect grave and solemn pace,  
 The reverend Sire walks to a Chest; . . .  
 From thence he lugs a Cag of Rum.

The night had for our traveller its characteristic American nuisance: —

Not yet from Plagues exempted quite,  
 The Curst Muskitoes did me bite;  
 Till rising Morn and blushing Day  
 Drove both my Fears and Ills away;

rule, no person whose company was at all desirable was allowed to stop at an inn, for the neighbours vied with one another in offering hospitality. Every planter kept open house, and provided for his visitors with unstinted hand.

Let us put ourselves into the position of one of these visitors, and get some glimpses of life upon the old plantation. Our host we may suppose to be a vestryman, justice of the peace, and burgess, dwelling upon a plantation of five or six thousand acres, with his next neighbours at a distance of two or three miles.<sup>1</sup> The space is in great part cleared for the planting of vast fields of tobacco, but here and there are extensive stretches of woodland and coppice, with noble forest trees and luxuriant undergrowth, much rougher and wilder than an English park. The cabins for slaves present the appearance of a hamlet. These are wooden structures of the humblest sort, built of logs or undressed planks, and afflicted with chronic dilapidation. An inventory of 1697 shows us that the cabin might contain a bed and a few chairs, two or three pots and kettles, “a pair of pot-racks, a

but the morning meal seems to have made amends : —

I did to Planter's Booth repair,  
And there at Breakfast nobly Fare  
On rashier broil'd of infant Bear :  
I thought the Cub delicious Meat,  
Which ne'er did ought but Chesnuts eat.

Ebenezer Cook, *The Sot-Weed Factor ; or, a Voyage to Maryland*, London, 1708, pp. 5, 9.

<sup>1</sup> For the description of the planter's house and its surroundings I am much indebted to the admirable work of Mr. Bruce, chap. xii.

pot-hook, a frying-pan, and a beer barrel ;” and advertisements for runaways describe Cuffy and Pompey as clad in red cotton, with canvas drawers, waistcoat, and wide-brimmed black hat. Their victuals, of “hog and hominy” with potatoes and green vegetables, were wholesome and palatable. If there were white servants on the estate, they were commonly but not necessarily somewhat better housed and clothed.

Leaving the negro quarters, with their grinning mammies and swarms of woolly pickaninnies, one would presently come upon other out-<sup>Other appur-</sup>buildings; the ample barns for tobacco <sup>tenances.</sup> and granaries for corn, the stable, the cattle-pens, a hen-coop and a dove-cot, a dairy, and in some cases a malt-house, or perhaps, as we have seen, a country store. There were brick ovens for curing hams and bacon; and the kitchen likewise stood apart from the mansion, which was thus free from kitchen odours and from undue heating in summer time. There was a vegetable garden, with “all the culinary plants that grow in England, and in far greater perfection,” besides “roots, herbs, vine-fruits, and salad-flowers peculiar to themselves,” and excellent for a relish with meat.<sup>1</sup> Nearer to the house, among redolent flower-beds gay with varied colours, some vine-clad arbour afforded shelter from the sun. A short walk across the mown space shaded by large trees, called, as in New England, the yard, would bring us to the mansion, very commonly known as the

<sup>1</sup> Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, book iv. p. 56.

Great House. From this epithet no sure inference can be drawn as to the size of the building, for it simply served to contrast it with its dependent cabins and outhouses. It was often called the Home House. It was apt to stand upon a rising ground, and from its porch you might look down at the blue river and the little wharf, known as "the landing," with pinnaces moored hard by and canoes lying lazily on the bank or suddenly darting out upon the water. Turning away from the river, the eye would rest upon an orchard bearing fruits in great variety, and a pasture devoted to horses of some special breed.

The planter's mansion might be built of wood or brick, but was comparatively seldom of stone.

In tidewater Virginia, good stone for building purposes was not readily found, but there was an abundance of red clay from which excellent and durable brick could be made. A number of brick houses were built in the seventeenth century, but wood was much more commonly used, since the work of clearing away the forests furnished great quantities of timber of the finest quality. Among the many articles that were imported from England, bricks are not to be reckoned.<sup>1</sup> Brickmaking went on from the earliest

<sup>1</sup> One often hears it said, of some old house or church in Virginia, that it was built of bricks imported from England; but, according to Mr. Bruce, all bricks used in Virginia during the seventeenth century seem to have been made there. Bricks were 8 shillings per 1,000 in Virginia when they were 18s. 8¼d. in London, to which the ocean freight would have had to be added. It is not strange, therefore, that Virginia exported bricks to Ber-



days of the colony, and much of this work was done by white servants and freedmen. In course of time there came to be many brick houses, and chimneys were regularly of this material. For roofs the strong and durable cypress shingle was the material most commonly used. Partition walls, covered first with a tenacious clay and then white-washed, were very firm and solid. The glass windows, for protection against storms of a violence to which Englishmen had not been accustomed, had stout wooden shutters outside, which gave the house somewhat the look of a stronghold.

During the seventeenth century not much architectural beauty was attained. To any criticisms on this score the planters would have replied, as the early settlers did to Captain Butler, that their houses were for use and not for ornament.<sup>1</sup> During the eighteenth century some progress was made in this respect, but for the architectural effect of the mansions not much is House architecture. to be said, though they were often highly picturesque. The earliest type, the house of greater width than depth, with an outside chimney at each end, is familiar to every one, at least in pictures. It was as characteristic of Old Virginia as the house of huge central chimney and small entry-way with transverse staircase was characteristic of early New England. Both are slightly modified types of the smaller English manor houses of

muda. As early as the Indian massacre of 1622 some of the Indians were driven away with brickbats. See Bruce, *Economic History*, ii. 134, 137, 142.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 212.

the Tudor period. A more picturesque style, and somewhat more stately, is that of Gunston Hall, the homestead of the Mason family; while scarcely less attractive, and still more capacious, is that of Stratford Hall, the home of the Lees. The well-known Mount Vernon shows a further departure from English models; while in Monticello both the name and the house present symptoms of the beginning of that so-called classical revival when children were baptized Cyrus and Marcellus, and dwelt in the shade of porticoes that simulated those of Greek temples.<sup>1</sup>

The differentiation of rooms for specific uses had by no means proceeded so far as in modern houses. One mediæval English feature which was retained was the predominance of the Hall, or Great Room, used for meals and for general purposes. Along with the hall, there might be as few as five or six rooms, or as many as eighteen or twenty, upstairs and down. Stratford Hall, built about 1725-30, contained eighteen large rooms, exclusive of the central hall,<sup>2</sup> whereas Governor Berkeley's house at Green Spring, built three quarters of a century earlier, had but six rooms altogether. Beside the central hall, there might be a hall parlour, equivalent to reception room and family sitting-room combined, and in this there might be chests and a bed; the

<sup>1</sup> The Marquis de Chastellux, who visited Monticello in 1782, says: "We may safely aver that Mr. Jefferson is the first American who has consulted the fine arts to know how he should shelter himself from the weather." See Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, i. 373.

<sup>2</sup> *Lee of Virginia*, p. 116.

others were simply bedrooms. Beds were such as we are still familiar with; their ticking might be stuffed with feathers or hair or straw, but feathers were much more commonly used than now, as they are now more commonly used in chilly England than in the fiery summers and hot-house winters of America. With sheets, blankets, and counterpane, pillows, curtains, and valances, the bed was dressed as at present, save that curtains are now departing along with the brass warming-pans, bequests from higher latitudes. Already the Virginia bed often had a protection for which England could have no use, the mosquito net. For such members of the household as were lazily inclined in the daytime there was a couch, which might be plainly covered with calico, or more expensively with russia leather or embroidered stuffs. The chairs might be upholstered likewise, or be seated with cane, wicker, or rushwork. In every bedroom was a chest for storing clothes not in immediate use. There were also the ewer and basin, and the case of drawers with looking-glass. If one of the big chimneys was accessible, there was a fireplace for wooden logs, supported on andirons of iron or brass, and guarded by iron or tin fenders; otherwise there was an open brazier, such as we see to-day in Italy. Floors were usually ill-made in those days, and woollen carpets faithfully accumulated dirt; so that the sunbeam straggling through the dimity or printed calico window-curtains would often gild long dusty rays.

Bedrooms  
and their  
furniture.

In the Hall, or Great Room, the principal fea-

ture was the long dining-table of walnut or oak or cedar, flanked either by benches or by chairs. For daily use it was covered with a cloth of unbleached linen, known as holland, while on extra occasions a damask cloth was used. Napkins were abundant, and often of a fine fabric delicately embroidered. Forks, on the other hand, were in the earlier days scarce. Before the seventeenth century, forks were nowhere in general use, save in Italy. Queen Elizabeth ate with her fingers. A satirical pamphlet, aimed at certain luxurious favourites of Henry III. of France, derides them for conveying bits of meat to their mouths on a little pronged implement, rather than do it in the natural way.<sup>1</sup> Forks are nowhere mentioned in Shakespeare. In 1608, while travelling in Italy, one Thomas Coryat took a liking to them and introduced the fashion into England, for which he was jocosely nicknamed *Furcifer*.<sup>2</sup> Naturally the use of forks narrowed the functions of napkins.<sup>3</sup> Spoons were in much more common use, and, in the New World as in the Old, were of iron or pewter in the poor man's house, and of silver in

The dinner-table.

Napkins and forks.

<sup>1</sup> Larousse, *Dictionnaire universel*, viii. 668.

<sup>2</sup> A *double entendre*, either "fork-bearer" or "gallows-bird."

<sup>3</sup> *Meercraft*. — Have I deserved this from you two, for all My pains at court to get you each a patent ?

*Gilthead*. — For what ?

*Meercraft*. — Upon my project o' the forks.

*Sledge*. — Forks ? what be they ?

*Meercraft*. — The laudable use of forks,

Brought into custom here, as they are in Italy,

To the sparing o' napkins.

Ben Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, act v. scene 2

the rich man's. The dishes and plates were of earthenware or pewter, but in the eighteenth century the use of chinaware increased. Pewter cups and mugs were everywhere to be seen, and now and then a drinking-horn. Well-to-do planters had silver tankards, sometimes marked Silver plate. with the family arms, as well as silver salt-cellars, candlesticks, and snuffers. A cupboard with glass doors, or light drapery, displayed the store of cups and dishes; while about the walls sometimes hung family portraits, and more rarely paintings of other sorts. This central hall retained many marks of its mediæval miscellaneousness of use; capacious linen-chests, guns and pistols, powder-horns, swords, saddles, bridles, and riding-whips, in picturesque and cosy confusion. In the eighteenth century a luxurious elegance was developed quite similar to that of the "colonial mansions" at the North, such as the Philipse manor house on the Hudson River, or Colonel Vassall's house in Cambridge, where Washington dwelt for a few months, and Longfellow for many years. Panelled wainscots of oak and carved oaken chimney-pieces were common; the walls were hung with tapestry; and artistic Wainscots and tapestry. cabinets, screens, and clocks adorned the spacious room. In the Lee homestead at Stratford the hall added to its other functions that of library. The ceiling was very high and vaulted, and parts of the panelled walls had bookshelves set into them.<sup>1</sup> Such rooms were warmed by huge logs of hickory or oak, burning in open fireplaces.

<sup>1</sup> *Lee of Virginia*, p. 116.

They were lighted by candles, which might be made of beef tallow or deer suet, but the favourite material was a wax obtained by boiling the berries of a myrtle that grew profusely in marshy land. It was extremely cheap and burned with a pleasant fragrance, giving a brilliant light.

The central object in the kitchen was, of course, the fireplace, which was sometimes very large.

The kitchen. At Stratford it was "twelve feet wide, six high, and five deep, evidently capable of roasting a fair-sized ox."<sup>1</sup> In the days when pains were taken not to spoil good meat with bad cooking, your haunch of venison, saddle of mutton, or stuffed turkey was not baked to insipidity in an oven meant for better uses, but was carefully turned about on an iron spit, catching rich aroma from the caressing flame, while the basting was judiciously poured from ladles, and dripping-pans caught the savoury juices. Then there was the great copper boiler imbedded in brick and heated from underneath; there were the kettles and sauce-pans, the swinging iron pot, the gridirons and frying-pans, and the wooden trays for carrying the cooked dishes to the dining-hall.

The settlers in the strange wilderness of the Powhatans had once had their Starving Time, but Abundance of food. it would be hard to point to any part of the earth more bountifully supplied with wholesome and delicious food than civilized Old Virginia. Venison, beef, and dairy products were excellent and cheap. Mutton was less common, and was highly prized. The pork in its various

<sup>1</sup> *Lee of Virginia, loc. cit.*

forms was pronounced equal to that of Yorkshire or Westphalia. Succulent vegetables and toothsome fruits were grown in bewildering variety. Good Henry of Navarre's peasant, had he lived in this favoured country, might have had every day a fowl in his pot ; while, as for game and fish, the fame of Chesapeake Bay is world-wide for its canvas-backs, mallards, and red-heads, its terrapin, its soles, bass, and shad, and, last not least, its oysters. The various cakes which the cooks of the Old Dominion could make from their maize and other grains have also won celebrity.

To wash down these native viands the Virginian had divers drinks, whereof all the best were imported. Englishmen could not in a moment leave off beer-drinking, but the generous, full-bodied and delicate-flavoured ale of the mother country has never been successfully imitated on this side of the Atlantic, and indeed Beverages, native and imported. seems hardly adapted to our sweltering summers. Concerning the beer brewed in Old Virginia opinions varied ; but since barley soon ceased to be cultivated, and attempts were made to supply its place with maize or pumpkins or persimmons, we need not greatly regret that we were not there to be regaled with it. Cider, with its kindred beverages, was abundant,<sup>1</sup> and doubtless of much better quality. Apple-jack and peach

<sup>1</sup> For Planters' Cellars, you must know,  
Seldom with good *October* flow,  
But Perry Quince and Apple Juice  
Spout from the Tap like any Sluce.

Cook's *Sot-Weed Factor*, p. 22.

brandy were distilled. Other beverages were imported, most commonly sack, of which Falstaff was so fond; the name was applied to such dry (Spanish *seco*) and strong wines as sherry and madeira. In the cellars of wealthy planters were often found choice brands of red wine from Bordeaux and white wine from the Rhineland. Cognacs were also imported, and of rum we have already spoken. Evidently our friends, the planters, had sturdy tipplers among them.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately for them, the manufacture of coarse whiskey from maize and rye had not yet come into vogue, while of the less harmful peaty "mountain dew" from Ireland or Scotland we hear nothing.

Of the daily life of a rich planter we have a graphic account from John Ferdinand Smyth, a British soldier who travelled through Virginia and other colonies, and sojourned for some years in Maryland, about the middle of the eighteenth century. I cite the description, because so much has been made of it: "The gentleman of fortune rises about nine o'clock; he may perhaps make an excursion to walk as far as his stable to see his horses, which is seldom more than fifty yards from his house; he returns to breakfast between nine and ten, which is generally tea or coffee, bread-and-butter, and very thin slices of venison, ham, or hung beef. He then lies down on a pallet on the floor, in the coolest room in the house, in his shirt and trousers only, with a negro at his head and another at his feet, to fan him

Smyth's picture of a planter.

<sup>1</sup> A minute account of the beverages and their use is given in Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 211-231.



and keep off the flies; between twelve and one he takes a draught of bombo, or toddy, a liquor composed of water, sugar, rum, and nutmeg, which is made weak and kept cool; he dines between two and three, and at every table, whatever else there may be, a ham and greens, or cabbage, is always a standing dish. At dinner he drinks cider, toddy, punch, port, claret, and madeira, which is generally excellent here; having drank [*sic*] some few glasses of wine after dinner, he returns to his pallet, with his two blacks to fan him, and continues to drink toddy, or sangaree, all the afternoon; he does not always drink tea. Between nine and ten in the evening he eats a light supper of milk and fruit, or wine, sugar, and fruit, etc., and almost immediately retires to bed for the night. This is his general way of living in his family, when he has no company. No doubt many differ from it, some in one respect, some in another; but more follow it than do not.”<sup>1</sup>

This extract seems to show that Rev. Samuel Peters was not the only writer who liked to entertain his trustful British friends with queer tales about their American cousins.<sup>2</sup> No doubt Mr. Smyth wrote it with his tongue in his cheek; but if he meant what he said, we must remember that

<sup>1</sup> Smyth's *Tour in the United States*, London, 1784, i. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Peters, a Tory refugee, published in London, in 1781, an absurd "History of Connecticut," in which he started the story of the "Blue Laws" of the New Haven Colony, which most people allude to incorrectly as "Blue Laws of Connecticut." These "Blue Laws" were purely an invention of the mendacious Peters. There never were any such laws. See my *Beginnings of New England*, p. 136.

the besetting sin of travellers is hasty generalization. We will take Mr. Smyth's word for it that one or more gentlemen were in the habit of passing their days in the way he describes, and we may freely admit that a good many gentlemen might thus make shift to keep alive through some furious attack of the weather fiend in August; but his concluding statement, that this way of living was customary, is not to be taken seriously. An extract from the manuscript recollections of General John Mason, son of the illustrious George Mason, gives a different picture: —

“It was very much the practice with gentlemen of landed and slave estates . . . so to organize them as to have considerable resources within themselves; to employ and pay but few tradesmen, and to buy little or none of the coarse stuffs and materials used by them. . . . Thus my father had among his slaves carpenters, coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, spinners, weavers, and knitters, and even a distiller. His woods furnished timber and plank for the carpenters and coopers, and charcoal for the blacksmith; his cattle killed for his own consumption and for sale supplied skins for the tanners, curriers, and shoemakers; and his sheep gave wool and his fields produced cotton and flax for the weavers and spinners, and his orchards fruit for the distiller. His carpenters and sawyers built and kept in repair all the dwelling-houses, barns, stables, ploughs, harrows, gates, etc., on the plantations, and the outhouses at the house. His coopers made the

The mode of  
life at Gun-  
ston.

hogsheads the tobacco was prized in, and the tight casks to hold the cider and other liquors. The tanners and curriers, with the proper vats, etc., tanned and dressed the skins as well for upper as for lower leather to the full amount of the consumption of the estate, and the shoemakers made them into shoes for the negroes. A professed shoemaker was hired for three or four months in the year to come and make up the shoes for the white part of the family. The blacksmiths did all the ironwork required by the establishment, as making and repairing ploughs, harrows, teeth, chains, bolts, etc. The spinners, weavers, and knitters made all the coarse cloths and stockings used by the negroes, and some of finer texture worn by the white family, nearly all worn by the children of it. The distiller made every fall a good deal of apple, peach, and persimmon brandy. The art of distilling from grain was not then among us, and but few public distilleries. All these operations were carried on at the home house, and their results distributed as occasion required to the different plantations. Moreover, all the beeves and hogs for consumption or sale were driven up and slaughtered there at the proper seasons, and whatever was to be preserved was salted and packed away for after distribution.

“My father kept no steward or clerk about him. He kept his own books and superintended, with the assistance of a trusty slave or two, and occasionally of some of his sons, all the operations at or about the home house above described. . . . To carry on these operations to the extent required, it

will be seen that a considerable force was necessary, besides the house servants, who for such a household, a large family and entertaining a great deal of company, must be numerous; and such a force was constantly kept there, independently of any of the plantations, and besides occasional drafts from them of labour for particular occasions. As I had during my youth constant intercourse with all these people, I remember them all, and their several employments as if it was yesterday.”<sup>1</sup>

Now when we consider that Colonel Mason had some 500 persons on his estate, and was known to have sent from his private wharf as many as 23,000 bushels of wheat in a single shipment, it is clear that no gentleman who spent the day lolling on a couch and sipping toddy could have superintended the details of business which his son describes. George Mason was, no doubt, a fair specimen of his class, and their existence was clearly not an idle one. With the public interests of parish, county, and commonwealth to look after besides, they surely earned the leisure hours that were spent in social entertainments or in field sports.

A glimpse of the life of a planter's wife, which Bishop Meade declares to be typical, is given in a letter from Mrs. Edward Carrington to her sister,

<sup>1</sup> Miss Rowland's *Life of George Mason*, i. 101, 102. This Mason, author of the Virginia Bill of Rights, and member of the Federal Convention of 1787, was great-grandson of the George Mason who figured in Bacon's rebellion. His son John, whose narrative I here quote, was father of James Murray Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and one of the Confederacy's commissioners taken from the British steamer *Trent* by Captain Wilkes in 1861.

about 1798. Colonel Carrington and his wife were visiting at Mount Vernon. After telling how Washington and the Colonel sat up together until midnight, absorbed in reminiscences of bivouac and hard-fought field, she comes to Mrs. Washington, who alluded to her days of public pomp and fashion as "her lost days." Then Mrs. Carrington continues: "Let us repair to the old lady's [Mrs. Washington's] room, which is precisely in the style of our good old aunt's, — that is to say, nicely fixed for all sorts of work. On one side sits the chambermaid, with her knitting; on the other, a little coloured pet, learning to sew. An old, decent woman is there, with her table and shears, cutting out the negroes' winter clothes, while the good old lady directs them all, incessantly knitting herself. She points out to me several pairs of nice coloured stockings and gloves she had just finished, and presents me with a pair half done, which she begs I will finish and wear for her sake." At this domestic picture Bishop Meade exclaims: "If the wife of General Washington, having her own and his wealth at command, should thus choose to live, how much more the wives and mothers of Virginia with moderate fortunes and numerous children! How often have I seen, added to the above-mentioned scenes of the chamber, the instruction of several sons and daughters going on, the churn, the reel, and other domestic operations all in progress at the same time, and the mistress, too, lying on a sick-bed!"<sup>1</sup>

A glimpse  
of Mount  
Vernon.

<sup>1</sup> Meade's *Old Churches*, i. 98.

Although Mrs. Carrington may have finished and worn the pair of knit gloves, yet most articles of dress for well-to-do men and women were imported. London fashions were strictly followed.

In the time of Bacon's rebellion, your Dress of planters and their wives. host would have appeared, perhaps, in a coat and breeches of olive plush or dark red broadcloth, with embroidered waistcoat, shirt of blue holland, long silk stockings, silver buttons and shoe-buckles, lace ruffles about neck and wrists, and his head encumbered with a flowing wig; while the lady of the house might have worn a crimson satin bodice trimmed with point lace, a black tabby<sup>1</sup> petticoat and silk hose, with shoes of fine leather gallooned; her lace headdress would be secured with a gold bodkin, and she would be apt to wear earrings, a pearl necklace, and finger-rings with rubies or diamonds, and to carry a fan.<sup>2</sup>

The ordinary chances for the ladies to exhibit their garments of flowered tabby, and beaux their new plush suits, were furnished by the Sunday services at the parish church, and by the frequent

<sup>1</sup> A rich Oriental silk, usually watered, first made in the *Attabiya* quarter of Bagdad, whence its name.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bruce gives many inventories taken from county records, of which the following may serve as a specimen: "The wardrobe of Mrs. Sarah Willoughby, of Lower Norfolk, consisted of a red, a blue, and a black silk petticoat, a petticoat of India silk and of worsted prunella, a striped linen and a calico petticoat, a black silk gown, a scarlet waistcoat with silver lace, a white knit waistcoat, a striped stuff jacket, a worsted prunella mantle, a sky-coloured satin bodice, a pair of red paragon bodices, three fine and three coarse holland aprons, seven handkerchiefs, and two hoods." *Economic History*, ii. 194.

gatherings of friends at home. Weddings, of course, were high times, as everywhere and always; and the gloom of funerals was relieved by feasting the guests, who were likely to have come long distances over which they must return.<sup>1</sup> These journeys, like the journeys to church and to the court-house, might be made in boats; on land they were made on horseback. Carriages were very rare in the seventeenth century, but became much more common before the Revolution. In their fondness for horses the Virginians were true children of England. In the stables of wealthy planters were to be found specimens of the finest breeds, and the interest in racing was universal. Common folk, however, were not allowed to take part in the sport, except as lookers-on. One of the earliest references to horse-racing is an order of the county court of York in 1674: "James Bullocke, a Taylor, haveing made a race for his

Weddings  
and funer-  
als.

Horse-  
racing.

<sup>1</sup> The following specimen of a bill of funeral expenses is given in Bruce, *op. cit.* ii. 237: —

|                               | lbs. tobacco. |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Funeral sermon . . . . .      | 200           |
| For a briefe . . . . .        | 400           |
| " 2 turkeys . . . . .         | 80            |
| " coffin . . . . .            | 150           |
| 2 geese . . . . .             | 80            |
| 1 hog . . . . .               | 100           |
| 2 bushels of flour . . . . .  | 90            |
| Dunhill fowle . . . . .       | 100           |
| 20 lbs. butter . . . . .      | 100           |
| Sugar and spice . . . . .     | 50            |
| Dressing the dinner . . . . . | 100           |
| 6 gallon sider . . . . .      | 60            |
| 6 " rum . . . . .             | 240           |

mare to runn w'th a horse belonging to Mr. Mathew Slader for twoe thousand pounds of tobacco and caske, it being contrary to Law for a Labourer to make a race, being a sport only for Gentlemen, is fined for the same one hundred pounds of tobacco and caske.”<sup>1</sup> Half a century later, Hugh Jones tells us that the Virginians “are such lovers of riding that almost every ordinary person keeps a horse; and I have known some spend the morning in ranging several miles in the woods to find and catch their horses only to ride two or three miles to church, to the court-house, or to a horse-race.”<sup>2</sup> After 1740 there was a systematic breeding from imported English thoroughbreds.<sup>3</sup> Thirty years later, we are told that “there are races at Williamsburg twice a year; that is, every spring and fall, or autumn. Adjoining to the town is a very excellent course for either two, three, or four mile heats. Their purses are generally raised by subscription, and are gained by the horse that wins two four-mile heats out of three; they amount to an hundred pounds each for the first day's running, and fifty pounds each every day after, the races commonly continuing for a week. There are also matches and sweepstakes very often for

<sup>1</sup> *Virginia Magazine*, ii. 294; cf. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iii. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Jones's *Present State of Virginia*, London, 1724, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. W. G. Stanard, in an admirable paper on this subject, gives some names of famous horses then imported, “many of them being ancestors of horses on the turf at the present day;” such as “Aristotle, Bolton, Childers, Dabster, Dottrell, Fearnought, Jolly Roger, Juniper, Justice, Merry Tom, Sober John, Vampire, Whittington, James, Sterling, Valiant, etc.” *Virginia Magazine*, ii. 301.



considerable sums. Besides . . . there are races established annually almost at every town and considerable place in Virginia; and frequent matches, on which large sums of money depend. . . . Very capital horses are started here, such as would make no despicable figure at Newmarket; nor is their speed, bottom, or blood inferior to their appearance. . . . Indeed, nothing can be more elegant and beautiful than the horses here, either for the turf, the field, the road, or the coach; . . . but their carriage horses seldom are possessed of that weight and power which distinguish those of the same kind in England.”<sup>1</sup>

Since the Virginians were excellent horsemen, it was but natural that they should enjoy hunting. No sport was more dear than chasing the Fox-hunt-fox. Washington's extreme delight in ing. riding to the hounds is well known; he kept it up until his sixty-third year, when a slight injury to his back made such exercise uncomfortable. Washington was a true Virginian in his love for his dogs, to whom he gave such pretty names as Mopsey, Truelove, Jupiter, Juno, Rover, Music, Sweetlips, Countess, Lady, and Singer. Shooting and fishing were favourite diversions with Washington; when he was President of the United States, the newspapers used to tell of his great catches of blackfish and sea-bass.<sup>2</sup> In Gambling. these tastes his neighbours were like him. Less wholesome sports were cock-fighting, and gambling with cards. The passion for gambling

<sup>1</sup> Smyth's *Tour in the United States*, i. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Ford, *The True George Washington*, pp. 194-198.

was far too strong among the Virginians. Laws were enacted against it ; gambling debts were not recoverable ; innkeepers who permitted any game of cards or dice, except backgammon, were subject to a heavy fine besides forfeiting their licenses.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting newspaper notice, in the year 1737, shows that some of the innocent open-air sports of mediæval England still survived : “ We have advice from Hanover County, that on St. Andrew’s Day there are to be Horse Races and several other Diversions, for the entertainment of the Gentlemen and Ladies, at the Old Field, near Captain John Bickerton’s, in that county (if permitted by the Hon. Wm. Byrd, Esquire, Proprietor of said land), the substance of which is as follows, viz. : It is proposed that 20 Horses or Mares do run round a three miles’ course for a prize of five pounds.

“ That a Hat of the value of 20s be cudgelled for, and that after the first challenge made the Drums are to beat every Quarter of an hour for three challenges round the Ring, and none to play with their Left hand.

“ That a violin be played for by 20 Fiddlers ; no person to have the liberty of playing unless he bring a fiddle with him. After the prize is won they are all to play together, and each a different tune, and to be treated by the company.

“ That 12 Boys of 12 years of age do run 112 yards for a Hat of the cost of 12 shillings.

<sup>1</sup> Hening, v. 102, 229-231 ; vi. 76-81. Washington was very fond of playing at cards for small stakes, also at billiards ; and he sometimes bet moderately at horse-races. See Ford, *loc. cit.*

A rural  
entertain-  
ment.

“That a Flag be flying on said Day 30 feet high.

“That a handsome entertainment be provided for the subscribers and their wives; and such of them as are not so happy as to have wives may treat any other lady.

“That Drums, Trumpets, Hautboys, &c., be provided to play at said entertainment.

“That after dinner the Royal Health, His Honour the Governor’s, &c., are to be drunk.

“That a Quire of ballads be sung for by a number of Songsters, all of them to have liquor sufficient to clear their Wind Pipes.

“That a pair of Silver Buckles be wrestled for by a number of brisk young men.

“That a pair of handsome Shoes be danced for.

“That a pair of handsome silk Stockings of one Pistole<sup>1</sup> value be given to the handsomest young country maid that appears in the Field. With many other Whimsical and Comical Diversions too numerous to mention.

“And as this mirth is designed to be purely innocent and void of offence, all persons resorting there are desired to behave themselves with decency and sobriety; the subscribers being resolved to discountenance all immorality with the utmost rigour.”<sup>2</sup>

The part played by violins in this quaint programme reminds us that fiddling was an accomplishment highly esteemed in the Old Dominion.

<sup>1</sup> About four dollars.

<sup>2</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, October, 1737, cited in Rives’s *Life of Madison*, i. 87, and Lodge’s *History of the English Colonies*, pp. 84, 85.

As an accompaniment for dancing it was very useful in the home parties on the plantations. The philosophic Thomas Jefferson, as a dead shot with the rifle, a skilful horseman, and a clever violinist, was a typical son of Virginia. As boys learned to play the violin, and sometimes the violoncello, girls were taught to play the virginal, which was an ancestral form of the piano. Virginals, and afterward harpsichords, were commonly to be found in the houses of the gentry, and not unfrequently hautboys, flutes, and recorders.<sup>1</sup> The music most often played with these instruments was probably some form of dance or the setting of a popular ballad; but what is called "classical music" was not unknown. Among the effects of Cuthbert Ogle, a musician at Williamsburg, who died in 1755, we find Handel's "Acis and Galatea" and "Apollo's Feast," four books of instrumental scores of his oratorios, and ten books of his songs; also a manuscript score of Corelli's sonatas, and concertos by the English composers, William Felton and Charles Avison, now wellnigh forgotten.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The recorder was a member of the flute family, and its name may be elucidated by Shakespeare's charming lines (*Pericles*, act iv., prologue):—

To the lute  
She sang, and made the night-bird mute  
That still records with moan.

Mr. Bruce (*op. cit.* ii. 175) mentions *cornets* as in use in Old Virginia, but this of course means an obsolete instrument of the hautboy family, not the modern brass cornet, which has so unhappily superseded the noble trumpet.

<sup>2</sup> The inventory is printed in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iii. 251.

After 1716 there was a theatre at Williamsburg, and during the sessions of the assembly, when planters with their families came from far and wide, there was much <sup>Other recreations.</sup> gayety. At other seasons the monotony of rural life was varied by the recreations above described, with an occasional picnic in the woods, or a grand barbecue in honour of some English victory or the accession of a new king.

Some time was found for reading. The inventories of personal estates almost always include books, in some instances few and of little worth, in others numerous and valuable. The <sup>Wormeley's library.</sup> library of Ralph Wormeley, of Rosegill, contained about four hundred titles. Wormeley, who had been educated at Oriel College, Oxford, was president of the council, secretary of state, and a trustee of William and Mary College; he died in 1701. Among his books were Burnet's "History of the Reformation," a folio history of Spain, an ecclesiastical history in Latin, Camden's "Britannia," Lord Bacon's "History of Henry VII.," and his "Natural History," histories of Scotland, Ireland, France, the Netherlands, and the West Indies, biographies of Richard III., Charles I., and George Castriot, Plutarch's Lives, Burnet's "Theory of the Earth," Willis's "Practice of Physick," Heylin's "Cosmography," "a chirurgical old book," "the Chyrurgans mate," Galen's "Art of Physick," treatises on gout, pancreatic juice, pharmacy, scurvy, and many other medical works, Coke's Reports and his "Institutes," collections of Virginia and New England laws, a history

of tithes, "The Office of Justice of the Peace," a Latin treatise on maritime law, and many other law books, Usher's "Body of Divinity," Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," Poole's "Annotations to the Bible," "A Reply to the Jesuits," Fuller's "Holy State" and his "Worthies," a concordance to the Bible, Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," "The Whole Duty of Man," a biography of St. Augustine, Baxter's "Confession of Faith," and many books of divinity, a liberal assortment of dictionaries and grammars of English, French, Spanish, Latin, and Greek, the essays of Montaigne and other French books, Cæsar, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Thucydides, Josephus, Quintus Curtius, Seneca, Terence, "Æsop's Fables," "Don Quixote," "Hudibras," Quarles's poems, George Herbert's poems, Howell's "Familiar Letters," Waller's poems, the plays of Sir William Davenant, "ffifty Comodys & tragedies in folio," "The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft," "An Embersee from y<sup>e</sup> East India Comp<sup>a</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Grand Tartar," "The Negro's and Indian's Advocate," "A Looking Glass for the Times," and so on.<sup>1</sup> Though not the library of a scholar, it indicates that its owner was a thoughtful man and fairly well informed.

A more remarkable library was that of William Byrd, of Westover. It contained 3,625 volumes, classified nearly as follows: History, 700; Classics, etc., 650; French, 550; Law, 350; Divinity, 300; Medicine, 200;

Libraries of  
Byrd and  
Lee.

<sup>1</sup> The full list is given in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ii. 170-174.

Scientific, 225; Entertaining, etc., 650.<sup>1</sup> This must have been one of the largest collections of books made in the colonial period. That of the second Richard Lee, who died in 1715, contained about 300 titles, among which we notice many more Greek and Latin writers than in Wormeley's, especially such names as Epictetus, Aristotle de Anima, Diogenes Laertius, Lucian, Heliodorus, Claudian, Arrian, and Orosius, besides such mediæval authors as Albertus Magnus and Laurentius Valla.<sup>2</sup>

Such libraries were of course exceptional. In most planters' houses you would probably have found a few English classics, with perhaps "Don Quixote" and "Gil Blas," and an assortment of books on divinity, manuals for magistrates, and helps in farming. Virginia was not eminent as a literary or bookish community. There was no newspaper until the establishment of the "Virginia Gazette" in 1736. As for schools, the Lords Commissioners of Plantations sent over a series of interrogatories to Sir William <sup>Schools and printing.</sup> Berkeley in 1671, and asked him, among other things, what provision was made for public instruction. His reply was characteristic: "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 and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"<sup>3</sup> Lord Culpeper seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> See Lyman Draper, in *Virginia Historical Register*, iv. 87-90.

<sup>2</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iii. 247-249.

<sup>3</sup> Hening, ii. 517.

much of Berkeley's way of thinking, for we read that, "February 21, 1682, John Buckner [was] called before the Lord Culpeper and his council for printing the laws of 1680 without his excellency's license, and he and the printer [were] ordered to enter into bond in £100 *not to print anything* thereafter until his majesty's pleasure should be known."<sup>1</sup> The pleasure of Charles II. was, that nobody should use a printing-press in Virginia, and so he instructed the next governor, Lord Howard, in 1684.

The establishment of a system of schools such as flourished in New England was prevented by the absence of town life and the long distances between plantations. When Berkeley said there were no free schools in Virginia, he may have had in mind the contrast with New England. No such schools were founded in Virginia by the assembly, but there were instances of Private free schools. free schools founded by individuals; as, for example, the Symms school in 1636, Captain Moon's school in 1655, Richard Russell's in 1667, Mr. King's in 1669, the Eaton school some time before 1689, and Edward Moseley's in 1721.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, there was after 1646<sup>3</sup> a considerable amount of compulsory primary education in Virginia, much more than has been generally supposed, since the records of it have been buried in the

<sup>1</sup> Hening, ii. 518.

<sup>2</sup> *Virginia Magazine*, i. 326, 348; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, v. 113. Allusion has already been made, on page 5 of the present volume, to the school founded by Benjamin Symms, or Symes.

<sup>3</sup> Hening, i. 336.



parish vestry-books. In the eighteenth century we find evidences that pains were taken to educate coloured people.<sup>1</sup> It was not unusual for the plantation to have among its numerous outbuildings a school conducted by some rustic dignitary of the neighbourhood. In the "old field schools" little more was taught than "the three Rs," but these humble institutions are not to be despised; for it was in one of them, kept by "Hobby, the sexton," that George Washington learned to read, write, and cipher. His father and his elder brother Lawrence had been educated at Appleby Academies and tutors. School, in England; George himself, after an interval with a Mr. Williams, near Wakefield, finished his school-days at an excellent academy in Fredericksburg, of which Rev. James Marye was master. The sons of George Mason studied two years at an academy in Stafford County kept by a Scotch parson named Buchan, "a pious man and profound classical scholar." Afterwards John Mason was sent to study mathematics with an expert named Hunter, "a Scotchman also and quite a

<sup>1</sup> President Tyler cites from the vestry-book of Petsworth Parish, in Gloucester County, an indenture of October 30, 1716, wherein Ralph Bevis agrees to "give George Petsworth, a molattoe boy of the age of 2 years, 3 years' schooling, and carefully to Instruct him afterwards that he may read well in any part of the Bible, also to Instruct and Learn him y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> molattoe boy such Lawfull way or ways that he may be able, after his Indented time expired, to gitt his own Liveing, and to allow him sufficient meat, Drink, washing, and apparill, until the expiration of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> time, &c., and after y<sup>e</sup> finishing of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> time to pay y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> George Petsworth all such allowances as y<sup>e</sup> Law Directs in such cases, as also to keep the afores<sup>d</sup> Parish Dureing y<sup>e</sup> afores<sup>d</sup> Indented time from all manner of Charges," etc. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, v. 219.

recluse, who kept a small school in a retired place in Calvert County, Maryland." Much teaching was also done by private tutors. In the Mason household these were three Scotchmen in succession, of whom "the two last were especially engaged [in Scotland] to come to America (as was the practice in those times with families who had means) by my father to live in his house and educate the children. . . . The tutoress of my sisters was a Mrs. Newman. She remained in the family for some time."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the schoolmaster or private tutor was an indented white servant who had come out as a redemptioner, or even as a convict. Among the Convicts as tutors. criminals there might be persons of rank, as Sir Charles Burton, a Lincolnshire baronet, who was transported to America in 1722 for "stealing a cornelian ring set in gold;" or scholars, like Henry Justice, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister, who in 1736 was convicted of stealing from the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, "a Field's Bible with cuts, and Common-prayer, value £25, Newcastle's Horsemanship, value £10, several other books of great value, several Tracts cut out of books, etc." For this larceny, although Mr. Justice begged hard to be allowed to stay in England for the sake of his clients, "with several of whom he had great concerns," he was nevertheless sent to America for seven years, under penalty of death if he were to return within that time.<sup>2</sup> From such examples we see

<sup>1</sup> Miss Rowland's *Life of George Mason*, i. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Butler's "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, ii. 27.

that, while the convict ships may not have brought many Eugene Arams, they certainly brought men more likely to find employment in teaching than in manual labour. Jonathan Boucher, rector at Annapolis in 1768, declares that "not a ship arrives with either redemptioners or convicts, in which schoolmasters are not as regularly advertised for sale as weavers, tailors, or any other trade; with little other difference that I can hear of, except perhaps that the former do not usually fetch so good a price as the latter."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, as we have seen in the case of Augustine Washington and his son Lawrence, the young Virginians were sent to school in England. Oftener, perhaps, the education begun at the country school or with private tutors was "finished" (as the phrase goes) at one of the English universities. Oxford seems to have been the favourite Alma Mater, doubtless for the same reason that caused Cambridge to be chiefly represented among the founders of New England; Oxford was ultra-royalist in sentiment, while Cambridge was deeply tinged with Puritanism. This difference would readily establish habits and associations among the early Virginians which would be followed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The worthy pastor even goes so far as to exclaim, with a groan, that two thirds of the schoolmasters in Maryland were convicts working out a term of penal servitude! Boucher's *Thirteen Sermons*, p. 182. But in such declamatory statements it is never safe to depend upon numbers and figures. In the present case we may conclude that the number of such schoolmasters was noticeable; we are not justified in going further.

<sup>2</sup> From the excellent papers by W. G. Stanard, on "Virginians

It was not in all cases necessary to go to England to obtain a thorough education. James Madison's tutors were the parish minister and an excellent Scotch schoolmaster; he was graduated at Princeton College in 1772, and never crossed the Atlantic; yet for the range, depth, and minuteness of his knowledge of ancient and modern history and of constitutional law, he has been rivalled by no other English-speaking statesman save Edmund Burke. Such an instance, however, chiefly shows how much more depends upon the individual than upon any institutions. There are no rules by which you can explain the occurrence of a heaven-sent genius.

On the whole, the facilities for education, whether primary or advanced, were very imperfect in the

at Oxford," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ii. 22, 149, I have culled a few items which may be of interest:—

John Lee, *armiger* (son of 1st Richard, see above, p. 19), educated at Queens, B. A. 1662, burgess.

Rowland Jones, *cler.*, Merton, matric. 1663, pastor Bruton Parish.

Ralph Wormeley, *armiger*, of Rosegill (see above, p. 243), Oriel, matric. 1665, secretary of state, etc.

Emanuel Jones, *cler.*, Oriel, B. A. 1692, pastor Petsworth Parish.

Bartholomew Yates, *cler.*, Brasenose, B. A. 1698, Prof. Divinity W. & M.

Mann Page, *armiger*, St. John's, matric. 1709, member of council.

William Dawson, *plebs.*, Queens, matric. 1720, M. A. 1728, D. D.

1747, Prof. Moral Phil. W. & M. 1729, Pres. W. & M. 1743-52.

Henry Fitzhugh, *gent.*, Christ Church, matric. 1722, burgess.

Christopher Robinson, *gent.*, Oriel, matric. 1724, studied at Middle Temple.

Christopher Robinson, *gent.*, Oriel, matric. 1721, M. A. 1729, Fellow of Oriel.

Musgrave Dawson, *plebs.*, Queens, B. A. 1747, pastor Raleigh Parish.

Lewis Burwell, *armiger*, Balliol, matric. 1765.

Old Dominion. This becomes especially noticeable from the contrast with New England, which inevitably suggests itself. It is no doubt customary with historical writers to make too much of this contrast. The people of colonial New England were not all well-educated, nor were all their country schools better than old field schools. The farmer's boy, who was taught for two winter months by a man and two summer months by a woman, seldom learned more in the district school than how to read, write, and cipher. For Greek and Latin, if he would go to college, he had usually to obtain the services of the minister or some other college-bred man in the village. There was often a disposition on the part of the town meetings to shirk the appropriation of a sum of money for school purposes, and many Massachusetts towns were fined for such remissness.<sup>1</sup> This was especially true of the early part of the eighteenth century, when the isolated and sequestered life of two generations had lowered the high level of education which the grandfathers had brought across the ocean. In those dark days of

Contrast  
with New  
England in  
respect of  
educational  
advantages.

<sup>1</sup> Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, i. 282, 412, 419; ii. 861. For neglecting to "set up school" for the year, a town would be presented by the grand jury of the county, and would then try to make excuses. "In February, 1744, the usual routine was repeated. The farmers were summoned 'to know what the Town's Mind is for doing about a School for the insuing year.' The school of the previous year having cost £55 old tenor, which may have been equivalent to 55 Spanish dollars, and it being necessary to raise this sum by a general taxation, the Town's Mind was for doing nothing; and not until the following July did it consent to have a school opened." Bliss, *Colonial Times on Buzzard's Bay*, p. 118.

New England, there might now and then be found in rural communities men of substance who signed deeds and contracts with their mark.

After making all allowances, however, the contrast between the New England colonies and the Old Dominion remains undeniable, and it is full of interest. The contrast is primarily based upon the fact that New England was settled by a migration of organized congregations, analogous to that of the ancient Greek city-communities; whereas the settlement of Virginia was effected by a migration of individuals and families. These circumstances were closely connected with the Puritan doctrine of the relations between church and state, and furthermore, as I have elsewhere shown,<sup>1</sup> the Puritan theory of life made it imperatively necessary, in New England as in Scotland, to set a high value upon education. The compactness of New England life, which was favoured by the agricultural system of small farms owned by independent yeomen, made it easy to maintain efficient schools. In Virginia, on the other hand, the agricultural conditions interposed grave obstacles to such a result. There was no such pervasive organization as in New England, where the different grades of school, from lowest to highest, coöperated in sustaining each other. There were heroic friends of education in Virginia. James Blair and the faithful scholars who worked with him conferred a priceless boon upon the commonwealth; but the vitality of William and Mary College often languished for lack

Causes of  
the differ-  
ence.

<sup>1</sup> In my *Beginnings of New England*, pp. 148-153.

of sustenance that should have been afforded by lower schools, and it was impossible for it to exercise such a widespread seminal influence as Yale and Harvard, sending their graduates into every town and village as ministers, lawyers, and doctors, schoolmasters and editors, merchants and country squires.

Among the founders of New England were an extraordinary number of clergymen noted for their learning, such as Hooker and Shepard, Cotton and Williams, Eliot and the Mathers; together with such cultivated laymen as Winthrop and Bradford, familiar with much of the best that was written in the world, and to whom the pen was an easy and natural instrument for expressing their thoughts. The character originally impressed upon New England by such men was maintained by the powerful influence of the colleges and schools, so that there was always more attention devoted to scholarship and to writing than in any of the other colonies. Communities of Europeans, thrust into a wilderness and severed from Europe by the ocean, were naturally in danger of losing their higher culture and lapsing into the crudeness of frontier life. All the American colonies were deeply affected by this situation. While there were many and great advantages in the freedom from sundry Old World trammels, yet in some respects the influence of the wilderness was barbarizing. It was due to the circumstances above mentioned that the New England colonies were more successful than the others in resisting this influence, and avoiding a breach of continuity in the higher spiritual life of the com-

munity. This is strikingly illustrated by the history of American literature. Among men of letters and science born and educated in America before the Revolution, there were three whose fame is more than national, whose names belong among the great of all times and countries. Of these, Jonathan Edwards was a native of Connecticut, Benjamin Franklin and Count Rumford were natives of Massachusetts. In such men we can trace the continuity between the intellectual life of England in the seventeenth century and that of America in the nineteenth. In Virginia, if we except political writers, we find no names so high as these. But there is one political book which must not be excepted, because it is a book for all time. "The Federalist" is one of the world's philosophical and literary masterpieces, and of its three authors James Madison took by far the deepest and most important part in creating it.<sup>1</sup>

Among books of a second order, — books which do not rank among classics, — there are some which deserve and have won a reputation that is more than local. Of such books, Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts Bay" is a good example. In the colonial times historical literature was of better

<sup>1</sup> Of the numbers in *The Federalist*, 51 were written by Hamilton, 29 by Madison, and 5 by Jay. But the frame of government which the book was written to explain and defend was not at all the work of Hamilton, whose part in the proceedings of the Federal Convention was almost *nil*. It was very largely the work of Madison, and while *The Federalist* shows Hamilton's marvellous flexibility of intelligence, it is Madison who is master and Hamilton who is his expounder.

Illustrations from history of American intellect.



quality than other kinds of writing ; and Virginia produced three historical writers of decided merit. With Robert Beverley the reader has already made some acquaintance through the extracts cited in these pages. His "History of Virginia," published in London in 1705, is a little book full of interesting details concerning the country and the life of its red and white inhabitants. The author's love of nature is charming, and his style so simple, direct, and sprightly that there is not a dull page in the book. It was written during a visit to London, where Beverley happened to see the proof-sheets of Oldmixon's forthcoming "British Empire in America," and was disgusted with the silly blunders that swarmed on every page. He wrote his little book as an antidote, and did it so well that many coming generations will read it with pleasure.

Virginia's  
historians;  
Robert  
Beverley.

A book of more pretension and of decided merit is the "History of Virginia" by Rev. William Stith, who was president of William and Mary College from 1752 to his death in 1755. The book, which was published at Williamsburg in 1747, was but the first volume of a work which, had it been completed on a similar scale, would have filled six or eight. It covers only the earliest period, ending with the downfall of the Virginia Company in 1624; and among its merits is the good use to which the author put the minutes of the Company's proceedings made at the instance of Nicholas Ferrar.<sup>1</sup> Stith's work is accurate and scholarly, and his narrative is dignified and often

William  
Stith.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 221.

graphic. His account of James I. is pithy: "He had, in truth, all the forms of wisdom, — forever erring very learnedly, with a wise saw or Latin sentence in his mouth; for he had been bred up under Buchanan, one of the brightest geniuses and most accomplished scholars of that age, who had given him Greek and Latin in great waste and profusion, but it was not in his power to give him good sense. That is the gift of God and nature alone, and is not to be taught; and Greek and Latin without it only cumber and overload a weak head, and often render the fool more abundantly foolish. I must, therefore, confess that I have ever had . . . a most contemptible opinion of this monarch; which has, perhaps, been much heightened and increased by my long studying and conning over the materials of this history. For he appears in his dealings with the Company to have acted with such mean arts and fraud . . . as highly misbecome majesty."<sup>1</sup> From the refined simplicity of this straightforward style it was a sad descent to the cumbrous and stilted Johnsonese of the next generation, which too many Americans even now mistake for fine writing.

Contemporary with Beverley and Stith was William Byrd, one of the most eminent men of affairs in Old Virginia, and eminent also — probably without knowing it — as a man of letters. His father came to Virginia a few years before Bacon's rebellion, and bought the famous estate of Westover, on the James River and in Charles City County, with the mansion,

William  
Byrd.

<sup>1</sup> Stith, *History of Virginia*, preface, vi., vii.

which is still in the possession of his family, and is considered one of the finest old houses in Virginia. From his uncle Colonel Byrd inherited a vast estate which included the present site of Richmond. He sympathized strongly with his neighbour, Nathaniel Bacon, and held a command under him; but after the collapse of the rebellion he succeeded in making his peace with the raging Berkeley. He became one of the most important men in the colony, and was commissioned receiver-general of the royal revenues. On his death, in 1704, his son succeeded him in this office. The son had studied law in the Middle Temple, and for proficiency in science was made a fellow of the Royal Society. He was for many years a member of the colonial council, and at length its president. He lived in much splendour on his estate of Westover, and we have seen what a library he accumulated there. A professional man of letters he was not, and perhaps his strong literary tastes might never have led to literary production but for sundry interesting personal experiences which he deemed it worth while to put on record. In 1727 he was one of the commissioners for determining the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina. In the journeys connected with that work he selected the sites where the towns of Richmond and Petersburg were afterwards built; and he wrote a narrative of his proceedings so full of keen observations on the people and times as to make it an extremely valuable contribution to history.<sup>1</sup> Among early American writers Byrd is

<sup>1</sup> Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line*, with his *Journey to the*

exceptional for animation of style. There is a quaintness of phrase about him that is quite irrepressible. After a dry season he visits a couple of mills, and "had the grief to find them both stand as still for the want of water as a dead woman's tongue for want of breath. It had rained so little for many weeks above the falls that the Naiads had hardly water enough left to wash their faces." He suggests, of course with a twinkle in his eye, that the early settlers of Virginia ought to have formed matrimonial alliances with the Indians: "Morals and all considered, I can't think the Indians were much greater heathens than the first adventurers, who, had they been good Christians, would have had the charity to take this only method of converting the natives to Christianity. For after all that can be said, a sprightly lover is the most prevailing missionary that can be sent among these, or any other infidels. Besides, the poor Indians would have had less reason to complain that the English took away their land, if they had received it by way of portion with their daughters. . . . Nor would the shade of the skin have been any reproach at this day; for if a Moor may be washed white in three generations, surely an Indian might have been blanched in two."<sup>1</sup> With such moralizing was this amiable writer wont to relieve the tedium of historical dis-

*Land of Eden*, and *A Progress to the Mines*, remained in MS. for more than a century. They were published at Petersburg in 1841, under the title of *Westover Manuscripts*. A better edition, edited by T. H. Wynne, was published in 1866 under the title of *Byrd Manuscripts*.

<sup>1</sup> *Byrd MSS.* i. 5.

course. We shall again have occasion to quote him in the course of our narrative.

Among other works by writers reared before the Revolution, the well-known "Notes on Virginia," by Thomas Jefferson, deserves high praise as an essay in descriptive sociology. Of American poetry before the nineteenth century, scarcely a line worth preserving came from any quarter. In 1777 James McClurg, an eminent physician, afterward a member of the Federal Convention, wrote his "Belles of Williamsburg," a specimen of pleasant society verse; but it had not such vogue as its author's "Essay on the Human Bile," which was translated into several European languages. Science throve better than poetry, and was well represented in Virginia by John Clayton, who came thither from England in 1705,

Science;  
John Clayton.

being then in his twentieth year, and dwelt there until his death in 1773, on the eve of the famous day which saw the mixing of tea with ice-water in Boston harbour. Clayton was attorney-general of Virginia, and for fifty years clerk of Gloucester County. His name has an honourable place in the history of botany; he was member of learned societies in nearly all the countries of Europe; and in 1739 his "Flora of Virginia" was edited and published by Linnæus and Gronovius.

In Old Virginia, as in all the other colonies, the scientific study and practice of medicine had scarcely made a beginning. Those were everywhere the days of "kill or cure" <sup>Physicians.</sup> treatment, when there was small hope for patients who had not enough vitality to withstand both

drugs and disease. In the light of the progress achieved since the mighty work of Bichat (1798–1801), the two preceding centuries seem a period of stagnation. Strong plasters, jalap, and bleeding were the universal remedies. Mr. Bruce gives us the items of a bill rendered by Dr. Haddon, of York, about 1660, for performing an amputation. “They included one highly flavoured and two ordinary cordials, three ointments for the wound, an ointment precipitate, the operation of letting blood, a purge *per diem*, two purges electuaries, external applications, a cordial and two astringent powders, phlebotomy, a defensive and a large cloth.” On another occasion the same doctor prescribed “a purging glistier, a caphalick and a cordial electuary, oil of spirits and sweet almonds, a purging and a cordial bolus, purging pills, ursecatory, and oxy-mell. His charge for six visits after dark was a hogshead of tobacco weighing 400 pounds.”<sup>1</sup> Of the many thousand victims of these heroic methods, the most illustrious was George Washington, who, but for medical treatment, might probably have lived a dozen or fifteen years into the nineteenth century. When Washington in full vigour found that he had caught a very bad cold he sent for the doctors, and meanwhile had half a pint of blood taken from him by one of his overseers. Of the three physicians in attendance, one was his dear friend, the good Scotchman, Dr. James Craik, “who from forty years’ experience,” said Washington, “is better qualified than a dozen of them put together.” His

Washington's last illness.

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *Economic History*, ii. 234.

colleague, Dr. Elisha Dick, said, "Do not bleed the General; he needs all his strength." But tradition prevailed over common sense, and three copious bleedings followed, in the last of which a quart of blood was taken. The third attendant, Dr. Gustavus Brown, afterward expressed bitter regret that Dr. Dick's advice was not followed. Besides this wholesale bleeding, the patient was dosed with calomel and tartar emetic and scarified with blisters and poultices; or, as honest Tobias Lear said, in a letter written the next day announcing the fatal result, "every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect."<sup>1</sup>

The physician in Old Virginia was very much the same as elsewhere, but the parson was a very different character from the grave ministers and dominies of Boston and New York. He belonged to the class of wine-bibbing, card-playing, fox-hunting parsons, of which there were so many examples in the mother country after the reaction against Puritanism had set in. The religious tone of the English church during Virginia parsons. the first half of the eighteenth century was very low, and it was customary to send out to Virginia and Maryland the poorest specimens of clergymen that the mother country afforded. Men unfit for any appointment at home were thought good

<sup>1</sup> See the history of the case, in Washington's *Writings*, ed. W. C. Ford, xiv. 255-260. According to Mr. Paul Ford, "there can scarcely be a doubt that the treatment of his last illness by the doctors was little short of murder." *The True George Washington*, p. 58. The question is suggested, if Washington had lived a dozen years longer, would there have been a second war with England?

enough for the colonies. The royal governor, as vicegerent of the sovereign, was head of the colonial church, while ecclesiastical affairs were superintended by a commissary appointed by the Bishop of London. The first commissary, Dr. Blair, as we have seen, was president of the college, and in his successors those two offices were usually united. Several attempts were made to substitute a bishop for the commissary, but the only result of the attempts was to alienate people's sympathies from the church, while the conduct of the clergy was such as to destroy their respect for it. Bishop Meade has queer stories to tell of some of these parsons. One of them was for years the president of a jockey club. Another fought a duel within sight of his own church. A third, who was evidently a muscular Christian, got into a rough-and-tumble fight with his vestrymen and floored them; and then justified himself to his congregation next Sunday in a sermon from a text of Nehemiah, "And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair." In 1711 a bequest of £100 was made to the vestry of Christ Church parish in Middlesex, providing that the interest should be paid to the minister for preaching four sermons each year against "the four reigning vices, — viz. : atheism and irreligion, swearing and cursing, fornication and adultery, and drunkenness." Later in the century the living was held for eighteen years, and the sermons were preached, by a minister who was notoriously guilty of all the vices mentioned. He used to be seen in the tavern



porch, reeling to and fro with a bowl of toddy in his hand, while he called to some passer-by to come in and have a drink. When this exemplary man of God was dying in delirium, his last words were halloos to the hounds. In 1726 a thoughtful and worthy minister named Lang wrote to the Bishop of London about the scandalous behaviour of the clergy, of whom the sober part were "slothful and negligent," while the rest were debauched and "bent on all manner of vices."<sup>1</sup> This testimony against the clergy, it will be observed, comes from clergymen. Yet it seems clear that the cases cited must have been extreme ones, — cases of the sort that make a deep impression and are long remembered. A few such instances would suffice to bring down condemnation upon the whole establishment; and not unjustly, for a church in which such things could for a moment be tolerated must needs have been in a degraded condition. This state of things afforded an excellent field for the labours of Baptist and Presbyterian revivalist preachers, and to such good purpose did they work that by the time of the Revolution it was found that more than half of the people in Virginia were Dissenters. At that time the Episcopal clergy were not unnaturally inclined to the Tory side, and this last ounce was all that was needed to break down the establishment and cast upon it irredeemable discredit. The downfall of the Episcopal church in Virginia and its resurrection under more wholesome conditions make an interesting chapter of history.

<sup>1</sup> Meade's *Old Churches*, i. 18, 361, 385.

In imputing to his tipsy parson the "vice" of atheism, Bishop Meade warns us that he does not mean a denial of the existence of God, but merely irreligion, or "living without God in the world." In 1724 the Bishop of London was officially informed that there were no "infidels" in Virginia, negroes and Indians excepted. A few years later, "when the first infidel book was imported, . . . it produced such an excitement that the governor and commissary communicated on the subject with the authorities in England." In those days freethinkers, if prudent, kept their thoughts to themselves. All over Christendom the atmosphere was still murky with intolerance, and men's conceptions of the universe were only beginning to emerge from the barbaric stage. Virginia was no exception to the general rule.

Freethink-  
ing.

In respect also of superstition and crime the Old Dominion seems to have differed but little from other parts of English America. Belief in witchcraft lasted into the eighteenth century, and the statute-book reveals an abiding dread of what rebellious slaves might do; but there were no epidemics of savage terror, as at Salem in 1692, or in the negro panic of 1741 in New York. Of violent crime there was surely much less than in the England of Jack Sheppard and Jonathan Wild, but probably more than in the colonies north of Delaware Bay; and its perpetrators seem to have been chiefly white freedmen and "outlying negroes."<sup>1</sup> Duelling seems to have been infre-

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to obtain exact data. My impression is derived from study of the statutes and from general reading.

quent before the Revolution.<sup>1</sup> Murder, rape, arson, and violent robbery were punished with death; while pillory, stocks, whipping-post, and ducking-stool were kept in readiness for minor offenders. The infliction of the death penalty in a cruel or shocking manner was not common. Negroes were occasionally burned at the stake, as in other colonies, north and south; and an instance is on record in which negro murderers were beheaded and quartered after hanging.<sup>2</sup> No white persons were ever burned at the stake by any of the colonies.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is authoritatively stated in the *Virginia Magazine*, i. 347, that from the time of the Company down to the time of the Revolution, "there is no record of any duel in Virginia." In the thirteen volumes of Heuing I find no allusion to duelling; for the mention of "challenges to fight" in such a passage as vol. vi. p. 80, clearly refers to chance affrays with fisticuffs at the gaming table, and not to duels. Yet in 1731 Rodolphus Malbone, for challenging Solomon White, a magistrate, "with sword and pistol," was bound over in £50 to keep the peace: see *Virginia Magazine*, iii. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Virginia Magazine*, i. 128. A woman named Eve was burned in Orange County in 1746 for petty treason, *i. e.* murdering her master. *Id.* iii. 308. For poisoning the master's family a man and woman were burned at Charleston, S. C., in 1769. *Id.* iv. 341. For petty treason a negro woman named Phillis was burned at the stake in Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 18, 1755: see *Boston Evening Post*, Sept. 22, 1755; Paige's *History of Cambridge*, p. 217. For riotous murder in the city of New York 21 negroes were executed in 1712, several of whom were burned and one was broken on the wheel; and again in 1741, in the panic over an imaginary plot, 13 negroes were burned at the stake: see *Acts of Assembly, New York*, ann. 1712; *Documents relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. vi. ann. 1741. There may have been other cases. These here cited were especially notable.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. M. C. Tyler (*History of American Literature*, i. 90) quotes a statement of Burk (*History of Virginia*, Petersburg, 1805, vol. ii. appendix, p. xxx., to the effect that in Princess Anne County a woman was once burned for witchcraft. But Burk

In the early days of Virginia there was not much practice of law except by the county magistrates in their work of maintaining the <sup>Lawyers.</sup> king's peace. The legal profession was at first held in somewhat low repute, being sometimes recruited by white freedmen whose careers of rascality as attorneys in England had suddenly ended in penal servitude. But after the middle of the seventeenth century the profession grew rapidly in importance and improved in character. During the eighteenth century the development in legal learning and acumen, and in weight of judicial authority, was remarkable. The profession was graced by such eminent names as Pendleton, Wythe, and Henry, until in John Marshall the Old Dominion gave to the world a name second to none among the great judges of English race and speech.

One cause of this splendid development of legal talent was doubtless the necessarily close connection between legal and political activity. The Vir-

makes the statement on hearsay, and I have no doubt he refers to Grace Sherwood, who between 1698 and 1708 brought divers and sundry actions for slander against persons who had called her a witch, but could not get a verdict in her favour! She was searched for witch marks and imprisoned. It is a long way from this sort of thing to getting burned at the stake! Mrs. Sherwood made her will in 1733, and it was admitted to probate in 1741. See *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 69; ii. 58; iii. 96, 190, 242; iv. 18. — There is a widespread popular belief that the victims of the witchcraft delusion in Salem were burned; scarcely a fortnight passes without some allusions to this "burning" in the newspapers. Of the twenty victims at Salem, nineteen were hanged, one was pressed to death; not one was burned. See Upham's *History of Witchcraft and Salem Village*, Boston, 1867, 2 vols.

ginia planter meant that his government should be one of laws. With his extensive estates to superintend and country interests to look after, his position was in many respects like that of the country squire in England. In his House of Burgesses the planter had a parliament; and in the royal governor, who was liable to subordinate local to imperial interests, there was an abiding source of antagonism and distrust, requiring him to keep his faculties perpetually alert to remember all the legal maxims by which the liberties of England had been guarded since the days of Glanvil and Bracton. On the whole, it was a noble type of rural gentry that the Old Dominion had to show. Manly simplicity, love of home and family, breezy activity, disinterested public spirit, thorough wholesomeness and integrity, — such were the features of the society whose consummate flower was George Washington.

A govern-  
ment of  
laws.

This chapter must not close without a brief mention of the social features of Maryland, but a brief mention is all that is needed for my purpose, since the portraiture just given of Leah will answer in most respects for her younger sister Rachel. The English colonists in Maryland were of the same excellent class as the Cavaliers who were the strength of Virginia. Though tidewater Virginia at the beginning of the eighteenth century contained but few people who did not belong to the Church of England, on the other hand, in Maryland, not more than one sixth of the white population belonged to that

Some charac-  
teristics of  
Maryland.

church, while one twelfth were Roman Catholics, and three fourths were Puritans. But these differences in religion did not run parallel with differences in birth, refinement, or wealth. Naturally, from the circumstances under which the colony was founded, some of the best human material was always to be found among the Catholics; and they wielded an influence disproportionately greater than their numbers.

For the first three generations tobacco played as important a part in Maryland as in Virginia. Nearly all the people became planters. Cheap labour was supplied at first by indented white servants and afterwards by negro slaves, who never came, however, to number more than from one fourth to one third of the whole population. There was the same isolation, the same absence of towns, the same rudeness of roads and preference for water-ways, as in Virginia. The facilities for education were somewhat poorer; there was no university or college, no public schools until 1728, no newspaper until 1745.

But early in the eighteenth century there came about an important modification of industries, which was in large part due to the rapid growth of Maryland's neighbour, Pennsylvania. In the latter colony a great deal of wheat was raised, and the export of flour became very profitable. This wheat culture extended into Maryland, where wheat soon became a vigorous rival of tobacco. In 1729 the town of Baltimore was founded, and at once rose to importance as a point for exporting flour. Moreover, as Pennsylvania exported various kinds of

farm produce, besides large quantities of valuable furs, and as she had no seacoast and no convenient maritime outlet save Philadelphia, her export trade soon came to exceed the capacities of that outlet, and a considerable part of it went through Baltimore, which thus had a large and active rural district dependent upon it, and grew so fast that by 1770 it had become the fourth city in English America, with a population of nearly 20,000. The growth of Annapolis was further stimulated by these circumstances; and this development of town life, with the introduction of a wealthy class of merchants and the continual intercommunication with Pennsylvania, went far toward assimilating Maryland with the middle colonies while it diminished to some extent her points of resemblance to the Old Dominion.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE CAROLINA FRONTIER.

“ST. AUGUSTINE, a Spanish garrison, being planted to the southward of us about a hundred leagues, makes Carolina a frontier to all the English settlements on the Main.” These memorable words, from the report of the governor and council at Charleston to the lords proprietors of Carolina in London, in the year 1708, have a deeper historic significance than was realized by the men who wrote them. In a two-fold sense Carolina was a frontier country. It was not only the border region where English and Spanish America marched upon each other, but it served for some time as a kind of backwoods for Virginia. Until recently one of the most important factors in American history has been the existence of a perpetually advancing frontier, where new territory has often had to be won by hard fighting against its barbarian occupants, where the life has been at once more romantic and more sordid than on the civilized seaboard, and where democracy has assumed its most distinctively American features. The cessation of these circumstances will probably be one of the foremost among the causes which are going to make America in the twentieth century different from America in

The Spanish  
frontier.



the nineteenth. Now for the full development of this peculiar frontier life two conditions were requisite, — first, the struggle with the wilderness; secondly, isolation from the currents of European thought with which the commercial seaboard was kept in contact. These conditions were first realized in North Carolina, and there was originated the type of backwoods life which a century later prevailed among the settlers of Tennessee and Kentucky. That was the one point where the backwoods may be said to have started at the coast; and in this light we shall have to consider it. On the other hand, South Carolina, with the Georgia colony for its buffer, is to be considered more in the light of a frontier against the Spaniard. We shall have furthermore to contemplate the whole Carolina coast as pre-eminently the frontier upon which were wrecked the last remnants of the piracy and buccaneering that had grown out of the mighty Elizabethan world-struggle between England and Spain. Without some mention of all these points, our outline sketch of the complicated drama begun by Drake and Raleigh would be incomplete.

The wilderness frontier.

The region long vaguely known as Carolina, or at least a portion of it, had formed part of Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia; the Spaniards had never ceased to regard it as part of Florida. In defiance of their claims, Jean Ribaut planted his first ill-fated Huguenot colony at Port Royal in 1562, and built a fort which he called Charlesfort, after Charles IX. of France. Whether the name "Carolina" was applied to the territory at that

early time is doubtful,<sup>1</sup> but we find it used in England, in the time of Charles I., when the first Lord Baltimore was entertaining a plan for a new colony south of Virginia. The name finally served to commemorate Charles II., who in 1663 granted the territory to eight "lords proprietors," gentlemen who had done him inestimable services. To the most eminent, George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, he owed his restoration to the throne; the support of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, had been invaluable; the others were Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, and his brother, Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, Sir George Carteret, and Sir John Colleton. All these names appear to-day on the map, — Albemarle Sound, Hyde, Craven, and Carteret counties in North Carolina; Clarendon and Colleton counties, Berkeley parish, and the Ashley and Cooper rivers in South Carolina, while in Charleston we have the name of the king.

These gentlemen contemplated founding a colony which should emulate the success of Virginia. The most actively engaged in the enterprise was the one whom we know best by his title of Shaftesbury, and it was thus that the founding of Carolina became connected for a moment with one of the greatest names in the history of England.

Shaftesbury  
and Locke.

A charming story is that of the residence of John Locke in the Ashley family, as physician, private tutor, and general adviser and guardian angel; how he once saved his lordship's life by

<sup>1</sup> Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.* v. 286.

most daring and skilful surgery, how he taught Greek to the young Ashley, how he took the boy at the age of seventeen to Haddon Hall and made a happy match for him with pretty Lady Dorothy Manners aged twenty, how he afterward assisted at the birth of the grandson destined to become even more famous in literature than the grandfather in political history,—all this is pleasantly told by the grandson. “My father was too young and inexperienced to choose a wife for himself, and my grandfather too much in business to choose one for him. The affair was nice; for, though my grandfather required not a great fortune, he insisted on good blood, good person and constitution, and, above all, good education and a character as remote as possible from that of court or town-bred lady. All this was thrown upon Mr. Locke, who being . . . so good a judge of men, my grandfather doubted not of his equal judgment in women. He departed from him, entrusted and sworn, as Abraham’s head servant that ruled over all that he had, and went into a far country (the north of England) to seek for his son a wife, whom he as successfully found.”<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1669, while the great philosopher was engaged upon this match-making expedition, he varied the proceedings by drawing up a constitution for Carolina, the original draft of which, a small neatly written volume of 75 pages bound in vellum, is still preserved among the Shaftesbury papers. This constitution diverges widely in some respects from such a document as

<sup>1</sup> Fox-Bourne’s *Life of John Locke*, i. 203.

would have expressed Locke's own ideas of the right sort of government. The scheme which it set forth was in the main Ashley's, with such modifications as were necessary to secure the approval of the other proprietors. It is not worth our while to recount its complicated provisions, inasmuch as it was never anything but a dead letter, and civil government sprouted up as spontaneously in Carolina as if neither statesman nor philosopher had ever given thought to the subject. One provision, however, expressed an idea of which Locke was one of the foremost representatives, and herein Ashley agreed with him; it was the idea of complete liberty of conscience in matters of religion. It was provided that any seven or more persons who could agree among themselves upon any sort of notion about God or any plan for worshipping him might set up a church and be guaranteed against all interference or molestation. An ideal so noble as this was never quite realized in the history of any of the colonies; but there can be little doubt that the publication of Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions" in 1670, in 1682, and 1698 had much influence in directing toward Carolina the stream of Huguenot emigration from France, which was an event of the first importance.<sup>1</sup>

In its general character the government created

<sup>1</sup> The Fundamental Constitutions are printed in Locke's *Works*. London, 1824, ix. 175-199. An excellent analysis of them is given by Prof. Bassett, "The Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina," *J. H. U. Studies*, xii. 97-169; see, also, Whitney "Government of the Colony of South Carolina," *Id.* xiii. 1-121.

by the Fundamental Constitutions was a palatinate modelled after that of Durham. The difference between Carolina and Maryland consisted chiefly in the fact that the palatinate privileges were granted to eight co-proprietors instead of a single proprietor. Those privileges were quasi-royal, but they were limited by giving to the popular assembly the control over all money bills. This limitation, however, was partly offset by giving to the higher officers regular salaries payable from quit-rents or the sales of public lands. These salaries went far toward making such officers independent of the legislature, and thus led to much complaint and dissatisfaction. Before the Revolution, questions concerning the salaried independence of high public officials had in several of the colonies come to be one of the most burning questions of the day.

The lords proprietors, as tenants-in-chief of the crown, were feudal sovereigns over Carolina. They could grant estates on any terms they pleased, and subinfeudation, which had been forbidden in England since 1290, was expressly permitted here. The eldest of the proprietors was called the Palatine; he presided at their meetings, and his vote with those of three associates was reckoned a majority. As the proprietors remained in England, it was arranged that each of them should be represented in Carolina by a deputy; and the Palatine's deputy, sometimes called Vice-Palatine, was to be governor of the colony. But any one of the proprietors coming into the colony, or the oldest of those coming, if there were

The Carolina Palatinate.

The Palatine.

more than one, was to take precedence over every body and become at once Vice-Palatine.

By a curious provision of the charter, the lords proprietors could grant titles of nobility, provided they were unlike those used in England. Hence the outlandish titles, such as “landgrave” and “cacique,” which occur in the Fundamental Constitutions. With the titles there was combined an artificial system of social gradations which is not worth recounting. As for the political status of the settlers, they were guaranteed in the possession of all the rights and privileges enjoyed by Englishmen in England.

The planting of two distinct colonies in Carolina was no part of the original scheme, but the early centres of colonization were so far apart and communication between them was so difficult that they could not well be united in a single community, although more than once there was a single governor over the whole of Carolina. Emigration from Virginia had begun as early as 1653, when Roger Greene with a hundred men made a small settlement in the Chowan precinct, on the north shore of Albemarle Sound.<sup>1</sup> In 1662 George Durant<sup>2</sup> followed, and began a settlement in the Perquimans precinct, just east of Chowan. In 1664 Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, — himself one of the eight lords proprietors, — severed this newly settled region from Virginia, and appointed William Drummond as

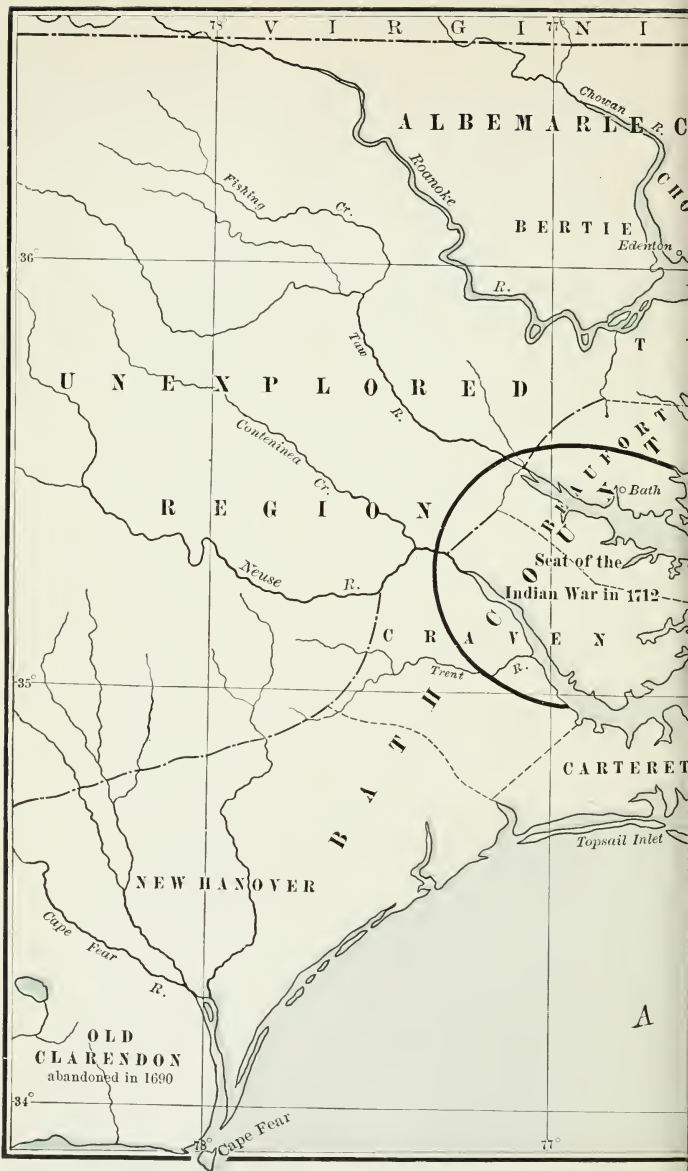
Titles of nobility.

The Albemarle colony.

<sup>1</sup> Hening, i. 380.

<sup>2</sup> He is commonly called a Quaker, but the tradition is ill supported. See Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 33.









Longitude West from Greenwich 75°

Currituck Inlet

PASQUOTANK  
CURRITUCK  
COUNTY  
QUIMANS

SOUND

ALBEMARLE

BEAUFORT

HYDE

PAMLICO  
SOUND

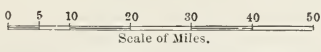
Cape Hatteras

ATLANTIC  
OCEAN

Cape Lookout

ATLANTIC

MAP OF  
**NORTH CAROLINA**  
**PRECINCTS,**  
**1663-1729**



THE M.-N. CO., BUFFALO, N. Y.



its governor. Such were the beginnings of Albemarle, the colony which in time was to develop into North Carolina.

Meanwhile in 1660 a party from New England made a settlement at the mouth of Cape Fear River; or perhaps we ought rather to call it a visit. It lasted no longer than Thorfinn Karlsefni's visit to Vinland,<sup>1</sup> for the settlers had all departed by 1663. There is a tradition that they were sorely harassed by the natives, in revenge for their sending sundry Indian lads and girls aboard ship, to be taken to Boston and "educated," *i. e.* sold for slaves.<sup>2</sup> This is not improbable.

At all events, these New Englanders went off in a mood not altogether amiable, leaving affixed to a post, at the mouth of the river, a "scandalous writing . . . the contents whereof tended not only to the disparagement of the land . . . but also to the great discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those parts to settle."<sup>3</sup>

But this emphatic warning did not frighten away Sir John Yeamans, who arrived at Cape Fear early in October, 1663, and ascended the river for more than a hundred and fifty miles. Sir John was the son of a gallant Cavalier who had lost life and estate in the king's service, and he had come out to Barbadoes to repair his fortunes. His report of the Cape Fear country was so favourable that by the end of May, 1665, we

The visit of  
New Eng-  
landers.

The Claren-  
don colony.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Discovery of America*, i. 167-169.

<sup>2</sup> Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, ii. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Lawson, *A Description of North Carolina*, London, 1718, p. 73.

find him there again, with several hundred settlers from Barbadoes, to make the beginnings of the new colony of Clarendon, of which the lords proprietors had appointed him governor. In the same year the colony of Albemarle elected its first assembly.

In 1667 William Sayle, a Puritan from Bermuda, explored the coast, and reported the value of the Bahama Islands for offensive and defensive purposes in case of war with Spain. These islands were accordingly appropriated and annexed to Carolina, as the Bermudas had once been annexed to Virginia. It was decided to make a

The Ashley  
River  
colony.

settlement at Port Royal; the venerable Sayle, whose years were more than three-score-and-ten, was appointed governor; and on March 17, 1670, the first colonists arrived on the Carolina coast. On further inspection Port Royal seemed too much exposed to the attacks of Spaniards from St. Augustine, and accordingly the ships pursued their way northward till they reached and entered the spacious bay formed by the junction of two noble rivers since known as Ashley and Cooper. They proceeded up the Ashley as far as an easily defensible highland at Albemarle Point, where they began building a village which

Founding of  
Charles-  
ton, 1670.

they called Charles Town. Their cautiousness was soon justified. Spain and England were then at peace, but no sooner were the Spaniards notified of these proceedings than a warship started from St. Augustine and came as far as Stono Inlet, where it learned the strength of the English position and

concluded to retreat.<sup>1</sup> The next year Governor Sayle died, and was succeeded by Sir John Yeamans, who came in 1672, bringing from Barbadoes the first negro slaves ever seen in Carolina. In 1674 Yeamans was superseded by Joseph West, under whom the first assembly was elected.

Thus there were three small communities started on the coast of Carolina: 1. Albemarle, on the Virginia border, constituted in 1664; 2. Clarendon, on the Cape Fear River, in 1665; 3. The Ashley River colony, in 1670.

For a moment we must follow the fortunes of Albemarle, where in 1667 Drummond was succeeded in the governorship by Samuel Stephens. Two years later there was passed a statute which enacted that no subject could be sued within five years for any cause of action that might have arisen outside of the colony; that all debts contracted outside of the colony were *ipso facto* outlawed; and that all new settlers should be exempted from taxes for one year.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, all "transient persons," not intending to remain in the colony, were forbidden to trade with the Indians. It was furthermore provided that, since there were no clergymen in the colony to perform the ceremony of marriage, a declaration of mutual consent, before the governor and council and in the presence of a few acquaintances, should be deemed a binding con-

First legis-  
lation in  
Albemarle.

<sup>1</sup> Rivers, *Early History of South Carolina*, Charleston, 1856. p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson, *History of North Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1812, i. 120.

tract.<sup>1</sup> These laws were of course intended to stimulate immigration, and the effect of the first two was soon plainly indicated in the indignant epithet, "Rogue's Harbour," bestowed by Virginia people upon the colony of Albemarle.<sup>2</sup>

The desire of increasing the number of settlers, without regard to their quality, induced the lords proprietors to sanction these curiosities of legislation. But troubles, not of their own creating, were at hand in this little forest community. In 1673 the Fundamental Constitutions were promulgated by Governor Stephens, who soon afterward died. Under his temporary successor, George Carteret, president of the council, the troubles broke out, and it has been customary to ascribe them to the attempt to enforce the Fundamental Constitutions upon an unwilling community. It does not appear, however, that the official promulgation of this frame of government was followed by any serious attempts to enforce it.<sup>3</sup> The real source of the disturbances was undoubtedly the Navigation Act, — that mischievous statute with which the mother country was busily weaning from itself the affections of its colonies all along the American seaboard. Sundry unfounded rumours increased the bitter feeling. The king's grant of Virginia to Arlington and Culpeper in 1673 was part of the news of the day. It was reported that the

Troubles  
caused by  
the Naviga-  
tion Act.

<sup>1</sup> Williamson, *op. cit.* i. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Moore's *History of North Carolina*, Raleigh, 1880, i. 18.

<sup>3</sup> I am glad to find this opinion corroborated by Professor Bassett in his able paper above cited, *J. H. U. Studies*, xii. 109.

proprietors of Carolina were going to divide up the province among themselves, and that Albemarle was to be the share of Sir William Berkeley, a man especially hated by the Virginians of small means, who were the larger part of the Albemarle population. Though these reports were baseless, they found many believers. But the Navigation Act and the attempts to break up the trade with Massachusetts were very real grievances. Ships from Boston and Salem brought down to Albemarle Sound all manner of articles needed by the planters, and took their pay in cattle and lumber, which they carried to the West Indies and exchanged for sugar, molasses, and rum. Often with this cargo they returned to Albemarle and exchanged it for tobacco, which they carried home and sent off to Europe at a good round profit, in supreme defiance of the statutes. It was said that the new colony was enriching Yankee merchants much faster than the lords proprietors.<sup>1</sup> In truth the trade was profitable to merchants and planters alike, and by the summer of 1676 sundry attempts to break it up had brought the little colony into quite a rebellious frame of mind. We have seen how Bacon looked forward to possible help from Carolina against Sir William Berkeley. Bacon spoke of the desirableness of the people electing their own governors.<sup>2</sup> New England furnished examples of such elected governors who were in full sympathy with the people. The men

The trade  
with New  
England.

<sup>1</sup> Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, ii. 470.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 85 of the present volume.

of Albemarle were likely to make trouble for governors appointed in England to carry out an unpopular policy.

When Carteret resigned his position in 1676, two men, who were supposed to represent the popular party, had lately gone over to England. One Eastchurch and Miller. of them, by name Eastchurch, had been speaker of the assembly; and so anxious were the lords proprietors to have their intentions carried out without irritating the people, that in the autumn of 1676 they appointed him governor of Albemarle. The other was a person named Miller, who had been illegally carried to Virginia and tried by Governor Berkeley for making a seditious speech in Carolina. In England he found it profitable to pose as a martyr. The proprietors made him secretary of Albemarle, and the king's commissioners of customs made him collector of the revenues of that colony. Early in 1677 the new governor and secretary sailed for America, and made a stop at the little island of Nevis, famous in later years as the birthplace of Alexander Hamilton. For Eastchurch it proved to be an isle of Calypso. He fell in love with a fair Creole and staid to press his suit, while he appointed Miller president of the council, and sent him on in that capacity to govern Albemarle.

That little commonwealth of less than 3,000 souls had in the mean time been enjoying the sweets of uncurbed liberty, when there was no king in Israel, and every man did what was right in his own eyes. Miller, as a martyr to free speech, was cordially welcomed, but as proprietary



governor and king's collector, he found his popularity quickly waning. He tried to suppress the trade with Massachusetts, and thus arrayed against himself the Yankee skippers, aided by a "party within," at the head of which was the wealthy George Durant, the earliest settler of Perquimans. The train was well laid for an insurrection when a demagogue arrived with the match to fire it. This man was John Culpeper, surveyor-general of Carolina, whose seditious conduct on the Ashley River had lately made it necessary for him to flee northward to escape the hangman. Culpeper's proposal to resist the enforcement of the odious Navigation Act brought him many followers. In December, 1677, a Yankee schooner, heavily armed and bearing a seductive cargo of rum and molasses, appeared in Pasquotank River. Her skipper, whose name was Gillam, had scarcely set foot on land when he was arrested by the governor and held to bail in £1,000. The astute Yankee, with an air of innocent surprise, meekly promised to weigh anchor at once and not return. Hereupon a thirsty mob, maddening with the thought of losing so much rum, beset Gillam with entreaties to stay. Governor Miller was a man in whom bravery prevailed over prudence, and, hearing at this moment that Durant was on the schooner, he straightway boarded her, pistol in hand, and arrested that influential personage on a charge of treason. This rash act was the signal for an explosion. Culpeper's mob arrested the governor and council, and locked them up. Then they took possession

The Culpeper usurpation, 1677-79.

of the public records, convened the assembly, appointed new justices, made Culpeper governor, and, seizing upon £3,000 of customs revenue collected by Miller for the king, they applied it to the support of this revolutionary government.

For two years these adventurers exercised full sway over Albemarle. During this time Governor Eastchurch arrived from the island of Nevis, bringing with him the fair Creole as his bride. He met with a cold reception, and lost no time in finding shelter in Virginia, where he drank a friendly glass with Governor Chicheley, and asked for military aid against the usurping Culpeper. The request was granted, but before the troops were ready the unfortunate Eastchurch succumbed to chagrin, or perhaps to malaria, and his Creole bride was left a widow.

Culpeper, however, remained in some dread of what Virginia might do. He had issued a manifesto, accusing Miller of tyranny and peculation and seeking to justify himself; but he thought it wise to play a still bolder part. He went to Eng-

land in the hope of persuading the lords proprietors to sanction what he had done, and to confirm him in the governorship. In London he was surprised at meeting the deposed Miller, who had broken jail and arrived there before him. The twain forthwith told their eloquent but conflicting tales of woe, and Culpeper's tongue proved the more persuasive with the lords proprietors. He seemed on the point of returning in triumph to Carolina, when suddenly the king's officers arrested him for rob-

How Culpeper fared in London.

bing the custom-house of £3,000. This led to his trial for treason, in the summer of 1680, before the King's Bench, under the statute of Henry VIII. anent "treason committed abroad;" the same statute under which it was sought, on a fine April morning ninety-five years later, to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock. The Earl of Shaftesbury ably defended Culpeper, and he was acquitted but not restored to power.<sup>1</sup> He returned to Carolina, a sadder if not a wiser man; and in his old capacity of surveyor, it is said, laid out the plan of the city of Charleston on its present site. The original Charles Town, as already mentioned, was begun at Albemarle Point on Ashley River, in 1670. Another settlement was made two years later at Oyster Point, on the extremity of the peninsula enclosed between the two rivers. This new situation had greater advantages for a seaport, and its cooler breezes were appreciated by sojourners in that fiery climate. It grew at the expense of the older settlement, until in 1680 it had a population of 2,500 souls, and took over the name of Charles Town, while Albemarle Point was abandoned. So the autumn of 1680 had work at Oyster Point for a surveyor like Culpeper.

Charleston moved to a new site.

The governor who succeeded this usurper in the Albemarle colony was a new lord proprietor, by name Seth Sothel, to whom the Earl of Clarendon had sold out his rights and

Seth Sothel.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hawks, in his *History of North Carolina*, ii. 463-483, gives a detailed and very entertaining account of the Culpeper rebellion, to which I am indebted for several particulars.

interests. On his way to America, early in 1680, Sothel was captured by Algerine pirates and carried off into slavery. Not until 1683 did Sothel obtain his freedom and arrive at his destination. In five years of misrule over Albemarle he proved himself one of the dirtiest knaves that ever held office in America. A few specimens of his conduct may be cited. On the arrival of two ships from Barbadoes on legitimate business, Sothel seized them as pirates and threw their captains into jail, where one of them died of ill-treatment. The dying man made a will in which he named one of the most respected men in the colony, Thomas Pollock, as his executor; but Sothel refused to let the will go to probate, and seized the dead man's effects; the executor then threatened to carry the story of all this to England, whereupon the governor lodged him in jail and kept him there. George Durant called such proceedings unlawful, whereupon Sothel straightway imprisoned him and confiscated his whole estate. If he saw anything that pleased his fancy, be it a cow or a negro or a pewter dish, he just took it without ceremony, and if the owner objected he locked him up. From criminals he took tips and saved them from the gallows. The people of Albemarle endured this tyranny until 1688, — that year when over all English lands the sky was so black with political thunder-clouds. One day certain leading colonists laid hands upon Seth Sothel, and prepared to send him to England to be tried for a long list of felonies. Then this model for governors and lords proprietors, suddenly realizing the dismal prospect

before him, with Tyburn looming up in the distance, begged with frantic sobs and tears that he might be tried by the assembly, and not be sent to England; for he felt sure that the assembly would hardly dare take the responsibility of hanging him. In this he calculated correctly; he was banished from the colony for one year, and declared forever incapable of holding the governorship.<sup>1</sup>

Banishment  
of Sothel.

The prudence of the assembly was well considered. The lords proprietors in England, ill informed as to the affairs of their colony, wearied with the everlasting series of complaints, and unwilling to believe that one of their associates could be such a scoundrel, were inclined to scold the colonists for their treatment of Sothel. As for that worthy, his full career was not yet run. Scenes of turbulence were awaiting him in the little settlement between the Ashley and Cooper rivers. Joseph West had ruled there with a strong hand from 1674 to 1683, and the colony prospered during that time, but disagreements arose between West and the proprietors which ended in his removal. The next seven years were a period of anarchy. After five changes of governors in quick succession, the office was given to James Colleton, brother of Colleton the lord proprietor, but the situation was not improved. The troubles arose partly from the practice of kidnapping Indians for slaves, which invited bloody reprisals; partly from the demand that quit-rents be paid in coin, which was very scarce in Carolina.

Troubles in  
the southern  
colony.

<sup>1</sup> Hawks, *op. cit.* ii. 489.

partly from the low character of many of the settlers and their dealings with pirates ; partly from the unwillingness of the English settlers to admit the Huguenot immigrants to a share in the franchise ; and partly from the fitful and arbitrary manner in which the lords proprietors tried from beyond sea to cure the complicated evils. The muddle was aggravated by Spanish hostility. In 1683 a few Scotch families were brought by Lord Cardross to Port Royal, where they made the beginnings of a settlement. Those were the cruel days of Claverhouse in Scotland, and a scheme was entertained for bringing 10,000 sturdy Covenanters to Carolina ; but it came to nothing. Cardross got into difficulties with the people at Charleston, and went back to Scotland in disgust. In 1686, in time of peace, a Spanish force pounced upon Port Royal, murdered some of the Scotchmen, flogged others within an inch of their lives, carried off what booty they could find, and left the place a smoking ruin. Dire was the indignation of the Charleston men at these "bloody insolencies." Two stout ships with 400 men were just ready to sail against St. Augustine, when the newly appointed Governor Colleton arrived upon the scene and forbade their sailing. His mandate was obeyed with growls and curses. The lords proprietors upheld him. "No man," as they reasonably said, "can think that the dependencies of England can have power to make war upon the king's allies without his knowledge or consent." <sup>1</sup> It was an inauspicious beginning for

The Scotch  
at Port  
Royal,  
1683-86.

<sup>1</sup> Rivers, *Early History of South Carolina*, p. 145.

Colleton. The old troubles continued, along with others growing out of the Navigation Act. The wrangling between governor and assembly grew so hot that in 1689 the proprietors instructed Colleton to summon no more parliaments in Carolina without express orders from them. The effect of such an order was probably not foreseen by those well-meaning gentlemen. It was a curious feature in the Ashley River colony that the acts of its assembly expired at the end of twenty-<sup>A state without laws.</sup> three months unless renewed. This term had so nearly elapsed when the order arrived that "in 1690 not one statute law was in force in the colony!"<sup>1</sup>

This heroic medicine did not cure the malady. Things grew worse in the spring of 1690, when Colleton proclaimed martial law. The air was thick with sedition when Sothel arrived in Charleston. As a lord proprietor he had the right to act as governor over Colleton's head. Several of the leading colonists begged him to call a parliament, and forthwith the exemplary Sothel posed as "the people's friend." He summoned a parliament which banished Colleton and enacted <sup>Reappearance of Sothel.</sup> sundry laws. A queer spectacle it was, the victim of one popular revolution becoming the ringleader of another, the banished playing the part of banisher! But the lords proprietors had become aware of Sothel's misdeeds; they annulled the acts of his parliament, deposed him, and ordered him to return to England to answer the charges against him. Sothel did not relish this. His term

<sup>1</sup> *Id.* p. 153.

of banishment from Albemarle had expired, and he believed it to be a safer hiding-place than London. Where he skulked or how he died is unknown. All we know is that his will was admitted to probate February 5, 1694; and that his tombstone, which came from England, was never paid for!<sup>1</sup>

Since the founding of the Ashley River colony it had fared ill with the Clarendon colony on Cape Fear River, which under favouring circumstances might perhaps have developed into a Middle Carolina. There were not people enough, and there was not trade enough for so many settlements. So Clarendon dwindled until 1690, when it was abandoned. This left a wide interval of forest and stream between Albemarle and the Ashley River colony, or North Carolina and South Carolina, as they were beginning to be called. The formal separation of Carolina into two provinces did not take place until 1729, but the two colonies were from the outset, as we have seen, distinct and independent growths; and by 1690 the epithets North and South were commonly used.

Just at this time, however, the two were united under one governor. Colonel Philip Ludwell, of Virginia, who had ably supported Berkeley against Bacon, and had afterward married Berkeley's widow, was Sothel's successor in Albemarle in 1689, and he was appointed to succeed him at Charleston in 1691. The proprie-

<sup>1</sup> *Records of General Court of Albemarle, 1697*; Hawks, *op. cit.* ii. 491.



tors wished to bring all Carolina under one government, and the Albemarle people were requested to send their representatives to the assembly at Charleston, but distance made such a scheme impracticable. The northern colony, however, was often governed by a deputy appointed at Charleston. The troubles were not yet over. Ludwell was an upright and able man, but the disagreements between the settlers and the lords proprietors were more than he could cope with, and in 1692 he was superseded.

It is not worth while to recount the names of all the men who served as governors in the two Carolinas. In the world of history there is a certain amount of meaningless mediocrity which a general survey like the present may well pass by without notice. The brief administration of John Archdale, in 1695, marks a kind of era. Archdale was a Quaker, a man of broad intelligence and character at once strong and gentle. He had become one of the lords proprietors, and in that capacity came out to Carolina, where for one year he ruled the whole province with such authority as no one had wielded before; for while he was backed up by the proprietors, he conciliated the assemblies. In the matter of the Indians and the quit-rents much was done, and the veto power of the proprietors was curtailed. After a year Archdale felt able to go home, leaving his friend Joseph Blake, a nephew of the great admiral, as governor in Charleston. Under Blake still further progress was made by admitting to full political rights and privileges the

John  
Archdale.

Joseph  
Blake.

Huguenot immigrants, who had come to be in some respects the most important element in the population of South Carolina. But after Blake's death, in 1700, it grew stormy again. The new governor, James Moore, came out to make money, and to that end he renewed the vile practice of kidnaping Indians. This presently made it necessary to gather troops and defeat the angry red men. Quarrels with the assembly were chronic. When the war of the Spanish Succession broke out, Moore invaded Florida, but accomplished nothing except the creation of a heavy public debt. In

Sir Nathaniel Johnson and the Dissenters.

1703 he was superseded by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, a precious bigot, who undertook to force through the assembly a law excluding from it all Dissenters. This was effected by trickery; the act was passed by a majority of one, in a house from which several members were absent. After the fraud was discovered, the assembly by a large majority voted to repeal the act, but the governor refused to sign the repeal. The Dissenters were perhaps three fourths of the population. They made complaint to the lords proprietors, but a majority of that body sustained the governor. Then a successful appeal was made to the House of Lords, and the proprietors suddenly found themselves threatened with the loss of their charter. The result was a great victory for the South Carolina assembly, which at its next session restored Dissenters to their full privileges.

Like many another bigot, Governor Johnson was a good fighter. In August, 1706, Charleston was attacked by a French and Spanish squadron.

A visitation of yellow fever, with half a dozen deaths daily in a population of 3,000, had frightened many people away from the town. On a broiling Saturday afternoon five columns of smoke floating lazily up over Sullivan's Island announced that five warships were descried in the offing. They were French privateers with Spanish reinforcements from Cuba and St. Augustine. When the signal was reported to the governor at his country house, the militia were called together from all quarters and the ships in the harbour were quickly made ready for action. The evening air was vocal with alarm guns. But the enemy approached with such excessive caution that Johnson had ample time for preparation. It was not until Wednesday that the affair matured. Then the French commander sent a flag of truce ashore and demanded, in the name of Louis XIV., the surrender of the town and its inhabitants; the governor, he said, might have an hour to consider his answer. Johnson replied that he did not need a minute, and told the Frenchman to go to the devil. The enemy then landed 150 men on the north shore of the harbour, at Haddrell's Beacon, but the militia soon drove them into the water, with the loss of a dozen killed and more than thirty prisoners. Many more were drowned in swimming to their boats. Another detachment on the south shore was similarly discomfited. On Thursday Colonel William Rhett, with six small craft heavily armed and a fire-ship, bore down upon the enemy's fleet. But instead of waiting to fight, the French commander hastily

Unsuccessful attempt of a French and Spanish fleet upon Charleston.

stood out to sea. This conduct, as well as his whole delay, may be explained by the fact that an important part of his force had not come up. The best of the French ships, carrying beside her marine force some 200 regular infantry, did not arrive until Friday, when, in ignorance of the repulse of her consorts, she entered Sewee Bay and landed her soldiers. It was rushing into the lion's jaws. The soldiers were promptly attacked and put to flight with the loss of one third of their number, while at the same time Colonel Rhett blockaded the bay and took the French ship with all on board. Thus the ill-concerted attack ended in ignominious defeat, with the loss of the best ship and 300 men out of 800.

After the halcyon days of Archdale there was quiet in North Carolina until 1704, when Governor Johnson sent a deputy, Robert Daniel, to rule there and set up the Church of England, while making it hot for Dissenters. As nearly all the Albemarle people came within the latter category, there was trouble at once. It was allayed for a moment by the same proceedings in England which gave victory to the Dissenters of South Carolina.

The Quakers of Albemarle succeeded in getting Johnson to appoint a new deputy, Thomas Carey, in whom they had confidence. But their confidence proved to have been misplaced. A recent act of Queen Anne's Parliament had prescribed certain test oaths for all public officials, without making any reservation in behalf of the conscientious scruples of Quakers. Carey, as deputy

Thomas  
Carey and  
the Quakers  
in North  
Carolina.

governor of North Carolina, undertook to administer these test oaths, and at once disgusted the Quakers, who sent John Porter to England to plead with the lords proprietors. This Porter, who was himself a Quaker, had a Porter's mission to England. persuasive tongue. Acts of Parliament had not usually been heeded by the colonies; it was by no means clear that they were even intended to apply to the colonies without some declaratory clause to that effect, or without being supplemented by a royal order in council. The lords proprietors virtually admitted that the Queen Anne test oath act did not apply to the colonies, when in response to Porter's petition they removed Carey from office. At the same time they suspended Governor Johnson's authority over North Carolina. This action left that colony without a head, and there ought to have been no delay in appointing a new governor, but there was delay. On Porter's return William Glover was chosen president of the council, which made him temporary governor. Glover belonged to the Church of England, but was believed to be opposed to the test oaths. We can fancy, then, the wrath of the Quakers when he insisted upon administering the oaths, precisely as the deposed Carey had done! The remedy was an instance of political homœopathy, or treatment with a hair of the dog that bit you. The angry Porter at once turned to Carey and entered into an alliance with him from which Alliance between Porter and Carey. dire evils were to grow. Porter contrived to assemble various resident deputies of the lords pro-

prietors, and persuaded them to depose Glover and reinstate Carey; but Glover refused to be bound by these irregular proceedings. He continued to act as governor and issued writs for the election of an assembly; Carey did likewise, and anarchy reigned supreme. Several of the principal colonists fled to Virginia for safety. In 1710, after a delay of more than three years, the proprietors sent out Edward Hyde, a kinsman of the queen's grandfather, the first Earl of Clarendon, to govern North Carolina. His commission needed the signature of the governor-in-chief at Charleston, but that dignitary happened to die just before Hyde's arrival, so that further delay was entailed in completing his commission. Early in 1711, before receiving it, he issued writs for an election. Carey made strenuous efforts to secure the election of a majority of his friends and adherents to the Commons House of Assembly, or House of Commons, as it came to be called. Failing in this attempt he maintained that the election was illegal because Hyde had not received his vouchers. The assembly retorted by summoning Carey to render an account of all the public moneys which he had used, and presently it issued orders for his arrest. Thus driven to bay, Carey set up a rival government and tried to arrest Hyde, who appealed to Virginia for military aid. Virginia's response was prompt and effective. The discomfited Carey fled to the wilderness between the heads of Albemarle and Pamlico sounds. After a while he ventured into Virginia, intending to take passage there for Eng-

Edward  
Hyde.

Carey's  
rebellion.

land ; but he was arrested and sent to England to be tried for treason. For lack of accessible evidence he seems to have been released without trial, and thereupon he made his way to the West Indies, where history loses sight of him. With his disappearance from North Carolina tranquillity seemed for the moment restored ; but more terrible scenes were at hand.

In spite of all the turmoil the little colony had received new settlers, and had begun to expand until North Carolina was no longer synonymous with Albemarle. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, numbers of Huguenots settled in the neighbourhood of Bath, where the Taw River widens into an arm of Pamlico Sound ; and parties of Swiss, with many Germans from the Rhenish Palatinate, under the lead of Baron de Graffenried, founded the town of New Berne, where the Trent River flows into the Neuse. The increase of population in Albemarle, moreover, had carried the frontier from the Chowan to the Roanoke. All this entailed some real and still more prospective displacement of native tribes, and some kind of mild remonstrance, after the well-known Indian fashion, was to be expected. It was believed by many persons at the time that Carey, on the occasion of his flight to the wilderness between the Roanoke and Taw rivers, solicited aid from the Indians, and that his Quaker friend, John Porter, had gone as emissary to the Tuscaroras, “ promising great rewards to incite them to cut off all

Expansion  
of the north-  
ern colony ;  
arrival of  
Graffenried.

Improbable  
charges  
against  
Carey and  
Porter.

the inhabitants of that part of Carolina that adhered to Mr. Hyde.”<sup>1</sup> But a charge of such frightful character needs strong evidence to make it credible, and in this case there is little but hearsay and the vague beliefs of men hostile to Carey and Porter, in a season of fierce political excitement. No such infernal wickedness is needed to account for the Indian outbreak. The ordinary incidents connected with the advance of the white man’s frontier into the red man’s country are quite sufficient to explain it. But, without feeling it necessary to accuse Carey and Porter of having urged the Indians to murder their fellow-countrymen, we must still admit that the civil discord into which they had plunged the colony had so weakened it as to offer the watchful red men an excellent opportunity.

The Indians of North Carolina at the time which we are treating belonged to three ethnic families. Along the coast, northward from Cape Lookout to the Virginia line, the Corees, Pamlicos, Mattamuskeets, Pasquotanks, and Chowanocs all belonged to the Algonquin family, and they could muster in all about 400 warriors. The coast territory occupied by these tribes was continuous with that

Carolina  
Indians;  
Algonquin  
tribes.

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood’s *Official Letters* (Va. Hist. Soc. Coll.), Richmond, 1882, i. 106. Several other passages in Spotswood’s letters of the summer and autumn of 1711 express a similar belief. The opinion of Spotswood is adopted in Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, ii. 522-533, who is followed by Moore, *History of North Carolina*, i. 35. I am glad to find that my opinion of the inadequacy of the evidence is shared by so great an authority as Professor Rivers, in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.* v. 298.



which had once been controlled by the Powhatan Confederacy to the northward. The Corees, in Carteret Precinct, were the southernmost of these Algonquin tribes. The Cape<sup>e</sup> Fear Indians, on the coast southwest of Carteret, belonged to the great Sioux or Dakota family. From the meridian of 77° 30' westward to the Blue Ridge, and from the Santee River on the south to the Potomac on the north, the country was occupied by <sup>Sioux tribes.</sup> Sioux tribes, of which the names most familiarly known are the Waxhaws, Catawbas, Waterees, Saponis and Tutelos, Monacans and Manahoacs.<sup>1</sup> Now deep into this Sioux country, in North Carolina, there ran a powerful wedge of alien stock. The thick end of the wedge covered the precincts of Bath and Craven, with part of New Hanover; and from its centre, at the mouth of Trent River, it ran northwestward more than a hundred miles, a little beyond the site of Raleigh, with an average width of less than thirty miles. This wedge of population con- <sup>Iroquois tribes.</sup> sisted of the Tuscaroras, a large tribe of the dreaded Iroquois family, able to send forth at least 1,200 warriors. Another tribe of Iroquois then dwelt in Bertie Precinct, between the Chowan and Roanoke rivers. It was known as the Meherrins, and was really the remnant of the fierce Susquehannocks, from whom Bacon had

<sup>1</sup> See the learned essay by James Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 22), Washington, 1894. Until recent years it was not known that there were ever any Sioux in the Atlantic region. The Catawbas, etc., were supposed to be Muskogi.

delivered Virginia in 1676. Its fighting numbers can hardly have been much over a hundred. Just north of the Meherrins was another small Iroquois tribe called Nottoways. To frame our picture, although it takes us away from the scene of action, we should add that the whole Alpine region west of the Sioux country, from the Peaks of Otter as far southwest as Lookout and Chickamauga mountains, belonged to the great Iroquois tribe of Cherokees; while to the south of Santee River, from Florida to the Mississippi River, Muskogi tribes. we encounter a fourth ethnic family, the Muskogi, represented by such tribes as Choctaws and Chickasaws, the Creek Confederacy, the Yamassees, and others.

Between the Tuscaroras and the numerous Sioux tribes by which they were partly surrounded there was incessant and murderous hostility. On the other hand, there was amity and alliance, at least for the moment, between the Tuscaroras and the Algonquin coast tribes whose lands the palefaces were invading. The first murders of white settlers occurred in Bertie Precinct at the hands of Meherrins, and seem to have been isolated cases. Algonquin-Iroquois conspiracy. But a general conspiracy of Iroquois and Algonquin tribes was not long in forming, and the day before the new moon, September 22, 1711, was appointed for a wholesale massacre.

A few days before the appointed time the Baron de Graffenried started in his pinnace from New Berne to explore the Neuse River. His only companions were a negro servant and John Lawson, a

Scotchman who for a dozen years had been surveyor-general of the colony. Lawson was the author of an extremely valuable and fascinating book on Carolina and its native races, — a book which one cannot read without loving the writer and mourning his melancholy fate.<sup>1</sup> No man in the colony was better known by the Indians, who had frequently observed and carefully noted the fact that his appearance in the woods with his surveying instruments was apt to be followed by some fresh encroachment upon their lands. Lawson and Graffenried had advanced but little way into the Tuscarora wilderness when they were surrounded by a host of Indians and taken prisoners. The Indians were very curious to learn why they had come up the river; perhaps it might indicate that the people at New Berne had some suspicion of the intended massacre and had sent them forward as scouts. If any such dread beset the minds of the red men, it was probably soon allayed; for it is clear that, had there been any suspicion, Graffenried and Lawson would not thus have ventured out of all reach of support. The barbarians were two or three days in making up their minds what to do. Then they took poor Lawson, and thrust into his skin all over, from head to foot, sharp splinters of lightwood, almost dripping with its own turpen-

Capture of  
Graffenried  
and Lawson.

Lawson's  
horrible  
death.

<sup>1</sup> Lawson, *The History of Carolina; containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country; together with the Present State thereof. And a Journal of a Thousand Miles travelled through several Nations of Indians, giving a particular Account of their Customs, Manners, etc.* London, 1709, small quarto, 258 pages.

tine, and set him afire.<sup>1</sup> The negro was also put to death with fiendish torments, but Graffenried was kept a prisoner, perhaps in order to be burned on some festal occasion.

Before the news of this dreadful affair could reach New Berne, the blow had fallen, not only there, but also at Bath and on the Roanoke River. Some hundreds of settlers were massacred, — at New Berne 130 within two hours from the signal. No circumstance of horror was wanting. Men were gashed and scorched, children torn in pieces, women impaled on stakes. The slaughter

The massacre, Sept. 22-24, 1711.

went on for three days. A war-chief called by the white men Handcock seems to have been the leading spirit in this concerted attack, but as usual in Indian warfare the concert was incomplete.<sup>2</sup> An outlying detachment of Tuscaroras in Bertie Precinct, whose head war-chief

Aid from Virginia and South Carolina.

was called Tom Blunt, took no part in the massacre and remained on good terms with the whites. Perhaps Blunt's attitude may have been affected by nearness to Vir-

<sup>1</sup> For this and other atrocities see the letter of November 2, 1711, from Major Christopher Gale to his sister, printed in Nichols's *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, iv. 489-492.

<sup>2</sup> In Professor Rivers's version of the story there was either no general conspiracy or only a sudden one conceived after the murder of Lawson. He suggests that "being fearful of the consequences" of that act, the Indians "were hurried into the design of a widespread massacre," etc. *Early History of South Carolina*, p. 253. It may be so. Questions relating to concert between Indian tribes are apt to be hard to settle. I think, however, that in this case the simultaneity of attack at distant points is in favour of the generally accepted view of a conspiracy arranged before Lawson's death.

ginia and its able governor, Alexander Spotswood, who was certainly instrumental in keeping the Nottoways and Meherrins quiet. Through Blunt's intervention, Spotswood secured the release of Graffenried, after five weeks of captivity, and it was not the fault of this valiant governor that Virginia troops did not march against Handcock; for his House of Burgesses, after advising such a measure, behaved like a "whimsical multitude," and refused to vote the necessary funds.<sup>1</sup> Important aid, however, was obtained from South Carolina, which had for the moment a more complaisant assembly, and in Charles Craven a wise and able governor. Advantage was taken of the deadly hatred which the Sioux and Muskogi tribes bore to the Iroquois. With a small body of white men, supported by large numbers of Muskogi Creeks and Yamassees, and of Sioux Catawbas, Colonel John Barnwell made a long and arduous winter march through more than 250 miles of virgin forest to the Neuse River, where he encountered the Tuscaroras, and in an obstinate battle defeated them with the loss of 400 warriors. Then Handcock, retiring behind a stockade, sought and obtained terms from Barnwell; a

Barnwell defeats the Tuscaroras, Jan. 28, 1712.

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood to the Lords of Trade and to Lord Dartmouth, December 28, 1711, *Official Letters*, i. 129-138. This was one of the early instances of the extreme difficulty of obtaining money from "whimsical" legislatures for the common defence, which in later years led Parliament to the attempt to cure the evil by means of the Stamp Act. Even in what he did accomplish on the border, Spotswood had to depend upon voluntary contributions, just as money was raised by Franklin in 1758 for the expedition against Fort Duquesne, and by Robert Morris in the great crisis of Washington's Trenton-Princeton campaign.

treaty was made, and the South Carolina forces went home.

They had scarcely departed when the faithless red men renewed their bloody work, and in March the distracted colony was again obliged to ask for succour. Summer added to the other horrors the scourge of yellow fever, which carried off some hundreds of victims, among them Governor Hyde. In December a force of 50 white men and 1,000 Indians from South Carolina, under Colonel James Moore, arrived on the scene, and in March, 1713, Hancock was driven to cover on the site of the present town of Snow Hill, in Greene County.

His palisaded fort was stormed with great slaughter, and that was the end of the Indian power in eastern North Carolina.

Their remnant of defeated Tuscaroras withdrew to the upper waters of the Roanoke, and thence migrated northward to central New York, where they were admitted into the great confederacy of their kinsmen, the Iroquois of the Long House. Thus did the celebrated Five Nations become the Six Nations.

After Hyde's death the government was ably administered by one of the leading colonists, Thomas Pollock, as president of the council. In 1714 Charles Eden came out as governor. Under the stress of war the colony had begun to issue paper money, a curse from which it was destined long to suffer. But some other evils were remedied. Liberty of conscience was secured

Charles  
Eden.

to Dissenters, and in the matter of test oaths the Quaker's affirmation was accepted as an

equivalent. Eden was a very popular governor and managed affairs with ability until his death in 1722. His name is preserved in that of the town of Edenton, in Chowan County, which was in his time the seat of government.

We must now turn to South Carolina, where we have seen Governor Craven using the Yamassees and Catawba warriors as allies to be sent against the Tuscaroras. The year 1713, which witnessed the crushing defeat of the Tuscaroras, was the year of the treaty of Utrecht, which ended the long war of the Spanish Succession. Throughout that war the powerful tribe of Yamassees had been steadfast friends of the English. From time to time they made incursions into Florida and brought away many a Spanish captive to be burned alive, until government checked their cruelty by offering a ransom for Spanish prisoners delivered in safety at Charleston; the prisoners were then sent home on payment of the amount of their ransom by the government at St. Augustine.

The Yamassees and the Spaniards.

The Yamassees country was the last quarter from which the South Carolinians would have expected hostilities to come. But after 1713, in spite of treaty obligations, the St. Augustine government bent all its energies to stirring up all the frontier tribes to a concerted attack upon the English. Bribes in the shape of gaudy coats, steel hatchets, and firearms were distributed among the chiefs; the solemn palavers, the banquets of boiled dog, the exchanges of wampum belts, the puffing of red clay pipes, the beastly orgies of fire-water, may be

left to our imagination, for we have no such minute chroniclers here as the Jesuits of Canada. The outcome of it all was a grand conspiracy of Yamassees, Creeks, Catawbias, and Cherokees, with other less important tribes, comprising perhaps 7,000 or 8,000 warriors, against the colony of South Carolina. But, as in all such plans for concerted action among Indians, the concert was very imperfect. Hostilities began in April, 1715, with the massacre of ninety persons at Pocotaligo, and lasted until February, 1716, by which time 400 Christians had lost their lives; while the red men were thoroughly vanquished, and the shattered remnant of the Yamassees sought shelter in Florida.

Governor Craven, who had conducted this war with great ability and courage, was a man of high character, and when he returned to England in 1717 his departure was mourned. His successor, Robert Johnson, was son of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had formerly been governor. The younger Johnson, an able and popular official, was the last governor of South Carolina under the lords proprietors. His romantic experiences in dealing with pirates will be recounted in my next chapter. The chain of events which brought about a political revolution in 1719 admits of brief description. The Indian war had laden South Carolina with debt, and it was felt that the lords proprietors ought to contribute something toward relieving the distress of a colony which had yielded them a princely income. But the lords proprietors

Alliance of  
Indian  
tribes  
against the  
South Caro-  
linians.

The Indian  
war.

Robert  
Johnson.









**A Map of y<sup>e</sup> most Improved Part of CAROLINA**

† Parish Churches  
 ∴ English Settlements  
 △△ Indian Settlements



did not take this view of the case. As a means of discharging the public debt, the assembly laid a revenue tariff upon imports, but the lords proprietors vetoed it. The assembly proposed to raise money by selling Yamassee lands to settlers, but the lords proprietors laid claim to the conquered territory for their own use and behoof. Thus the situation was fast becoming unendurable.

In December, 1718, war broke out again between Spain and England. The Spaniards planned an expedition against Charleston, and Johnson asked the assembly for money. They proposed to raise it by collecting revenue under the tariff act, in disregard of the veto. Nicholas Trott, the chief justice, declared that this would not do ; the courts would uphold delinquents who should refuse to pay. The assembly denied the right of the proprietors to veto their acts. The members consulted their constituents and were sustained by them. Finally the assembly resolved itself into a revolutionary convention, deposed the lords proprietors, and offered the governorship to Johnson as royal governor. On his refusal to take part in such proceedings, the convention chose for provisional royal governor Colonel James Moore, the hero of the Tuscarora war. Johnson's only reliance, in such an emergency, was the militia ; but the militia deserted him and went over to the convention, and thus, in December, 1719, the popular revolution was complete. When the news reached London, the course of the assembly was approved by the crown, the proprietary charter was declared to be forfeited, and our old friend Sir Francis

The revolution of 1719 in South Carolina.

Nicholson was sent out to South Carolina as royal governor.

Three years later there was renewal of civil discord in North Carolina, after the death of Governor Eden and the arrival of his successor, George Burrington, a vulgar ruffian who had served a term in prison for an infamous assault upon an old woman. Five years of turmoil, with changes of governors, followed. In 1728 Parliament requested the king to buy Carolina, and appropriated money for the purpose. The proprietors were Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, and his brother, Lord Charles Somerset; Lord Craven; Lord Carteret; John Cotton; the heirs of Sir John Colleton; James and Henry Bertie; Mary Dawson and Elizabeth Moore. Lord Carteret would not sell his share. All the others consented to sell for a modest sum total scarcely amounting to £50,000; and so in 1729 the many-headed palatinate founded by Charles II. came to an end, and in its place were the two royal provinces of North and South Carolina.

The careers of the two southern colonies whose beginnings we have thus sketched were very different, and between their respective social characteristics the contrasts were so great that it is impossible to make general statements applicable alike to the two. In one respect the contrast was different from that which one would observe in comparing Virginia with New England. In New England a marked concentration of social life in towns and villages

End of the  
proprietary  
government.

Contrasts  
between the  
two Caro-  
linas.

co-existed with complete democracy, while in Virginia the isolated life upon great plantations was connected with an aristocratic structure of society. But between the two Carolinas the contrast was just the reverse of this. Of all the southern colonies, North Carolina was the one in which society was the most scattered, and town life the least developed, while it was also the one in which the general aspect of society was the least aristocratic. On the other hand, in South Carolina there was a peculiarly strong concentration of social life into a single focus in Charleston; and in connection with this we find a type of society in some respects more essentially aristocratic than in Virginia. We shall find it worth our while to dwell for a moment upon some of the immediate causes of these differences.

The history of North America affords an interesting illustration of the way in which the character of a community may be determined for good or ill by geographical circumstances. There have been historians and philosophers unable to see anything except such physical conditions at work in determining the course of human affairs. With such views I have small sympathy,<sup>1</sup> but it would be idle to deny that physical conditions are very important, and the study of them is highly instructive. But for the peculiar physical conformation of its coast, North Carolina, rather than Virginia, would doubtless have been the first American state. It was upon Roanoke Island that the earliest at-

Effect of  
geographical  
conditions.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, ii. 200.

tempts were made, but Ralph Lane in 1585 already came to the conclusion that the Chesapeake region would afford better opportunities. First and foremost, the harbourage was spoiled by the prevalent sand-bars. Then huge pine barrens near the coast hindered the first efforts of the planter, and extensive malarial swamps imperilled his life.<sup>1</sup> The first attempts at cultivation increased the danger, which was of a kind that would yield only to modern methods of drainage. It was only by the coast that the conditions were thus forbidding. No American state has greater natural advantages than North Carolina. For diversity of eligible soils, for salubrity of climate, for variety of flora and fauna, she is unsurpassed; while for beauty and grandeur of scenery she may well claim to be first among the states east of the Rocky Mountains.<sup>2</sup> John Lawson describes North Carolina with enthusiasm as “a delicious country, being placed in that girdle of the world which affords wine, oil, fruit, grain, and silk, with other rich commodities, besides a sweet air, moderate climate, and fertile soil. These are the blessings, under Heaven’s protection, that spin out the thread of life to its utmost extent, and crown our days with the sweets of health and plenty, which, when joined with con-

Interior of  
North Carolina  
contrasted with  
the coast.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hugh Williamson, in his *History of North Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1812, ii. 173-211, gives a very interesting account of these malarial swamps, their geological causes, and their effects upon the people.

<sup>2</sup> For a sprightly account of the Alpine region of North Carolina and its inhabitants, see Zeigler and Grosseup, *The Heart of the Alleghanies*, Raleigh, 1883.



tent, render the possessors the happiest race of men upon earth.”<sup>1</sup> The good Lawson, who was somewhat inclined to see things in rose-colour, praised even the gentleness of the Indians, who (as we have seen) returned the compliment after their manner, by roasting him alive. But, with all this beauty and richness of the interior country, the obstacles presented at the coast turned the first great wave of English colonization into Virginia; and thereafter the settlement of North Carolina was determined largely, and by no means to its advantage, by the social conditions of the older colony.

In its early days North Carolina was simply a portion of Virginia's frontier; and to this wild frontier the shiftless people who could not make a place for themselves in Virginia society, including many of the “mean whites,” flocked in large numbers. In their new home they soon acquired the reputation of being very lawless in temper, holding it to be the chief end of man to resist all constituted authority, and above all things to pay no taxes. In some respects, as in the administration of justice, one might have witnessed such scenes as continued for generations to characterize American frontier life. The courts sat oftentimes in taverns, where the tedium <sup>Unkempt</sup> <sub>life.</sub> of business was relieved by glasses of grog, while the judge's decisions were not put on record, but were simply shouted by the crier from the inn door or at the nearest market-place. It was not until 1703 that a clergyman was settled in the colony, though there were Quaker meetings before

<sup>1</sup> Lawson's *History of Carolina*, London, 1718, p. 79.

that time. As late as 1729 Colonel Byrd writes of Edenton, the seat of government: "I believe this is the only metropolis in the Christian or Mohammedan world where there is neither church, chapel, mosque, synagogue, or any other place of public worship, of any sect or religion whatsoever." In this country "they pay no tribute, either to God or to Cæsar."<sup>1</sup>

According to Colonel Byrd, these people were chargeable with laziness, but more especially the men, who let their wives work for them. The men, he says, "make their wives rise out of their beds early in the morning, at the same time that they lie and snore till the sun has run one third of his course and dispersed all the unwholesome damps. Then, after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and under the protection of a cloud of smoke venture out into the open air; though, if it happens to be never so little cold, they quickly return shivering into the chimney corner. When the weather is mild, they stand leaning with both their arms upon the cornfield fence, and gravely consider whether they had best go and take a small heat at the hoe, but generally find reasons to put it off until another time. Thus they loiter away their lives, like Solomon's sluggard, with their arms across, and at the winding up of the year scarcely have bread to eat."<sup>2</sup> Every one has met with the type of man here described. In Massachusetts to-day you may find sporadic examples of

A genre  
picture by  
Colonel  
Byrd.

<sup>1</sup> *Byrd MSS.* i. 59, 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Byrd MSS.* i. 56.

him in decaying mountain villages, left high and dry by the railroads that follow the winding valleys; or now and then you may find him clustered in some tiny hamlet of crazy shanties nestling in a secluded area of what Mr. Ricardo would have called "the worst land under cultivation," and bearing some such pithy local name as "Hardscrabble" or "Satan's Kingdom." Such men do not make the strength of Massachusetts, or of any commonwealth. They did not make the strength of North Carolina, and it should not be forgotten that Byrd's testimony is that of an unfriendly or at least a satirical observer. Nevertheless there is strong reason for believing that his portrait is one for which the old Albemarle colony could have furnished many sitters. Such people were sure to be drawn thither by the legislation which made the colony an Alsatia for insolvent debtors.

The industries of North Carolina in the early times were purely agricultural. There were no manufactures. The simplest and commonest articles of daily use were imported from the northern colonies or from England. Agriculture was conducted more wastefully and with less intelligence than in any of the other colonies. In the northern counties tobacco was almost exclusively cultivated. In the Cape Fear region there were flourishing rice-fields. A great deal of excellent timber was cut; in particular the yellow pine of North Carolina was then, as now, famous for its hardness and durability. Tar and turpentine were also produced in large quantities. All this furnished the basis for a flourishing foreign com-

Industries.

merce ; but the people did not take kindly to the sea, and the carrying trade was monopolized by New Englanders. The fisheries, which were of considerable value, were altogether neglected. All business or traffic about the coast was carried on under perilous conditions ; for pirates were always hovering about, secure in the sympathy of many of the people, like the brigands of southern Italy in recent times.

In the absence of manufactures, and with commerce so little developed, there was no town life. Byrd describes Edenton as containing forty or fifty houses, small and cheaply built : “ a citizen here is counted extravagant if he has ambition enough to aspire to a brick chimney.”<sup>1</sup> As late as 1776 New Berne and Wilmington were villages of five or six hundred inhabitants each. Not only were there no towns, but there were very few large plantations

Absence of towns. with stately manor houses like those of Virginia. A great part of the country was covered with its primeval forest, in which thousands of hogs, branded with their owners' marks, wandered and rooted until the time came for hunting them out and slaughtering them. Where rude clearings had been made in the wilderness there were small, ill-kept farms. Nearly all the people were small farmers, whose work was done chiefly by black slaves or by white servants. The treatment of the slaves is said to have been usually mild, as in Virginia. The white servants fared better, and the general state of society was so low that when their time of service

<sup>1</sup> *Byrd MSS.* i. 59.

was ended they had here a good chance of rising to a position of equality with their masters. The country swarmed with ruffians of all sorts, who fled thither from South Carolina and Virginia; life and property were insecure, and Lynch law was not unfrequently administered. The small planters were apt to be hard drinkers, and among their social amusements were scrimmages, in which noses were sometimes broken and eyes gouged out. There was a great deal of gambling. But, except at elections and other meetings for political purposes, people saw very little of each other. The isolation of homesteads, which prevailed over the South, reached its maximum in North Carolina. It is not strange, then, that the colony was a century old before it could boast of a printing-press, or that there were no schools until shortly before the war for Independence. A mail from Virginia came some eight or ten times in a year, but it only reached a few towns on the coast, and down to the time of the Revolution the interior of the country had no mails at all.

All these consequences clearly followed from the character of the emigration by which North Carolina was first peopled, and that character was determined by its geographical position as a wilderness frontier to such a commonwealth as Virginia. In the character of this emigration we find the reasons for the comparatively democratic state of society. As there were so few large plantations and wealthy planters, while nearly all the white people were small land-owners, and as the highest class was thus so much lower in

A frontier  
democracy.

dignity than the corresponding class in Virginia, it became just so much the easier for the "mean whites" to rise far enough to become a part of it. North Carolina, therefore, was not simply an Alsatia for debtors and criminals, but it afforded a home for the better portion of Virginia's poor people. We can thus see how there would come about a natural segregation of Virginia's white freedmen into four classes: 1. The most enterprising and thrifty would succeed in maintaining a respectable existence in Virginia; 2. A much larger class, less thrifty and enterprising, would find it easier to make a place for themselves in the ruder society of North Carolina; 3. A lower stratum would consist of persons without enterprise or thrift who remained in Virginia to recruit the ranks of "white trash;" 4. The lowest stratum would comprise the outlaws who fled into North Carolina to escape the hangman. Of the third class the eighteenth century seems to have witnessed a gradual exodus from Virginia, so that in 1773 it was possible for the traveller, John Ferdinand Smyth, to declare that there were fewer cases of poverty in proportion to the population than anywhere else "in the universe." The statement of Bishop Meade in 1857, which was quoted in the preceding chapter,<sup>1</sup> shows that the class of "mean whites" had not even then become extinct in Virginia; but it is clear that the slow but steady exodus had been such as greatly to diminish its numbers and its importance as a social feature. Some of these freedmen went northward

Segregation  
and dis-  
persal of  
Virginia's  
poor whites.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 188 of the present volume.

into Pennsylvania,<sup>1</sup> but most of them sought the western and southern frontiers, and at first the southern frontier was a far more eligible retreat than the western. Of this outward movement of white freedmen the governor of Virginia wrote in 1717: "The Inhabitants of our frontiers are composed generally of such as have been transported hither as Servants, and being out of their time, . . . settle themselves where Land is to be taken up . . . that will produce the necessaries of Life with little Labour. It is pretty well known what Morals such people bring with them hither, which are not like to be much mended by their Scituation, remote from all places of worship; they are so little concerned about Religion, Spotswood's account of the matter. that the Children of many of the Inhabitants of those frontier Settlements are 20, and some 30 years of age before they are baptized, and some not at all. . . . These people, knowing the Indians to be lovers of strong liquors, make no scruple of first making them drunk and then cheating them of their skins; on the other hand, the Indians, being unacquainted with the methods of obtaining reparation by Law, frequently revenged themselves by the murder of the persons who thus treated them, or (according to their notions of Satisfaction) of the next Englishman they could most easily cutt off."<sup>2</sup> In this description we may recognize some features of frontier life in recent times.

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ii. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Spotswood to the Lords of Trade, April 5, 1717, *Official Letters*, ii. 227.

We have hitherto considered only the earliest period of North Carolina history. From about 1720 marked changes began to be visible. There was such a change in the character of the immigration as by and by to result in more or less displacement of population. Since the barbarous devastation of the Rhenish Palatinate by French troops in 1688-93 there had been much distress among those worthy Germans, and after a while they sought to mend their fortunes by coming to America. This migration continued for many years. Some of these Germans settled in the Mohawk valley, where their mark was placed upon the map in such town names as Minden, Frankfort, and Oppenheim, and where they contributed to our Revolutionary War one of its most picturesque figures in Nicholas Herkimer. A great many came to the Susquehanna valley in what was then the western part of Pennsylvania, where their descendants still speak and write that sweet old-fashioned language which we ought hardly to call Pennsylvania *Dutch*, since it is a dialect of High German besprinkled with English. From Pennsylvania large numbers followed the valleys between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies and made their way as far as South Carolina. We have already noted the arrival of Germans, Swiss, and Huguenots on the North Carolina seaboard early in the century. Later on, in 1745, after the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion, there came to North Carolina a powerful reinforcement of Scotch Highlanders, among them many of the clan Macdonald, including the romantic Flora Mac-

The German  
immigra-  
tion.



donald, who had done so much for the young fugitive prince. But more important and far more numerous than all the other elements in the population were the Scotch-Irish from Ulster, who — goaded by unwise and unjust laws — began coming in large numbers about 1719, and have played a much greater and more extensive part in American history than has yet been recognized. There was hardly one of the thirteen colonies upon which these Scotch-Irish did not leave their mark. To the story of their coming I shall revert in my concluding chapter, where it forms the most important part of the story of the westward advance of Virginia. For the present it may suffice to point out that in North Carolina they had come, before the Revolutionary War, to be the strongest element in the population of the colony. Under the influence of these various and excellent streams of immigration, the character of the colony was gradually but effectively altered. Industry and thrift came to prevail in the wilderness, and various earnest Puritanic types of religion flourished side by side on friendly terms.

The Scotch-Irish immigration.

As society in North Carolina became more and more orderly and civilized, the old mean white element, or at least the more intractable part of it, was gradually pushed out to the westward. This stream that had started from Old Virginia flowed for a while southwestward into the South Carolina back-country. But the southerly movement was gradually turned more and more to the westward.

Displacement and further dispersal of poor whites.

Always clinging to the half-savage frontier, these poor white people made their way from North Carolina westward through Tennessee, and their descendants may still be found here and there in Arkansas, southern Missouri, and what is sometimes known as the Egyptian extremity of Illinois. From the South Carolina back-country, through Georgia, they were scattered here and there among the states on the Gulf of Mexico. Taken at its worst, this type of American citizen is portrayed in Martin Chuzzlewit's unwelcome visitor, the redoubtable Hannibal Chollop. Specimens of him might have been found among the border ruffians led by the savage Quantrell in 1863 to the cruel massacre at Lawrence, and among the desperadoes whose dark deeds used forty years ago to give such cities as Memphis an unenviable prominence in the pages of the "Police Gazette." But in the average specimens of the type one would find not criminality of disposition so much as shiftlessness. Of the stunted, gaunt, and cadaverous "sand-hillers" of South Carolina and Georgia, a keen "Crackers,"  
etc. observer says that "they are incapable of applying themselves steadily to any labour, and their habits are very much like those of the old Indians."<sup>1</sup> The "clay-eaters," who are said to sustain life on crude whiskey and aluminous earth, are doubtless of similar type, as well as the "conches," "crackers," and "corn-crackers" of various Southern states. All these seem to represent a degraded variety or strain of the English race. Concerning the origin of this de-

<sup>1</sup> Olmsted's *Slave States*, p. 507.

graded strain, detailed documentary evidence is not easy to get; but the facts of its distribution furnish data for valid inferences such as the naturalist entertains concerning the origin and migrations of some species of animal or plant.

There is, *first*, the importation of degraded English humanity in large numbers to the two oldest colonies in which there is a demand for wholesale cheap labour; *secondly*, the substitution of black cheap labour for white; *thirdly*, the tendency of the degraded white humanity to seek the frontier, as described by Spotswood, or else to lodge in sequestered nooks outside of the main currents of progress. These data are sufficient in general to explain the origin and distribution of the "crackers," but a word of qualification is needed. It is not to be supposed that the ancestors of all the persons designated as "crackers" were once white freedmen in Virginia and Maryland; it is more probable that this class furnished a nucleus about which various wrecks of decayed and broken-down humanity from many quarters were gradually gathered. Nor are we bound to suppose that every community of ignorant, semi-civilized white people in the Southern states is descended from those white freedmen. Prolonged isolation from the currents of thought and feeling that sway the great world will account for almost any extent of ignorance and backwardness; and there are few geographical situations east of the Mississippi River more conducive to isolation than the southwestern portion of the great Appalachian highlands. All these circumstances should be borne in mind in

dealing with what, from whatever point of view, is one of the interesting problems of American history.

The settlement of South Carolina took place under different circumstances from those of the sister colony, and the resulting state of society was very different. In the earliest days there were many settlers of a rough and turbulent character, which their peculiar dealings with pirates, to be recounted in the following chapter, did not tend to improve. But the Huguenots, in whose veins flowed some of the sturdiest blood of France, soon came in great numbers. From the acquaintanceship of the Berkeleys, the Ashleys, the Hydes, and others, there came a certain number of Cavaliers; but at the end of the seventeenth century the impulse which had carried thousands of Cavaliers to Virginia had quite died out, and on the whole the general complexion of South Carolina, as regarded religion and politics, was strongly Puritan.

In one respect there is a resemblance by no means superficial between the settlement of South Carolina and that of Massachusetts. Most of the South Carolina settlers had left their homes in Europe for reasons connected with religion; and emigrants who quit their homes for such reasons are likely to show a higher average of intelligence and energy than the great mass of their fellow-countrymen who stay at home. Calvinism was the prevailing form of theology in South Carolina, though there were some Lutherans, and perhaps one fifth of the people may have belonged to the

Settlers of  
South Caro-  
lina.

Church of England, which was established by the proprietary charter, and remained the state church until 1776. We have seen Churchmen and Dissenters. how much disturbance was caused by the attempts of the High Churchmen early in the eighteenth century to enforce conformity on the part of the Dissenters; but such attempts were soon abandoned as hopeless, and a policy of toleration prevailed. Though the Church of England was supported by public taxation, yet the clergymen were not appointed to office, but were elected by their congregations like the Dissenting clergymen. Their education was in general very good, and their character lofty; and in all respects the tone of the church in South Carolina was far higher than in Virginia. At the outbreak of the Revolution the elected Episcopal clergy of South Carolina were generally found on the side of the Whigs; a significant contrast to the appointed Episcopal clergy of Virginia, whose Toryism was carried so far as to ruin the reputation of their church. But the most interesting feature connected with the establishment of the English Church was the introduction of the parish system of local self-government in very much the same form in which it existed in England. The vestries in South Carolina discharged many of the functions which in New England were performed The vestries. by the town meeting, — the superintendence of the poor, the maintenance of roads, the election of representatives to the Commons House of Assembly, and the assessment of the local taxes.

In one fundamental respect the political consti-

tution of South Carolina was more democratic than that of Virginia. The vestrymen The South Carolina parish. were elected yearly by all the taxpayers of the parish. In this they were analogous to the selectmen of New England. Parish government in Virginia was in the hands of a close vestry; in South Carolina it was administered by an open vestry. Moreover, while in Virginia the unit of representation in the legislature was the county, in South Carolina it was the parish. Now the South Carolina parish was of purely English origin, not of French origin like the parishes of Louisiana. The Louisiana parish is analogous to a county, that of South Carolina was nearly equivalent to a township.<sup>1</sup> Although the colony had such a large proportion of French settlers, and of such marked ability and character, the development of its governmental institutions was as thoroughly English as if no Frenchman had ever set foot upon its soil. The approximation to the New England township is interesting. The freemen of South Carolina, with their open vestry, possessed what the smaller landed proprietors of Virginia in Bacon's rebellion strove for in vain.

In this connection it is worth while to observe that, from the first decade of the eighteenth century, a strong interest in popular education was felt in South Carolina. The same obstacles to schools in the rural districts that we have already observed in Virginia prevented the growth of anything like the public school system of New England. But

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ramage, "Local Government and Free Schools in South Carolina," *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, vol. i.

of private free schools in the colony of South Carolina there were quite a number, and their quality was very good. The first <sup>Free schools.</sup> was established in Charleston in 1712, and it not only taught the three *R*s, along with bookkeeping, but it had classes in Greek and Latin. Private donations were encouraged by a provision that every giver of £20 "could nominate a scholar to be taught free for five years." The commissioners of the school also appointed twelve scholars. Free schools were afterward erected by private bequests and subscriptions at Dorchester, Beaufort, Ninety-Six, and in many other places. A noteworthy instance was afforded by St. Thomas parish, where "James Childs bequeathed £600 toward erecting a free school, and the parishioners, by local subscription, increased the amount to £2,800."<sup>1</sup> In such beginnings there lay the possibilities of a more healthy development than can be secured by the prevalent semi-socialist method of supporting schools by public taxation;<sup>2</sup> but the influences of negro slavery were adverse to any such development.

The economic circumstance which chiefly determined the complexion of society in South Carolina was the cultivation of rice and indigo. The value of the former crop was discovered in 1693, when a ship from Madagascar, accidentally stopping at

<sup>1</sup> Ramage, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> The remarks of Herbert Spencer on state education, in his *Social Statics*, revised ed., London, 1892, pp. 153-184, deserve most careful consideration by all who are interested in the welfare of their fellow-creatures.

Charleston, had on board a little bag of rice, which was planted with very notable success. Rice was not long in becoming the great staple of the colony. By 1740 it yielded more than £200,000 yearly. Indigo was next in importance. Much corn was raised, and cattle in large numbers were exported to the West Indies. Some attention was paid to silk, flax, and hemp, tobacco, olives, and oranges. Some cotton was raised, but that crop did not attain paramount importance until after the invention of the gin and the development of great factories in England.

Rice and indigo absorbed the principal attention of the colony, as tobacco absorbed the attention of Virginia. Manufactures did not thrive. Every article, great or small, whether a mere luxury or an article of prime necessity, that had to be manufactured, was imported, and paid for with rice or indigo. This created a very prosperous trade in Charleston. The planters did not deal directly with the shipmasters, as in Virginia, but sold their crops to the merchants in Charleston, whence they were shipped, sometimes in British, sometimes in New England vessels, to all parts of the world.

Now the cultivation of rice and the cultivation of indigo are both very unhealthy occupations. The work in the swamps is deadly to white men. But after 1713 negroes were brought to South Carolina in such great numbers that an athletic man could be had for £40 or less. Every such negro could raise in a single year much more indigo or rice than would repay the cost of his purchase, so that it was actually more profitable to



work him to death than to take care of him. Assuming, then, that human nature in South Carolina was neither better nor worse than in other parts of the civilized world, we need not be surprised when told that the relations between master and slave were noticeably different from what they were in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. The negroes of the southern colony were reputed to be more brutal and unmanageable than those to the northward, and for this there is a twofold explanation. In the first place, slaves newly brought from Africa, half-savage heathen, were less tractable than African slaves who had lived many years under kindly treatment among white people, and far less tractable than slaves of the next generation born in America. Such newcomers as had been tribal chiefs or elders in their native country were noted as especially insolent and insubordinate.<sup>1</sup> In many respects the negro has proved quickly amenable to the softening influences of civilized life, and to the teachings of Christianity, however imperfectly apprehended. In the second place, the type of Virginia slavery was old-fashioned and patriarchal, while South Carolina slavery was of the modern and commercial type. The slaves on a Virginia plantation were like members of a great family, while in a South Carolina rice swamp their position was much more analogous to that of a gang of navvies. This circumstance was closely connected with a peculiarity of South Carolina life, in which it afforded a striking contrast to the slave states north of it.

Some characteristics of South Carolina slavery.

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, ii. 108.

Except in the immediate neighbourhood of Charleston, few if any planters lived on their estates. The reason for this was doubtless the desire to escape the intense heat and unwholesome air of the newly tilled lowlands. The latitude of South Carolina is that of Morocco, and it was natural for settlers coming from the cool or chilly climates of France and England to seek such relief as the breezes of Charleston harbour could afford.<sup>1</sup> As a rule, the planters had houses in Charleston and dwelt there the year round, making occasional visits to their plantations, but leaving them in the meanwhile to be managed by overseers. Thus the slaves, while set to much harder labour than in Virginia, were in the main left subject to the uncurbed tyranny of underlings, which is apt to be a very harsh kind of tyranny. The diminutions in their numbers, whether due to hardship or to whatever cause, were repaired by fresh importations from Africa, so that there was much less improvement in their quality than under the milder patriarchal system. The dog that is used to kick is prone to snarl and bite, and the slaves of South Carolina were an object of dread to their masters, all the more so because of their overwhelming numbers. Nothing can indicate more forcibly the social difference between the two Carolinas than

<sup>1</sup> Americans are apt to forget how much nearer the equator the familiar points in this country are than familiar points in Europe. Although every family has an atlas, many persons are surprised when their attention is called to the facts that Great Britain is in the latitude of Hudson Bay, that Paris and Vienna are further north than Quebec, that Montreal is nearly opposite to Venice, Boston to Rome, Charleston to Tripoli, etc.

the different ratios of their black to their white population. About 1760 the inhabitants of North Carolina were reckoned at 200,000, of whom one fourth were slaves; those of South Carolina at 150,000, of whom nearly or quite three fourths were slaves. In the former case the typical picture is that of a few black men raising tobacco and corn on the small plantation where the master lives; in the latter case it is that of an immense gang toiling in a rice swamp under the lash of an overseer. Care should always be taken not to exaggerate such contrasts, but after making all allowances the nature of the difference is here, I think, correctly indicated.

In 1740, while war was going on between Spain and England, there was a brief but startling insurrection of slaves in South Carolina. It was suspected that Spanish emissaries were concerned in it. However that may have been, the occasion of such a war might well seem to the negroes to furnish a good opportunity. Under the lead of a fellow named Cato the insurgents gathered near Stono Inlet and began an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, children. The alarm was quickly given and the affair was soon brought to an end, though not until too many lives had been lost. The news arrived in Wilton while the people were attending church. It was the custom of the planters to carry rifles and pistols, and very little time was lost before Captain Bee led forth a well-equipped body of militia in quest of the rebels. They were overtaken in a large field, all in hilarious disorder,

Negro insurrection of 1740.

celebrating their bloody achievement with potations of rum ; in which plight they were soon dispersed with slaughter, and their ringleaders were summarily hanged.<sup>1</sup>

The habit of carrying fire-arms to church was part of a general system of patrol which grew out of the dread in which the planters lived. The chief business of the patrol was to visit all the plantations within its district at least once a fortnight and search the negro quarters for concealed weapons or stolen goods.<sup>2</sup> The patrolmen also hunted fugitives, and were authorized to flog stray negroes wherever found. The ordinary death penalty for the black man was hanging. Burning at

the stake was not unknown, but, as I  
Cruelties. have already mentioned, there is one instance of such an execution in Massachusetts, and there are several in New York, so that it cannot be cited as illustrating any peculiarity of the South Carolina type of slavery. The most hideous instance of cruelty recorded of South Carolina is that of a slave who for the murder of an overseer was left to starve in a cage suspended to the bough of a tree, where insects swarmed over his naked flesh and birds had picked his eyes out before the mercy of death overtook him.<sup>3</sup> That such atro-

<sup>1</sup> Simms, *History of South Carolina*, p. 106 ; Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America*, i. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, "Government of the Colony of South Carolina," *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, xiii. 95 ; *Statutes of South Carolina*, iii. 395-399, 456-461, 568-573.

<sup>3</sup> The story is told by St. John de Crèvecœur, in his *Letters from an American Farmer*, Philadelphia, 1793, pp. 178-180. Crèvecœur was on his way to dine with a planter when he encountered the shocking spectacle. He succeeded in passing a shell of water

cities must have been condemned by public opinion is shown by the act of 1740, prescribing a fine of £700 current money for the wilful murder of a slave by his master or any other white man; £350 for killing him in a sudden heat of passion, or by undue correction; and £100 for inflicting mutilation or cruel punishment.<sup>1</sup>

The circumstance that most of the great planters had houses in Charleston went along with the brisk foreign trade to make it a very important town, according to the American standards of those days. In 1776, with its population of 15,000 souls, it ranked as the fifth city of the United States. Charleston had a theatre, while concerts, balls, and dinner parties gave animation Life in Charleston. to its social life. It was a general custom with the planters to send their children to Europe for an education, and it was said that a knowledge of the world thus acquired gave to society in South Carolina a somewhat less provincial aspect than it wore in other parts of English America.<sup>2</sup> The sharpest contrast, however, was with its next neigh-

through the bars of the cage to the lips of the poor wretch, who thanked him and begged to be killed; but the Frenchman had no means at hand.

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes of South Carolina*, vii. 410, 411.

<sup>2</sup> "La plupart des riches habitans de la Caroline du Sud, ayant été élevés en Europe, en ont apporté plus de gout, et des connoissances plus analogues à nos mœurs, que les habitans des provinces du Nord, ce qui doit leur donner généralement sur ceux-ci de l'avantage en société. Les femmes semblent aussi plus animées que dans le Nord, prennent plus de part à la conversation, sont davantage dans la société. . . . Elles sont jolies, agréables, piquantes; mais . . . les hommes et les femmes vieillissent promptement dans ce climat." *La Rochefoucauld - Liancourt, Voyage dans les États-Unis*, Paris, 1799, iv. 13.

bour. As South Carolina may have been in some respects the most cosmopolitan of the colonies south of Pennsylvania, so on the other hand North Carolina was certainly the most sequestered and provincial. As I observed at the beginning of this chapter, for the development of the frontier or backwoods phase of American life two conditions were requisite: first, the struggle with the wilderness; secondly, isolation from European influences. This combination of conditions was not realized in the case of the first settlers of Virginia and Maryland, of the Puritans in New England, or the Dutch in New Netherland, or the Quakers in Pennsylvania. In all these cases there was more or less struggle with the wilderness, but the contact with European influences was never broken. With North Carolina it was different; the direct trade with England was from the outset much less than that of the other colonies. For a time its chief seaport was Norfolk in Virginia; European ideas reached it chiefly through slow overland journeys; and it was practically a part of Virginia's backwoods. On the other hand, South Carolina, focussing all its activities in the single seaport of Charleston, was eminently accessible to European influences. Its life was not that of a wilderness frontier, like its northern neighbour. But its military position, with reference to the whole Atlantic seaboard, was that of an English march or frontier against the Spaniards in Florida and the West Indies.

Contrast between the two Carolinas.

The contrast above indicated applies only to

lowland South Carolina, the only part with which the earlier decades of the eighteenth century are concerned. At that time the highlands of both Carolinas remained in the possession of the Cherokees, so that they have nothing to do with my comparison. At a later time that whole highland region became a wilderness frontier, the scene of the civilized white man's backwoods life. All the way, indeed, from Pennsylvania to Georgia, along the Appalachian chain, there was a strong similarity of conditions and of life, in marked contrast with the divergencies along the coast region, in stepping from Pennsylvania into Maryland, thence into Virginia, and so on; but that life along the coast which approached most nearly to the life of the interior wilderness was to be seen about Albemarle and Pamlico sounds.

The mention of Georgia serves to introduce the statement that, with the growth of civilization on the South Carolina coast, the need for a buffer against the Spaniards began to be more and more strongly felt. We have seen how the vexatious Yamassee war of 1715 was brought on by Spanish intrigues. After the overthrow of the Yamassees the troubles did not entirely cease. For some years the Indians continued to be a source of annoyance, and in their misdeeds the secret hand of Spain was discernible. The multitude of slaves, too, in regions accessible to Spanish influence, greatly increased the danger.

In 1732 the state of affairs on the South Carolina frontier attracted the attention of a gallant

English soldier whose name deserves a very high place among the heroes of early American history. James Oglethorpe, an officer who in youth had served with distinction under Prince Eugene against the Turks,<sup>1</sup> conceived the plan of freeing the insolvent debtors who crowded English prisons by carrying them over to America and establishing a colony which might serve as a strong military outpost against the Spaniards. The scheme was an opportune one, as the South Sea Bubble and other wild projects had ruined hundreds of English families. The land between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, with the strip starting between their two main sources and running westward to the Pacific Ocean,<sup>2</sup> was made over to a board of trustees, and was named Georgia, in honour of the king, George II. The charter created a kind of proprietary government, but with powers less plenary and extensive than had been granted to the proprietors of Maryland, Carolina, and Pennsylvania.

<sup>1</sup> Boswell has a characteristic anecdote of Oglethorpe, who was very high-spirited, but extremely sensible. When a lad of nineteen or so, he was dining one day with a certain Prince of Würtemberg and others, when the insolent prince fillipped a few drops of wine into his face. "Here was a nice dilemma. To have challenged him instantly might have fixed a quarrelsome character upon the young soldier; to have taken no notice of it might have been considered as cowardice. Oglethorpe, therefore, keeping his eye upon the prince and smiling, . . . said, 'That's a good joke, but we do it much better in England,' and threw a whole glass of wine in the prince's face. An old general, who sat by, said, 'Il a bien fait, mon prince, vous l'avez commencé,' and thus all ended in good humour." *Life of Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii. 180.

<sup>2</sup> See the charter, in Jones's *History of Georgia*, i. 90.



Oglethorpe was appointed governor; German Protestants and Highlanders from Scotland were brought over in large numbers; and a few people from New England joined in the enterprise, and founded the town of Sunbury. All laws were to be made by the trustees, and the settlers were at first to have no representative assembly and no voice in making the government. But this despotic arrangement was merely temporary and provisional; it was intended that after the lapse of one-and-twenty years the colony should be held to have come of age, and should choose its own government. Military drill was to be rigidly enforced. Slave-labour was absolutely prohibited, as was also the sale of intoxicating liquors; so that Maine cannot rightfully claim the doubtful honour of having been the first American commonwealth to try the experiment of a "Maine Law." Such were the beginnings of Georgia, and in the Spanish war of 1739 it quite justified the foresight of its founder.

Beginnings  
of Georgia.

The valour of the Highlanders and the admirable generalship of Oglethorpe were an efficient bulwark for the older colonies. In 1742 the Spaniards were at last decisively defeated at Frederica, and from that time forth until the Revolution the frontier was more quiet. But proprietary government in Georgia fared no better than in the Carolinas. In 1752, one year before the coming of age, the government by trustees was abandoned. Georgia was made a crown colony, and a representative government was introduced simultaneously with negro slavery and Jamaica rum.

The social condition of colonial Georgia does not present many distinctive or striking features. In 1770 the population numbered about 50,000, of which perhaps one half were slaves. There was no town life. Rice and indigo were the principal crops, and there was a large export of lumber. Near Savannah there were a few extensive plantations, with fine houses, after the Virginia pattern; but most of the estates were small, and their owners poor. The Church of England was supported by the government, but the clergy had little influence. The condition of the slaves differed but slightly, if at all, from their condition in South Carolina. There were a good many "mean whites," and there was, perhaps, more crime and lawlessness than in the older colonies. The roads were mere Indian trails, and there were neither schools, nor mails, nor any kind of literature. Colonial Georgia, in short, with many of the characteristics of a "wild West," stood in relation to South Carolina somewhat as North Carolina to Virginia. It was essentially a frontier community, though the activity of Savannah as a seaport somewhat qualified the situation.

A comparative survey of Old Virginia's neighbours shows how extremely loose and inaccurate is the common habit of alluding to the old Cavalier society of England as if it were characteristic of the southern states in general. Equally loose and ignorant is the habit of alluding to Puritanism as if it were peculiar to New England. In point of fact the Cavalier society was

Cavaliers  
and Puritans  
once more.

reproduced nowhere save on Chesapeake Bay. On the other hand, the English or Independent phase of Puritanism was by no means confined to the New England colonies. Three fourths of the people of Maryland were Puritans ; English Puritanism, with the closely kindred French Calvinism, swayed South Carolina ; and in our concluding chapter we shall see how the Scotch or Presbyterian phase of Puritanism extended throughout the whole length of the Appalachian region, from Pennsylvania to Georgia, and has exercised in the southwest an influence always great and often predominant. In the South to-day there is much more Puritanism surviving than in New England..

But before we join in the westward progress from tidewater to the peaks of the Blue Ridge and the Great Smoky range, we must look back upon the ocean for a moment and see how it came to be infested with buccaneers and pirates, and what effects they wrought upon our coasts.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE GOLDEN AGE OF PIRATES.

AT no other time in the world's history has the business of piracy thriven so greatly as in the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth. Its golden age may be said to have extended from about 1650 to about 1720. In ancient times the seafaring was too limited in its area to admit of such wholesale operations as went on after the broad Atlantic had become a highway between the Old World and the New. No doubt those Cretan and Cilician pirates who were suppressed by the great Pompey were terrible fellows. After the destruction of Carthage they controlled the Mediterranean from the coast of Judæa to the Pillars of Hercules, and captured the cargoes of Egyptian grain till at times Rome seemed threatened with famine. Roman commanders one after another went down before them, until at length, in the year B. C. 67, Pompey was appointed dictator over the Mediterranean and all its coasts for fifty miles inland. The dimensions of his task are indicated by the fact that in the course of that year he captured 3,000 vessels, hung or crucified 10,000 pirates, and made prisoners of 20,000 more, whom he hustled off to hard labour in places far from the sound of surf.

Pompey and  
the pirates.

Nevertheless those ancient pirates worked on a much smaller scale than the buccaneers of America. In the Indian Ocean and adjacent stretches of the Pacific there has always been much piracy until the recent days when French and English ships have patrolled those waters. The fame of the Chinese and Malays as sea robbers is well established. So too with those vile communities north of Sahara which we used to call the Barbary States, their eminence in crime is unsurpassed. From the fifteenth century to the first years of the nineteenth, piracy was one of their chief sources of revenue; their ships were a terror to the coasts of Europe, and for devilish atrocity scarcely any human annals are so black as those of Morocco and Algiers. But as these Mussulman pirates and those of eastern Asia were as busily at work in the seventeenth century as at any other time, their case does not impair my statement that the age of the buccaneers was the Golden Age of piracy. The deeds done in American waters greatly swelled, if they did not more than double, the volume of maritime robbery already existing.

Piracy on the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean Sea.

If we look into mediæval history for examples to compare with those already cited, we may observe that the Scandinavian Vikings, such men as sailed with Rolf and Guthorm and Swegen Forkbeard, are sometimes spoken of as pirates. If such a classification of them were correct, we should be obliged to assign the Golden Age of piracy to the ninth and tenth centuries, for surely all other

The Vikings were not pirates in the strict sense.

slayings and plunderings done by seafaring men shrink into insignificance beside the operations of those mighty warriors of the North. But it is neither a just nor a correct use of language that would count as pirates a race of men who simply made war like all their contemporaries, only more effectively. The warfare of the Vikings was that of barbarous heathen, but it was not criminal unless it is a crime to be born a barbarian. The moral difference between killing the enemy in battle and murdering your neighbour is plain enough. If there is any word which implies thorough and downright criminality, it is pirate. In the old English law the pirate was declared an enemy to the human race, with whom no faith

Blackstone  
on the  
crime of  
piracy.

need be kept. "As therefore," says Blackstone, "he has renounced all the benefits of society and government, and has reduced himself afresh to the savage state of nature by declaring war against all mankind, all mankind must declare war against him, and every community hath a right by the rule of self-defence to inflict that punishment upon him which every individual would in a state of nature have been otherwise entitled to do for any invasion of his person or property."<sup>1</sup> Pirates taken at sea were commonly hung from the yard-arm without the formality of a trial, and on land neither church nor shrine could serve them as sanctuary. It was also well understood that they were not included in the benefit of a general declaration of pardon or amnesty.

<sup>1</sup> Blackstone's *Commentaries*, bk. iv. chap. 5.

The pirate thus elaborately outlawed was anybody who participated in violent robbery on the high seas, or in criminal plunder along their coasts. The details of such crimes Character of piracy. were apt to be full of cruelty. The capture of a merchant ship with more or less bloodshed was usually involved, and such bloodshed was wholesale murder. If provisions were less than ample, the survivors were thrown overboard, or set ashore on some lonely island and left to starve, and this often happened. Murders from sheer wantonness were not uncommon, and the sack of a coast town or village was attended with nameless horrors. On the whole we cannot wonder that public opinion should have branded the skippers and crews who did such things as the very worst of criminals. One can see that in old trials for piracy, as in trials for witchcraft, the dread and detestation were often so great as to outweigh the ordinary English presumption that an accused person must have the benefit of the doubt until proved guilty. Desire to extirpate the crime became a stronger feeling than reluctance to punish the innocent. The slightest suspicion of complicity with pirates brought with it extreme peril.

When we thus recall what the crime of piracy really was, we cannot fail to see how reprehensible is the language sometimes applied, by writers who should know better, to the noble sailors who in the days of Queen Elizabeth saved England from the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>1</sup> Had it not been for the group

To call the Elizabethan sea kings "pirates" is silly and outrageous.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 24

of devoted men among whom Sir Francis Drake was foremost, there was imminent danger three hundred years ago that human freedom might perish from off the face of the earth. The name of Drake is one that should never be uttered without reverence, especially by Americans, since it is clear that but for him our history would not have begun in the days of Elizabeth's successor. His character was far loftier than that of Nelson, the only other sea warrior whose achievements have equalled his. His performances never transgressed the bounds of legitimate warfare as it was conducted in the sixteenth century. Among his contemporaries he was exceptionally humane, for he would not permit the wanton destruction of life or property. To use language which even remotely alludes to such a man as a pirate is to show sad confusion of ideas. As for Elizabeth's other great captains, — such as Raleigh, Cavendish, Hawkins, Gilbert, Grenville, Frobisher, Winter, and the Howards, — few of them rose to the moral stature of Drake, but they were very far above the level of freebooters. It seems ridiculous that it should be necessary to say so. Their business was warfare, not robbery.

It is nevertheless undeniable that naval warfare in the days of Elizabeth stood on a lower moral plane than naval warfare in the days of Victoria, and things were done without hesitation then that would not be tolerated now. Wars are ugly things at best, but civilized people have learned how to worry through them without inflicting quite so much

Features of  
maritime  
warfare out  
of which  
piracy could  
grow.



misery as formerly. Three centuries ago not only were the usages more harsh than now, but the methods of conducting maritime warfare contained a feature out of which, under favouring circumstances, piracy afterward grew. There can be no doubt that the seventeenth century was the golden age of pirates because it came immediately after the age of Elizabeth. The circumstances of the struggle of the Netherlands and England against the greatest military power in the world made it necessary for the former to rely largely, and the latter almost exclusively, upon naval operations. Dutch ships on the Indian Ocean and English ships off the American coasts effectually cut the Spaniard's sinews of war. Now in that age ocean navigation was still in its infancy, and the work of creating great and permanent navies was only beginning. Government was glad to have individuals join in the work of building and equipping ships of war, and it was accordingly natural that individuals should expect to reimburse themselves for the heavy risk and expense by taking a share in the spoils of victory. In this <sup>Privateer-</sup><sub>ing.</sub> way privateering came into existence, and it played a much more extensive part in maritime warfare than it now does. The navy was but incompletely nationalized. Into expeditions that were strictly military in purpose there entered some of the elements of a commercial speculation, and as we read them with our modern ideas we detect the smack of buccaneering.

To this it should be added that fighting between hostile states occurred much more frequently than

now without a formal declaration of war. There were times in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when the hatred between the commercial rivals, Venice and Genoa, was so fierce that whenever their ships happened to meet on the Mediterranean they went to fighting at sight, yet those bloody scrimmages did not always lead to war. In the youth of Christopher Columbus it was seldom that Christian and Turkish ships met without bloodshed, on the assumption that war was the normal state of things between Crescent and Cross. So when the Dutch were contending against Philip II. the English often helped their heroic cousins by capturing Spanish ships long before war was declared between Philip and Elizabeth. Such laxity of international usage made it easy to cross the line which demarcates privateering from piracy.

It should also be remembered that the ships of neutral nations had no such protection as now.

The utmost that is now permitted the belligerent ship is to search the neutral ship for weapons or other materials of war bound for an enemy's port, and to confiscate such materials without further injury to person or property. In the sixteenth century it was allowable to confiscate the neutral ship bound for an enemy's port, sell her cargo for prize money, and hold her crew and passengers for ransom. The milder doctrine that any kind of goods might be seized, but not the ship and her people, had been propounded but was not yet generally accepted.

All the circumstances here mentioned were

Fighting  
without de-  
claring war.

Lack of pro-  
tection for  
neutral  
ships.

favourable to the growth of piracy. At the same time the temptations were unusually strong. There was a vague widespread belief that America was a land abounding in treasure, and there were facts enough to explain such a belief. Immense quantities of gold and silver were carried across the Atlantic in Spanish ships, to say nothing of other articles of value. This treasure was used to support a war which threatened English liberty, and therefore English cruisers were right in seizing it wherever they could. But it only needed that such cruising should fall into the hands of knaves and ruffians, and that it should be kept up after Spain and England were really at peace, for this semi-mediæval warfare to develop into a gigantic carnival of robbery and murder. And so it happened.

It was toward the end of the sixteenth century, in the course of the great Elizabethan war, that the West Indies witnessed the first appearance of the marauders known as "Brethren of the Coast." They were of various nationalities, chiefly French, English, and Dutch. They all regarded Spain as the world's great bully that must be teased. The Spaniards had won such a reputation for tyranny and cruelty that public opinion was not shocked when they were made to swallow a dose or two of their own medicine. After peace had been declared, any foreign adventurers coming to the West Indies were liable to be molested as intruders, and their ships sometimes had to fight in self-defence. Wherefore the more unscrupulous rovers, expecting ill-treatment,

Spanish  
treasure.

Origin of  
buccaneer-  
ing.

used not to wait for it, but when they saw a good chance for robbing Spaniards they promptly seized it. This they called, in the witty phrase of a French captain, *se dédommager par avance*, or recouping one's self beforehand.

It was not all the people of Spanish America, however, that frowned upon foreigners. Among those who came were sundry small traders of the illicit sort. Like all semi-barbarous governments, the court of Spain pursued a highly protectionist policy. The colonists were not allowed to receive European goods from any but Spanish ports, and thus the Spanish exporters were enabled to charge exorbitant prices. Many of the colonists there-  
Illicit traffic. fore welcomed smugglers who brought European wares to exchange for cargoes of sugar or hides. To suppress this traffic, the authorities at San Domingo patrolled the coasts with small cruisers known as *guardacostas*, and when they caught the intruders they pitched them overboard, or strung them up to the yard-arm, without the smallest ceremony. In revenge the intruders combined into fleets and made descents upon the coasts, burning houses, plundering towns, and committing all manner of outrages. Thus there grew up in the West Indies a chronic state of hostilities quite independent of Europe. It came to be understood among the intruders that, whether their countries were at peace or war with one another, all persons coming to the West Indies were friends and allies against that universal enemy, the Spaniard. Thus these rovers took the name of "Brethren of the Coast."

As the consequence of more than a century of frightful misrule the beautiful island of Hispaniola, or Hayti, had come to be in many parts deserted. Many good havens were unguarded, and everywhere there were immense herds of cattle and swine running wild. Some of the brethren, mostly Frenchmen, were thus led to settle in the island and do a thriving business in hides, tallow, smoked beef, and salted pork, which they bartered with their sailor brethren for things smuggled from Europe. They drove away the Spaniards who tried to disturb them, and amid perpetual fighting the island came to be more and more French. Presently, from 1625 to 1630, they took possession of the little islands of St. Christopher and Nevis, and built strong fortifications at Tortuga. About this time they began to be called "boucaniers" or "buccaneers." To cure meat by smoking was called by the Indians "boucanning" it. La Rochefort says of the Caribs that they used to eat their prisoners well boucanned. In the days before cattle came to the New World, Ameriens Vespucius saw boucanned human shoulders and thighs hanging in Indian cabins as one would hang a fitch of bacon. The buccaneers were named for the excellent boucanned beef and pork which they sold. For their brethren on shipboard another name was at first used. The English word "freebooter" became in French mouths "flibustier," in spelling which a silent *s* was inserted after the *u* by a false analogy, as so often happens. In recent times "flibustier" has come back into English as "filibuster," a name

Buccaneers  
and "flibustiers."

originally given to such United States adventurers as William Walker, making raids upon Spanish-American coasts in the interests of slavery. In the first use of the epithets, if you lived on shore and smoked beef you were a *boucanier*; but if you lived on ship and smuggled or stole wherewithal to buy the beef you were a *flibustier*. Naturally, however, since so many of these restless brethren passed back and forth from the one occupation to the other, the names came to be applied indiscriminately, and whether you called a scamp by the one or the other made no difference.

Those "Brethren of the Coast" were recruited in every way that can be imagined. Cutthroats and rioters, spendthrifts and debtors, thieves and vagabonds, runaway apprentices, broken-down tradesmen, soldiers out of a job, escaped convicts, religious cranks, youths crossed in love, every sort of man that craved excitement or change of luck, came to swell the numbers of the buccaneers. Graceless sons of good families usually assumed some new name. Yet not all were ashamed of their lawless occupation. Some gloried in it, and deemed themselves pinks of propriety in matters pertaining to religion. One day, when a certain sailor was behaving with unseemly levity in church while a priest was saying mass, his captain suddenly stepped up and rebuked him for his want of reverence, and then blew his brains out. It is told of a Frenchman from Languedoc that his career was determined by reading a book on the cruelties of the Spaniards in America, probably "The Destruction

The kind of people that became buccaneers.

of the Indies," by Las Casas. This perusal inflamed him with such furious hatred of Spaniards that he conceived it to be his sacred mission to kill as many as he could. So he joined the buccaneers, and murdered with such exemplary diligence that he came to be known as Montbars the Exterminator. Another noted freebooter, Raveneau de Lussan, joined the fraternity "because he was in debt, and wished, as every honest man should do, to have wherewithal to satisfy his creditors."<sup>1</sup>

One of the early exploits of the brethren was performed by Pierre of Dieppe, surnamed "the Great." In a mere longboat, with a handful of men, he surprised and captured the Spanish vice-admiral's ship, heavily freighted with treasure, set her people ashore in Hispaniola, and took his prize to France. This exploit is said to have given quite an impetus to buccaneering. In 1655 the buccaneers had grown so powerful that they gave important aid to Cromwell's troops in conquering Jamaica. When any nation went to war with Spain, the buccaneers of that nationality would get from the government letters of marque, which made them privateers and entitled them to certain rights of belligerents. Their aid was so liable to be useful in time of need that the English and French governments connived at some of their performances. No civilized government could countenance their cruelties. One monster, called Olonnois, having captured a Spanish ship with a crew of ninety men, beheaded Deeds of  
Olonnois. them all with a sabre in his own hands. Four

<sup>1</sup> Burney, *History of the Buccaneers of America*, p. 52.

cases are on record in which he threw the whole crew overboard, and it is said that he sometimes tore out and devoured the bleeding hearts of his victims, after the Indian fashion. In concert with another wretch, Michel le Basque (whose name tells his origin), at the head of 650 men, he captured the towns of Gibraltar and Maracaibo, in the Gulf of Venezuela, and carried off a booty of nearly half a million crowns, equivalent to more than two million modern dollars. Prisoners were tortured to disclose hidden treasure. But this precious Olonnois was soon afterward paid in his own coin: he fell into the hands of a party of hungry Indians, who cooked and ate him.

Such incidents as these in Venezuela made many Spanish towns prefer to buy off the buccaneers, and thus a system of blackmail was established. It was for the buccaneer to decide for himself whether he deemed it more profitable to end all in one mad frolic of plunder and slaughter, or to accept a round sum and leave the town for the present unharmed. Operations on a grand scale began about 1664, under a leader named Mansvelt, who soon died and was succeeded by Henry Morgan, the most famous of the buccaneers and one of the vilest of the fraternity. This Welshman is said to have been of good family and well brought up. He made his way to Barbadoes as a redemptioner, and after serving out his term joined the pirates. He was a man of remarkable courage and resource. For cruelty no Apache could surpass him, and his perfidy equalled his cruelty. He paid so little heed



to the maxims of honour among thieves that it is a wonder he should have retained his leadership through several expeditions.

One of Morgan's early exploits was the capture of Puerto del Principe, in Cuba. Then with 500 men he attacked Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Darien. Having taken a convent, he forced the nuns to carry scaling ladders and plant them against the walls of the citadel, perhaps in the hope that Spaniards would not fire upon Spanish women; but many of the poor nuns were killed. After the garrison had surrendered, Morgan set fire to the magazine and blew into fragments the fort with its defenders. The scenes that followed must have won Satan's approval. With greed unsatisfied by the enormous booty, the monster devised horrible tortures for the discovery of secret hoards that doubtless existed only in his fancy. Many victims died under the infliction.

Soon afterward Morgan met in the Caribbean Sea a powerful French pirate ship and invited her to join him. On the French captain's refusal, Morgan, with an air of supreme cordiality, invited him to come over to dinner with all his officers. No sooner had these guests arrived than they were seized and put in irons, while Morgan attacked their ship and captured it. Then came a strange retribution. Morgan put some of his own officers with 350 of his crew into the French ship; presently the officers got drunk, and through accident or carelessness the ship was blown up with all the English crew and the French prisoners. This story is told by a pious and literary Dutch bucca-

neer, the fraternity's best historian, by name Alexander Exquemeling, sometimes corrupted into Oexmelin. His well-written narrative was first published at Amsterdam in 1678, entitled *De Americansche Zee Roovers*. It has been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe, and ranks among the most popular books of the last two centuries.<sup>1</sup> The pious Exquemeling, in recounting the explosion of the captured ship, sees in it a special divine judgment upon Morgan for treachery to guests, a kind of philosophizing which is duly ridiculed by Voltaire in his "Candide."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Exquemeling was sent to Tortuga in 1666, in one of the Dutch West India Company's ships, and on his arrival was sold for thirty crowns into three years' servitude. He says very neatly: "Je ne dis rien de ce qui a donné lieu à mon embarquement, suivi d'un si fâcheux esclavage, parce que cela seroit hors de propos, et ne pourroit estre qu'ennuyeux." He was cruelly treated. After gaining his freedom he joined the buccaneers, apparently because there was nothing else to do. He went home in 1674 in a Dutch ship, "remerciant Dieu de m'avoir retiré de cette miserable vie, estant la première occasion de la quitter que j'eusse rencontré depuis cinq années." Oexmelin, *Histoire des Aventuriers*, Paris, 1686, i. 13; ii. 312. The English version of his book is entitled "History of the Bucaniers of America" (London, 1684). The Spanish version is known as "Los Piratas." Not only do the titles thus differ, but each translator has added more or less material from other sources, in order to exalt the fame of the rascals of his own nation.

<sup>2</sup> "Le capitaine . . . du vaisseau submergé était un pirate hollandais; c'était celui-là même qui avait volé Candide. Les richesses immenses dont ce scélérat s'était emparé furent ensevelies avec lui dans la mer, et il n'y eut qu'un mouton de sauvé. Vous voyez, dit Candide à Martin, que le crime est puni quelquefois; ce coquin de patron hollandais a eu le sort qu'il méritait. Oui, dit Martin; mais fallait-il que les passagers qui étaient sur son vaisseau périsent aussi? Dieu a puni ce fripon, le diable a noyé les autres." Voltaire, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1785, tom. xlv. p. 294.

The loss of 350 men and a ship better than any of his own was a serious blow to Morgan, but it did not prevent him from capturing those unhappy towns, Maracaibo and Gibraltar, Maracaibo and Gibraltar. where he shut up a crowd of prisoners in a church and left them to die of starvation. His own escape from capture, however, was a narrow one. Three Spanish galleons arrived at the entrance to the Gulf of Venezuela and strongly garrisoned a castle that stood there, so that it began to look as if the day of reckoning for Morgan had come. But he made one of his vessels into a fire-ship and succeeded in burning two of the galleons. Then it became easy for his little fleet to surround and capture the third, after which a masterly series of stratagems enabled him to slip past the castle, richer by a million dollars than when he entered the Gulf, and ready for fresh deeds of wickedness.

The British government lamented these cruel aggressions upon people whose only offence was that of having been born Spaniards, and in 1670 a treaty was made between Spain and Great Britain for the express purpose of putting an end to buccaneering. This interesting treaty, which was conceived in an unusually liberal and enlightened spirit, was called the treaty of America.

As soon as the buccaneers heard of it, Treaty of America, 1670. they resolved to make a defiant and startling exhibition of their power. Thirty-seven ships, carrying more than 2,000 men of various nationalities, were collected off the friendly meat-curing coast of Hispaniola. Morgan was put in

the chief command, and it was decided to capture Panama. On arriving at the isthmus they stormed the castle at the mouth of the river Chagres and put the garrison to the sword. Thus they gained an excellent base of operations. Leaving part of his force to guard castle and fleet, Morgan at the head of 1,200 men made the difficult journey across the isthmus in nine days. Panama was not fortified, but a force of 2,000 infantry and 400 horse confronted the buccaneers. In an obstinate battle, without quarter asked or given, the Spaniards lost 600 men and gave way. The city was then at the mercy of the victors. It contained

Sack of  
Panama. about 7,000 houses and some handsome churches, but Morgan set fire to it in several places, and after a couple of days nearly all these buildings were in ashes. By the light of those flames most hideous atrocities were to be seen, — such a carnival of cruelty and lust as would have disgraced the Middle Ages. After three bestial weeks the buccaneers departed with a long train of mules laden with booty, and several hundred prisoners, most of whom were held for ransom. Among these were many gentlewomen and children, whom Morgan treated savagely. He kept them half dead with hunger and thirst, and swore that if they failed to secure a ransom he would sell them for slaves in Jamaica. Exquemeling draws a pathetic picture of the poor ladies kneeling and imploring at Morgan's feet while their starving children moaned and cried; the only effect upon the ruffian was to make him ask them how much ransom they might hope to secure if these things

were made known to their friends. When the party arrived at Chagres, there was a division of spoil, and the rascals were amazed to find how little there seemed to be to distribute. Morgan was accused of loading far more than his rightful share upon his own vessels, whereupon, not wishing to argue the matter, he made up his mind to withdraw from the scene, "which <sup>Morgan absconds.</sup> he did," says our chronicler, "without calling any council or bidding any one adieu, but went secretly on board his own ship and put out to sea without giving notice, being followed only by three or four vessels of the whole fleet, who it is believed went shares with him in the greatest part of the spoil." All that can be said for him is that most of his comrades would gladly have done the same by him.

With Morgan's departure the pirate fleet was scattered, and plenty of strong language was used in reference to their tricksome commodore.<sup>1</sup> The arrival of a new English governor at Jamaica, with instructions to enforce the treaty of America, led to the hanging of quite a number of buccaneers; and a crew of 300 French pirates, shipwrecked on the coast of Porto Rico, were slaughtered by order of the Spanish governor. But such casualties produced little effect upon the swarming multitude of rovers, and within half a dozen years we find the governor of Jamaica conniving at them and sharing in their plunder. One pirate crew brought in a <sup>Scotching the snake.</sup> Spanish ship so richly freighted that there was

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire des aventuriers*, ii. 216.

£400 for every man after a round sum in hush-money had been handed to the governor. Then the pirates burned the ship and embarked in respectable company for England, "where," says Exquemeling, "some of them live in good reputation to this day."

But what shall we say when we find the devil turning monk, when we see the arch-pirate Morgan administering the king's justice upon his quondam comrades and sending them by scores to the gallows! It reads like a scene in comic opera, how this dirty fellow, after absconding with a lion's share of the Panama spoil and bringing it to Jamaica, suddenly put on airs of righteousness, wooed and won the fair daughter of one of the most eminent personages on the island, and was appointed a judge of the admiralty court.

Morgan's  
metamor-  
phosis.

The finishing touch was put upon the farce when Charles II. decorated him with knighthood. It is not clear how he won the king's favour, but we know that Charles was not above taking tips. After this our capacity for amazement is so far exhausted that we read with benumbed acquiescence how in 1682 Sir Henry Morgan was appointed deputy-governor of Jamaica.<sup>1</sup> But when we find him handing over to the tender mercies of the Spaniards a whole crew of English buccaneers who had fallen into his clutches, we

<sup>1</sup> Exquemeling says: "A l'heure que je parle il est élevé aux plus éminentes dignitez de la Jamaïque; ce qui fait assez voir qu'un homme, tel qu'il soit, est toujours estimé & bien recen par tout, pourveu qu'il ait de l'argent." *Histoire des aventuriers*, ii. 214.

seem to recognize the old familiar touch, and cannot repress the suspicion that he sold them for hard cash! He remained in office three years, until James II. ascended the throne, when the Spanish government accused him of secret complicity with the pirates. On this charge he was removed from office and sent to England, where he was for some years imprisoned but never met the fate which he deserved.

Exquemeling expresses the opinion that, after the trick which Morgan played upon his comrades at Chagres, he must have thought it more prudent to be on the side of government than to stay with the buccaneers. He may also have foreseen that sooner or later the treaty of America was likely to interfere with the business of piracy. It is curious that, after all his caution, his downfall on a charge brought by Spain before the British government was due to the treaty of America. Although imperfectly enforced, that treaty seems to have marked the turning point in the history of buccaneering. The sack of Panama was the apogee of the golden age of pirates; the events that followed are incidents in a gradual but not slow decline. In 1684 the number of French buccaneers in the West Indies and on adjacent coasts was estimated at 3,000, and of other nationalities there were perhaps as many more; but their operations were on a smaller and tamer scale than those of Olonnois and Morgan.

Decline of  
buccaneer-  
ing.

About this time the South Sea began to be the favourite field of work for some of the most famous

buccaneers. In 1680 the first party crossed the isthmus and set sail on the Bay of Panama in a swarm of canoes, with which on the same day they captured a Spanish vessel of 30 tons. With this ship they captured another the next day, and so on till at the end of the week they were in possession of quite a fleet, comprising some ships of 400 tons. They cruised as far as the island of Juan Fernandez and beyond, capturing many ships and much treasure, but not doing much harm ashore. One of the officers, Basil Ringrose, an educated man, left a journal of this cruise, the original manuscript of which is in the British Museum. Other voyages followed until the buccaneers had visited such remote places as the Ladrone Islands, Easter Island, the coasts of Australia, and Tierra del Fuego. Among their commanders were men of far better type than those that have hitherto been mentioned; such were Ambrose Cowley, Edward Davis, the surgeon Lionel Wafer, and the celebrated William Dampier, whom we are more wont to remember as a great navigator and explorer than as a pirate. Cowley, Wafer, and Dampier have left charming narratives of their adventures, in which a mixture of scientific inquisitiveness with the love of barbaric independence is more conspicuous than mere greed. As Henry Morgan was a pirate of the worst type, so Edward Davis, discoverer of Easter Island, was of the best. He never would permit acts of cruelty or wanton bloodshed, and his loyalty and kindness to his comrades won their affection, so that his mellow-

Buccaneers  
of the South  
Sea.



ing influence over rough natures was remarkable. In 1688 he took advantage of a royal proclamation of amnesty to quit buccaneering and go to England, where he was afterward counted as "respectable."

As we read the journals of those remote voyages it is easy to forget for a moment that the business is piracy. We seem to see the staunch ships, superbly handled by their expert sailors, blithely cleaving the blue waters under the Southern Cross; we breathe the cool salt breeze; we watch with interest the gray cliffs, the strange foliage, the birds and snakes and insects which arouse the curiosity of the mariners; we follow them to the Galapagos Islands, which first suggested to Darwin and afterward to Wallace the theory of natural selection; we note with pleasure their description of the uncouth natives of Australia; and we remember Thackeray when we encounter oysters so huge that Basil Ringrose has to cut them in quarters.<sup>1</sup> In the careless freedom of life on an unknown sea with each morrow bringing its new adventures, we forget what company we are in, till suddenly the victim ship heaves in sight, the brief chase ends in a deadly struggle, the Spanish colours go down before the black flag, a few bodies are buried in the depths, and a rich spoil is divided. It is vulgar robbery and murder after all, and there was a good deal of it in the South Sea. The coast of Peru, where there were the richest towns, suf-

Plunder of  
Peruvian  
towns.

<sup>1</sup> Ringrose's *MS. Narrative*, British Museum, Sloane collection, No. 3820.

ferred the most. The Lima Almanacs for 1685-87, comprising an official record of events for each year immediately preceding, mention the towns of Guayaquil, Santiago de Miraflores, and five others as plundered by the pirates. When Davis divided his booty at Juan Fernandez, there was enough to give every man a sum equivalent to \$20,000. Very often a pirate got more gold and silver than he could handle or carry, but it was apt to slip away easily. Many of Davis's company quickly lost every dollar in gambling with their comrades. Our friend Raveneau de Lussan, who took to piracy in order to satisfy his creditors, tells his readers that his winnings at play, added to his share of booty, amounted to 30,000 pieces of eight, which would now be equivalent to at least \$120,000; so we may hope that he paid his debts like an honest man.

The event which did more than anything else to put an end to buccaneering was the accession of a Bourbon prince, Philip V., to the throne of Spain in 1701. It was then that his grandfather, Louis XIV., declared there were no longer any Pyrenees. Ever since the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain and France had been enemies. Their relations now became so friendly that all the ports of Spanish America, whether in the West Indies or on the Pacific coast, were thrown open to French merchants. This made trade more profitable than piracy, and united the French and Spanish navies in protecting it. The English and Dutch fleets also put forth redoubled efforts, and during the

Effects of  
the alliance  
between  
France and  
Spain.

next score of years the decline of the pirates was rapid.

The first English settlements south of Virginia were made at the time when buccaneering was mighty and defiant. The colony of Sir John Yeamans, on Cape Fear River, was Carolina and the Bahamas. begun in 1665, and it was in 1670, the very year of the treaty of America, that Governor Sayle landed at Port Royal. The earliest settlers in Carolina, as we have seen, were not of such good quality as those who came a few years later. They furnished a convenient market for the pirates, who were apt to be open-handed customers, ready to pay good prices in Spanish gold, whether for clothes, weapons, and brandy brought from Europe, or for timber, tar, tobacco, rice, or corn raised in America. One of the Bahama Islands, called New Providence, had been settled by the English. Its remarkable facilities for anchorage and its convenient situation made it a favourite haunt of pirates, whose evil communications corrupted the good manners of the inhabitants. Rather than lose such customers they befriended them in every possible way, so that the island became notorious as one of the worst nests of desperadoes in the American waters. The malady was not long in spreading to the mainland. The Carolina coast, with its numerous sheltered harbours and inlets, afforded excellent lurking-places, whither one might retreat from pursuers, and where one might leisurely repair damages and make ready for further mischief. The pirates, therefore, long haunted that coast,

and it was rather a help than a hindrance to them when settlements began to be made there. For now instead of a wilderness it became a market where they could buy food, medicines, tools, or most of such things as they needed. So long as they behaved moderately well while ashore, it was not necessary for the Carolinians to press them with questions as to what they did on the high seas. For at least thirty years after the founding of Carolina, nearly all the currency in the colony consisted of Spanish gold and silver brought in by freebooters from the West Indies.

Nothing went so far toward making the colonists tolerate piracy as the Navigation Laws which we have already described. We have seen how they enabled English merchants to charge exorbitant prices for goods shipped to America, and to pay as little as possible for American exports. The contrast between such customers and the pirates was entirely in favour of the latter, who could afford to be liberal both with goods and with cash that had cost them nothing but a little fighting.<sup>1</sup> After the founding of Charleston, the dealings with pirates there were made the subject of complaint in London. In 1684 Robert Quarry, acting governor of Carolina, a man of marked ability and good reputation, was removed from office for complicity with pirates. This did not, however, prevent his being appointed to other responsible positions. His successor, Joseph Morton, actually gave per-

<sup>1</sup> See Hughson, "The Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, xii. 241-370.

Effect of the  
Navigation  
Laws.

mission to two buccaneer captains to bring their Spanish prizes into the harbour. Soon afterward John Boon, a member of the council, was expelled for holding correspondence with freebooters. At the close of Ludwell's administration, it was said that Charleston fairly swarmed with pirates, against whose ill-got gold the law was powerless. Along with such commercial reasons, the terror of their fame conspired to protect them. Desperadoes who had sacked Maracaibo and Panama might do likewise to Charleston or New York. It was not only in Carolina that such fears combined with the Navigation Laws to sustain piracy. In Pennsylvania a son of the deputy-governor Markham was elected to the Assembly, but not allowed to take a seat because of dealings with the freebooters. Governor Fletcher, of New York, was deeply implicated in such proceedings, and the record of distant New England was far from stainless.

But at the end of the seventeenth century a marked change became visible. In South Carolina the cultivation of rice had reached such dimensions that tonnage enough <sup>Effect of</sup> <sub>rice culture.</sub> could not be found to carry the crop of 1699 across the Atlantic. The colonists were allowed to sell in foreign markets such goods as were not wanted in England, and England took very little rice. Most of it went to Holland, Hamburg, Bremen, Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal. As rice was thus becoming the chief source of income for South Carolina, people began to be sorely vexed when pirates captured their cargoes. Besides this, the character of the population was entirely

changed by the influx of steady, law-abiding English dissenters under Blake, and by the immigration of large numbers of Huguenots. The pirates became unpopular, and the year 1699 witnessed the hanging of seven of them at Charleston. As the colony yearly grew stronger and the administration firmer, such rigours increased, and the great gallows on Execution Dock was decorated with corpses swinging in chains, a dozen or more at a time, until the pirates came to think of that harbour as a place to be shunned.

There still remained for them, however, an excellent place of refuge in the neighbourhood.

North Carolina. In the year 1700 Edward Randolph reported that the population of North Carolina consisted of smugglers, runaway servants, and pirates. There is no doubt that for the latter it furnished a favourite hiding-place.

For some years after 1700 the vigorous measures of South Carolina kept her own coast comparatively safe, but the snake was as yet Swarms of pirates. only scotched. Swarms of buccaneers, though far thinner than of old, were still harboured in the West Indies, and when occasion was offered they came out of their dens. In 1715, when South Carolina was nearly exhausted from her great Indian war, with crops damaged and treasury empty and military gaze turned toward the frontier and away from the coast, the pirates swarmed there again, with numbers swelled by rovers and bandits turned adrift by the peace of Utrecht in 1713. James Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania, reported in 1717 that there were

1,500 pirates on our coasts, with their chief headquarters at Cape Fear and New Providence, from which points they swept the sea from Newfoundland to Brazil. For South Carolina there was ground of alarm lest wholesale pillage of rice cargoes should bring ruin upon the colony. But that year 1717 saw the arrival of the able governor Robert Johnson, who was destined, after some humiliation, to suppress the nuisance of piracy.

The next year, 1718, was the beginning of the end. In midsummer an English fleet, under Woodes Rogers, captured the island of New Providence, expelled the freebooters, and established there a strong company of law-abiding persons. Henceforth New Providence became a smiter of the wicked instead of their hope and refuge. It was like capturing a battery and turning it against the enemy. One of its immediate effects, however, was to turn the whole remnant of the scoundrels over to the North Carolina coast, where they took their final stand. For a moment the mischief seemed to have increased. One deed, in particular, is vivid in its insolence.

Among these corsairs one of the boldest was a fellow whose name appears in court records as Robert Thatch, though some historians write it Teach. He was a native of Bristol in England, and his real name seems to have been Drummond. But the soubriquet by which he was most widely known was "Blackbeard." It was a name with which mothers

New Providence redeemed.

Blackbeard, the "Last of the Pirates."

and nurses were wont to tame froward children. This man was a ruffian guilty of all crimes known to the law, a desperate character who would stick at nothing. For many years he had been a terror to the coast. In June, 1718, he appeared before Charleston harbour in command of a forty-gun frigate, with three attendant sloops, manned in all by more than 400 men. Eight or ten vessels, rashly venturing out, were captured by him, one after another, and in one of them were several prominent citizens of Charleston, including a highly respected member of the council, all bound for London. When Blackbeard learned the quality of his prisoners, his fertile brain conceived a brilliant scheme. His ships were in need of sundry medicines and other provisions, whereof a list was duly made out and entrusted to a mate named Richards and a party of sailors, who went up to Charleston in a boat, taking along one of the prisoners with a message to Governor Johnson. The message was briefly this, that, if the supplies mentioned were not delivered to Blackbeard within eight-and-forty hours, that eminent commander would forthwith send to Governor Johnson, with his compliments, the heads of all his prisoners.

It was a terrible humiliation, but the pirate had calculated correctly. Governor and council saw that he had them completely at his mercy. They knew better than he how defenceless the town was; they knew that his ships could batter it to pieces without effective resistance. Not a minute must be lost, for Rich-

South Carolina government overawed.



ards and his ruffians were strutting airily about the streets amid fierce uproar, and, if the mob should venture to assault them, woe to Blackbeard's captives. The supplies were delivered with all possible haste, and Blackbeard released the prisoners after robbing them of everything they had, even to their clothing, so that they went ashore nearly naked. From one of them he took \$6,000 in coin. After this exploit Blackbeard retired to North Carolina, where it is said that he bought the connivance of Charles Eden, the governor, who is further said to have been present at the ceremony of the pirate's marriage to his fourteenth wife.<sup>1</sup>

While the arch-villain, thus befriended, was roaming the coast as far as Philadelphia and bringing his prizes into Pamlico Sound, another rover was making trouble for Charleston.

Major Stede Bonnet, of Barbadoes, had taken up the business of piracy scarcely two years before. He had served with credit in the army and was now past middle life, with a good reputation and plenty of money, when all at once he must needs take the short road to the gallows. Some say it was because his wife was a vixen, a droll reason for turning pirate. But in truth there was a moral contagion in this business. The case of William Kidd, a few years before Bonnet, is an illustration. Kidd was an able merchant, with a reputation for integrity, when William III. sent him with a swift and powerful ship to chase pirates; and, lo! when with this fine accoutrement he brings down less

Epidemic of piracy; cases of Kidd and Bonnet.

<sup>1</sup> See Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, ii. 222.

game than he had hoped, he thinks it will pay better to turn pirate himself. In this new walk of life he goes on achieving eminence, until on a summer day he rashly steps ashore in Boston, is arrested, sent to London, and hung.<sup>1</sup> Evidently there was a spirit of buccaneering in the air, as in the twelfth century there was a spirit of crusading. And even as children once went on a crusade, so we find women climbing the shrouds and tending the guns of pirate ships.<sup>2</sup> Major Bonnet soon became distinguished in his profession, and committed depredations all the way from Barbadoes to the coast of Maine. Late in the summer of 1718 Governor Johnson learned that there was a pirate active in his neighbourhood, and he sent Colonel William Rhett, with two armed ships, to chase him. The affair ended in an obstinate fight at the mouth of Cape Fear River, in the course of which all the ships got aground on sand-bars. It was clear that whichever combatant should first be set free by the rising tide would have the other at his mercy, and we can fancy the dreadful eagerness with which every ripple was watched. One of Rhett's ships was first to float, and just as she

Fate of Bonnet.      was preparing to board the pirate he surrendered. Then it was learned that he was none other than the famous Stede Bonnet. At the last his brute courage deserted him, and the ecstasy of terror with which he begged for life reminds one of the captive in "Rob Roy" who

<sup>1</sup> In Kidd's case there were many extenuating circumstances; he was far from being such a scoundrel as most of the pirates.

<sup>2</sup> See the cases of Mary Read and Anne Bonny, in Johnson's *History of the Pirates*, London, 1724, 2 vols.

was hurled into Loch Lomond. But entreaty fell upon deaf ears. It was a gala day at Execution Dock when Bonnet and all his crew were hung in chains.

A few weeks later, while Blackbeard was lurking in Ocracoke Inlet, with ship well armed and ready for some fresh errand, he was overhauled by two stout cruisers sent after <sup>Fate of</sup> Blackbeard. him by Governor Spotswood, of Virginia. In a desperate and bloody fight the "Last of the Pirates" was killed. All the survivors of his crew were hanged, and his severed head decorated the bowsprit of the leading ship as she returned in triumph to James River.

Such forceful measures went on till the waters of Carolina were cleared of the enemy, and by 1730 the fear of pirates was extinguished. For year after year the deeds of Kidd and Blackbeard were rehearsed at village firesides, and tales of buried treasure caused many a greedy spade to delve in vain, until with the lapse of time the memory of all these things grew dim and faded away.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### FROM TIDEWATER TO THE MOUNTAINS.

IT is time for our narrative to return to Virginia, where in June, 1710, just a hundred years after the coming of Lord Delaware, there arrived upon the scene one of the best and ablest of all the colonial governors. Alexander Spotswood was a member of the old and honourable Scottish family which took its name from the barony of Spottiswoode, in Berwick. His great-great-grandfather had been archbishop of St. Andrews and chancellor of Scotland. His great-grandfather, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, as secretary of state, had signed the commission of Montrose, for which he was beheaded by the Covenanters in 1646.<sup>1</sup> Alexander himself had been brought up from childhood in the army, where he had seen some hard fighting. Already at the age of eight-and-twenty he had attained the rank of colonel, and in that year received an ugly wound at Blenheim. Six years after that great battle he arrived in Virginia, a tall, robust man, with gnarled and wrinkled face and an air of dignity and power. He was greeted at Williamsburg with more than ordinary cordiality, because he brought with him a writ confirming the claim of

<sup>1</sup> Burton's *History of Scotland*, vi. 403.

the Virginians that they were as much entitled as other Englishmen to the privilege of *habeas corpus*. Notwithstanding this auspicious reception he had a good many wrangles with his burgesses, chiefly over questions of taxation, and sometimes talked to them quite plainly. On one occasion when, during the Yamassee war in Carolina, he requested an appropriation for a force to be sent in aid of their southern neighbours, he found the burgesses less liberal than he wished and expected. They pleaded the poverty of the country as an excuse for not doing more. The governor's retort was a telling one, and might be applied with effect to many a modern legislative body. If they felt the poverty of the country so keenly, why did they persist in sitting there day after day and drawing their pay, while they wasted the country's time in frivolities without passing laws that were much needed? for in the last five-and-twenty days only three bills had come from them. At the end of a stormy session he addressed them still more sharply: "To be plain with you, the true interest of your country is not what you have troubled your heads about. All your proceedings have been calculated to answer the notions of the ignorant populace; and if you can excuse yourselves to them, you matter not how you stand before God, or any others to whom you think you owe not your elections. In fine, I cannot but attribute these miscarriages to the people's mistaken choice of a set of representatives whom Heaven has not . . . endowed with the ordinary

Governor  
and bur-  
gesses.

A sharp  
rebuke.

qualifications requisite to legislators; and therefore I dissolve you!"<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this stinging tongue Spotswood was greatly liked and respected for his ability and honesty and his thoroughly good heart. He was a man sound in every fibre, clear-sighted, shrewd, immensely vigorous, and full of public spirit. One day we find him establishing Indian missions; the next he is undertaking to smelt iron and grow native wines; the next he is sending out ships to exterminate the pirates. For his energy in establishing smelting furnaces he was nicknamed "The Tubal Cain of Virginia." For the making of native wines he brought over a colony of Germans from the Rhine, and settled them in the new county named for him Spottsylvania, hard by the Rapidan River, where Germanna Ford still preserves a reminiscence of their coming.

Some of Spotswood's disputes with the assembly brought up questions akin to those which agitated the country half a century later, in the

<sup>1</sup> In writing to James Stanhope, secretary of state, Spotswood says: "Such is the unaccountable temper of the People that they have generally chosen for their Representatives Persons of the meanest Estates and Capacitys in their Countys, And as if the House of Burgesses were resolved to copy after the patern of their Electors, of the few Gentlemen that are among them, they have expelled two for having the Generosity to serve their Country for nothing, w'ch they term bribery." *Official Letters*, ii. 129. This reminds one of the language applied by Sherwood and Ludwell to Bacon's followers (see above, p. 102); and suggests the presence among the burgesses of a considerable party which felt it necessary to contend against aristocratizing tendencies. To establish the principle that representatives might serve without pay would tend to disqualify poor folk from serving in that capacity.

days of the Stamp Act. A recent act of Parliament had extended the post-office system <sup>The Post-office Act.</sup> into Virginia, whereupon the burgesses declared that Parliament had no authority to lay any tax (such as postage) upon the people of Virginia without the consent of their representatives; accordingly they showed their independence by exempting from postage all merchants' letters. But we may let Spotswood speak for himself: "Some time last Fall the Post M'r Gen'll of America, having thought himself Obliged to endeavour the Settling a post through Virginia and Maryland, in y<sup>e</sup> same manner as they are settled in the other Northern Plantations, pursu't to the Act of Parliament of the 9th of Queen Anne, gave out Commissions for that purpose, and a post was accordingly established once a fortnight from W'msburg to Philadelphia, and for the Conveyance of Letters bro't hither by Sea through the several Countys. In order to this, the Post M'r Set up printed Placards (such as were sent in by the Post M'r Gen'll of Great Britain) at all the Posts, requiring the delivery of all Letters not excepted by the Act of Parliament to be delivered to his Deputys there. No sooner was this noised about but a great Clamour was raised against it. The people were made to believe that the Parl't could not Levy any Tax (for so they call y<sup>e</sup> Rates of Postage) here without the Consent of the General Assembly. That, besides, all their *Laws* <sup>1</sup> were exempted, because scarce any

<sup>1</sup> There is evidently a slip of the pen here; *Letters* must have been the word intended.

came in here but what some way or other concern'd Trade; That tho' M'rs should, for the reward of a penny a Letter, deliver them, the Post M'r could Demand no Postage for the Conveyance of them, and abundance more to the same purpose, as ridiculous as Arrogant. . . . Thereupon a Bill is prepared and passed both Council and Burg's's, w'ch, tho' it acknowledges the Act of Parliam't to be in force here, does effectually prevent its being ever put in Execution. The first Clause of that Bill Imposes an Obligation on the Post Master to w'ch he is no ways liable by the Act of Parliament. The second Clause lays a Penalty of no less than £5 for every Letter he demands or takes from a Board any Ships that stand Decreed to be excepted by the Act of Parliament; and the last Clause appoints y<sup>e</sup> Stages and the time of Conveyance of all Letters under an Extravagant Penalty. As it is impossible for the Post Master to know whether the Letters he receives be excepted or not, and y't, according to the Interpreters, Our Judges of the Act of Parl't, all Letters sent from any Merch't, whether the same relate to Merchandize on board or not, are within the exception of the Law, the Post M'r must meddle w'th no Letters at all, or run the hazard of being ruin'd. And the last Clause, besides its Contradiction to the Act of Parliament in applying the Stages, w'ch is expressly Bestowed to the Post Master according to the Instruction of the Sovereign, is so great an impossibility to be complied w'th that, considering the difficulty of passing the many gr't Rivers, the



Post M'r must be liable to the penalty of 20s. for every Letter he takes into his care during the whole Season of the Winter. From whence yo'r Lo'ps may judge how well affected the Major part of Our Assembly men are towards y<sup>e</sup> Collecting this Branch of the King's Revenue, and w'll therefore be pleas'd to Acquitt me of any Censure of Refusing Assent to such a Bill." <sup>1</sup>

With an assembly so adroit and so stubborn, the way of the postmaster was hard indeed. Another source of irritation was the question as to appointing parsons. In practice they were appointed by the close vestries, but Appoint-  
ment of  
parsons. the governor wished to appoint them himself. It also appeared that the king's ministers would like to send a bishop to Virginia. On these questions the worthy Spotswood got embroiled with eight of the councilmen as well as with the burgesses, and complained of being rather shabbily treated: "When in Order to the Solemnizing his Maj'ty's Birth-day,<sup>2</sup> I gave a publick Entertainment at my House, all gent'n that would come were Admitted; These Eight Counsellors would neither come to my House nor go to the Play w'ch was Acted on that occasion, but got together all the Turbulent and disaffected Burg's's, had an Entertainment of their own in the Burg's House and invited all y<sup>e</sup> Mobb to a Bonfire, where they were plentifully Supplied with Liquors to Drink the same healths without as their M'rs did within, w'ch were chiefly

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood to the Lords of Trade, June 24, 1718. *Official Letters*, ii. 280, 281.

<sup>2</sup> The 58th birthday of George I., May 28, 1718.

those of the Council and their Associated Burg's, without taking any [more] Notice of the Gov'r, than if there had been none upon the place." <sup>1</sup>

In such disputes between the legislatures chosen at home and the executive officials appointed beyond sea, Virginia, like the sister colonies in their several ways, was getting the kind of political education that bore fruit in 1776. In Virginia the appointment of clergymen over parishes, in Maryland the forty per poll for a church to which only one sixth of the people belonged, in Massachusetts the perennial question of the governor's salary, —

all these were occasions for disputes about matters of internal administration in which far-reaching principles were involved. Other questions, like that of postage just mentioned, showed that gradually but surely and steadily a continental state of things was coming on. From the Penobscot to the Savannah there was a continuous English world, albeit a strip so narrow that it scarcely anywhere reached inland more than a hundred and fifty miles from the coast. The work of establishing postal communication throughout this region seemed to require some continental authority independent of the dozen local colonial legislatures. We see Parliament, with the best of intentions, stepping in and exercising such continental authority; and we see the Virginians resisting such action, on the ground that in laying the species of tax known as postage rates Parliament was usurping functions which belonged only to the colonial legislatures. Thus did the year 1718 witness a slight presage of 1765.

Beginning of  
continental  
politics.

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, *Official Letters*, ii. 284.

Nothing did so much toward bringing the several colonies face to face with a great continental situation as the struggle with France which began with the expulsion of the Stuarts in 1689 and was not to be decided until seventy years later, when Wolfe climbed the Heights of Abraham. The destruction of the Invincible Armada, a century before the downfall of James II., had shown that Great Britain was to belong to the Protestant Reformers; the latter event had shown that she was not to be won back to the Catholic Counter-Reformation which, starting with the election of Paul IV. in 1555, had gained formidable strength in many quarters. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the colony of Virginia was founded, the France of Henry IV. was in sympathy with England and hostile to Spain. Before the end of that century the France of Louis XIV. had been won over to the Counter-Reformation. The dethronement of England's Catholic king came almost like a rejoinder to the expulsion of a million Protestants from France. The mighty struggle which then began was to determine whether North America should be controlled by Protestantism and Whiggery, or by the Counter-Reformation and the Old Régime.

Beginning of the seventy years' struggle with France.

The first notable effect wrought in English America by the outbreak of hostilities was the assembling of a Continental Congress at New York in 1690, the first meeting of that sort in America. The continental aspects of the situation were not as yet apparent

The Continental Congress of 1690.

save to a few prescient minds. The infant settlements in Carolina hardly counted for much. Virginia was too far from Canada to feel deeply interested in the organization of resistance to the schemes of Frontenac, and so the southernmost colony represented in the first American Congress was Maryland.

It was not long, however, before the continental aspects of the situation began to grow more conspicuous. The reader will remember how, in 1708, the government at Charleston, in an official report on the military resources of the colony, laid stress upon the circumstance that Carolina was a frontier to all the English settlements on the mainland. The occasion for this emphasis was the great European war that broke out in 1701, when Louis XIV. put his grandson, Philip of Anjou, on the vacant throne of Spain. The alliance of Spain with France threatened English America at both ends of the line. The destruction of Deerfield by an expedition from Canada in 1704, and the attempt upon Charleston by an expedition from Florida in 1706, were blows delivered by the common enemy, Louis XIV., the persecutor of Huguenots, the champion of the Counter-Reformation, the accomplice of the Stuarts. From that moment we may date the first dawning consciousness of a community of interests all the way from Massachusetts to Carolina. But it was only a few clear-headed persons that were quick to understand the situation. The average members of a legislature were not among these; their thoughts were much more upon the constituencies "to whom they owed

their elections" than upon any wide or far-reaching interests. Such of the royal governors as were honest and high-minded men saw the situation much more clearly, since it was their business to look at things from the imperial point of view. Especially such a man as Spotswood, a soldier of noted ability, who had himself been scarred in fighting the common enemy, could not fail to understand the needs of the hour. His official letters abundantly show his disgust over the froward and niggardly policy that refused prompt aid to hard-pressed Carolina.<sup>1</sup> To sit wrangling over questions

<sup>1</sup> His feelings find temperate expression in his letters to the Lords of Trade and to the secretary of state, James Stanhope; *e. g.*, in October, 1712: "This Unhappy State of her Maj't's Subjects in my Neighbourhood is y<sup>e</sup> more Affecting to me because I have very little hopes of being enabled to relieve them by our Assembly, which I have called to meet next Week. . . . No arguments I have used can prevail on these people to make their Militia more Serviceable;" and in July, 1715: "I cannot forbear regretting y<sup>t</sup> I must always have to do w'th y<sup>e</sup> Representatives of y<sup>e</sup> Vulgar People, and mostly with such members as are of their Stamp and Understanding, for so long as half an Acre of Land . . . qualifys a man to be an Elector, the meaner sort of People will ever carry y<sup>e</sup> Elections, and the humour generally runs to choose such men as are their most familiar Companions, who very eagerly seek to be Burgesses merely for the Lucre of the Salary, and who, for fear of not being chosen again, dare in Assembly do nothing that may be disrelished out of the House by y<sup>e</sup> Comon People. . . . However, as my general Success hitherto with this sort of Assemblys is not to be Complained of, and as I have brought them, in some particulars, to place greater Trust in me than ever they did in any Governor before, and seeing their Confidence in Me has encreased with their Knowledge of me, I have great hopes to lead even this new Assembly into measures that may be for the hon'r and safety of these parts of his Maj't's Dominions. . . . Y<sup>e</sup> Assembly of No. Carolina has already faulted their Governor for dispatching away to y<sup>e</sup> relief of his next

of prerogative while firebrand and tomahawk were devouring their brethren on the frontier! To our

Neighbours a small reinforcement of Men, they alledging that their own danger requir'd not to weaken themselves. . . . None of y<sup>e</sup> Provinces on y<sup>e</sup> Continent have yet sent any Assistance of Men to So. Carolina, except this Colony alone, and No. Carolina, and by w<sup>t</sup> I understand from Govern'r Hunter [of New York] I am afraid they may be diverted from it, he writing me word y<sup>t</sup> their Indians are grown very turbulent and ungovernable. We are not here without our dangers, too, but yet I judg'd it best, and y<sup>e</sup> readiest way to save ourselves, to run immediately to check the first kindling Flames, and even to stretch a point to succour Carolina with Arms and ammunition; and I made such dispatch in y<sup>e</sup> first Succours of Men I sent thither y<sup>t</sup> they pass'd no more than 15 days between the Day of y<sup>e</sup> Carolina Comm'r's coming to me and y<sup>e</sup> day of my embarking 118 Men listed for their Service. I have since sent another Vessel with 40 or 50 Men more; and hope in a short time to have y<sup>e</sup> Complem't raised w<sup>ch</sup> this Government has engag'd to furnish. . . . I need not offer, for my justification, to wound his Maj't's Ears with particuar relation of the miserys his Subjects in Carolina labour under, and of y<sup>e</sup> Inhuman butchering and horrid Tortures many of them have been exposed to." So in Oct. 1715: "Such was the Temper and Understanding [of the House of Burgesses] that they could not be reason'd into Wholesome Laws, and such their humour and principles y<sup>t</sup> they would aim at no other Acts than what invaded y<sup>e</sup> Prerogative or thwarted the Government. So that all their considerable Bills Stopt in the Council. . . . On y<sup>e</sup> 8 of Aug'st . . . they plainly declar'd they would do nothing . . . till they had an Answer from his Maj'tie to their Address about the Quitt rents. I need not repeat to you, S'r, what I have formerly represented of the inconveniency a Governm't without money is expos'd to, especially in any dangerous Conjunction. . . . The bulk of the Ellectors of Assembly Men consists of the meaner sort of People, who . . . are more easily impos'd upon by persons who are not restrain'd by any Principles of Truth or Hon'r from publishing amongst them the most false reports, and have front enough to assert for truth even the grossest Absurdities. [How well this describes the blatant demagogues who thrive and multiply in the cesspool of politics to-day, like maggots in carrion!] . . . These mobish Candidates always outbid the Gent'n of sence and Prin-

valiant soldier such behaviour seemed fit only for churls; while waiting for the danger to come upon one, instead of marching forth to attack the danger, was surely as impolitic as unchivalrous. So, without waiting on the uncertain temper and devious arguments of many-headed King Demos, the governor hurried his men on board ship as fast as he could enlist and arm them, well knowing that in a "dangerous conjuncture" the more precious minutes one loses, the more costly grow those that are left. During half of the eighteenth century, as the conflict with France was again and again renewed, such experiences as those of Spotswood with his burgesses were repeated in most of the colonies, until the royal governors became profoundly convinced that the one thing most needed in English America was a Continental Government that could impose taxes, according to some uniform principle, upon the people of all the colonies for the common defence. At the Albany Congress of 1754, when the war-clouds were blacker than ever, Benjamin Franklin came forward with a scheme for creating such a central government for purely federal purposes. That scheme would have inaugurated a Federal Union, with president appointed by the crown; it

Franklin's  
plan for a  
Federal  
Union.

principles, for they stick not to vow to their Electors that no consideration whatever shall engage them to raise money, and some of them have so little shame as publickly to declare that if, in Assembly, anything should be propos'd w'ch they judg'd might be disagreeable to their Constituents, they would oppose it, tho' they knew in their consciences y<sup>t</sup> it would be for y<sup>e</sup> good of the Country." Spotswood's *Official Letters*, ii. 1, 2, 124, 125, 130, 132, 164.

would have lodged the power of taxation, for continental purposes, in a federal council representing the American people; and it would have left with the several states all governmental functions and prerogatives not explicitly granted to the central government. Had Franklin's plan been adopted and proved successful in its working, the political separation between English America and English Britain would not have occurred when it did, and possibly might not have occurred at all. But Franklin's plan failed of adoption just at the moment when American politics were becoming more completely and conspicuously continental than ever before. In the presence of a gigantic war that extended "from the coast of Coromandel to the Great Lakes of North America,"<sup>1</sup> the need for a continental government and the evils that flowed from the want of it were felt with increasing severity; the old difficulties which had beset honest Spotswood were renewed in manifold ways; until, when the war was over, Parliament, with the best of intentions but without due consideration, undertook in the Stamp Act to provide a

Origin of  
the Stamp  
Act.

steady continental revenue for America.

When the Americans refused to accept Parliament as their continental legislature, and, in alliance with Pitt and his New Whigs, won a noble victory in the repeal of the Stamp Act, a great American question became entangled in British politics, and a situation was thus created which

<sup>1</sup> The expression is suggested by a famous passage in Lord Macaulay, who seems to think that it all happened in order that Frederick the Great might keep his hold upon Silesia!



enabled the unscrupulous and half-crazy George III. to force upon America the quarrel that parted the empire in twain. Nowhere in history is the solidarity of events, in their causal relations, more conspicuous than in America during the eighteenth century; and for this reason the disputes of the royal governors with their refractory assemblies are nearly always rich in political lessons.

Looking back from the present time at Spotswood's administration, we find its incidents perpetually reminding us that the colonies were already entering upon that long period of revolution from which they were not to emerge until the adoption of our Federal Constitution. We never lose consciousness of the French and Indian background against which the events are projected. Toward this vast dim background Spotswood set his face in 1716, in his memorable expedition across the Blue Ridge. For more than a century since the founding of Jamestown had the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah remained unknown to Virginians. It was still part of the strange, unmeasured wilderness that stretched away to the remote shores which Drake had once called by the name New Albion.<sup>1</sup> Some of its most savage solitudes had in Spotswood's youth been traversed by the mighty La Salle, and other adventurous Frenchmen kept up explorations among freshwater seas to the northwestward, where English and Scotch officials of the Hudson Bay Company were beginning to come into contact with them. What was to be found between those

The un-  
known  
West.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol i. p. 27.

freshwater seas and the Gulf of Mexico no Englishman could tell, save that it had been found to be solid land, and not a Sea of Verrazano.<sup>1</sup> So much might Spotswood have gathered from reading and from hearsay, but not through any work done by Englishmen. In the early days, as we have seen, Captain Newport had tried to reach the mountains and failed.<sup>2</sup> In 1653 it was enacted that, "whereas divers gentlemen have a voluntarie desire to discover the Mountains and supplicated for lycence to this Assembly, . . . that order be granted unto any for soe doing, Provided they go with a considerable partie and strength both of men and amunition."<sup>3</sup> But nothing came of this permission. In Spotswood's time the very outposts of English civilization had not crept inland beyond tidewater. A strip of forest fifty miles or more in breadth still intervened between the Virginia frontier and those blue peaks visible against the western sky. This stalwart governor was not the man to gaze upon mountains and rest content without going to see what was behind them. Especially since the French were laying claim to the interior, since they had for some time possessed the Great Lakes, and since they had lately been busy in erecting forts at divers remote places in the western country,<sup>4</sup> it was worth while for Englishmen to take a step toward them by crossing the

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Hening's *Statutes*, i. 381.

<sup>4</sup> These were Kaskaskia and Cahokia in 1700, Detroit in 1701, Mobile in 1702, and Vincennes in 1705; and Bienville was just about to found New Orleans, which he did in 1718.

mountains.<sup>1</sup> The expedition was extremely popular in Virginia. A party of fifty gentlemen, with black servants, Indian guides, and packhorses, started out toward the end of August and made quite an autumn picnic of it. One can fancy what prime shooting it was in the virgin forest all alive with the finest of game. To wash down so much toothsome venison and grouse, the governor brought along several casks of native wines — red and white Rapidan, so to speak — made by his Spottsylvania Germans; but cognac and cherry cordial were not forgotten, and champagne-corks popped merrily in the wilderness. Crossing the Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap,<sup>2</sup> on nearly the same latitude as Fredericksburg, the party entered the great valley a little north of the present site of Port Republic, and about eighty miles southwest from Harper's Ferry. The exploits of Stonewall Jackson in 1862 have clothed the region with undying fame. Spotswood called the river the Euphrates, an early instance of the vicious naming by which the map of the United States is so abundantly disfigured, but happily the

Spotswood  
crosses the  
Blue Ridge,  
1716.

<sup>1</sup> "I have often regretted that after so many Years as these Countrys have been Seated, no Attempts have been made to discover the Sources of Our Rivers, nor to Establishing Correspondence w'th those Nations of Indians to ye Westw'd of Us, even after the certain Knowledge of the Progress made by French in Surrounding us w'th their Settlements." Spotswood, *Official Letters*, iii. 295. A reconnoissance was made in 1710, which reported that the Blue Ridge was not, as had been supposed, impassable. *Id.* i. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Fontaine's journal of the expedition shows that the crossing was not at Rockfish Gap, as formerly supposed. Cf. Peyton's *History of Augusta County*, Staunton, 1882, pp. 24, 29.

melodious native name of Shenandoah has held its place. On the bank of that fair stream one of the empty bottles was buried, with a paper inside declaring that the river and all the soil it drained were the property of the King of Great Britain. Having thus taken formal possession of the valley, the picnickers returned to their tidewater homes.

A letter of Rev. Hugh Jones, who preached in Bruton Church, says that Spotswood cut the name of George I. upon a rock at the summit of the highest peak which the party climbed, and named it Mount George, whereupon some of the gentlemen called the next one Mount Alexander, in honour of the governor. "For this expedition," says Mr. Jones, "they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horseshoes, things seldom used in the lower parts of the country, where there are few stones. Upon which account the governor upon their return presented each of his companions with a golden horseshoe, some of which I have seen, studded with valuable stones, resembling the heads of nails, with this inscription . . . *Sic juvat transcendere montes.*<sup>1</sup> This he instituted to encourage gentlemen to venture backwards and make discoveries and new settlements, any gentleman being entitled to wear this golden shoe that can prove his having drank [*sic*] his Majesty's health upon Mount George."<sup>2</sup> In later times this incident was called instituting the order of Knights of the Golden Horseshoe.

Knights of  
the Golden  
Horseshoe.

<sup>1</sup> "Thus it is a pleasure to cross the mountains."

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, London, 1724, p. 14.

Spotswood's letters to the Lords of Trade, in which he mentions this expedition to the mountains, are testimony to the soundness of his military foresight. In recent years, he says, the French have built fortresses in such positions "that the Brittish Plantations are in a manner Surrounded by their Commerce w'th the numerous Nations of Indians seated on both sides of the Lakes; they may not only Engross the whole Skin Trade, but may, when they please, Send out such Bodys of Indians on the back of these Plantations as may greatly distress his Maj'ty's Subjects here, And should they multiply their settlem'ts along these Lakes, so as to joyn their Dominions of Canada to their new Colony of Louisiana, they might even possess themselves of any of these Plantations they pleased. Nature, 'tis true, has formed a Barrier for us by that long Chain of Mountains w'ch run from the back of South Carolina as far as New York, and w'ch are only passable in some few places, but even that Natural Defence may prove rather destructive to us, if they are not possessed by us before they are known to them. To prevent the dangers w'ch Threaten his Maj'ty's Dominions here from the growing power of these Neighbours, nothing seems to me of more consequence than that now while the Nations are at peace, and while the French are yet incapable of possessing all that vast Tract w'ch lies on the back of these Plantations, we should attempt to make some Settlements on y<sup>e</sup> Lakes, and at the same time possess our selves of those passes of the great Mountains,

Spotswood's  
view of the  
situation.

w'ch are necessary to preserve a Communication w'th such Settlements." <sup>1</sup>

He goes on to say that the purpose of his late expedition across the Blue Ridge was to ascertain whether Lake Erie, occupying as it did a central position in the French line of communication between Canada and Louisiana, was easily accessible from Virginia. Information gathered from Indians led him to believe that it was thus accessible.<sup>2</sup> He therefore proposed that an English settlement should be made on the south shore of Lake Erie, whereby the English power might be thrust like a wedge into the centre of the French position; and he offered to take a suitable body of men across the mountains and reconnoitre the country for the purpose of finding a site. As for the expense of such an enterprise, the king need not be concerned about it; for there was enough surplus from quitrents in the colonial treasury to defray it. One cannot read such a letter without admiring the writer's honest frankness, his clear insight, his prudence, and his courage.

But with all Spotswood's virtues and talents,

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, *Official Letters*, ii. 297.

<sup>2</sup> He understood that from Swift Run Gap it was but three days' march to a tribe of Indians living on a river which emptied into Lake Erie; also that from a distant peak, which was pointed out to him, Lake Erie was distinctly visible; so he estimated the total distance as five days' march. The river route thus vaguely indicated was probably down the Youghiogheny or the Monongahela to the site of Pittsburgh, then up the Alleghany and so on to the site of Erie, distant in a straight line about 300 miles from Swift Run Gap. Braddock in 1755 was a month in getting over less than one fourth of the actual route. But, in spite of the false estimate, Spotswood's general idea was sound.

and in spite of his popularity, he fell upon the same rock upon which Andros and Nicholson had been wrecked: he quarrelled with Dr. Blair, who tells us that "he was so wedded to his own notions that there was no quarter for them that went not with him."<sup>1</sup> With a change of name, perhaps the same might have been said of the worthy doctor. The quarrel seems to have originated in the question as to the right of appointing pastors, and it ended, as Blair's contests always ended, in the overthrow of his antagonist. Nobody could stand up against that doughty Scotch parson.<sup>2</sup> Spotswood was removed from his governorship in 1722, but continued to live in the Virginia which he loved. As postmaster-general for the American colonies, he had by 1738 got the mail running regularly from New England as far south as James River. It took a week to carry the mail from Philadelphia to Williamsburg; for <sup>Spotswood's</sup> <sub>last years.</sub> points further south the post-rider started at irregular intervals, whenever enough mail had accumulated to make it worth while. In 1740 Spotswood received a major-general's commission, and was about to sail in Admiral Vernon's expedition against Cartagena,<sup>3</sup> when he suddenly died. He

<sup>1</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> In this respect one of his family in the days of our great Civil War was like him. The noble statue at the entrance of Forest Park in St. Louis stands there to remind us that it was chiefly the iron will of Francis Preston Blair that in 1861 prevented the secessionist government of Missouri from dragging that state over to the Southern Confederacy.

<sup>3</sup> George Washington's elder brother, Lawrence, served in this expedition, and named his estate Mount Vernon after the admiral.

was buried on his estate of Temple Farm, near Yorktown. In later days the surrender of Lord Cornwallis was negotiated in the house which had sheltered the last years of this noble governor.<sup>1</sup>

Spotswood was succeeded by Hugh Drysdale, who died in 1726, and next came William Gooch, another military Scotchman, quiet, modest, and shrewd, who managed things for twenty-two years, from 1727 to 1749, with marked ability and success. After an interval, Gooch was followed by Robert Dinwiddie, still another Scotchman, who came in 1751 and staid until 1758, and whose administration is the last one that calls for mention in the present narrative.

The period of Gooch's government was remarkable for the development of the westward movement prefigured in Spotswood's expedition across the Blue Ridge. This development occurred in a way that even far-seeing men could not have predicted. It introduced into Virginia a new set of people, new forms of religion, new habits of life. It affected all the colonies south of Pennsylvania most profoundly, and did more than anything else to determine the character of all the states afterward founded west of the Alleghanies and south of the latitude of middle Illinois. Until recent years, little has been written about the coming of the so-called Scotch-Irish to America, and yet it is an event of scarcely less importance than the exodus of English Puritans to New England and that of English Cavaliers to

<sup>1</sup> In 1781 the mansion at Temple Farm was known as the Moore House.



Virginia. It is impossible to understand the drift which American history, social and political, has taken since the time of Andrew Jackson, without studying the early life of the Scotch-Irish population of the Alleghany regions, the pioneers of the American backwoods. I do not mean to be understood as saying that the whole of that population at the time of our Revolutionary War was Scotch-Irish, for there was a considerable German element in it, besides an infusion of English moving inward from the coast. But the Scotch-Irish element was more numerous and far more important than all the others. A detailed account of it belongs especially with the history of Pennsylvania, since that colony was the principal centre of its distribution throughout the south and west; but a brief mention of its coming is indispensable in any sketch of Old Virginia and Her Neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

Who were the people called by this rather awkward compound name, Scotch-Irish? The answer carries us back to the year 1611, when James I. began peopling Ulster with colonists from Scotland and the north of England. The plan was to put into Ireland a Protestant population that might ultimately outnumber the Catholics and become the controlling element in the country. The settlers were picked men and women of the most excellent sort. By the middle of the seventeenth century there were 300,000 of them in

Colonization  
of Ulster by  
James I.

<sup>1</sup> In my next following work, entitled "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America," I hope to give a more detailed and specific account of the Scotch-Irish and their important work in this country.

Ulster. That province had been the most neglected part of the island, a wilderness of bogs and fens; they transformed it into a garden. They also established manufactures of woollens and linens which have ever since been famous throughout the world. By the beginning of the eighteenth century their numbers had risen to nearly a million. Their social condition was not that of peasants; they were intelligent yeomanry and artisans. In a document signed in 1718 by a miscellaneous group of 319 men, only 13 made their mark, while 306 wrote their names in full. Nothing like that could have happened at that time in any other part of the British Empire, hardly even in New England.

When these people began coming to America, those families that had been longest in Ireland had dwelt there but for three generations, and confusion of mind seems to lurk in any nomenclature which couples them with the true Irish. The antipathy between the Scotch-Irish as a group and the true Irish as a group is perhaps unsurpassed for bitterness and intensity. On the other hand, since love laughs at feuds and schisms, intermarriages between the colonists of Ulster and the native Irish were by no means unusual, and instances occur of Murphys and McManuses of Presbyterian faith. It was common in Ulster to allude to Presbyterians as "Scotch," to Roman Catholics as "Irish," and to members of the English church as "Protestants," without much reference to pedigree. From this point of view the term "Scotch-Irish" may be defensible, provided

we do not let it conceal the fact that the people to whom it applied are for the most part Lowland Scotch Presbyterians, very slightly hibernicized in blood.

The flourishing manufactures in Ulster aroused the jealousy of rival manufacturers in England, who in 1698 succeeded in obtaining legislation which seriously damaged the Irish linen and woolen industries and threw many workmen out of employment. About the same time it became apparent that an epidemic fever <sup>Ulster's</sup> <sub>grievances.</sub> of persecution had seized upon the English church. The violent reaction against the Counter-Reformation, with the fierce war against Louis XIV., had stimulated intolerance in all directions. The same persecuting spirit which we have above witnessed as making trouble for the Carolinas and Maryland found also a vent in the severe disabilities inflicted in 1704 and following years upon Presbyterians in Ireland. They were forbidden to keep schools, marriages performed by their clergy were declared invalid, they were not allowed to hold any office higher than that of petty constable, and so on through a long list of silly and outrageous enactments. For a few years this tyranny was endured in the hope that it was but temporary. By 1719 this hope had worn away, and from that year, until the passage of the Toleration Act for Ireland in 1782, the people of Ulster kept flocking to America.

Of all the migrations to America previous to the days of steamships, this was by far the largest in volume. One week of 1727 landed six ship-loads

at Philadelphia. In the two years 1773 and 1774 more than 30,000 came. In 1770 one third of the population of Pennsylvania was Scotch-Irish. Altogether, between 1730 and 1770, I think it probable that at least half a million souls were transferred from Ulster to the American colonies, making not less than one sixth part of our population at the time of the Revolution. Of these, very few came to New England; among their descendants were the soldiers John Stark and Henry Knox, and more lately the great naturalist Asa Gray. Those who went to Pennsylvania received grants of land in the western mountain region. The policy of the government was to interpose them as a buffer between the expanding colony and the Indian frontier. Once planted in the Alleghany region, they spread rapidly and in large numbers toward the southwest along the mountain country through the Shenandoah Valley and into the Carolinas. At a later time they formed almost the entire population of West Virginia, and they were the men who chiefly built up the commonwealths of Kentucky and Tennessee. Among these Scotch-Irish were the Breckinridges, Alexanders, Lewises, Prestons, Campbells, Pickenses, Stuarts, McDowells, Johnstons, and Rutledges; Richard Montgomery, Anthony Wayne, Daniel Boone, James Robertson, George Rogers Clark, Andrew Jackson, Thomas Benton, Samuel Houston, John Caldwell Calhoun, Stonewall Jackson. It was chiefly Scotch-Irish troops that won the pivotal battle at King's Mountain, that crushed the In-

The migra-  
tion of Ul-  
ster men to  
America.

Scotch-Irish  
in the south-  
west.

dians of Alabama, and overthrew Wellington's veterans of the Spanish peninsula in that brief but acute agony at New Orleans. When our Civil War came these men were a great power on both sides, but the influence of the chief mass of them was exerted on the side of the Union; it held Kentucky and a large part of Tennessee, and broke Virginia in twain.

It was about 1730 that the Scotch-Irish began to pour into the Shenandoah Valley. "Governor Gooch was then dispensing the Valley lands so freely and indiscriminately that one Jacob Stover, it is said, secured many acres by giving his cattle human names as settlers; and a young woman, by dressing in various disguises of masculine attire, obtained several large farms."<sup>1</sup> Small farms, however, came to be the rule. The first Scotch-Irish settled along the Opequon River; and their very oldest churches, the Tuscarora Meeting-house near Martinsburg and the Opequon Church near Winchester, are still standing. The Germans were not long in following them, and we see their mark on the map in such names as Strasburg and Hamburg.

This settlement of the Valley soon began to work profound modifications in the life of Old Virginia. Hitherto it had been purely English and predominantly Episcopal, Cavalier, and aristocratic. There was now a rapid invasion of Scotch Presbyterianism, with small farms, few slaves, and democratic ideas, made more demo-

Settlement  
of the Shen-  
andoah Val-  
ley.

Profound af-  
fect upon  
Virginia.

<sup>1</sup> Conway's *Barons*, p. 213; Kercheval's *History of the Valley of Virginia*, Winchester, 1833, p. 65.

cratic by life in the backwoods. It was impossible that two societies so different in habits and ideas should coexist side by side, sending representatives to the same House of Burgesses, without a stubborn conflict. For two generations there was a ferment which resulted in the separation of church and state, complete religious toleration, the abolition of primogeniture and entails, and many other important changes, most of which were consummated under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson between 1776 and 1785. Without the aid of the Valley population, these beginnings of metamorphosis in tidewater Virginia would not have been accomplished.

Jefferson is often called the father of modern American democracy; in a certain sense the Shenandoah Valley and adjacent Appalachian regions may be called its cradle. In that rude frontier society, life assumed many new aspects, old customs were forgotten, old distinctions abolished, social equality acquired even more importance than unchecked individualism. The notions, sometimes crude and noxious, sometimes just and wholesome, which characterized Jacksonian democracy, flourished greatly on the frontier and have thence been propagated eastward through the older communities, affecting their legislation and their politics more or less according to frequency of contact and intercourse. Massachusetts, relatively remote and relatively ancient, has been perhaps least affected by this group of ideas, but all parts of the United States have felt its influence powerfully. This phase of democracy,

Frontier  
phase of de-  
mocracy.

which is destined to continue so long as frontier life retains any importance, can nowhere be so well studied in its beginnings as among the Presbyterian population of the Appalachian region in the eighteenth century.

The Shenandoah Valley, however, was not absolutely given up to Scotchmen and Germans; it was not entirely without English inhabitants from the tidewater region. Among these, Lord Fairfax and George Washington. one specially interesting group arrests our attention. At the northern end of the Valley was a little English colony gathered about Lord Fairfax's home at Greenway Court, a dozen miles southwest from the site of Winchester. We have seen how Lord Culpeper, in relinquishing his proprietary claims upon Virginia, had retained the Northern Neck. This extensive territory passed as a dowry with Culpeper's daughter Catharine to her husband, the fifth Lord Fairfax;<sup>1</sup> and in 1745 their son, the sixth Lord Fairfax, came to spend the rest of his days in Virginia. There was much surveying to be done, and the lord of Greenway Court gave this work to a young man for whom he had conceived a strong affection. The name of Fairfax's youthful friend was George Washington, and it is impossible to couple these two names without being reminded of a letter written a hundred years before, in 1646, when Charles I. had been overthrown and taken prisoner, and Henry Washington, royalist commander at Worcester, still held out and refused to surrender the city without authority from the king. Thus wrote the noble com-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.* v. 276.

mander to the great General Fairfax, commander of the Parliament army: "It is acknowledged by your books, and by report of your own quarter, that the king is in some of your armies. That granted, it may be easy for you to procure his Majesty's commands for the disposal of this garrison. Till then I shall make good the trust reposed in me. As for conditions, if I shall be necessitated I shall make the best I can. The worst I know and fear not; if I had, the profession of a soldier had not been begun nor so long continued by your Excellency's humble servant, — Henry Washington."<sup>1</sup>

There is a ring to this letter which sounds not unlike the utterance of that scion of the writer's family who was destined to win independence for the United States. It is pleasant to know that General Fairfax obtained the order from King Charles and granted most honourable terms to the brave Colonel Washington. In the following century a member of the house of Fairfax, in engaging the younger Washington to survey his frontier estates, put him into a position which led up to his wonderful public career. For this advance of the Virginians from tidewater to the mountains served to bring on the final struggle with France. The wholesale Scotch-Irish immigration was fast carrying Virginia's frontier toward the Ohio River, and making feasible the schemes of Spotswood in a way that no man would have thought of. Hitherto the struggle with the house of Bourbon had been confined to Canada at one end of the line and Caro-

Effect of the westward advance upon the military situation.

<sup>1</sup> Greene's *Antiquities of Worcester*, p. 273.



lina at the other, while the centre had not been directly implicated. In the first American Congress, convened by Jacob Leisler at New York in 1690 for the purpose of concerting measures of defence against the common enemy, Virginia (as we have seen) took no part. The seat of war was then remote, and her strength exerted at such a distance would have been of little avail. But in the sixty years since 1690 the white population of Virginia had increased fourfold, and her wealth had increased still more. Looking down the Monongahela River to the point The Gateway of the West. where its union with the Alleghany makes the Ohio, she beheld there the gateway to the Great West, and felt a yearning to possess it; for the westward movement was giving rise to speculations in land, and a company was forming for the exploration and settlement of all that Ohio country. But French eyes were not blind to the situation, and it was their king's pawns, not the English, that opened the game on the mighty chess-board. French troops from Canada crossed Lake Erie, and built their first fort where the Advance of the French. city of Erie now stands. Then they pushed forward down the wooded valley of the Alleghany and built a second fortress and a third. Another stride would bring them to the gateway. Something must be done at once.

At such a crisis Governor Dinwiddie had need of the ablest man Virginia could afford, to undertake a journey of unwonted difficulty through the wilderness, to negotiate George Washington's first appearance in history. with Indian tribes, and to warn the advancing

Frenchmen to trespass no further upon English territory. As the best person to entrust with this arduous enterprise, the shrewd old Scotchman selected a lad of one-and-twenty, Lord Fairfax's surveyor, George Washington. History does not record a more extraordinary choice, nor one more completely justified.

This year 1753 marks the end of the period when we can deal with the history of Virginia by itself. The struggle against France, so long sustained by New York and New England, acquires a truly Continental character when Virginia comes to take part in it. Great public questions forthwith come up for solution, some of which are not set at rest until after that young land surveyor has become President of the United States. With the first encounter between Frenchmen and Englishmen in the Alleghanies, the stream of Virginia history becomes an inseparable portion of the majestic stream in which flows the career of our Federal Union.

**INDEX.**



## INDEX.

- ABBOT, GEORGE**, i. 68.  
 Abbot, Jeffrey, i. 135, 165.  
 Abraham, Heights of, i. 171; ii. 376.  
 Absence of towus in North Carolina, ii. 314.  
 Accomac peninsula, i. 224; ii. 87.  
 Act of Uniformity, i. 304.  
 Adam of Bremen, i. 18.  
 Adams, C. F., i. 9.  
 Adams, Henry, i. 112.  
 Adams, Samuel, i. 31; ii. 29, 98, 285.  
 Adelmare, Julius Cæsar, i. 68.  
 Adoption of captives, i. 109-111, 134.  
 Æsop's crow, i. 45.  
 African slaves less tractable than those born in America, ii. 327.  
 Agassiz, Louis, ii. 192.  
 Agnese's map, i. 61.  
 Agriculture in North Carolina, ii. 313.  
 Alaric, ii. 91.  
 Albany congress, ii. 381.  
 Albemarle Colony, ii. 276; Bacon looked for possible help from, ii. 281.  
 Albemarle Sound, i. 265.  
 Alcæus, epigram of, in Greek on title-page, English paraphrase, ii. 28.  
 Alexander VI., i. 20, 30.  
 Alexander, Sir William, i. 287.  
 Algerine pirates, ii. 339.  
 Algonquins, i. 94; ii. 58-62, 168, 274, 291, 298.  
 Allerton, Isaac, ii. 60, 69.  
 Altona, ii. 139, 140.  
 Alva, Duke of, i. 21.  
 Amadis, Philip, i. 31.  
 America, first occurrence of the name in English, i. 13.  
 American Antiquarian Society, i. 2.  
 Americans not subject to Parliament, view of James I., i. 218.  
 Ancient British drama, i. 59.  
 Andros, Sir Edmund, ii. 115, 118, 119.  
 Annapolis, i. 267, 313; ii. 120, 163, 249, 269.  
 Anne Arundel County, ii. 137, 313.  
 Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I., i. 104.  
 Anne, Queen, ii. 123, 130.  
 Anti-Catholic panic, ii. 159-161.  
 Anti-slavery sentiment in Virginia, ii. 191.  
 Antwerp, i. 45.  
 Apaches, the, i. 107.  
 Appalachian region the cradle of modern democracy, ii. 396.  
 Appleby School, ii. 247.  
 Appomattox Indians, ii. 82.  
 Arabian Nights, i. 113; ii. 202.  
 Aram, Eugene, ii. 249.  
 Arber, Edward, i. 82, 112.  
 Archdale, John, ii. 291.  
 Archer, Gabriel, i. 124, 151.  
 Archer's Hope, i. 124.  
 Argall, Samuel, i. 143, 161, 168, 170, 173, 174, 182, 186, 206, 207, 216, 261; ii. 16.  
 Argall's Gift, i. 186.  
 Ark, the ship, i. 273, 290.  
 Arlington, Earl of, ii. 53, 54, 110, 280.  
 Armada, the Invincible, i. 8, 34, 36-40, 50; ii. 377.  
*Armenica*, i. 13.  
 Aruudel, Lady Anne, wife of second Lord Baltimore, i. 268, 313.  
 Arundel of Wardour, Lord, i. 56.  
 Ashley River Colony, ii. 278.  
 Ashley, Sir Anthony, i. 68.  
 Ashley, W. J., i. 48.  
*Asiento* agreement, ii. 190.  
 Assembly, Maryland, i. 283, 313; ii. 134-138, 149-162; Massachusetts, i. 240; North Carolina, ii. 296; Virginia, i. 186, 216; its "Tragical Declaration," i. 217, 240-251, 312, 314; ii. 20, 54, 70, 101, 136, 186.  
 Atheism, how defined by Bishop Meade, ii. 264.  
 Australasian colonies, ii. 183.  
 Avalon, proposed palatinate in Newfoundland, i. 260-263.  
 Avisou, Charles, ii. 242.  
 Aylon's colony on James River, i. 93.  
 Azov, Sea of, i. 88.  
 Azores, i. 34, 148, 183.  
 Backwoods life, ii. 271, 315.  
 Bacon, Lord, i. 69, 144, 198, 207, 267; ii. 64.  
 Bacon, Nathaniel, the elder, ii. 64, 68, 89.  
 Bacon, Nathaniel, the rebel, his pedigree, ii. 64; his manifesto, ii. 78-80; his death, ii. 91.  
 Bacon's assembly, ii. 100, 102.  
 Bacon's rebellion, ii. 36, 45-107; sympathizers in Maryland, ii. 155, 156, 174.

- Baffin, William, i. 67.  
 Bailiffs, i. 276.  
 Baird, C. W., ii. 205.  
 Bahama Islands, their military value, ii. 278.  
 Balboa, i. 26.  
 Ballagh, J. C., ii. 178.  
 Baltimore, Lady, wife of first Lord, i. 263.  
 Baltimore, Lord. See Calvert.  
 Baltimore, the city, ii. 268, 269.  
 Baltimore, the Irish village, i. 255.  
 Bancroft, George, ii. 184.  
 Barbadoes, i. 273; ii. 183, 192, 207, 277, 286.  
 Barbecues, ii. 243.  
 Barlow, Arthur, i. 31.  
 Barns, ii. 221.  
 Barnwell, John, defeats the Tuscaroras, ii. 303.  
 Barrow, John, i. 26, 27.  
 Bassett, J. S., ii. 274, 276, 280.  
 Bates, H. W., i. 199.  
 Beadell, Gabriel, i. 121.  
 Beaumont, Francis, i. 54.  
 Becket, Thomas, ii. 14.  
 Bedford, Countess of, i. 184.  
 Bedroom furniture, ii. 225.  
 Bee, Captain, ii. 329.  
 Beggars, i. 48.  
 Behn, Mrs. Aphra, ii. 179, 180.  
 Belknap, Jeremy, i. 2.  
 Belles of Williamsburg, a poem, ii. 259.  
 Bennett, Richard, i. 302, 311; ii. 58, 110.  
 Berkeley Plantation, i. 190.  
 Berkeley, Lord, i. 68; ii. 52, 55, 95, 144, 272.  
 Berkeley, Sir Maurice, i. 68; ii. 55.  
 Berkeley, Sir William, i. 68, 253, 303, 308, 311, 314; ii. 17, 18, 20-22, 53-58, 62, 66-71, 76, 97, 103-107, 109, 110, 136, 137, 154, 155, 224, 245, 272, 276, 281.  
 Berkeleys, the, i. 163.  
 Bermuda Hundred, i. 168, 224.  
 Bermuda Islands, i. 149-151, 161, 208.  
 Bermudez, Juan, i. 149.  
 Berry, Sir John, ii. 92, 95.  
 Bertrand, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.  
 Beverages, ii. 229.  
 Beverley, Robert, clerk of assembly, ii. 80, 89, 92, 109-114.  
 Beverley, Robert, the historian, ii. 21, 22, 70, 196, 208-210, 255.  
 Bichat, Xavier, ii. 260.  
 Billingsgate, i. 57.  
 Billy, a runaway negro, ii. 197.  
 Birds, ii. 214.  
 Bishop, intention to appoint one in America, ii. 116.  
 Blackbeard, the last of the pirates, ii. 366-369.  
 Black Death, the, i. 22.  
 Black-eyed Susan, i. 77.  
 Blackiston, Nehemiah, ii. 161.  
 Blackmail in the West Indies, ii. 350.  
 Blackstone, William, ii. 128, 340.  
 Blair, Francis Preston, ii. 389.  
 Blair, James, i. 234; ii. 116-123, 129, 252, 262, 389.  
 Blair, Mrs. James, ii. 119.  
 Blake, Joseph, ii. 291, 363.  
 Bland, Giles, ii. 86, 87, 104.  
 Bland, John, ii. 47-51.  
 Blenheim, battle of, ii. 190, 370.  
 Bliss, Wm. R., ii. 251.  
 Blood debt, Indian ideas of, i. 108.  
 Blue Anchor tavern, i. 57.  
 Blue Ridge, ii. 73, 205, 383; crossed by Spotswood, ii. 385.  
 Blunt Point, i. 209.  
 Blunt, Tom, a Tuscarora chief, ii. 302.  
 Bodleian Library, i. 28.  
 Bohemia, i. 90.  
 Bohemia Manor, ii. 141.  
 Bolivia, i. 25.  
 Bolling family descended from Pochontas, i. 173.  
 Bologna, i. 83.  
 Bonnet, Stede, ii. 367-369.  
 Boon, John, ii. 363.  
 Boroughs, i. 226.  
 Boston, Mass., i. 18.  
 Boswell, James, ii. 334.  
 Boucher, Jonathan, ii. 249.  
 Boulogne, i. 36.  
 Bowdoin, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.  
 Bowdoin College, i. 43.  
 Boyle, Robert, ii. 124.  
 Bradford, Wm., ii. 253.  
 Brafferton Hall, ii. 124.  
 Brandt, Sebastian, i. 14.  
 Braziers, ii. 225.  
 Brazil, Huguenots in, i. 17.  
 Breaking on the wheel, i. 165.  
 Brent, F. P., ii. 92.  
 Brent, Giles, i. 306; ii. 147.  
 "Brethren of the Coast," ii. 345, 348.  
 Brick for building, ii. 222.  
 Bright, J. F., i. 208.  
 Bristol, i. 42, 56.  
 Brock, R. A., ii. 205.  
 Bromfield, Lady, ii. 200.  
 Brooke, Baker, ii. 151.  
 Brooke, Lord, ii. 12.  
 Brooke, Robert, a priest, ii. 166.  
 Brooke, Sir Robert, ii. 64.  
 Brown, Alexander, i. 23, 30, 60, 105-112, 144, 184, 194.  
 Browne, W. H., i. 261, 263, 267; ii. 61, 145.  
 Browning, Louisa, ii. 172.  
 Bruce, Philip, ii. 24, 52, 67, 111, 121, 184, 185-187, 192, 193, 195, 199, 203, 207, 208, 214, 215, 218, 220, 222, 223, 230, 236, 237, 242, 260, 327.  
 Brunswick, ii. 9.  
 Buccanering, origin of, ii. 345.

- Buccaneers, i. 24; origin of the name, ii. 347.  
 Buenos Ayres, i. 25.  
 Burgesses, House of, i. 186.  
 Burghley, Lord, i. 36.  
 Burgundy, House of, i. 45.  
 Burk, John, ii. 197, 265.  
 Burke, Edmund, ii. 98, 250.  
 Burney, James, ii. 349.  
 Burning alive, i. 154; ii. 265, 266.  
 Burrington, George, ii. 303.  
 Burroughs, Anne, i. 113.  
 Burton, Sir Charles, a convict, ii. 248.  
 Burwell, Lewis, ii. 122.  
 Butler, James, ii. 180, 183, 248.  
 Butler, Nathaniel, his attack upon the London Company. i. 208-213, 229; ii. 223.  
 Butterflies of the aristocracy, ii. 11, 17.  
 Buzzard's Bay, i. 55.  
 Byrd, William, historian, ii. 83, 211, 240; his library, ii. 244, 245; 256-259; describes life in North Carolina, ii. 257, 312.  
 Byrd, William, the elder, ii. 83, 208, 257.  
  
 Cabot, John, i. 11; ii. 140.  
 Cabot, Sebastian, i. 11-14.  
 Cadiz, battle of, i. 38, 54, 65.  
 Cadiz harbour, attacked by Drake, i. 34.  
 Cæsar, Sir Julius, i. 68.  
 Calderon, i. 11.  
 Caliban, i. 15.  
 California, i. 34, 61.  
 Calvert, George, first Lord Baltimore, i. 255, 261, 267.  
 Calvert, Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore, i. 255, 266, 268, 273, 281, 283-292, 311-313, 315-318; ii. 131, 132, 134-141, 143, 155.  
 Calvert, Charles, third Lord Baltimore, ii. 138, 144, 150, 151, 154-162.  
 Calvert, Benedict, fourth Lord Baltimore, ii. 157, 168.  
 Calvert, Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, ii. 169-173.  
 Calvert, Frederick, sixth Lord Baltimore, ii. 172.  
 Calvert, George, brother of second Lord Baltimore, i. 273.  
 Calvert, Leonard, i. 273, 274, 290-293, 300, 307, 308.  
 Calvert, Philip, ii. 132, 135, 138.  
 Calvert, William, ii. 151.  
 Cambridge, Mass., i. 43.  
 Cambridge University, i. 301; ii. 248.  
 Camden, W., i. 26, 54.  
 Cann, John, ii. 127, 128.  
 Campbell, Lord, i. 81.  
 Canada, i. 62, 113, 116, 193.  
 Canary Islands, i. 91.  
 Candles of myrtle wax, ii. 228.  
 Cannibals, i. 149, 153.  
 Canning, Elizabeth, ii. 183.  
 Cape Breton, i. 12.  
 Cape Charles, i. 168, 225.  
 Cape Clear, i. 255.  
 Cape Cod, i. 91, 161; ii. 4.  
 Cape Fear River, i. 62, 63.  
 Cape Finisterre, i. 59.  
 Cape Henry, i. 92, 94.  
 Cape Lookout, i. 31.  
 Capetian monarchy in France, i. 256.  
 Capital offences, i. 165.  
 Cardross, Lord, ii. 288.  
 Carey, Thomas, ii. 294.  
 Carey's rebellion, ii. 296.  
 Carlton, Thomas, i. 91.  
 Carolina, i. 63, 68, 265; ii. 53; Bacon's watchword, ii. 86; palatinate government of, ii. 275; Algonquins in, ii. 298; Spanish gold and silver in, ii. 362.  
 Caroni River, i. 197.  
 Carriages, ii. 239.  
 Carrington, Mrs. Edward, ii. 234-236.  
 Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton, ii. 172.  
 Carroll, Charles, the elder, ii. 170-172.  
 Cartagena, i. 33.  
 Carter, i. 214.  
 Carteret, Sir George, ii. 144, 272.  
 Cary, Sir Henry, i. 68.  
 Caspian Sea, i. 74.  
 Cathay and its riches, i. 7, 12.  
 Catholics in Maryland, i. 270-275; ii. 150; civil disabilities of, ii. 166-168.  
 Cattle, i. 167, 230; ii. 2, 347.  
 Cavalier families, ii. 25.  
 Cavalier society reproduced only on Chesapeake Bay, ii. 337.  
 Cavaliers in Virginia, ii. 9-29, 34-44; in South Carolina, ii. 322.  
 Cavendish, Lord, i. 207, 214, 215, 220.  
 Cavendish, Sir Thomas, circumnavigation of the earth by, i. 34; ii. 342.  
 Caviar, i. 143.  
 Cecil, Sir Robert, i. 40, 55, 144, 195, 225.  
 Central America, i. 61.  
 Cessation of tobacco crops, ii. 52, 153.  
 Chamberlain, a court gossip, i. 207.  
 Chain Lightning City, i. 226.  
 Champlain, Samuel, i. 116.  
 Chancellor of temporalities, i. 276.  
 Chancery courts, i. 276.  
 Chandler, Thomas, ii. 164.  
 Chapman, George, i. 56.  
 Channing, Edward, ii. 40, 100.  
 Charatza Tragabigzanda, i. 88.  
 Charcoal and its fumes, i. 141.  
 Charlecote Hall, i. 69.  
 Charles, old name for York River, i. 223.  
 Charles I., i. 92, 195, 236, 238, 243, 251, 253, 263, 265, 288, 292, 298, 307, 309, 312, 315; ii. 1, 7, 12, 16, 29, 272, 397.  
 Charles II., i. 278, 302, 308, 309, 312; ii. 7, 20-24, 46, 53-56, 76, 81, 101,

- 105, 108-113, 137, 138, 143, 144, 149, 174, 246, 272, 356.
- Charles V., the Emperor, i. 45, 46.
- Charles IX. of France, i. 265; ii. 272.
- Charles City, i. 186, 225, 228.
- Charleston, the city, founding of, ii. 278; removed to a new situation, ii. 285; commerce of, ii. 326; social life in, ii. 331; attacked by French and Spanish fleet, ii. 378.
- Charter of Massachusetts carried to New England, i. 236.
- Chastellux, Marquis de, i. 3; ii. 224.
- Cheesman, Edward, ii. 92, 93, 104.
- Cheesman, Mrs., insulted by Berkeley, ii. 93.
- Cheltenham, i. 43.
- Cherokees, the, ii. 300.
- Chesapeake Bay, i. 32, 56, 61, 112, 161, 190, 274.
- Cheseldyn, Kenelm, ii. 161.
- Chester, palatinate of, i. 257.
- Chicheley, Sir Henry, ii. 77, 80, 89, 284.
- Chickahominy, the river, i. 100, 225.
- Chickahominy, the tribe, i. 140.
- Childs, James, founder of a free school, ii. 325.
- Chili, i. 34.
- Chimneys, ii. 223.
- China, i. 41.
- Chinese pirates, ii. 339.
- Chollop, Hannibal, ii. 320.
- Chowan River, i. 265.
- Christiansen, Hendrick, i. 171.
- Christopher, the Syrian saint, i. 119.
- Church at Jamestown, i. 160, 169, 243.
- Church of England established in Maryland, ii. 162.
- Church wardens, ii. 35, 99.
- Chuzzlewit, Martin, ii. 320.
- Cintra, i. 34.
- Circumnavigation of the earth by Drake, i. 26-28.
- Claiborne, William, i. 251, 265, 286-295, 299-301, 306-308, 314-318; ii. 80, 141.
- Clarendon Colony, ii. 277; abandoned, ii. 290.
- Claret, American, i. 18; ii. 207.
- Clarkson, Thomas, ii. 201.
- Classical revival, ii. 224.
- Clay-eaters, ii. 320.
- Clayton, John, botanist, ii. 259.
- Clement VIII., i. 83.
- Clergymen in early New England, ii. 30, 253; in Virginia and Maryland, ii. 261; in South Carolina, how elected, ii. 323; contrast with those of Virginia, ii. 323.
- Clergymen's salaries, i. 247; ii. 36.
- Climate of South Carolina, ii. 328; of Virginia, i. 4.
- Clobery & Co., fur traders, i. 287, 292, 299, 300.
- \* Cloister and the Hearth," the, i. 80.
- Cobham, Lord, i. 197.
- Cockatrice, the ship, i. 293.
- Code of laws in Dale's time, i. 164.
- Codfish, ii. 207.
- Coke, Sir Edward, i. 273.
- Cold Harbor, i. 224.
- Coligny, Admiral, i. 17, 18, 30.
- Colleton, Sir John, ii. 272, 287.
- Collingwood, Edward, i. 221.
- Colonels in the South, why so common, ii. 41.
- Colonization of Ulster by James I., ii. 391.
- Columbia, S. C., i. 62.
- Columbine as a floral emblem, i. 156.
- Columbus, Christopher, his object in sailing westward, i. 7; ii. 140.
- Comanches, i. 107.
- Commons, House of, i. 244; ii. 14.
- Communal houses, i. 17.
- Communal lands, i. 94.
- Communism among the first settlers of Virginia, i. 142, 147, 159, 166, 167.
- Communists and lager beer, i. 166; in Bacon's rebellion, ii. 103.
- "Complaint from Heaven," ii. 159.
- Conch, a kind of mean white, ii. 320.
- Congregations, migration of, ii. 30, 252.
- Congress of 1690, ii. 168.
- Conspiracy of the Carolina Indians, ii. 300.
- Constables, i. 276.
- Constantine the Great, i. 22.
- Continental Congress of 1690, ii. 377.
- Convicts sent to America, ii. 177-191; as schoolmasters, ii. 248, 249.
- Conway, Moncure, ii. 14, 214.
- Coode, John, ii. 161.
- Cook, Ebenezer, his poem "The Sot-Weed Factor," ii. 220.
- Cooke, J. E., i. 247; ii. 11, 124.
- Cooper, A. A., Earl of Shaftesbury, ii. 272, 285.
- Copeland, Patrick, i. 233.
- Copley, Sir Lionel, ii. 117, 162.
- Cordilleras, i. 25.
- Corn crackers, a kind of mean white, ii. 320.
- Cornets and trumpets, ii. 242.
- Cornwallis, the Earl, i. 273.
- Cornwallis, Thomas, i. 273, 307.
- Coronado, expedition of, i. 61.
- Coroners, ii. 39.
- Corruption and extortion, ii. 56.
- Coruña, i. 34.
- Coryat, Thomas, introduces the use of forks into England, ii. 226.
- Cortez in Mexico, i. 101.
- Cotton crop in South Carolina, ii. 326.
- Counter-reformation, ii. 160, 379.
- Counties in Virginia, ii. 37.
- Count Palatine, meaning of the title, i. 257.



- County court, English, i. 187.  
 County courts in Virginia, ii. 38.  
 County lieutenants in Virginia, ii. 41.  
 Coursey, Henry, ii. 151.  
 Court day in Virginia, ii. 42.  
 Court House in town names, ii. 38.  
 Court Party, i. 182.  
 Courts baron, ii. 146, 148, 282; leet, i. 282; ii. 146-148; quarter session, i. 276.  
 Cowley, Abraham, i. 28.  
 Cowley, Ambrose, a buccaneer, ii. 358.  
 Crackers, a kind of mean white, ii. 320.  
 Craft guilds, ii. 15; of London, i. 179.  
 Craftsmen desired in Virginia, i. 162.  
 Cranfield, Sir M., i. 214.  
 Craven, Lord, ii. 272, 303.  
 Creeks and rivers as roadways, i. 212.  
 Crèvecœur, St. John de, ii. 330.  
 Crimes and punishments, ii. 265.  
 Croatan, i. 39.  
 Cromwell, Oliver, Lord Protector, i. 144, 278, 314, 316-318; ii. 12, 46, 131, 134, 349.  
 Cromwell, Richard, ii. 20, 134.  
 Crown requisitions, ii. 168.  
 Cruel punishments, ii. 330.  
 Crusades, i. 8.  
 Cuitlahuatzin, i. 101.  
 Culpeper, John, and his rebellion, ii. 283.  
 Culpeper, Lord, ii. 53, 54, 70, 110-113, 245, 280.  
 Culpeper, the town, ii. 39.  
 Cumana, i. 197.  
 Curl's Wharf, ii. 64, 65, 75.  
 "Cursed be Canaan," ii. 192.  
 Custis, D. P., ii. 119.  
 Cypress shingles, ii. 223.  
 Cyprus, i. 83.  
 Dabney, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.  
 Dale, Sir Thomas, i. 163-171; code of laws in Dale's time, i. 164, 194, 223, 301.  
 Dale's Gift, i. 168, 225.  
 Dampier, William, ii. 358.  
 Daniel, Robert, ii. 294.  
 Danvers, Sir J., i. 220.  
 Dare of Virginia, i. 35, 39.  
 Darien, the peak in, i. 26.  
 Dartmouth, Eng., i. 53.  
 Darwin, Charles, ii. 359.  
 Davenant, Sir William, i. 308.  
 Davis, a Maryland rebel, ii. 156.  
 Davis, Edward, a buccaneer, ii. 358.  
 Davis, John, i. 21, 52.  
 Deane, Charles, i. 44, 112.  
 Defoe, Daniel, ii. 178, 179, 187.  
 Deerfield, destruction of, ii. 378.  
 Delaware, i. 145.  
 Delaware, Lady, i. 171.  
 Delaware, Lord, i. 146-148, 152-155, 159-163, 166-177, 183, 243.  
 Delaware, the colony, i. 235.  
 Delaware, the river, i. 61.  
 Delawares, the tribe, i. 146.  
 Deliverance, the ship, i. 151.  
 Delke, Roger, ii. 53.  
 Demagogues, ii. 33.  
 Demos, the many-headed king, ii. 381.  
 Deptford, i. 27.  
 Devil, the, is an Ass, a comedy, ii. 226.  
 Devonshire, first Earl of, i. 207.  
 Diderot, D., i. 2.  
 Digges, Edward, i. 314.  
 Dining-room furniture, ii. 226.  
 Dinwiddie, Robert, ii. 390.  
 Discovery, the ship, i. 71.  
 Dismal Swamp, ii. 65, 211.  
 Dissenters, i. 302; ii. 99, 165, 263, 292.  
 Doeg, the tribe, ii. 58.  
 Domestic industries, ii. 208.  
 Dominica, the island, i. 91.  
 Donne, John, i. 54, 221.  
 Don Quixote, i. 53.  
 Don, the river, i. 89.  
 Douglas, Earl of Orkney, ii. 120.  
 Dove, the ship, i. 273, 290.  
 Doyle, J. A., i. 42, 117, 185; ii. 18, 176.  
 Dragon, Spanish nickname for Drake, i. 33.  
 Drake, Sir Francis, i. 19, 24, 26, 33, 34, 59; ii. 342, 383.  
 Draper, Lyman, ii. 245.  
 Drayton, Michael, i. 77-79, 232.  
 Dress of planters and their wives, ii. 236; legislation concerning, i. 246.  
 Drinking horns, ii. 227.  
 Drummond Lake, ii. 65.  
 Drummond, Sarah, ii. 77, 94, 95.  
 Drummond, William, ii. 65, 77, 87, 89, 94, 276.  
 Drunkards, i. 246.  
 Drysdale, Hugh, ii. 390.  
 Duelling, ii. 265.  
 Dunkirk, i. 36, 37.  
 Durand, William, i. 311.  
 Durant, George, ii. 276, 286; and the Yankee skippers, ii. 283.  
 Durham, palatinate of, its form of government, i. 257, 259, 260, 275-279.  
 Durham cathedral, i. 259.  
 "Dust and Ashes," pseudonym for Gabriel Barber, i. 234.  
 Dutch commercial rivals of England, ii. 4, 46-51.  
 Dutch in the East Indies, i. 10.  
 Dutch Gap, i. 167.  
 Dwina, the river, i. 74.  
 Eastchurch, Governor of Albemarle and his Creole bride, ii. 282-284.  
 East Greenwich, manor of, i. 65.  
 East India Company, Dutch, i. 51.  
 East India Company, English, i. 54, 66, 184.  
 "Eastward Ho," the comedy, i. 56.  
 Eden, Charles, ii. 304, 367.

- Eden, Richard, i. 14, 15.  
 Eden, Sir Robert, ii. 172.  
 Edenton, the town, ii. 314.  
 Edgar the Peaceful, i. 260.  
 Edmund Ironside, i. 260.  
 Edmundson, William, ii. 57.  
 Education of Indians, i. 246.  
 Education in Ulster, ii. 392.  
 Edward III., i. 22, 259; ii. 22.  
 Edward VI., i. 14, 51.  
 Edwards, Jonathan, ii. 254.  
 Egypt, i. 83.  
 Egyptian extremity of Illinois, ii. 320.  
 El Dorado, i. 54, 116, 192.  
 Eldredge family, descended from Pocahontas, i. 173.  
 Elizabeth City, i. 225, 228.  
 Elizabeth Islands, i. 55.  
 Elizabeth, Queen, i. 9, 16, 21, 23, 27-29, 31, 36, 43, 48, 50, 53-55, 59, 146, 200; ii. 22, 192, 226.  
 Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, i. 225.  
 England never had a *noblesse*, or upper caste, ii. 13.  
 England, population of, in Elizabeth's time, i. 46.  
 English colonies in America promised self-government by Queen Elizabeth, i. 31.  
 English methods of colonization, i. 25.  
 Episcopal Church in Virginia, its downfall, ii. 263.  
 Escorial, i. 37.  
 Essex, the Earl of, i. 38.  
 Eugene, Prince, ii. 190, 334.  
 Euxine, the sea, i. 74.  
 Evelin, George, i. 299, 300.  
 Evelinton Manor, ii. 147.  
 Exodus of Cavaliers from England to Virginia, ii. 16.  
 Exodus of Puritans from Virginia, ii. 17.  
 Expedition of French and Spanish ships against Charleston, ii. 293.  
 Exquemeling, Alexander, ii. 352, 354-357.  
 Faculty meetings at William and Mary, ii. 124.  
 Fairfax, first Lord, ii. 12.  
 Fairfax, fifth Lord, ii. 397.  
 Fairfax, sixth Lord, ii. 397.  
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas, ii. 397.  
 Falkland, Lord, i. 69; ii. 11, 29.  
 Falling Creek, i. 225.  
 Falstaff, ii. 230.  
 Farnese, Alexander, i. 36.  
 Farnese, Francesco, i. 87.  
 Faust, ii. 68.  
 Fayal, i. 29, 54.  
 "Federalist, The," one of the world's masterpieces, ii. 254.  
 Felton, William, ii. 242.  
 Fendall, Josias, i. 318; ii. 132-138.  
 Ferrar, Nicholas, the elder, i. 203.  
 Ferrar, Nicholas, the younger, i. 184, 203-207, 214-216, 218, 220-222, 231, 236; ii. 116, 255.  
 Ferryland, i. 256.  
 Festivities at proclamation of Charles II., ii. 21.  
 Feudal lords, imperfect subordination of, i. 256.  
 Fiery dragons, missiles invented by Smith, i. 84.  
 Fighting without declaration of war, ii. 344.  
 Filibuster, origin of the name, ii. 348.  
 First supply for Virginia, i. 112, 122.  
 Fitzhugh, William, ii. 208.  
 Five Nations, the, ii. 58, 144, 168.  
 Flanders, Moll, ii. 178.  
 Flash, Sir Petronel, i. 56-59.  
 Fleete, Henry, i. 291.  
 Fleming family, descended from Pocahontas, i. 173.  
 Fletcher, Governor of New York, ii. 363.  
 Fletcher, John, i. 54.  
 Flibustiers, origin of the name, ii. 347.  
 Flirting, prohibited by act of legislature, i. 247.  
 Florence, i. 83.  
 Florida, discovery of, i. 12, 60, 62, 265; Huguenots in, i. 17, 18; massacre of, i. 23, 194.  
 Flournoy, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.  
 Flowerdieu Hundred, i. 186.  
 Flower-gardens, ii. 221.  
 Flutes, ii. 242.  
 Folkmotes, i. 277.  
 Fontaine, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.  
 Foote, W. H., ii. 203.  
 Force, Peter, ii. 66.  
 Ford, P. L., ii. 239, 240, 261.  
 Ford, W. C., ii. 261.  
 Foresters, law against, i. 249, 250.  
 Fort Duquesne, ii. 303.  
 Fort James, i. 93.  
 Fort Nassau, i. 254.  
 Fox-Bourne, H. R., ii. 273.  
 Fox, George, in Maryland, ii. 139.  
 Fox-hunting, ii. 239.  
 France once had a *noblesse*, or upper class, ii. 13.  
 Franklin, Benjamin, ii. 254, 303; his plan for a federal union, ii. 381.  
 Fredericksburg, ii. 58, 247.  
 Frederica, battle of, ii. 335.  
 Free negroes, ii. 199.  
 Freethinking, ii. 264.  
 French colonization, i. 193.  
 French posts in Mississippi valley, ii. 384.  
 Frobisher, Sir Martin, i. 21, 36; ii. 342.  
 Frontenac, Count de, ii. 378.  
 Frontier against Spaniards, ii. 270, 271.  
 Frontier life, ii. 253; effects of in American history, ii. 270, 271.

- Frontier life in North Carolina, ii. 311.
- Froude, J. A., i. 16, 21, 35.
- Fuller, Thomas, i. 81, 158.
- Fuller, William, ii. 132, 137.
- Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, ii. 273, 274, 280.
- Fundy, Bay of, i. 63, 170.
- Funerals, ii. 237.
- Fur trade, the, i. 286, 289.
- Galapagos Islands, ii. 359.
- Gale, Christopher, ii. 302.
- Gama, Vasco de, i. 12.
- Game, ii. 229.
- Gardiner, S. R., i. 201, 272; ii. 184.
- Garrison, W. L., ii. 192.
- Gates, Sir Thomas, i. 65, 147, 148, 150, 154, 162, 163, 171.
- Gateway of the West, ii. 399.
- Gay family, descended from Pocahontas, i. 173.
- Gayangos, Pascual de, i. 87.
- Geddes, Jennie, i. 236.
- Genealogy, importance of, ii. 26; of Washington, ii. 27.
- Genoa, ii. 344.
- Gentlemen as pioneers, i. 121.
- Genty, the Abbé, i. 4.
- Geographical conditions, influence of, ii. 309.
- Geographical knowledge, progress of, i. 41.
- George I., ii. 169.
- George III., i. 31, 130; ii. 115.
- Georgia, i. 63, 280; a frontier colony, ii. 333; slavery prohibited in, ii. 335; introduced there, ii. 336; Spaniards driven from, ii. 335; population of, ii. 336.
- Germannia Ford, ii. 372.
- German immigration to North Carolina, ii. 318.
- Germans at Werowocomoco, i. 131, 139; in Appalachian region, ii. 318; in the Mohawk Valley, ii. 318; in Shenandoah Valley, ii. 395; on the Rapidan River, ii. 372.
- Gerrard, Thomas, ii. 134, 161.
- Gibbon, John, ii. 20.
- Gibraltar, Venezuela, sack of by Le Basque, ii. 350; sacked by Morgan, ii. 353.
- Gift of God, the ship, i. 70.
- Gilbert, Bartholomew, i. 56, 102.
- Gilbert, Raleigh, i. 67, 70.
- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, i. 19-23, 28; ii. 342; shipwreck of, i. 29.
- Gillam, a Yankee skipper, ii. 283.
- Glass, attempts to manufacture, i. 123, 230.
- Glastonbury Minster, i. 260.
- Glover, William, ii. 295.
- God Speed, the ship, i. 71.
- Goddard, Anthony, i. 20.
- Godwyn, ii. 192.
- Gog, i. 41.
- Gold, all that glitters is not, i. 122.
- Gold fever in Virginia, i. 122.
- Golden Hind, the ship, i. 26-28, 59.
- Gomez, i. 26.
- Gondomar, Count, i. 195, 196, 198, 199.
- Gooch, William, ii. 390, 395.
- Goode, G. B., ii. 83.
- Goode, John, his conversation with Bacon, ii. 82-86.
- Gookin, Daniel, the elder, i. 302.
- Gookin, Daniel, the younger, i. 304.
- Gorges, Robert, i. 288.
- Gorges, Sir F., i. 56, 67.
- Gorton, Samuel, i. 289.
- Gosnold, Bartholomew, his voyage to New England in 1602, i. 55; 71, 90, 92, 98.
- Gourgues, Dominique de, i. 20, 73.
- Government of early settlers in Virginia, i. 160.
- Government of laws, ii. 267.
- Gracchus, Tiberius, ii. 107.
- Graffenried, Baron, leads a party of Swiss and Germans to North Carolina, ii. 297; captured by the Tuscaroras, ii. 300-303.
- Granaries, ii. 221.
- Grant, U. S., i. 88; ii. 191.
- Gratz in Styria, i. 84.
- Gray, Asa, ii. 394.
- Gray, Samuel, ii. 195.
- Gray's Inn, i. 175.
- Graydon, Alexander, ii. 165.
- Great circle sailing, i. 91.
- Great Wighcocomoco, naval fight at, i. 293, 299.
- Greeks, the, i. 37.
- Green Spring, ii. 55, 87, 89, 100, 224.
- Greene, Roger, ii. 276.
- Greene, S. A., ii. 160.
- Grenville, Sir Richard, i. 33-35, 36.
- Greenway Court, ii. 397.
- Grigsby, H. B., ii. 10.
- Grimm, F. M., Baron, i. 3.
- Grolier Club, ii. 174.
- Guardacostas*, small cruisers, ii. 346.
- Guiana, i. 54.
- Gunpowder explosion at Werowocomoco, i. 141.
- Gunpowder plot, i. 67.
- Gunston Hall, ii. 224; mode of life at, ii. 232-234.
- Habeas corpus* introduced into Virginia, ii. 371.
- Haddon, Dr., his prescriptions and bills, ii. 260.
- Haddon Hall, ii. 273.
- Hakluyt, Richard, the elder, i. 41.
- Hakluyt, Richard, the younger, i. 42-52, 65, 128.
- Hale, E. E., i. 2.
- Halidon Hill, battle of, i. 260.
- Halmote in Durham, i. 277.

- Hamilton, Alexander, ii. 98, 175, 254.  
 Hammond, John, i. 289.  
 Hamor, Ralph, i. 165; his "True Dis-  
 course," i. 232.  
 Hampden, John, i. 204; ii. 12.  
 Hampton, i. 132, 167, 187, 225.  
 Hampton Court, i. 198.  
 Hampton Roads, i. 92, 155.  
 Hancock, John, ii. 285.  
 Hancock, a Tuscarora chief, ii. 302-  
 304.  
 Handel, G. F., ii. 190, 242.  
 Hanham, Thomas, i. 67.  
 Hannibal, i. 19.  
 Hanover, ii. 9.  
 Hansford, Betsey, ii. 127, 128.  
 Hansford, Thomas, ii. 92, 95, 104.  
 "Hardscrabble," ii. 313.  
 Hardwicke, Lord, ii. 200.  
 Harford, Henry, ii. 173.  
 Harpsichords, ii. 242.  
 Harrison, Thomas, i. 306, 311.  
 Harvard College, i. 147, 234, 235.  
 Harvey, Sir John, i. 251, 253, 264, 274,  
 287, 293-299, 303; ii. 5, 16, 77.  
 Hautboys, ii. 242.  
 Hawkes, F. L., ii. 277, 281, 285, 287,  
 298.  
 Hawkins, Sir John, i. 15-20, 24, 36,  
 59; ii. 342.  
 Hawkins, William, i. 15.  
 Hayden, H. E., ii. 205.  
 Hayti, ii. 347.  
 Hedges, dying under, i. 211.  
 Heidelberg, i. 258.  
 Hell Gate, i. 303.  
 Hendren, S. R., ii. 72.  
 Hening's Statutes, i. 230, 248-250, 295,  
 304; ii. 21, 71, 98-100, 114, 116, 121,  
 185, 186, 194, 195-200, 202, 203, 212,  
 219, 240, 245, 246, 265.  
 Henrico County, i. 168; ii. 67.  
 Henricus, City of, i. 168, 186, 225, 227,  
 229, 234.  
 Henriette Marie, Queen of Charles I.,  
 i. 266.  
 Henry I., i. 256.  
 Henry II., i. 256.  
 Henry III., i. 258.  
 Henry III. of France, ii. 226.  
 Henry IV., i. 259; ii. 229.  
 Henry IV. of France, ii. 168, 377.  
 Henry VI., ii. 22.  
 Henry VII., i. 50.  
 Henry VIII., i. 22, 47, 48, 181, 259,  
 285; ii. 285.  
 Henry the Navigator, i. 50.  
 Henry, Patrick, i. 31; ii. 127, 266.  
 Henry, Prince of Wales, i. 92, 163,  
 168, 195.  
 Henry, W. W., i. 112.  
 Heralds' College, i. 86.  
 Herbert, George, i. 220.  
 Herbert of Cherbury, Lord, i. 220.  
 Herbert, William, i. 68.  
 Herkimer, Nicholas, ii. 318.  
 Herman, Augustine, ii. 143.  
 Herman, Ephraim, ii. 143.  
 Hervey, Lord, i. 66.  
 Highwaymen, amateur, i. 81; ii. 102.  
 Hildreth, Richard, i. 305.  
 Hill, Edward, ii. 71, 73.  
 Hindustan, i. 25.  
 Hinton, Sir Thomas, ii. 5.  
 Hispaniola, ii. 347.  
 Hobby the sexton, ii. 247.  
 Hoe-cake, i. 17.  
 Holinshed, i. 27.  
 Holy Grail, the, i. 204.  
 Holy Roman Empire, i. 258.  
 Holy Staircase, i. 83.  
 Hominy, i. 275.  
 Hooker, Richard, i. 69, 235.  
 Horse-racing, i. 232; ii. 237-239; pro-  
 hibited at William and Mary, ii.  
 126.  
 Horses, i. 230.  
 Hospitality in Virginia and Maryland,  
 ii. 219.  
 Hotten, J. C., ii. 184, 186.  
 Housekeeper's instructions at Wil-  
 liam and Mary, ii. 124.  
 Houses in Virginia, i. 211, 212.  
 Howard of Effingham, Lord, governor  
 of Virginia, ii. 113-116, 158, 246.  
 Howard of Effingham, Lord, the ad-  
 miral, i. 36; ii. 342.  
 Howard, Lord Thomas, i. 38; ii. 342.  
 Hubbard's store, an inventory of, ii.  
 214.  
 Hudson Bay Company, ii. 53, 383.  
 Hudson, Henry, i. 66.  
 Hudson, the river, i. 61-63, 265.  
 Hughson, S. C., ii. 362.  
 Huguenots, in Florida, i. 17, 18; in  
 Brazil, i. 17; massacre of, i. 18, 23,  
 73; expelled from France, ii. 160;  
 in Virginia, ii. 204; in Carolina, ii.  
 274; in South Carolina, ii. 288, 292,  
 322; in North Carolina, ii. 297.  
 Humboldt, Alexander, i. 54.  
 Hume, David, i. 54.  
 Hundreds and boroughs, i. 227, 228.  
 Hundreds in Maryland, i. 284; in Vir-  
 ginia, i. 186.  
 Hungary, i. 90.  
 Hunt, Robert, i. 93.  
 Hunter, school tutor, ii. 247.  
 Hunter, William, a priest, ii. 165.  
 Huntingdon School, i. 144.  
 Huntingdonshire, i. 205.  
 Hutchinson, Thomas, i. 240; ii. 29; his  
 work in history, ii. 254.  
 Hyde, Edward, Lord Clarendon, ii.  
 272, 285.  
 Hyde, governor of Albemarle, ii. 296.  
 Idaho, i. 187.  
 "Il Penseroso," i. 205.  
 Independence, Declaration of, ii. 108,  
 171.  
 Indian corn, as a floral emblem, i.

- 156; its importance in American history, i. 156; cultivated in Virginia, i. 231; raised in Maryland, i. 275; ii. 2.
- Indian girls dancing, i. 114.
- Indian troubles in Albemarle probably not incited by Carey and Porter, ii. 297.
- Indians in Virginia, number of, ii. 8.
- Indians of Carolina classified, ii. 298-300.
- Indians of North Carolina, i. 32; of Virginia, i. 56, 74.
- Indians sold for slaves, ii. 277.
- Indigo, an important staple of South Carolina, ii. 326.
- Industries, domestic, ii. 208.
- Infanta Maria, i. 195, 198, 200.
- Ingle, Edward, i. 228, 306-308; ii. 41, 43.
- Ingram, David, i. 20.
- Initiative in legislation, i. 284; ii. 151.
- Inns in Virginia, i. 211; in Maryland, ii. 219.
- Inquisition, the Spanish, i. 20, 36, 45.
- Insolvent debtors in North Carolina, ii. 313; Oglethorpe's plan for relieving, ii. 334.
- Instructions for the Virginia colonists, i. 72-76.
- Insurrections of slaves, ii. 196; in South Carolina, ii. 329.
- Ireland, i. 66.
- Isabella, Queen, i. 51.
- Isle of Wight County, i. 302.
- Isles of Demons, i. 150.
- Isolation, barbarizing effects of, ii. 253, 321, 332, 333.
- Jack of the Feather, a chief, i. 190.
- Jackson, Andrew, ii. 391.
- Jamaica, ii. 183; conquest of, ii. 349.
- James I., i. 55, 62, 69, 104, 113, 147, 152, 218, 236-238, 255, 256, 263; ii. 256, 391; censures Rolfe for marrying a princess, i. 171, 193; tries to get on without a parliament, i. 196; his hatred of Raleigh, i. 197; tries to interfere with election of treasurer of Virginia Company, i. 201-203; quarrels with Parliament i. 208; attempts to corrupt Nicholas Ferrar, i. 216.
- James II., ii. 8, 144, 146, 159, 160, 334.
- James City, i. 186, 210.
- James, Duke of York. See James II.
- James River, fight in, i. 305.
- James, the Old Pretender, ii. 168.
- James, Thomas, of New Haven, i. 303.
- Jamestown, i. 39; founding of, i. 93, 140; famine at, i. 153, 229; burned by Bacon, ii. 89; ruins of, ii. 120.
- Jay, John, ii. 254.
- Jefferson, Thomas, i. 221; ii. 25, 37, 42, 66, 98, 128, 175, 191, 201, 202, 204, 213, 224, 242, 259, 396.
- Jeffries, Sir Herbert, ii. 92, 95.
- Jewett, C., ii. 9.
- Johnson, C., ii. 368.
- Johnson, John, ii. 146.
- Johnson, Robert, ii. 306, 365-368.
- Johnson, Samuel, ii. 180.
- Johnson, Sir Nathaniel, ii. 292.
- Johnsouese writing, ii. 256.
- Joint-stock companies, i. 51, 62, 191, 280.
- Jonah, the prophet, i. 83.
- Jones, C. C., ii. 334.
- Jones, Hugh, i. 302; ii. 188, 238, 386.
- Jones, Sir William, ii. 28.
- Jonson, Ben, i. 54, 56; ii. 226.
- Jouet, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.
- Jowles, Henry, ii. 161.
- Joyce, P. W., i. 255.
- Justice, Henry, barrister and convict, ii. 248.
- Kalm, Peter, ii. 164.
- Karlsefni, Thorfinn, ii. 277.
- Kawasha, patron of tobacco, i. 175.
- Kecoughtan, i. 186, 209.
- Kecoughtans, the tribe, i. 132.
- Keith, George, i. 302.
- Kemp, Richard, appointed secretary of state in Virginia, i. 295; 298, 299.
- Kendall, George, i. 100.
- Kennebec River, i. 70.
- Kent, i. 65; palatinate of, i. 257.
- Kent Island, i. 287, 289-294, 296, 299-301, 307, 315, 318.
- Kentucky, its settlers, ii. 394, 395.
- Kidd, William, ii. 368.
- Kidnapping, ii. 177, 186; of Indians, ii. 292.
- King Philip's War, ii. 63.
- King, Rufus, ii. 66.
- Kinship reckoned through females, i. 95.
- Kinsman, ii. 5.
- Kirke, Colonel, ii. 200.
- Kitchens, ii. 221, 228.
- Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, ii. 386.
- Knowles, John, of Watertown, i. 303.
- Knox, Henry, ii. 394.
- Kocoum, chieftain, said to have been first husband of Pocahontas, i. 168.
- Labadie, Jean de, ii. 142.
- Labadists, ii. 142.
- La Belle Sauvage, name for London taverns, i. 172.
- Labrador, i. 12, 61.
- La Cosa, the pilot, i. 119.
- Lady of Barbadoes, a, ii. 192.
- Lake Erie, its strategic importance, ii. 387, 388.
- La Muce, Marquis de, ii. 204.
- Lancaster, palatinate of, i. 259.

- Land grants, ii. 176; in New England, ii. 31; in Virginia, ii. 23, 24, 36.
- Lane, Ralph, i. 32, 159.
- La Plata, the river, i. 25.
- Larned, J. N., ii. 201.
- La Roche, Captain, i. 83.
- La Rochefort, ii. 347.
- La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, ii. 331.
- La Salle, Robert de, ii. 383.
- Las Casas, i. 4; ii. 349.
- Latané, J. H., i. 302.
- Laud, William, Archbishop, i. 204, 298, 303; ii. 17.
- Laudomière, René de, i. 17.
- Lawnes' Plantation, i. 186.
- Lawrence, Richard, ii. 65, 67, 68, 76, 87, 89, 91, 93, 203.
- Lawson, John, surveyor, ii. 277; his history of Carolina, his charming style, captured by the Tuscaroras, his horrible death, ii. 301; his description of North Carolina, ii. 310.
- Lawyers in Virginia, ii. 266.
- Laydon, John, i. 113.
- Laziness, charge of, brought against Virginians, ii. 209, 210.
- Leaders of men, Virginia prolific in, ii. 44.
- Leah and Rachel, i. 289, 311, 315, 318; ii. 267.
- Lear, Tobias, ii. 261.
- Le Basque, Michel, a buccaneer, ii. 350.
- Lecky, W., ii. 190.
- Lee, Edmund, ii. 19.
- Lee, Richard, the first, ii. 19, 20.
- Lee, Richard, 2d, ii. 61, 80.
- Lee, Richard Henry, 2d, ii. 23.
- Lee, William, ii. 19, 22.
- Lees of Cotton Hall, ii. 19.
- Legislation in Albemarle Colony, ii. 279.
- Legislature, first in America, i. 186.
- Legislatures, bicameral, i. 187.
- Leisler, Jacob, ii. 96, 115, 159, 399.
- Le Moine, the painter, i. 18, 30.
- Libraries in Virginia, ii. 243-245.
- Life of Virginia planters, ii. 230-234.
- Lightfoot, Philip, ii. 89.
- Lincoln, Abraham, ii. 191.
- Linen manufactures in the United States, ii. 392, 393.
- Liquors, price regulated by law, i. 249.
- Little Gidding, i. 205.
- Locke, John, i. 235; ii. 272-274.
- Logan, James, ii. 365.
- Lok, Captain, i. 16.
- Lok, Michael, i. 61, 68.
- London Company, the, i. 62-72, 80, 113, 129, 130; second charter of the, i. 144-146, 192; its third charter, i. 177; its quarter sessions, i. 178; factions form in, i. 182, 188; its over-throw, i. 196-222; some effects of its downfall, i. 238-240.
- Long Assembly, the, ii. 57-63, 99.
- Longfellow, H. W., ii. 227.
- Long Island Sound, i. 63.
- Lord lieutenant, i. 281.
- Lord Proprietor of Maryland, his powers, i. 270.
- Lords, House of, ii. 14.
- Lords of the manor, ii. 32.
- Lords of Trade, i. 301.
- "Lost Lady," the, a comedy, ii. 56.
- Lotteries, i. 178.
- Louis XIV., i. 52; ii. 117, 159, 168, 360, 377, 378.
- Lucy, Sir Thomas, i. 69.
- Ludwell, Philip, ii. 87, 89, 102, 104, 290.
- Ludwell, Thomas, ii. 52, 89, 106.
- Lunenburg, ii. 9.
- Luther, Martin, i. 8; ii. 160.
- Lyly, John, i. 53.
- Macdonald, Flora, ii. 318.
- Mace, Samuel, i. 54.
- MacGregor, The, i. 94.
- Machiavelli, i. 82.
- McMaster, J. B., ii. 218.
- Madison, James, ii. 175, 250, 254.
- Madre de Dios, the ship, i. 54.
- Madrid, i. 194.
- Magellan, i. 26.
- Magog, i. 41.
- Meherrins, the tribe, last remnant of the Susquehannocks, ii. 299.
- Mahomet and the mountain, i. 114.
- Maine, i. 67.
- Maine Historical Society, i. 43.
- Maine Law, ii. 335.
- Makemie, Francis, ii. 206.
- Maitland, F. W., ii. 197.
- Malaria, ii. 121.
- Malay pirates, ii. 339.
- Malbone, Rodolphus, ii. 265.
- Malory, Philip, ii. 21.
- Manhattan Island, i. 253, 303; ii. 139.
- Manners, Lady Dorothy, ii. 273.
- Manorial courts, i. 276.
- Manor, lords of, ii. 32.
- Manors in Maryland, i. 282; ii. 146; transformed by slavery, ii. 148.
- Mansfield, Lord, his decision that slaves landing on British soil became free, ii. 201.
- Mansvelt, a buccaneer, ii. 350.
- Map of North Virginia, i. 55.
- Map of Virginia contrasted with that of New England, ii. 8, 9.
- Maracaibo, sack of, by Le Basque, ii. 350; by Morgan, ii. 353.
- Marcus Aurelius, i. 82.
- Marches or border counties, i. 257.
- Market, the American, i. 46.
- Marlborough, Duke of, ii. 190.
- Marquis, meaning of the title, i. 257.
- Marseilles, i. 82.

- Marshall, John, ii. 129, 175, 266.  
 Martha's Vineyard, i. 55, 56; ii. 8.  
 Martian, Nicholas, i. 288.  
 Martin Brandon, i. 186; and Flowerdieu Hundred, i. 225.  
 Martin, John, i. 92, 245.  
 Martin, Richard, his speech in the House of Commons, i. 181.  
 Martin's Hundred, i. 186, 209.  
 Martyr, Peter, i. 15.  
 Mary and John, the ship, i. 70.  
 Marye, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.  
 Marye, James, ii. 247.  
 Maryland, i. 63, 145; origin of the name, i. 265; called the Scarlet Woman, i. 295; Puritans in, ii. 137, 150; Quakers in, ii. 138; Catholics in, ii. 150; sheriffs in, ii. 153; parsons, ii. 165; wheat culture in, ii. 268; social features of, ii. 267, 269; poll tax in, ii. 376.  
 Maryland Historical Society, i. 268.  
 Marylanders mistaken for Spaniards, i. 292.  
 Mary Tudor, i. 66.  
 Masaniello, ii. 103.  
 Mason, George, colonel of cavalry, ii. 59, 104, 234.  
 Mason, George, statesman, ii. 59, 247; life on his plantation, ii. 232-234.  
 Mason, James Murray, ii. 234.  
 Mason, John, ii. 232-234, 247.  
 Masquerade of Indians, i. 114.  
 "Masque of Flowers," a play, i. 175.  
 Mass celebrated for the first time in English America, i. 274.  
 Massachusetts, i. 63; ii. 12; laws concerning immigrants, ii. 184.  
 Massachusetts Bay Company, i. 236; its first charter, i. 269.  
 Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 1.  
 Massacre by Indians in 1622, i. 190, 208, 302; in 1644, i. 305; in 1672, i. 236; in 1676, ii. 62; in 1711, ii. 302; in 1715, ii. 306.  
 Massacre by border ruffians at Lawrence in 1863, ii. 320.  
 Massacre of Huguenots, i. 18.  
 Massasoit, i. 156.  
 Mather, Cotton, i. 304.  
 Mathews, Samuel, i. 295, 298, 314; ii. 20, 66, 110, 186.  
 Mathews, Thomas, ii. 66, 69, 72-77, 87, 93, 94, 103, 107.  
 Mattapony River, i. 139.  
 Maury, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.  
 Mayflower pilgrims, the, i. 69, 156, 235, 253; ii. 16.  
 Maxwell, W., ii. 1, 66.  
 McClurg, James, ii. 259.  
 Meade, Bishop, ii. 22, 164, 188, 235, 262, 263, 316.  
 Medina-Celi, Duke of, i. 51.  
 Memphis, Tenn., ii. 320.  
 Memphremagog, i. 41.  
 Menefie, George, i. 297, 299.  
 Menendez, i. 18, 73-77.  
 Mephistopheles, i. 193; ii. 68.  
 Mercator, G., i. 89.  
 Mermaid in St. John's River, i. 261.  
 Mermaid Tavern, i. 54.  
 Merovingian kings, i. 257; legislation, ii. 152.  
 "Merry Wives of Windsor," i. 70.  
 Mexico, i. 41.  
 Middle Plantation, the oath at, ii. 81, 97, 106; name changed to Williamsburg, ii. 121.  
 Middlesex, Earl of, i. 214.  
 Middleton, member of Parliament attacks London Company's charter, i. 180.  
 Migration from Ulster to American colonies, ii. 394.  
 Miller, the martyr and revenue collector, ii. 282.  
 Milton, John, i. 205, 309.  
 Ministers, appointment of, ii. 99.  
 Molasses, ii. 211, 219, 281.  
 Moncure, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.  
 Monk, George, Duke of Albemarle, ii. 134, 272.  
 Monroe, James, President, ii. 128.  
 Montbars, the exterminator, ii. 349.  
 Montague, Sergeant, i. 180.  
 Montezuma, i. 101.  
 Monticello, ii. 224.  
 Mooney, James, ii. 299.  
 Moore, J. W., ii. 280, 298.  
 Moore, James, ii. 292.  
 Moore, James, the younger, defeats the Tuscaroras, ii. 304.  
 Moore's house at Yorktown, ii. 390.  
 More, Sir Thomas, i. 47.  
 Morgan, Sir Henry, i. 24; ii. 350; his treachery and cruelty, ii. 351-353; Puerto del Principe captured by, ii. 351; Porto Bello captured by, ii. 351; Maracaibo sacked by, ii. 353; Gibraltar, Venezuela, sacked by, ii. 353; Panama sacked by, ii. 354; deserts his comrades at Chagres, ii. 355; knighted by Charles II., ii. 356; governor of Jamaica, ii. 356; thrown into prison, ii. 357.  
 Morgan, Lewis, i. 111.  
 Moriscos expelled from Spain, i. 9.  
 Morison, Francis, ii. 92.  
 Morley, Lord, i. 67.  
 Morocco, i. 90.  
 Morris, Robert, ii. 303.  
 Morton, Joseph, ii. 362.  
 Mosquitoes, ii. 225.  
 Mount Desert Island, i. 170, 261.  
 Mount Vernon, ii. 224, 389; mode of life at, ii. 235.  
 Mulattoes, ii. 202.  
 Mulberries, i. 231; ii. 3.  
 Mulberry Island, i. 155.  
 Münster, Sebastian, i. 61.

- Hamilton, Alexander, ii. 98, 175, 254.  
 Hammond, John, i. 289.  
 Hamor, Ralph, i. 165; his "True Dis-  
 course," i. 232.  
 Hampden, John, i. 204; ii. 12.  
 Hampton, i. 132, 167, 187, 225.  
 Hampton Court, i. 198.  
 Hampton Roads, i. 92, 155.  
 Hancock, John, ii. 285.  
 Hancock, a Tuscarora chief, ii. 302-  
 304.  
 Handel, G. F., ii. 190, 242.  
 Hanham, Thomas, i. 67.  
 Hannibal, i. 19.  
 Hanover, ii. 9.  
 Hansford, Betsey, ii. 127, 128.  
 Hansford, Thomas, ii. 92, 95, 104.  
 "Hardscrabble," ii. 313.  
 Hardwicke, Lord, ii. 200.  
 Harford, Henry, ii. 173.  
 Harpsichords, ii. 242.  
 Harrison, Thomas, i. 306, 311.  
 Harvard College, i. 147, 234, 235.  
 Harvey, Sir John, i. 251, 253, 264, 274,  
 287, 293-299, 303; ii. 5, 16, 77.  
 Hautboys, ii. 242.  
 Hawkes, F. L., ii. 277, 281, 285, 287,  
 298.  
 Hawkins, Sir John, i. 15-20, 24, 36,  
 59; ii. 342.  
 Hawkins, William, i. 15.  
 Hayden, H. E., ii. 205.  
 Hayti, ii. 347.  
 Hedges, dying under, i. 211.  
 Heidelberg, i. 258.  
 Hell Gate, i. 303.  
 Hendren, S. R., ii. 72.  
 Hening's Statutes, i. 230, 248-250, 295,  
 304; ii. 21, 71, 98-100, 114, 116, 121,  
 185, 186, 194, 195-200, 202, 203, 212,  
 219, 240, 245, 246, 265.  
 Henrico County, i. 168; ii. 67.  
 Henricus, City of, i. 168, 186, 225, 227,  
 229, 234.  
 Henriette Marie, Queen of Charles I.,  
 i. 266.  
 Henry I., i. 256.  
 Henry II., i. 256.  
 Henry III., i. 258.  
 Henry III. of France, ii. 226.  
 Henry IV., i. 259; ii. 229.  
 Henry IV. of France, ii. 168, 377.  
 Henry VI., ii. 22.  
 Henry VII., i. 50.  
 Henry VIII., i. 22, 47, 48, 181, 259,  
 285; ii. 285.  
 Henry the Navigator, i. 50.  
 Henry, Patrick, i. 31; ii. 127, 266.  
 Henry, Prince of Wales, i. 92, 163,  
 168, 195.  
 Henry, W. W., i. 112.  
 Herolds' College, i. 86.  
 Herbert, George, i. 220.  
 Herbert of Cherbury, Lord, i. 220.  
 Herbert, William, i. 68.  
 Herkimer, Nicholas, ii. 318.  
 Herman, Augustine, ii. 143.  
 Herman, Ephraim, ii. 143.  
 Hervey, Lord, i. 66.  
 Highwaymen, amateur, i. 81; ii. 102.  
 Hildreth, Richard, i. 305.  
 Hill, Edward, ii. 71, 73.  
 Hiudustan, i. 25.  
 Hinton, Sir Thomas, ii. 5.  
 Hispaniola, ii. 347.  
 Hobby the sexton, ii. 247.  
 Hoe-cake, i. 17.  
 Holinshed, i. 27.  
 Holy Grail, the, i. 204.  
 Holy Roman Empire, i. 258.  
 Holy Staircase, i. 83.  
 Hominy, i. 275.  
 Hooker, Richard, i. 69, 235.  
 Horse-racing, i. 232; ii. 237-239; pro-  
 hibited at William and Mary, ii.  
 126.  
 Horses, i. 230.  
 Hospitality in Virginia and Maryland,  
 ii. 219.  
 Hotten, J. C., ii. 184, 186.  
 Housekeeper's instructions at Wil-  
 liam and Mary, ii. 124.  
 Houses in Virginia, i. 211, 212.  
 Howard of Effingham, Lord, governor  
 of Virginia, ii. 113-116, 158, 246.  
 Howard of Effingham, Lord, the ad-  
 miral, i. 36; ii. 342.  
 Howard, Lord Thomas, i. 38; ii. 342.  
 Hubbard's store, an inventory of, ii.  
 214.  
 Hudson Bay Company, ii. 53, 383.  
 Hudson, Henry, i. 66.  
 Hudson, the river, i. 61-63, 265.  
 Hughson, S. C., ii. 362.  
 Huguenots, in Florida, i. 17, 18; in  
 Brazil, i. 17; massacre of, i. 18, 23,  
 73; expelled from France, ii. 160;  
 in Virginia, ii. 204; in Carolina, ii.  
 274; in South Carolina, ii. 288, 292,  
 322; in North Carolina, ii. 297.  
 Humboldt, Alexander, i. 54.  
 Hume, David, i. 54.  
 Hundreds and boroughs, i. 227, 228.  
 Hundreds in Maryland, i. 284; in Vir-  
 ginia, i. 186.  
 Hungary, i. 90.  
 Hunt, Robert, i. 93.  
 Hunter, school tutor, ii. 247.  
 Hunter, William, a priest, ii. 165.  
 Huntingdon School, i. 144.  
 Huntingdonshire, i. 205.  
 Hutchinson, Thomas, i. 240; ii. 29; his  
 work in history, ii. 254.  
 Hyde, Edward, Lord Clarendon, ii.  
 272, 285.  
 Hyde, governor of Albemarle, ii. 296.  
 Idaho, i. 187.  
 "Il Penseroso," i. 205.  
 Independence, Declaration of, ii. 108,  
 171.  
 Indian corn, as a floral emblem, i.



- 156; its importance in American history, i. 156; cultivated in Virginia, i. 231; raised in Maryland, i. 275; ii. 2.
- Indian girls dancing, i. 114.
- Indian troubles in Albemarle probably not incited by Carey and Porter, ii. 297.
- Indians in Virginia, number of, ii. 8.
- Indians of Carolina classified, ii. 298-300.
- Indians of North Carolina, i. 32; of Virginia, i. 56, 74.
- Indians sold for slaves, ii. 277.
- Indigo, an important staple of South Carolina, ii. 326.
- Industries, domestic, ii. 208.
- Infanta Maria, i. 195, 198, 200.
- Ingle, Edward, i. 228, 306-308; ii. 41, 43.
- Ingram, David, i. 20.
- Initiative in legislation, i. 284; ii. 151.
- Inns in Virginia, i. 211; in Maryland, ii. 219.
- Inquisition, the Spanish, i. 20, 36, 45.
- Insolvent debtors in North Carolina, ii. 313; Oglethorpe's plan for relieving, ii. 334.
- Instructions for the Virginia colonists, i. 72-76.
- Insurrections of slaves, ii. 196; in South Carolina, ii. 329.
- Ireland, i. 66.
- Isabella, Queen, i. 51.
- Isle of Wight County, i. 302.
- Isles of Demons, i. 150.
- Isolation, barbarizing effects of, ii. 253, 321, 332, 333.
- Jack of the Feather, a chief, i. 190.
- Jackson, Andrew, ii. 391.
- Jamaica, ii. 183; conquest of, ii. 349.
- James I., i. 55, 62, 69, 104, 113, 147, 152, 218, 236-238, 255, 256, 263; ii. 256, 391; censures Rolfe for marrying a princess, i. 171, 193; tries to get on without a parliament, i. 196; his hatred of Raleigh, i. 197; tries to interfere with election of treasurer of Virginia Company, i. 201-203; quarrels with Parliament i. 208; attempts to corrupt Nicholas Ferrar, i. 216.
- James II., ii. 8, 144, 146, 159, 160, 334.
- James City, i. 186, 210.
- James, Duke of York. See James II.
- James River, fight in, i. 305.
- James, the Old Pretender, ii. 168.
- James, Thomas, of New Haven, i. 303.
- Jamestown, i. 39; founding of, i. 93, 140; famine at, i. 153, 229; burned by Bacon, ii. 89; ruins of, ii. 120.
- Jay, John, ii. 254.
- Jefferson, Thomas, i. 221; ii. 25, 37, 42, 66, 98, 128, 175, 191, 201, 202, 204, 213, 224, 242, 259, 396.
- Jeffries, Sir Herbert, ii. 92, 95.
- Jewett, C., ii. 9.
- Johnson, C., ii. 368.
- Johnson, John, ii. 146.
- Johnson, Robert, ii. 306, 365-368.
- Johnson, Samuel, ii. 180.
- Johnson, Sir Nathaniel, ii. 292.
- Johnsonese writing, ii. 256.
- Joint-stock companies, i. 51, 62, 191, 280.
- Jonah, the prophet, i. 83.
- Jones, C. C., ii. 334.
- Jones, Hugh, i. 302; ii. 188, 238, 386.
- Jones, Sir William, ii. 28.
- Jonson, Ben, i. 54, 56; ii. 226.
- Jouet, a Huguenot family, ii. 205.
- Jowles, Henry, ii. 161.
- Joyce, P. W., i. 255.
- Justice, Henry, barrister and convict, ii. 248.
- Kalm, Peter, ii. 164.
- Karlsefni, Thorfinn, ii. 277.
- Kawasha, patron of tobacco, i. 175.
- Kecoughtan, i. 186, 209.
- Kecoughtans, the tribe, i. 132.
- Keith, George, i. 302.
- Kemp, Richard, appointed secretary of state in Virginia, i. 295; 298, 299.
- Kendall, George, i. 100.
- Kennebec River, i. 70.
- Kent, i. 65; palatinate of, i. 257.
- Kent Island, i. 287, 289-294, 296, 299-301, 307, 315, 318.
- Kentucky, its settlers, ii. 394, 395.
- Kidd, William, ii. 368.
- Kidnapping, ii. 177, 186; of Indians, ii. 292.
- King Philip's War, ii. 63.
- King, Rufus, ii. 66.
- Kinship reckoned through females, i. 95.
- Kinsman, ii. 5.
- Kirke, Colonel, ii. 200.
- Kitchens, ii. 221, 228.
- Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, ii. 386.
- Knowles, John, of Watertown, i. 303.
- Knox, Henry, ii. 394.
- Kocoun, chieftain, said to have been first husband of Pocahontas, i. 168.
- Labadie, Jean de, ii. 142.
- Labadists, ii. 142.
- La Belle Sauvage, name for London taverns, i. 172.
- Labrador, i. 12, 61.
- La Cosa, the pilot, i. 119.
- Lady of Barbadoes, a, ii. 192.
- Lake Erie, its strategic importance, ii. 387, 388.
- La Muce, Marquis de, ii. 204.
- Lancaster, palatinate of, i. 259.

- Land grants, ii. 176; in New England, ii. 31; in Virginia, ii. 23, 24, 36.
- Lane, Ralph, i. 32, 159.
- La Plata, the river, i. 25.
- Larned, J. N., ii. 201.
- La Roche, Captain, i. 83.
- La Rochefort, ii. 347.
- La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, ii. 331.
- La Salle, Robert de, ii. 383.
- Las Casas, i. 4; ii. 349.
- Latané, J. H., i. 302.
- Laud, William, Archbishop, i. 204, 298, 303; ii. 17.
- Laudonnière, René de, i. 17.
- Lawnes' Plantation, i. 186.
- Lawrence, Richard, ii. 65, 67, 68, 76, 87, 89, 91, 93, 203.
- Lawson, John, surveyor, ii. 277; his history of Carolinia, his charming style, captured by the Tuscaroras, his horrible death, ii. 301; his description of North Carolinia, ii. 310.
- Lawyers in Virginia, ii. 266.
- Laydon, John, i. 113.
- Laziness, charge of, brought against Virginians, ii. 209, 210.
- Leaders of men, Virginia prolific in, ii. 44.
- Leah and Rachel, i. 289, 311, 315, 318; ii. 267.
- Lear, Tobias, ii. 261.
- Le Basque, Michel, a buccaneer, ii. 350.
- Lecky, W., ii. 190.
- Lee, Edmund, ii. 19.
- Lee, Richard, the first, ii. 19, 20.
- Lee, Richard, 2d, ii. 61, 80.
- Lee, Richard Henry, 2d, ii. 23.
- Lee, William, ii. 19, 22.
- Lees of Cotou Hall, ii. 19.
- Legislation in Albemarle Colony, ii. 279.
- Legislature, first in America, i. 186.
- Legislatures, bicameral, i. 187.
- Leisler, Jacob, ii. 96, 115, 159, 399.
- Le Moine, the painter, i. 18, 30.
- Libraries in Virginia, ii. 243-245.
- Life of Virginia planters, ii. 230-234.
- Lightfoot, Philip, ii. 89.
- Lincoln, Abraham, ii. 191.
- Linen manufactures in the United States, ii. 392, 393.
- Liquors, price regulated by law, i. 249.
- Little Gidding, i. 205.
- Locke, John, i. 235; ii. 272-274.
- Logan, James, ii. 365.
- Lok, Captain, i. 16.
- Lok, Michael, i. 61, 68.
- London Company, the, i. 62-72, 80, 113, 129, 130; second charter of the, i. 144-146, 192; its third charter, i. 177; its quarter sessions, i. 178; factions form in, i. 182, 188; its over-throw, i. 196-222; some effects of its downfall, i. 238-240.
- Long Assembly, the, ii. 57-63, 99.
- Longfellow, H. W., ii. 227.
- Long Island Sound, i. 63.
- Lord lieutenant, i. 281.
- Lord Proprietor of Maryland, his powers, i. 270.
- Lords, House of, ii. 14.
- Lords of the manor, ii. 32.
- Lords of Trade, i. 301.
- "Lost Lady," the, a comedy, ii. 56.
- Lotteries, i. 178.
- Louis XIV., i. 52; ii. 117, 159, 168, 360, 377, 378.
- Lucy, Sir Thomas, i. 69.
- Ludwell, Philip, ii. 87, 89, 102, 104, 290.
- Ludwell, Thomas, ii. 52, 89, 106.
- Lunenburg, ii. 9.
- Luther, Martin, i. 8; ii. 160.
- Lyly, John, i. 53.
- Macdonald, Flora, ii. 318.
- Mace, Samuel, i. 54.
- MacGregor, The, i. 94.
- Machiavelli, i. 82.
- McMaster, J. B., ii. 218.
- Madison, James, ii. 175, 250, 254.
- Madre de Dios, the ship, i. 54.
- Madrid, i. 194.
- Magellan, i. 26.
- Magog, i. 41.
- Meherrins, the tribe, last remnant of the Susquehannocks, ii. 299.
- Mahomet and the mountain, i. 114.
- Maine, i. 67.
- Maine Historical Society, i. 43.
- Maine Law, ii. 335.
- Makemie, Francis, ii. 206.
- Maitland, F. W., ii. 197.
- Malaria, ii. 121.
- Malay pirates, ii. 339.
- Malbone, Rodolphus, ii. 265.
- Milory, Philip, ii. 21.
- Manhattan Island, i. 253, 303; ii. 139.
- Manners, Lady Dorothy, ii. 273.
- Manorial courts, i. 276.
- Manor, lords of, ii. 32.
- Manors in Maryland, i. 282; ii. 146; transformed by slavery, ii. 148.
- Mansfield, Lord, his decision that slaves landing on British soil became free, ii. 201.
- Mansvelt, a buccaneer, ii. 350.
- Map of North Virginia, i. 55.
- Map of Virginia contrasted with that of New England, ii. 8, 9.
- Maracaibo, sack of, by Le Basque, ii. 350; by Morgan, ii. 353.
- Marcus Aurelius, i. 82.
- Marches or border counties, i. 257.
- Market, the American, i. 46.
- Marlborough, Duke of, ii. 190.
- Marquis, meaning of the title, i. 257.
- Marseilles, i. 82.

- Marshall, John**, ii. 129, 175, 266.  
**Martha's Vineyard**, i. 55, 56; ii. 8.  
**Martian, Nicholas**, i. 288.  
**Martin Brandon**, i. 186; and **Flow-  
erdieu Hundred**, i. 225.  
**Martin, John**, i. 92, 245.  
**Martin, Richard**, his speech in the  
House of Commons, i. 181.  
**Martin's Hundred**, i. 186, 209.  
**Martyr, Peter**, i. 15.  
**Mary and John**, the ship, i. 70.  
**Marye, a Huguenot family**, ii. 205.  
**Marye, James**, ii. 247.  
**Maryland**, i. 63, 145; origin of the  
name, i. 265; called the **Scarlet  
Woman**, i. 295; Puritans in, ii. 137,  
150; Quakers in, ii. 138; Catholics  
in, ii. 150; sheriffs in, ii. 153;  
parsons, ii. 165; wheat culture in,  
ii. 268; social features of, ii. 267,  
269; poll tax in, ii. 376.  
**Maryland Historical Society**, i. 268.  
**Marylanders mistaken for Spaniards**,  
i. 292.  
**Mary Tudor**, i. 66.  
**Masaniello**, ii. 103.  
**Mason, George**, colonel of cavalry,  
ii. 59, 104, 234.  
**Mason, George**, statesman, ii. 59,  
247; life on his plantation, ii. 232-  
234.  
**Mason, James Murray**, ii. 234.  
**Mason, John**, ii. 232-234, 247.  
**Masquerade of Indians**, i. 114.  
**"Masque of Flowers,"** a play, i. 175.  
**Mass celebrated for the first time in  
English America**, i. 274.  
**Massachusetts**, i. 63; ii. 12; laws  
concerning immigrants, ii. 184.  
**Massachusetts Bay Company**, i. 236;  
its first charter, i. 269.  
**Massachusetts Historical Society**, i. 1.  
**Massacre by Indians in 1622**, i. 190,  
208, 302; in 1644, i. 305; in 1672,  
i. 236; in 1676, ii. 62; in 1711, ii.  
302; in 1715, ii. 306.  
**Massacre by border ruffians at Law-  
rence in 1863**, ii. 320.  
**Massacre of Huguenots**, i. 18.  
**Massasoit**, i. 156.  
**Mather, Cotton**, i. 304.  
**Mathews, Samuel**, i. 295, 298, 314;  
ii. 20, 66, 110, 186.  
**Mathews, Thomas**, ii. 66, 69, 72-77,  
87, 93, 94, 103, 107.  
**Mattaponi River**, i. 139.  
**Maury, a Huguenot family**, ii. 205.  
**Mayflower pilgrims**, the, i. 69, 156,  
235, 253; ii. 16.  
**Maxwell, W.**, ii. 1, 66.  
**McClurg, James**, ii. 259.  
**Meade, Bishop**, ii. 22, 164, 188, 235,  
262, 263, 316.  
**Medina-Celi, Duke of**, i. 51.  
**Memphis, Tenn.**, ii. 320.  
**Memphremagog**, i. 41.  
**Menefie, George**, i. 297, 299.  
**Menendez**, i. 18, 73-77.  
**Mephistopheles**, i. 193; ii. 68.  
**Mercator, G.**, i. 89.  
**Mermaid in St. John's River**, i. 261.  
**Mermaid Tavern**, i. 54.  
**Merovingian kings**, i. 257; legislation,  
ii. 152.  
**"Merry Wives of Windsor,"** i. 70.  
**Mexico**, i. 41.  
**Middle Plantation**, the oath at, ii. 81,  
97, 106; name changed to **Williams-  
burg**, ii. 121.  
**Middlesex, Earl of**, i. 214.  
**Middleton**, member of Parliament at-  
tacks London Company's charter,  
i. 180.  
**Migration from Ulster to American  
colonies**, ii. 394.  
**Miller**, the martyr and revenue col-  
lector, ii. 282.  
**Milton, John**, i. 205, 309.  
**Ministers, appointment of**, ii. 99.  
**Molasses**, ii. 211, 219, 281.  
**Moncure, a Huguenot family**, ii. 205.  
**Monk, George, Duke of Albemarle**,  
ii. 134, 272.  
**Monroe, James, President**, ii. 128.  
**Montbars, the exterminator**, ii. 349.  
**Montague, Sergeant**, i. 180.  
**Montezuma**, i. 101.  
**Monticello**, ii. 224.  
**Mooney, James**, ii. 299.  
**Moore, J. W.**, ii. 280, 298.  
**Moore, James**, ii. 292.  
**Moore, James, the younger**, defeats  
the **Tuscaroras**, ii. 304.  
**Moore's house at Yorktown**, ii. 390.  
**More, Sir Thomas**, i. 47.  
**Morgan, Sir Henry**, i. 24; ii. 350; his  
treachery and cruelty, ii. 351-353;  
**Puerto del Principe** captured by,  
ii. 351; **Porto Bello** captured by,  
ii. 351; **Maracaibo** sacked by, ii.  
353; **Gibraltar, Venezuela**, sacked  
by, ii. 353; **Panama** sacked by, ii.  
354; deserts his comrades at  
**Chagres**, ii. 355; knighted by  
**Charles II.**, ii. 356; governor of  
**Jamaica**, ii. 356; thrown into pris-  
on, ii. 357.  
**Morgan, Lewis**, i. 111.  
**Moriscos expelled from Spain**, i. 9.  
**Morison, Francis**, ii. 92.  
**Morley, Lord**, i. 67.  
**Morocco**, i. 90.  
**Morris, Robert**, ii. 303  
**Morton, Joseph**, ii. 362.  
**Mosquitoes**, ii. 225.  
**Mount Desert Island**, i. 170, 261.  
**Mount Vernon**, ii. 224, 389; mode of  
life at, ii. 235.  
**Mulattoes**, ii. 202.  
**Mulberries**, i. 231; ii. 3.  
**Mulberry Island**, i. 155.  
**Münster, Sebastian**, i. 61.

- Murray family descended from Pochontas, i. 173.  
 Muscovy Company, i. 14, 51.  
 Muskogi, the, in Carolina, ii. 300.  
 Muster master-general, i. 282.  
 Mystics at Bohemia Manor, ii. 142.  
 Mytens, Daniel, i. 198, 267.
- Nalbrits, i. 89.  
 Names, local, in Carolina, ii. 272.  
 Nansemond, i. 302, 311.  
 Napkins and forks, ii. 226.  
 Napoleon I., i. 36, 37.  
 Narragansett Indians, ii. 63.  
 National floral emblem for the United States, i. 156.  
 Navigation Act, ii. 46; its effect upon the price of tobacco, ii. 51, 106, 108; effects upon tobacco, ii. 176; effects upon Virginia commerce, ii. 218; mischievous effects in Albemarle Colony, ii. 280; its mischievous effects on South Carolina, ii. 289; its effect upon piracy, ii. 362.  
 Navy, the English, i. 22, 44.  
 Negro panic in New York, 1741, ii. 264.  
 Negro quarters, ii. 221.  
 Negro slaves, ii. 177, 189-203; treatment of, in Virginia, ii. 195-199; cruel laws concerning, ii. 197-199; effect of taking them to England, ii. 200, 201; in South Carolina, ii. 279, 326-331; in North Carolina, ii. 329.  
 Negro slavery, ii. 35.  
 Negro, the theory that he was not strictly human, ii. 192.  
 "Negro's and Indian's Advocate," ii. 192.  
 Negroes as real estate, ii. 194.  
 Negroes, number of, in Virginia, i. 253.  
 Neill, E. D., i. 99, 105-112, 179, 180, 182, 212, 215, 245, 252, 273, 294; ii. 58, 95, 186.  
 Nelson, Thomas, i. 296.  
 Netherlands, the, i. 21, 22, 45, 66, 163, 253, 267, 280.  
 Neutral ships ill protected, ii. 344.  
 Neville's Cross, battle of, i. 260.  
 Nevis, as an isle of Calypso, ii. 282.  
 New Albion, i. 27; ii. 383.  
 New Amstel, ii. 139, 140.  
 New Amsterdam, i. 253; ii. 3.  
 New Berne, ii. 297, 314.  
 Newcastle, Delaware, ii. 139, 145.  
 New Englanders attempt a settlement at Cape Fear River, ii. 277; in Georgia, ii. 335.  
 Newfoundland fisheries, i. 13, 23, 29, 44, 154.  
 New France, i. 52; ii. 399.  
 Newgate Calendar, ii. 172.  
 New Hampshire, i. 63.  
 New Haven Colony, i. 280.  
 New Jersey, i. 63; founding of, ii. 144.  
 New Mexico, i. 25.  
 Newport, Christopher, i. 53, 80, 90, 93-96, 112-114, 116-119, 122-131, 135, 148, 154.  
 Newport News, origin of the name, i. 92, 209.  
 New Providence, island of, ii. 361, 365.  
 New Style, i. 1.  
 New Sweden, ii. 139.  
 New York, i. 22, 61, 63; ii. 211.  
 Nichols, J., i. 176.  
 Nicholson, Sir Francis, ii. 115-118, 120-123, 129, 130, 162, 163.  
 Nicot, Jean, i. 174.  
 Nicotiana, name for tobacco, i. 174.  
 Noble savage, the, i. 4.  
 Nonesuch, i. 152, 226.  
 North Carolina, i. 39; agriculture in, ii. 313; white trash in, ii. 315-317; German immigration to, ii. 318; negro slaves in, ii. 329.  
 Northern Neck reserved by Culpeper, ii. 112.  
 North Virginia, old name for New England, i. 55.  
 Northwest Passage, attempts to find, i. 32, 44, 73, 113, 116, 126, 226; ii. 3.  
 Norumbega, i. 28, 55.  
 Notley, Thomas, ii. 156.  
 Nova Scotia, i. 287.
- Oath at Middle Plantation, ii. 81, 97, 106.  
 Oath of supremacy tendered to Lord Baltimore, i. 264.  
 Ocracoke Inlet, i. 32.  
 Octoroons, ii. 203.  
 Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, i. 258.  
 Oexmelin. See Exquemeling.  
 Ogle, Cuthbert, ii. 242.  
 Oglethorpe, James, ii. 334  
 Old Bailey, ii. 183.  
 Old Field Schools, ii. 247.  
 Oldmixon's "British Empire," a book full of blunders, ii. 255.  
 Old Style, i. 1.  
 Olonnois, the buccaneer, ii. 349.  
 O'Neill, The, i. 94.  
 Opekankano, i. 100-102, 124, 139, 140, 189, 224, 305; ii. 72.  
 Orator, an Indian, i. 137.  
 Orchards, ii. 222.  
 Oregon, i. 27.  
 Orinoco, the river, i. 54.  
 Outlying slaves, ii. 197.  
 Ovid's Metamorphoses, i. 232.  
 Oxford, the university, i. 28, 42, 255, 268; ii. 65, 204, 249, 250.  
 Oysters, i. 143.
- Pacific coast of South America, i. 25.  
 Pacific Ocean, naval warfare in, i. 25.  
 Page, John, ii. 195.

- Paige, Lucius, ii. 265.  
 Palatinate, the Rhenish, i. 258; ii. 318.  
 Palatinates, their origin and purpose, i. 256-260.  
 Pamlico Sound, i. 31, 32.  
 Pamunkey, Queen of, ii. 72-74, 89, 124.  
 Pamunkey River, i. 101.  
 Panama sacked by Morgan, ii. 354.  
 Panton, Anthony, i. 295, 298, 299.  
 Paper money, ii. 111; in North Carolina, ii. 304.  
 Paradise, estate of, ii. 19.  
 Paraguay, i. 26.  
 Pardoning power, i. 281.  
 Paris matins, the, i. 21.  
 Parishes in Virginia, ii. 35; in Carolina of English origin, not French, ii. 324; in Louisiana analogous to counties, ii. 324.  
 Parke, Daniel, ii. 89, 119.  
 Parker, Theodore, ii. 192.  
 Parker, William, i. 67.  
 Parkman, Francis, i. 111.  
 Parsons, Robert, i. 83.  
 Parsons, appointment of, ii. 375.  
 Parsons' cause, ii. 127, 174.  
 Partition walls, ii. 223.  
 Partonopeus de Blois, ii. 128.  
 Pass, Simon Van, i. 172.  
 Passamagnus River, i. 265.  
 Patagonia, i. 26.  
 Patapsco River, i. 112, 255, 287.  
 Pate, a Maryland rebel, ii. 156.  
 Paternal government, i. 240.  
 Patience, the ship, i. 150.  
 Patuxents, the tribe, i. 291.  
 Paul IV., ii. 377.  
 Pauperism in England, i. 48.  
 Peasants, English, in the 16th century, i. 47.  
 Pedigrees, value of, ii. 26.  
 Peerage, the English, ii. 13, 14.  
 Pelican, the ship, i. 26.  
 Pelton, ii. 5.  
 Pembroke, Earl of, i. 184.  
 Pembroke, palatinate of, i. 259.  
 Pendleton, Edmund, ii. 266.  
 Penn, William, ii. 144-146, 157.  
 Pennington, Admiral, i. 273.  
 Pennsylvania, i. 22, 63; ii. 53; distributing centre for Scotch-Irish immigrants, ii. 391-394.  
 Pennsylvania Dutch, ii. 318.  
 Pepys, Samuel, ii. 25, 55.  
 Pequot War, i. 236.  
 Percy, George, i. 97, 105, 131, 140, 152, 162, 164.  
 Persecutions in Scotland, ii. 288.  
 Persians, the, i. 37.  
 Peruvian towns plundered by buccaneers, ii. 359.  
 Peters, Samuel, ii. 231.  
 Petersburg, ii. 82, 257.  
 Pewter vessels, ii. 226.  
 Phettiplace, William, i. 135.  
 Philadelphia, ii. 211, 269.  
 Philip II., i. 8-10, 22, 24, 34, 44; ii. 344.  
 Philip III., i. 59, 76, 194, 200.  
 Philip V., ii. 300, 378.  
 Philip, chief of the Wampanoags, ii. 63.  
 Philipse manor house, ii. 227.  
 Phillips, Lee, ii. 140.  
 Phillips, Sir Thomas, i. 43.  
 Phillips, Wendell, ii. 191.  
 Physicians in Virginia, ii. 259-261.  
 Picked men, importance of, ii. 25.  
 Picnics, ii. 243.  
 Pierre of Dieppe, a buccaneer, ii. 349.  
 Pike, L. O., ii. 182.  
 Pillsbury, Parker, ii. 192.  
 Pinzon, Vincent, i. 12, 149.  
 Piracy, its Golden Age the 17th century, ii. 338, 339; definition of, ii. 340.  
 Pirates, i. 24; Algerine, ii. 286, 339; on the Carolina coast, ii. 314, 361, 369; Chinese, ii. 339; Malay, ii. 339.  
 Pitt, William, ii. 382.  
 Plantation, a typical, ii. 5; description of a, ii. 220, 228.  
 Plant cutters' riot, ii. 111, 112.  
 Plant cutting made high treason, ii. 114.  
 Plymouth Colony, i. 280.  
 Plymouth Company, the, i. 62-71, 145, 172.  
 Plymouth, England, i. 15, 26, 56, 67, 70, 172.  
 Plymouth, Mass., i. 29.  
 Pocahontas, her rescue of Captain Smith, i. 102-111, 115; her visits to Jamestown, i. 130; reveals an Indian plot, i. 138; her abduction by Argall, i. 168; rescues Henry Spelman from tomahawk, i. 168; her marriage with John Rolfe, i. 169; takes the name of Rebekah, i. 169; her visit to London, i. 171; her portrait, i. 172; her death at Gravesend, i. 173.  
 Pocomoke River, skirmish in, i. 293.  
 Pogram, Elijah, ii. 11.  
 Poindexter, Charles, i. 112.  
 Point Comfort, i. 92, 143, 145, 155, 225, 274, 288, 290.  
 Pole, Reginald, i. 66.  
 Poles in Virginia, i. 230.  
 Political homœopathy, ii. 295.  
 Poll tax in Maryland, ii. 376.  
 Pollock, Thomas, ii. 197, 286, 304.  
 Polonian or Baltic Sea, i. 74.  
 Pompey and the Cilician pirates, ii. 338.  
 Pone, i. 275.  
 Poor law of 1601, i. 48.  
 Popham, Sir John, i. 60, 68, 81, 159; ii. 102.  
 Popular government, ii. 97.

- Population of England in Elizabeth's time, i. 46.  
 Population of New England, i. 253; of American colonies, ii. 169; of Georgia, ii. 336; of the two Carolinas, ii. 329.  
 Pork, i. 161; ii. 207.  
 Poropotank Creek, ii. 19.  
 Porto Bello captured by Morgan, ii. 351.  
 Port Royal, N. S., i. 170, 261; ii. 123.  
 Port Royal, S. C., ii. 271, 278; burned by the Spaniards, ii. 288.  
 Port St. Julian, i. 26.  
 Porter, John, ii. 295.  
 Postage rates, ii. 376.  
 Postal service in America under Spotswood, ii. 389.  
 Post-office Act, ii. 373-375.  
 Postlethwayt, Malachy, ii. 180, 181-186.  
 Potomac, the river, i. 63, 112, 161.  
 Pott, Dr. John, i. 252, 253, 263, 287, 293, 297, 298.  
 Pott, Francis, i. 296.  
 Potts, Richard, i. 96.  
 Poultry, a street in London, i. 203.  
 Powhatan, The, i. 102-114, 116, 132-139, 168, 189.  
 Powhatan, the village, i. 94, 127.  
 Powhatans, the tribe, i. 94-111.  
 Precious metals, effect of their increased quantity after the discovery of America, i. 9, 47.  
 Presbyterians in Ulster, disabilities inflicted upon, ii. 393.  
 Presley, a burgess, ii. 70, 94.  
 Primary assemblies, i. 284.  
 Pring, Martin, i. 56, 67.  
 Priscilla, a Virginia, ii. 128.  
 Prisoners of war, ii. 184.  
 Privateering, ii. 343.  
 Processioning of bounds, ii. 99.  
 Proprietary governments, beginnings of, i. 269.  
 Proprietors of Carolina sell out their interests, ii. 308.  
 Prospero's Isle, i. 150.  
 Providence, a settlement in Maryland, i. 313, 315.  
 Puerto del Principe sacked by Morgan, ii. 351.  
 Pulpit encourages English colonization, i. 49.  
 Punishments for crime, ii. 182.  
 Purchas, Rev. S., i. 87, 302.  
 Puritan families in New England, ii. 28.  
 Puritanism widely spread in the South, ii. 337.  
 Puritans in Virginia, i. 301; ii. 17; in Maryland, i. 312-318; ii. 137, 150; and education, ii. 252-254; in South Carolina, ii. 322.  
 Putin Bay, i. 94.  
 Pym, John, i. 204, 208, 235; ii. 12.  
 Quadroons, ii. 202.  
 Quaker relief acts, ii. 153; in North Carolina, ii. 304.  
 Quakers in Maryland, ii. 138; in Albemarle Colony, ii. 294.  
 Quantrell, a border ruffian, ii. 320.  
 Quaritch, Bernard, ii. 1.  
 Quarry, Robert, ii. 362.  
 Quicksilver, Frank, i. 56.  
 Quinine, i. 4.  
 Quit rents, ii. 194.  
 Quo warranto, writ of, i. 218.  
 Raccoons, i. 114.  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, i. 19, 28-32, 35-40, 52-55, 71, 126, 163, 197-200; ii. 271, 342; his verses just before death, i. 200; his "History of the World," i. 197.  
 Randall, D. R., i. 303.  
 Randolph, Edward, ii. 108, 364.  
 Randolph, Jane, ii. 204.  
 Randolph, John, of Roanoke, i. 173.  
 Randolph, Peyton, i. 221.  
 Rappahannock River, i. 101.  
 Ratcliffe, John, i. 71, 92, 99, 100, 113, 117, 124, 151-153, 168.  
 Rats, i. 143.  
 Raveneau de Lussan, the buccaneer, ii. 349, 360.  
 Raynal, the Abbé, i. 2.  
 Receiver-general, i. 276.  
 Recorder, a musical instrument, ii. 242.  
 Recouping one's self beforehand, ii. 346.  
 Redemptioners, ii. 181, 182, 185; as schoolmasters, ii. 249.  
 Regal, a town in Transylvania, i. 84.  
 Renaissance and Reformation, tendencies of, i. 205.  
 Representative government in America established by Sir Edwin Sandys, i. 69.  
 Revolution of 1719 in South Carolina, ii. 307.  
 Rhett, William, defeats the French and Spanish fleet, ii. 294; defeats and captures the pirate Bonnet, ii. 368, 369.  
 Rhode Island, i. 63, 280.  
 Ribant, Jean, i. 17; ii. 271.  
 Ricahecrians, the tribe, ii. 73.  
 Ricardo, David, ii. 313.  
 Rice, the great staple of South Carolina, ii. 326, 363.  
 Rice, John, hanged at Tyburn, ii. 200.  
 Rich, H. C., ii. 241.  
 Rich, Lady Isabella, i. 184.  
 Rich, Robert, Lord Warwick, i. 182.  
 Richard III., i. 296.  
 Richmond, the city, i. 93, 189, 226; ii. 121, 211, 257.  
 Ringgold, James, ii. 147.  
 Ringrose, Basil, a buccaneer, ii. 358.  
 Ripley, W. Z., ii. 218.

- Rivers as highways, ii. 214, 215.  
 Rivers in Virginia, their effect upon society, ii. 206.  
 Rivers, W. J., ii. 279, 288, 298, 302.  
 Rives, W., ii. 241.  
 Roanoke Island, i. 31, 33-35, 39-43, 54.  
 Robber barons, ii. 45.  
 Robertson, W., ii. 21.  
 Robertson family, descended from Pocahontas, i. 173.  
 Rochambeau, Count, i. 3.  
 Rogers, Woodes, captures New Providence, ii. 365.  
 Rogues' Harbour, a nickname of Albemarle Colony, ii. 280.  
 Rolfe, John, i. 104; his marriage with Pocahontas, i. 169; makes experiments in raising tobacco, i. 176, 188.  
 Rolfe, Thomas, son of Pocahontas, ancestor of many Virginia families, i. 173.  
 Ronsard, Pierre, i. 53.  
 Rothenthurm, battle of, i. 88.  
 Roundheads, ii. 12.  
 Rousby, Christopher, ii. 157.  
 Rousseau, J. J., i. 4.  
 Rowland, Miss K. M., ii. 104, 206, 234, 248.  
 Royal governors and their legislatures, ii. 379-381.  
 Rudolph II., Emperor, i. 84.  
 Rum, ii. 207, 211, 281.  
 Rumford, Count, ii. 254.  
 Rump Parliament, i. 216.  
 Rural entertainments, ii. 240, 241.  
 Russell, John, i. 121, 135, 140.  
 Russia, i. 37, 66, 89.  
 Rynders, Isaiah, ii. 92.  
 Ryswick, Peace of, ii. 168.
- Sabbath breaking, i. 248.  
 Sack, a kind of wine, meaning of the name, ii. 230.  
 St. Augustine, i. 33; ii. 270.  
 St. Bartholomew, massacre of, i. 21.  
 St. Bernard Archipelago, i. 149.  
 St. Clement's Island, i. 274.  
 St. John's River, i. 17.  
 St. Lawrence, Gulf of, i. 170.  
 St. Lawrence River, i. 41, 61, 62.  
 St. Mary's River, i. 274.  
 St. Mary's, the town, i. 291, 306, 307, 313, 315, 316; ii. 120, 149, 161.  
 St. Osyth's Lane, i. 203.  
 St. Paul's Cathedral, i. 27.  
 St. Paul's Churchyard, i. 178.  
 Salaries of governors, ii. 376.  
 Salem witchcraft, ii. 264, 266.  
 San Domingo, i. 33, 149.  
 San Francisco, i. 27.  
 San Juan de Ulua, i. 19, 26.  
 Sandhillers, ii. 320.  
 Salamis, battle of, i. 37.  
 Sandys, George, i. 232, 252.  
 Sandys, Sir Edwin, i. 69, 184-188, 190, 200-203, 214, 215, 218, 226, 221, 233, 235, 236, 238; ii. 16.  
 Sassafraz, i. 123.  
 Sayle, Wm., ii. 278, 361.  
 Scandalous gossip, i. 247.  
 Scapegraces in Virginia, i. 152, 163.  
 Scapethrift, i. 57.  
 Scharf, J. F., ii. 162, 167, 171.  
 Schlosser, F. C., i. 84.  
 Schools in New England, ii. 251-253; in Virginia, ii. 245-250; in South Carolina, ii. 325.  
*Scire facias*, writ of, ii. 162.  
 Scotch Highlanders in North Carolina, ii. 318; in Georgia, ii. 335.  
 Scotch-Irish immigration to America, ii. 319, 390-399.  
 Scotch Presbyterianism, its effects upon Virginia, ii. 395.  
 Seagull, Captain, i. 57.  
 Sea kings of Elizabeth's time were not pirates, ii. 341, 343.  
 Seal of Virginia, ii. 22.  
 Sea Venture, the ship, i. 67, 148, 149, 152.  
 Second Supply for Virginia, i. 113, 120, 123-125.  
 Security, money lender, i. 56.  
 Segar, Sir W., i. 86.  
 Segovia, Lake of, i. 34.  
 Selden, John, i. 54.  
 Senecas, ii. 58-60.  
 Seneschals, i. 277.  
 Separatists, i. 302.  
 Serfdom, i. 48.  
 Setebos, i. 15.  
 Severn, the English river, i. 312.  
 Severn, the Maryland river, i. 313; battle of the, i. 317.  
 Seymour, Sir Edward, ii. 116, 117.  
 Seymour, John, ii. 166.  
 Shaftesbury, first Earl of, i. 68.  
 Shakespeare, i. 11, 15, 54, 55, 66, 68, 187, 203, 232, 308; ii. 226; his "Tempest," i. 150.  
 Sharpe, Horatio, ii. 172.  
 Sharpless, Edward, clerk of Assembly, i. 244.  
 Sharplesse, Thomas, draws a prize in a lottery, i. 178.  
 Shays, Daniel, ii. 106.  
 Sheep-raising, i. 46.  
 Shenandoah Valley, ii. 385, 386.  
 Sheppard, Jack, ii. 264.  
 Sheriffs, i. 282; ii. 40; in Maryland, ii. 153.  
 Sherman, W. T., ii. 191.  
 Sherwood, Grace, accused of witchcraft, ii. 266.  
 Sherwood, William, ii. 102, 104.  
 Shippen, Margaret, ii. 142.  
 Shire-motes, i. 278.  
 Shirley Hundred, i. 168.  
 Sibyl, the Roman, i. 7.  
 Sicklemore, an alias of President Ratcliffe, i. 117-128.

- Sidney, Sir Philip, i. 18, 30, 33, 42, 53, 61, 68.
- Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, i. 84.
- Silenus, his conversation with Kawasha, i. 175.
- Silk culture, ii. 326.
- Silk-worms, i. 231; ii. 3.
- Silver vessels, ii. 227.
- Simancas, archives of, i. 194.
- Simms, W. G., ii. 330.
- Singeing the king of Spain's beard, i. 34.
- Sioux tribes in Carolina, ii. 299.
- Sir Galahad, i. 204.
- Six Nations, ii. 304.
- Size Lane, i. 203.
- Skottowe, B. C., i. 243.
- Slader, M., ii. 238.
- Slavery, alleged beneficence of, i. 16; different types in Virginia and South Carolina, ii. 327; prohibited in Georgia, ii. 335; introduced there, ii. 336.
- Slave hunters, Spanish, i. 149.
- Slaves' collars, ii. 200.
- Slaves, price of, ii. 194, 201.
- Slave trade, the African, i. 15; the Portuguese, i. 15.
- Sluyter, a Labadist, ii. 143.
- Smith, John, i. 80-118, 121, 143, 147, 151, 152-156, 159, 164-166, 172, 173; ii. 72; fiery dragons invented by, i. 84; Turks' heads cut off by, i. 84; name for Cape Ann, i. 88; is rescued by Pocahontas, i. 102-111; his "True Relation," i. 102; his "History of Virginia," i. 103; his map of Virginia, i. 118; his "Rude Answer," i. 118, 125-128; drops into poetry, i. 121; as a worker of miracles, i. 141; says, "He that will not work shall not eat," i. 142; leaves Virginia, i. 152; his faithful portrayal of Indians, i. 157; nobility of his nature, i. 157; touching tribute by one of his comrades, i. 158; his voyage to North Virginia, i. 172; changes the name to New England, i. 172; his last years, i. 232.
- Smith, Robert, ii. 104.
- Smith, Thomas, captain of a ship, i. 293; tried for piracy and hanged, i. 300.
- Smith, Sir Thomas, i. 52, 66, 146, 161, 178, 182-184, 196.
- Smith's Hundred, i. 186.
- Smith's name for Cape Ann, i. 88.
- Smith's Sound, i. 67.
- Smugglers, ii. 346.
- Smyth, J. F., ii. 230, 231, 239, 316.
- Soap, i. 123, 230.
- Social features of Maryland, ii. 267-269.
- Socrates, ii. 142.
- Somers, Sir George, i. 65, 147, 148-151, 154, 155, 161.
- Sothel, Seth, ii. 285; as the people's friend, ii. 289.
- Soto, F. de, i. 61; ii. 91.
- Souls and tobacco, comparative claims of, ii. 117.
- Southampton, Earl of, i. 55, 56, 66, 183, 202, 203, 206-208, 220, 221; ii. 16.
- Southampton Hundred, i. 186.
- South Carolina, i. 62; ii. 123; back country of, ii. 320; early settlers of, ii. 322; Puritans in, ii. 322; Cavaliers in, ii. 322; clergymen in, how elected, ii. 323; contrast with those in Virginia, ii. 323; rice a great staple of, ii. 326; indigo, an important staple of, ii. 326; silk culture in, ii. 326; cotton crop in, ii. 326; negro slaves in, ii. 326-331; insurrection of slaves in, ii. 329.
- Southey, Robert, i. 53.
- South Sea Bubble, ii. 334.
- Spaniards driven from Georgia, ii. 335.
- Spanish marriage, i. 195, 198, 218, 255.
- Spanish methods of colonization, i. 25, 193.
- Spanish Succession, war of, ii. 190, 398.
- Spanish treasure, i. 6-11, 23, 44, 54; ii. 345.
- Sparks, F. E., i. 282; ii. 133.
- Spelman, Henry, i. 153; his rescue by Pocahontas, i. 168; his "Relation about Virginia," i. 168.
- Spelman, Sir Henry, the antiquary, i. 168.
- Spencer, Herbert, on state education, ii. 325.
- Spencer, Nicholas, ii. 61, 80, 89, 111.
- Spendall, i. 57.
- Spenser, Edmund, i. 53; ii. 22.
- Spinsters sent to Virginia, i. 188.
- Sports, old-fashioned, ii. 240, 241.
- Spotswood, Alexander, ii. 303, 370-390, 398; on the distribution of white freedmen, ii. 321.
- Spottiswoode, Sir Robert, ii. 370.
- Spottsylvania, ii. 8.
- Stamp Act, ii. 29, 303, 373, 382.
- Stanard, W. G., ii. 238, 249.
- Stanhope, James, ii. 372.
- Stanley, H. M., i. 98.
- Star Chamber, i. 273, 289.
- Stark, John, ii. 394.
- State education, ii. 325.
- State House in Jamestown, scenes in, ii. 67, 69, 76.
- States General in France dismissed, i. 196.
- Stebbing, William, i. 53, 199, 200.
- Stephens, Samuel, ii. 279.
- Stevens, Henry, i. 43, 112, 169.



- Stillingfleet, Bishop, ii. 116.  
 Stith, John, ii. 71.  
 Stith, William, i. 221, 255, 256.  
 Stone Age, the men of, i. 107.  
 Stone, William, i. 308, 311-313, 315-318.  
 Stores, country, ii. 213.  
 Stourton, Erasmus, i. 261.  
 Stover, Jacob, how he secured many acres, ii. 395.  
 Stowe's Chronicle, i. 178.  
 Strachey, William, i. 150, 168.  
 Strafford County, ii. 58.  
 Strafford, Earl of, i. 204, 220, 267, 303; ii. 11.  
 Stratford Hall, its library, ii. 227; the kitchen, ii. 228, 234.  
 Stuart, Lady Arabella, i. 197.  
 Studley, Thomas, i. 94, 96.  
 Stuyvesant, Peter, ii. 139, 140.  
 Subinfeudation permitted in Carolina, ii. 275.  
 Suffrage, restriction of, in Maryland, ii. 154; in Virginia, ii. 67, 154.  
 Sugar, ii. 211.  
 Superstition, ii. 264.  
 Supper with Indians, i. 115.  
 Surry protest, ii. 52.  
 Surtees, i. 276.  
 Surveyor, i. 282.  
 Susan Constant, the ship, i. 71.  
 Susquehanna Manor, ii. 147, 158.  
 Susquehanna River, i. 112, 289.  
 Susquehannock euvoys, slaughter of, ii. 60, 61, 68.  
 Susquehannock Indians, i. 112, 274; ii. 58-62.  
 Swedes in Delaware, ii. 3.  
 Swift, Jonathan, ii. 116.  
 Swift Run Gap, ii. 385.  
 Symes, Benjamin, ii. 5, 246.  
 Tabby silk, meaning of the name, ii. 236.  
 Talbot, George, ii. 147, 157, 158.  
 Talbot, Lord, ii. 200.  
 Talbot, Richard, Duke of Tyrconnel, ii. 160.  
 Talbot, William, ii. 151.  
 Tammany Society, i. 2.  
 Tampico, i. 20.  
 Tanais or Don River, i. 74.  
 Tantalus and his grapes, i. 200.  
 Tar, i. 123; ii. 313.  
 Tariff logic, specimens of, ii. 51, 194.  
 Tariffs, protective, ii. 45, 346.  
 Taswell-Langmead, i. 243.  
 Taxation without representation, ii. 115, 145.  
 Taxes on slaves, ii. 194.  
 Teach, Robert. See Blackbeard.  
 Temple Farm, ii. 390.  
 Tennessee, its settlers, ii. 394, 395.  
 "Terence in English," i. 176.  
 Test oaths for public officials, ii. 294.  
 Thatch, Robert. See Blackbeard.  
 Theatres, ii. 243.  
 Third Supply for Virginia, i. 151, 158.  
 Thirlestane House, i. 43.  
 Thirty Years' War, ii. 160.  
 Thompson, William, of Braintree, i. 303.  
 Thomson, Sir Peter, i. 43.  
 Thorpe, George, murdered by Indians, i. 234.  
 Throckmorton, Elizabeth, i. 53.  
 Thrusting out of Governor Harvey, i. 298.  
 Tichfield, i. 221.  
 Tidewater Virginia, i. 224.  
 Tilden, Marmaduke, ii. 147.  
 Tillotson, Archbishop, ii. 116.  
 Timour, Pasha of Nalbrits, i. 89.  
 Tindall, Thomas, put in the pillory, i. 264.  
 Titles of nobility in Carolina, ii. 276.  
 Tobacco, first recorded mention of, i. 174; bull of Urban VIII. against, i. 174; James I.'s Counterblast, i. 174; its tendency to crush out other forms of industry, i. 231; monopoly of, coveted by Charles I., i. 242, 243; planted by the Dutch in the East Indies, ii. 47; and liberty, ii. 174; as currency, ii. 111; effects of, ii. 210; duty on, in Maryland, ii. 133; attempts to check its cultivation, ii. 176.  
 Tobacco currency, effects of, in Virginia, ii. 216; upon crafts and trades, ii. 217; upon planters' accounts, ii. 218.  
 Todkill, Anas, i. 116, 121, 135.  
 Toleration, religious, in Maryland, i. 267, 271, 272, 309-311.  
 Toleration Act, so-called, passed by Maryland Puritans, i. 316.  
 Tomocomo, his attempt to take a census of England, i. 173.  
 Toombs, Robert, ii. 10.  
 Tories and Whigs, i. 182.  
 Torture by slow fire, i. 108.  
 Totopotamoy, ii. 73.  
 Town meetings, ii. 32-34.  
 Towns, absence of, in Virginia, ii. 211; attempts to build, ii. 213.  
 Townships in England, ii. 31-34.  
 Trade between Massachusetts and Alabamale Colony, ii. 281.  
 Tragabigzanda, Charatza, i. 88.  
 Train-bands in New England, ii. 40.  
 Treachery of Indians, i. 129, 136, 138.  
 Treason committed abroad, ii. 285.  
 Treat, John, ii. 183.  
 Treaty of America, ii. 353, 357.  
 Trent, the British steamer, ii. 234.  
 Trott, Nicholas, ii. 307.  
 Truman, Thomas, ii. 59, 61, 69.  
 Trussel, John, ii. 186.  
 Tubal Cain, the, of Virginia, ii. 372.  
 Tucker, Beverley, ii. 10.

- Turkeys, first that were taken to England, i. 122.
- Turkish treasure, i. 83.
- Turks' heads cut off by Smith, i. 84, 88.
- Turks' Heads, the islands, i. 88.
- Turks, desire of Columbus to drive them from Europe, i. 7.
- Turpentine, ii. 313.
- Tuscarora meeting-house, ii. 395.
- Tuscaroras in North Carolina, ii. 299; expelled from North Carolina, migrate to the Mohawk valley and add one more to the Five Nations, ii. 304.
- Twelfth Night, i. 175.
- Tyler, John, Governor of Virginia, ii. 10.
- Tyler, John, President of U. S., ii. 25, 129.
- Tyler, L. G., i. 296; ii. 19, 23, 61, 92, 128, 247.
- Tyler, M. C., ii. 265.
- Tyler, Wat, ii. 10, 25.
- Tzekely, Moses, i. 85.
- Union of the Colonies, schemes for, ii. 129.
- Unitarians threatened with death in Maryland Toleration Act, i. 311.
- University College of London, i. 112.
- "Unmasked Face of our Colony in Virginia," i. 208-213.
- Urban VIII., his bull against tobacco, i. 174.
- Utie, John, i. 297, 298.
- Utrecht, treaty of, ii. 190.
- Valentia, Lord, i. 43.
- Vallandigham, E. H., ii. 140.
- Valparaiso, i. 27.
- Van Dyck, i. 268.
- Vane, Sir Harry, ii. 12.
- Vassall's house in Cambridge, ii. 227.
- Vegetables, ii. 2, 221.
- Venetian argosy, fight with the Breton ship, i. 83.
- Venezuela, i. 198.
- Venice, i. 84; ii. 344.
- Venus and Adonis, the poem, i. 55.
- Vera Cruz, i. 19.
- Vermont, i. 62.
- Verrazano, Sea of, i. 61; ii. 384.
- Vespucius, Americus, i. 12-14, 91, 149; ii. 347.
- Vestry, close, ii. 36, 98, 375.
- Vestry, open, ii. 99; in South Carolina, ii. 323.
- Veto power, ii. 152.
- Vicksburg, ii. 191.
- Victoria, Queen, i. 259.
- Vikings not properly called pirates, ii. 339.
- Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham, i. 197.
- Vinland, i. 18; ii. 277.
- Violins, ii. 241-242.
- Virginals, ii. 242.
- Virginia, origin of the name, i. 32; believed to abound in precious metals, i. 58, 122; first charter of, i. 60, 64; extent of the colony in 1624, i. 223; population of, i. 253; ii. 2, 4, 23, 24, 35; prolific in leaders of men, ii. 44; *habeas corpus* introduced into, ii. 371.
- Virginia Historical Society, i. 112; ii. 298.
- Virginian historians, ii. 255.
- Virginians at Oxford, ii. 250.
- Volga River, i. 73.
- Voltaire, ii. 15, 352.
- Wafer, Lionel, a buccaneer, ii. 358.
- Wahunsuakok, i. 94.
- Waldenses, the, ii. 205.
- Wales, conquest of, i. 259.
- Walker, William, ii. 348.
- Walsingham, Sir F., i. 36.
- Walton, Izaak, i. 221.
- Wampum, i. 137.
- Ward's Plantation, i. 186.
- Warner, Augustine, ii. 100.
- Warren, William, i. 296.
- Warrasqueak Bay, i. 131, 209.
- Washington, Augustine, ii. 249.
- Washington, George, i. 70, 273, 296; ii. 175, 227; his love for dogs, horses, hunting, and fishing, ii. 239, 240; killed by his doctors, ii. 260, 261; his intimacy with Lord Fairfax, ii. 397; sent to warn the French, ii. 399.
- Washington, Henry, ii. 25, 397.
- Washington, John, ii. 25, 59, 69, 97.
- Washington, Lawrence, brother of George, ii. 247, 249, 389.
- Washington, Lawrence, brother of John, ii. 59.
- Washington, Lawrence, of Sulgrave, i. 70.
- Washington, Martha, ii. 119; her life at home, ii. 235.
- Washington family tree, ii. 27.
- Waters, Fitz Gilbert, ii. 25, 26.
- Watson, Elkanah, ii. 215, 216.
- Wedding, the first in English America, i. 113.
- Weddings, ii. 237.
- Weeden, W. B., ii. 251.
- Weller, Tony, ii. 142.
- Weromocomoco, i. 94, 102, 112, 114, 119, 130-139, 165, 224; ii. 158.
- West, Francis, i. 131, 140, 146, 251.
- West, John, i. 297, 298.
- West, Joseph, ii. 279, 286.
- West, Penelope, i. 147.
- Westminster Abbey, i. 43.
- Westminster School, i. 42.
- Westover, i. 225; ii. 257.
- West Point, Va., i. 224.

- West Virginia, its settlers, ii. 394.  
 Wetting one's feet, i. 210.  
 Weymouth, George, i. 56, 67.  
 Whalley, Edward, the regicide, ii. 25.  
 Wharves, private, ii. 206, 220.  
 Wheat culture in Maryland, ii. 268.  
 Whigs, ii. 382.  
 Whigs and Tories, i. 182.  
 Whitacres, a boon companion of Dr. Pott, i. 252.  
 Whitaker, Alexander, the apostle, i. 167; his "Good News from Virginia," i. 232, 301.  
 Whitburne, Richard, i. 261.  
 White, Andrew, a Jesuit father, i. 273-275, 308.  
 White, John, i. 35, 38, 39, 52, 54, 58, 60, 113.  
 White, Solomon, ii. 205.  
 White Aprons, the, ii. 87.  
 White Oak Swamp, i. 100.  
 White servants in Virginia, ii. 10, 177-191.  
 "White trash," origin of, ii. 188, 189; in North Carolina, ii. 315-317; dispersal of, ii. 319-321.  
 Whittle family descended from Pocahontas, i. 173.  
 Whitmore, W. H., ii. 10, 35, 110.  
 Whitney, E. L., ii. 274, 320.  
 "Widow Ranter," the comedy, ii. 179.  
 Wiffen, Richard, i. 135.  
 Wilberforce, W., ii. 231.  
 Wilde, Jonathan, ii. 264.  
 Willard, Samuel, ii. 119.  
 William and Mary College, ii. 116-129, 234, 252.  
 William the Conqueror, i. 259.  
 William the Silent, i. 9.  
 William III., ii. 120, 160, 165.  
 William III. and Mary, ii. 115, 117.  
 Williams, G. W., ii. 330.  
 Williams, Roger, i. 272, 313; ii. 160.  
 Williamsburg, ii. 121, 210, 234, 238, 242.  
 Williams, Hugh, ii. 279, 310.  
 Williamson, Sir J., ii. 102.  
 Willoughby, Sarah, her wardrobe, ii. 236.  
 Willoughby, Sir Hugh, i. 14.  
 Willoughby, Eng., i. 82.  
 Wilmington, Del., ii. 139.  
 Wilmington, N. C., ii. 314.  
 Window shutters, ii. 223.  
 Wines, native, ii. 372, 385.  
 Wingandacoa, i. 32.  
 Wingfield, E. M., i. 65, 91, 92, 93, 95, 98-100, 102, 112, 124.  
 Winslow, Josiah, ii. 63.  
 Winsor, Justin, i. 13, 18, 275; ii. 1, 272, 298.  
 Winter, Sir William, i. 36; ii. 342.  
 Winthrop, John, i. 18, 66, 234, 303, 306; ii. 98, 253.  
 Witenagemote, i. 278.  
 Wolfe, James, i. 171.  
 Wood, Abraham, ii. 186.  
 Wooden houses, ii. 222, 223.  
 Woods, Leonard, i. 43.  
 Woollen industries of Ulster, ii. 392, 393.  
 Woollen industry, i. 44.  
 Workmen needed in Virginia, i. 128.  
 Worldidge, William, ii. 186.  
 Wormeley, Ralph, his library, ii. 243, 244.  
 Wren, Sir Christopher, ii. 123.  
 Wright, William, ii. 57.  
 Wyanoke, i. 225.  
 Wyatt, Sir Francis, i. 241, 253.  
 Wythe, George, ii. 128, 266.  
 Yale College, ii. 253.  
 Yamassees, a Carolina tribe, ii. 300 and other tribes incited by the Spaniards attack South Carolina, ii. 305, 305; war in Carolina, ii. 371.  
 Yang-tse-Kiang, the river, i. 41.  
 Yeamans, Sir John, his colony at Cape Fear, ii. 277, 361.  
 Yeardley, Sir George, i. 171, 176, 184, 241, 242.  
 Yell of Yellville, ii. 98.  
 Yellow fever, ii. 293.  
 Yeomanry, in the 16th century, i. 47; ii. 204.  
 York River, i. 132, 224.  
 Yorktown, i. 273, 288.  
 Zúñiga, i. 59, 76, 178, 194.

111







