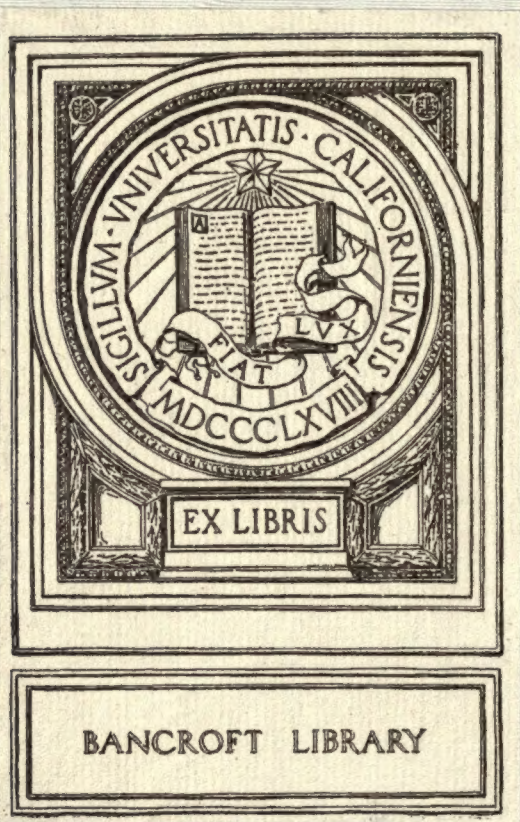
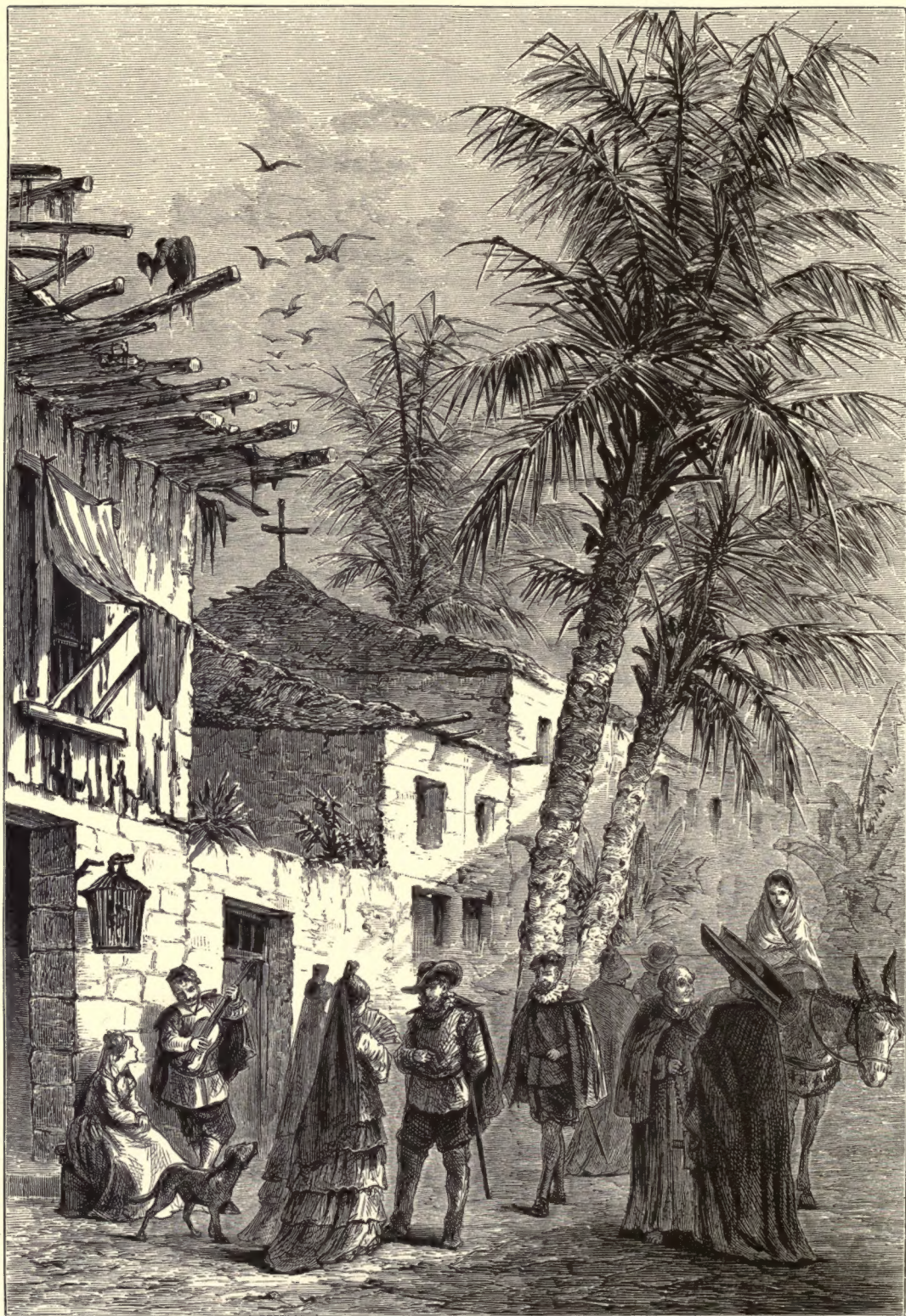


PIONEERS
IN THE
SETTLEMENT
OF
AMERICA.

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SCENE IN ST. AUGUSTINE.

PIONEERS

IN THE

SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA



SAMUEL WALKER & CO.
BOSTON

PIONEERS
IN THE
SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA:

FROM FLORIDA IN 1510 TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849.

BY
WILLIAM A. CRAFTS.

ELEGANTLY ILLUSTRATED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF GEORGE T. ANDREW,

FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS

BY F. O. C. DARLEY, WM. L. SHEPARD, GRANVILLE PERKINS, ETC.

VOL. I.

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1876.

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P R E F A C E .



THE pioneers in the settlement of our country include a wide range of characters—the cruel Spanish bigot, the fierce French Huguenot, the thriftless adventurer and proud cavalier of Virginia, the tolerant Catholic of Maryland, the exclusive Puritan of New England, the fearless Jesuit of Canada and the Mississippi Valley, the peaceful Quaker of Pennsylvania, the thrifty Dutch trader of New Amsterdam, the daring backwoodsman, the sturdy descendant of the early colonists seeking a new home in the wilderness, the Mormon of Utah, the gold-hunter of California, and others, less distinctly marked, but whose career is full of interest.

It is not the purpose of this work to give a connected and complete history of the settlements of Europeans in America, and of subsequent emigration to the west, but rather to delineate some of the events and incidents which illustrate the characteristics of the pioneers, their manner of life, the hardships they endured, and the perils they encountered. As with the lapse of time the earlier events and incidents recede into a remote past, a romantic interest attaches to them, which, in spite of much that is harsh and commonplace, makes their relation attractive.

While the work relates especially to settlements within the limits of the United States, the earlier efforts of the Spaniards for the conquest and colonization of "Florida," though unsuccessful, were such exploits of knight-errantry as seem to demand a place in its pages.

So, too, the adventures of French pioneers in Canada, which led to the establishment of a long line of trading posts and missionary stations in the wilderness of the north-west, and thence down the valley of the Mississippi to the Gulf, cannot well be omitted. But the chief interest attaches to the English-speaking settlers and emigrants, who laid the foundations for the building up of the nation, which now extends across the continent, and occupies that vast territory which, in all its unknown extent, European monarchs once claimed each as his own domain.

The story of the pioneers, however, is not confined to the earlier settlement of Europeans in America; the later emigration from the Atlantic coast to the great west—over the Alleghanies into the rich valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, across the plains, and beyond the Rocky Mountains, and the Sierra Nevada—is not without its peculiar features, which are worthy of record and illustration. The experiences of these later pioneers in the interior present some strong contrasts to those of the early colonists, but they exhibit the same phases of human nature,—reckless adventure, daring, energy, and endurance,—under different circumstances, and at a later stage of the world's progress.

The illustrations, which form an important and most attractive feature of the work, are from original designs by artists of established reputation, whose skill and conscientious study of their subjects render their productions a valuable aid in realizing the scenes and events described, and will be found eminently worthy of public favor. The engraving, executed under the supervision of George T. Andrew, is in the highest style of the art, and is not surpassed by any work of its class ever produced in this country.

I.

PONCE DE LEON AND FLORIDA.



THE discovery of America by Columbus and the explorations of subsequent voyagers awakened a spirit of adventure among the people of Western Europe. The Spaniards, under the auspices of whose government Columbus had made his memorable voyages, were the foremost in following up the advantages which the discovery of the Western Indies and the adjacent continent promised, and they soon had possession of all the principal islands of the Antilles. From these, their expeditions, ever in search of gold and silver, reached the southern continent; Cortes achieved the conquest of Mexico; Pizarro subdued and plundered Peru; and adventurers of less renown sought other lands which should afford them equal distinction and wealth. Their early expeditions were chiefly within the tropics, the vast continent lying north being as yet scarcely known to exist, while the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, unwarlike and easily-subdued natives, and imaginary stores of wealth, still offered tempting fields for conquest. It was not till 1565, three quarters of a century after the occupation of the Antilles, that they established the first permanent settlement of Europeans within the limits of what is now the United States, in Florida, and called it St. Augustine.

Previous to this, however, there had been several expeditions, partly private and partly under the auspices of the Spanish government, to conquer the country, and subject it to the dominion of Spain by the establishment of a viceroyalty over its imaginary populous cities and mines of coveted wealth. Such was the manner in which the Spaniards "colonized" the countries which they discovered and claimed, and the purpose of these expeditions was to occupy and hold Florida as the Antilles and Mexico were occupied. At this distance of time a halo of romance surrounds these adventurers, and though they failed in accomplishing their purposes, the story of their attempts to realize vain dreams possesses an interest far exceeding that which attaches to the more successful settlers.

Ponce de Leon is called the discoverer of Florida, though it is possible that adventurous mariners had previously traded at some points on the coast. In some way an Indian myth was made known to the Spaniards that in the interior of the vast island or vaster continent at the north there was a fountain of perpetual youth, whose waters would renew the life, and strength, and beauty of those who were so fortunate as to bathe therein, and drinking thereof would preserve unfading youth. This fable was almost universally believed by the Spaniards of those credulous times, not only in the West Indies but in Old Spain, and many a high-born dame of Castile ardently hoped that some fortunate knight-errant might discover this precious fountain, and bring some of its magic waters across the sea. And why not? Alchemy had not yet ceased from the labors, which it had for ages pursued, to discover the elixir of life, and to solve the problem of creating gold. Why should not Nature, who had provided inexhaustible mines of treasure in the new world, also furnish those inestimable waters far more potent than the elixir of the alchemist's wildest dream?

Ponce de Leon believed with the rest. The story of his expedition to seek this wonderful fountain is familiar. Age, which with hard service had furrowed his cheek and bent his frame, made him all the more ready to put faith in the myth, and all the more eager to test the virtues of these youth-restoring waters; he was wealthy, and could fit out an expedition at his own expense; he had lately been removed from the governorship of Porto Rico, and enough of youthful ardor

remained to lead him to seek new adventures which should exceed in their results all that had yet been realized in this new world. If he could discover the desired fountain, and at the same time conquer a land abounding in the precious metals, what more could he desire!

" There came to De Leon, the sailor,
Some Indian sages who told
Of a region so bright that the waters
Were sprinkled with islands of gold.
And they added, 'The leafy Bersini,
A fair land of grottos and bowers,
Is there; and a wonderful fountain
Upsprings from its gardens of flowers.
That fountain gives life to the dying,
And youth to the aged restores;
They flourish in beauty eternal,
Who set but their feet on its shores.'

"Then answered De Leon, the sailor,—
'I am withered, and wrinkled, and old;
I would rather discover that fountain
Than a country of diamonds and gold.'"

He fitted out an expedition with three small vessels, and sailed from Porto Rico on his romantic errand in March, 1512. After sailing among the Bahamas, where he got no intelligence of the object of his search, he turned to the west, and on Easter Sunday discovered land, which he named Florida, in honor of the day, called Pascua Florida by the Spaniards. Island or continent, it was clothed with magnificent forests, where the magnolia lifted its flowery crown beyond the palmettos that fringed the shore. But no safe harbor offered an anchorage, and bad weather kept the voyagers for some days from placing foot upon the promised land. At length Ponce, with some of his followers, landed at a point a little north of the place where St. Augustine was subsequently founded. The natives appeared hostile, and were not disposed to let the intruders penetrate their domain. He could learn nothing of the locality of the fabled fountain, and if the natives deigned to signify its existence, it was always far away,—haply in those

happy hunting-grounds beyond the Indian's mortal life. Ponce then explored the coast of his discovered land, sailing south and doubling the cape, and visiting the Tortugas. But he found no opportunity to land and penetrate the interior of Florida, and the fountain of youth remained undiscovered. He returned to Porto Rico determined to announce his discovery to his sovereign, and claim the right and the power to accomplish his undertaking as an officer of Spain.

Ponce went to Spain, announced his discovery of a new country to be added to the dominions of his Catholic majesty, and was appointed governor of this new province on condition that he should plant a colony there. Nine years elapsed before he succeeded in securing the aid he desired, and was able to fit out a new expedition to secure his prize. These added years, however, had not diminished his desire to find the magic waters and secure unbounded riches. With two ships he sailed to carry out the conditions on which the government of the new province was granted, and to realize the dreams which he had so long cherished. But the natives were even more determined than before to prevent the invasion of their domains, and when he landed they attacked the Spaniards with great ferocity, and drove them on board the ships again, with the loss of many men. Among the wounded was Ponce himself. An Indian arrow inflicted a mortal wound on his body; his failure as severely wounded his pride and quenched his ardor; his expectations were disappointed; he was old, with no more hope of rejuvenescence; and with the remnant of his expedition he sailed away to Cuba to die.

"One day the old sailor lay dying
On the shore of a tropical isle,
And his heart was rekindled with rapture,
And his face lighted up with a smile.
He thought of the sunny Antilles,
He thought of the shady Azores,
He thought of the dreamy Bahamas,
He thought of sweet Florida's shores.
And when in his mind he passed over
His wonderful travels of old,
He thought of the heavenly country,
Of the city of jasper and gold.

'Thank the Lord!' said De Leon, the sailor,
 'Thank the Lord for the light of the truth!
 I now am approaching the fountain,
 The beautiful Fountain of Youth!'

"The cabin was silent. At twilight
 They heard the birds singing a psalm;
 And the wind of the ocean came sighing
 Through orange-groves fragrant with balm.
 The sailor still lay on his pallet,
 'Neath the low-hanging vines of the roof;
 His soul had gone forth to discover
 The beautiful Fountain of Youth."

The next Spanish expedition to Florida was less romantic, but more warlike, and in the end even less successful. It was under the command of Pamphilo de Narvaez, who was authorized to conquer Florida for the glory of Spain. He was a grim soldier, and probably had little faith in the existence of the mythical fountain which could restore an eye that he had lost in Mexico. He went to subdue the natives, to subject them to slavery, and to plunder them of their imagined wealth,—to repeat the exploits which Cortes had been performing in Mexico. He landed with three hundred men, and was soon lured by the hostile natives into almost impenetrable forests and swamps. Instead of cities containing vast amounts of treasure, he found only small collections of mean wigwams, and instead of weak, indolent, and confiding natives, he found a scattered, but brave and suspicious people, who by cunning and open hostility constantly led him astray and reduced his numbers. After six months of weary marches, fearful sufferings, and heavy losses, the survivors again reached the coast, and constructing some frail boats they gladly left the shores which had proved so disastrous. But the sea was no less fatal, and the boats were all wrecked, only four of the party escaping to return to their countrymen by way of Mexico, after almost incredible sufferings.

II.

EXPEDITION OF FERDINAND DE SOTO.



NOTWITHSTANDING the disastrous experiences of Ponce de Leon and Narvaez, Florida was still supposed to rival Mexico and Peru in wealth; indeed, all America seemed to the Spaniards to be the land of inexhaustible treasures, which it was their privilege to plunder. Nine years after the unfortunate expedition of Narvaez, in 1538, a new and more formidable one was fitted out from Spain under the auspices of the government and the command of Ferdinand de Soto.

De Soto had been the friend and lieutenant of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, where he had shared the good fortune of that leader, and had returned to Spain with his portion of the plunder before internal feuds among the Spanish conquerors should deprive him of it. In Spain for a time he displayed his wealth and enjoyed his reputation as one of the most successful soldiers of the time, second only to Pizarro in the distinction of having added to the Spanish empire a province of boundless wealth. He was received with the highest honors at court, and was everywhere lauded by the people. But his ambition was not satisfied: he had been only a subordinate in Peru; he desired to be the leader in a more brilliant conquest, and to surpass his former friend in the acquisition of wealth. The favor with which he was received by Charles V. made him far from backward in asserting his claims and preferring requests. He asked for the most important position in the new world, with the privilege of conquering Florida, a country which, in the Spanish geography of that period, extended indefinitely to the north and west of the

shores to which the name was first applied. His demands were conceded; he was made governor of Cuba, and was authorized, in the name of Spain, to conquer and hold the vast territory which in the interior was believed to contain richer and more important places than the cities of the Montezumas or the Incas.

When De Soto announced his purpose, adventurers of all grades flocked to his standard, and desired to join an expedition which, under his lead, promised such brilliant results. Noble and peasant, soldier and civilian, merchant and artisan, rich and poor, were alike eager to share in the glory and wealth which they anticipated would be the fruits of the expedition. Many an hidalgo disposed of his estates to secure means to fit out himself and his followers, and men of humbler station in like manner sold their property to procure arms and other necessities for the voyage and the campaign. The wildest hopes were excited, for all had full faith in the experience and knowledge of one who had endured the perils, won the distinction, and secured the profits of a campaign in the new world. Not only Spaniards, but many Portuguese, when they heard of the expedition, sought to join it, and came well prepared for the service which the famous leader might expect of them.

All these aspirants after fame and riches assembled in the port of San Lucar, where De Soto was fitting out his ships. From the great number of eager volunteers he selected such as seemed best to answer his purpose, including several hundred horsemen, and organized them into a small army; and scarcely a smaller number were doomed to the disappointment of remaining at home. He supplied his ships with everything that his former experience suggested, and the cruelty which had been practised in Peru taught him to provide chains and fetters, and instruments of torture, for the natives, whom he expected to enslave and plunder. He was careful to secure a sufficient number of artisans, with the implements of their respective trades, to repair arms and equipments, build bridges, and perform other mechanical labors which might be necessary on the march, or in the "palaces" of the conquered chieftains. A pack of bloodhounds, withal, was deemed essential to complete the outfit, the cruel purposes of which were thus made manifest. As if to sanctify all these preparations for the destruction, torture, and robbery of the poor natives, a number of priests and ecclesiastics, of various grades, with the

insignia of the church, accompanied the expedition, to perform the solemn ceremonies which the faith and religious zeal of the adventurers required, and perchance to convert such captives as the sword and the bloodhounds might spare.

With such a force and outfit, far more complete and formidable than those with which Cortes and Pizarro had achieved their conquests, De Soto set sail, with the blessing of the church and amid the shouts of the populace that swarmed on the shores. The fleet proceeded to Cuba, where De Soto assumed his office of governor, and made further preparations for carrying out his enterprise, and was joined by some of the residents in that island whose avarice was not satisfied with the wealth they were amassing there. Meanwhile one or two of his ships were sent to Florida, to explore the coast and seek a harbor. The harbor was found, and two natives were captured and brought back to Cuba. Communication could be held with them only by signs, and the first question proposed to them was for the purpose of ascertaining the existence of gold in Florida. Whether by the misinterpretation of signs or the deception of the Indians, the Spaniards were led to believe that the country they were to invade abounded in the precious metal, and they were more eager than ever to enter upon their career of conquest, and secure the wealth which they imagined so near.

The fêtes which followed the arrival of De Soto in Cuba being over, and his preparations being completed, he left his young wife to administer the government of the island, and sailed for his more magnificent province. The voyage was short, but it was a fortnight before they reached a harbor where they could effect a landing. This was in the Bay of Espiritu Santo;* and on landing, De Soto, with religious ceremonies, set up the standard of Spain, and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign. The work of disembarking so many men, with their equipments, stores, and mechanical implements, two or three hundred horses, and a drove of swine, which were to accompany the expedition for food, was long and laborious. But at last it was accomplished, the forces were organized, the labor of transporting the luggage provided for, and the command was ready to move on its march to conquer what they imagined to be the richest country that had yet been discovered. The

* Now Tampa Bay.



BIVOUAC OF DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION IN FLORIDA.

few natives who appeared were made captives, to guide the invaders to the rich interior. With these uncertain guides, who could not comprehend the avarice which prompted so formidable an expedition, or who purposely deceived their captors, the march commenced. Thick forests and troublesome swamps soon impeded their progress; a luxuriant vegetation surrounded them; but their thoughts were on the spoils which they believed were before them, and neither toils disturbed nor the beauties of nature attracted them.

De Soto did not "burn his ships," but he gave orders for most of them to return immediately to Cuba. A few, however, remained, and among them one fitted out from Cuba, by Porcallo, at great expense. This man, who was advanced in years, was a wealthy resident of Cuba, and had joined the expedition for the purpose of procuring slaves to labor on his vast estates. The experience of a few days was sufficient to prove to him that he was not equal to the toil of such a march, while the chances of speedily loading his ship with slaves receded rapidly from the expectations he had indulged. He therefore returned to the coast with his followers, and embarking, sailed away for Cuba. The haughty De Soto wasted no words on him, but lest his example should prove contagious, pressed forward with a confidence which inspired the rest.

Full of hope, the invaders enjoyed the novelty of their march through those unexplored regions. A genial climate, whose noonday heat was tempered by abundant shade,—no lack of food, which captive Indians were compelled to assist in transporting,—a free, holiday life, which was to be crowned with wealth and honors,—all contributed to make their journey one of excitement and pleasure. Imagine a bivouac of this strange host in an opening of a Florida forest. Everywhere in the grateful shade weary soldiers lie stretched upon the ground, or recline against the giant trunks, dreaming of their anticipated success, or, haply, of their far-off homes in Old Spain, where wife and children sadly count the months which must elapse ere they return laden with riches. Hungry men are devouring their rations, which are not yet reduced to a short allowance. Horsemen have dismounted, and lazily groom and feed their animals. Artisans examine and repair arms and trappings, or cut young saplings from which to fashion new lances. A body of

priests, with all the insignia of their office and the altar, and accompanied by the leaders of the expedition, march in solemn procession through aisles more grand than the proudest cathedral of Old Spain can boast, to commemorate some obscure saint, or to dedicate the land to the dominion of the church. Here and there, in contrast with the religious ceremonies, are gathered groups of the adventurers, playing cards (a game which at that time was a passion with the Spaniards), and recklessly staking their coin or their trinkets, and even their shares of prospective plunder, while a few Indian captives, with iron collars on their necks and fetters on their wrists, look on in silent wonder, and leashed and muzzled bloodhounds crouch, harmless for the time, near by. It is a veritable holiday in the woods, and there rises from this strange multitude a din unwonted in these solitudes, and yet not boisterous, in which are mingled the sacred chant and the bacchanalian song, the soft Castilian tongue and hoarse laughter, and through it all the sleepers slumber undisturbed.

But this novelty of the campaign, which made it at first seem but a holiday excursion, soon wore off. Days and weeks passed, and yet they found no signs of that wealth of which they were in search. The Indians whom they captured or saw wore no golden ornaments, and their dwellings were a few poor cabins or wigwams, rather than populous towns. So far as they answered the anxious inquiries of the Spaniards for the region of opulent cities, they pointed far away, and not always in the same direction. Continued disappointment led the invaders to believe that they were deceived, and they began to practise a cruelty towards the poor natives which, at a later period, they indulged to a fearful extent. On the march they found one of their countrymen who had been held in captivity by the Indians since the unsuccessful expedition of Narvaez; but though he had never heard of any region of gold and silver, or of any populous and permanently constructed towns, they still believed in the reality of their golden dreams, and that their guides were purposely leading them astray. They tortured these unwilling guides, and threatened to deliver them to the tender mercies of the bloodhounds; but torture and threats were of no avail, and if under such pressure the direction of the march was varied, it brought them no nearer to the realization of their hopes. They were continually involved in difficult forests and dangerous swamps. The natives

they met exhibited signs of hostility, and though feeble in numbers and arms, opposed the progress of the invaders with such means as they could. Such as were captured were put to death, or fettered and doomed to slavery.

Thus through the summer months De Soto made his slow and laborious progress, and in the autumn he reached the head of Appalachee Bay. Here, on more favorable ground, he halted. His men and horses had suffered much, and were worn down with fatigue, and it was necessary to recruit their strength before continuing the march. With fatigue came also the heart-sickness of hope deferred. Many of the men now despaired of success; the promised wealth seemed to have receded with their lengthened march, and they became dispirited, and talked of abandoning the further search, and returning to Cuba and Spain. De Soto himself brooded gloomily over his disappointment, but he could not brook the idea of failure. He established a permanent camp in which to pass the winter, and prepare for a more vigorous search in the spring.

But the spirit of discontent continued, and while the haughty and reticent leader crushed his own misgivings, and, indulging in his dream of conquest and wealth, laid his plans for the future, some of his officers approached him and represented the uselessness of continuing the expedition. "For months," they said, "we have toiled through these dismal forests and swamps, and yet we find no wealthy cities and no sign of gold. The men are worn out and dispirited, the horses are broken down. Cuba and Hispaniola offer us better things; let us turn back."

De Soto listened in silence. He was a man of few words, and he knew that his will was law to his followers. "Turn back!" he haughtily replied; "never, till I have proved with my own eyes that the country is destitute of gold."

Yielding to that indomitable will, the officers retired, and sought to pacify their discontented followers. To revive their hopes and keep his men employed, the politic commander sent out parties to explore the country for long distances from the place where he had made his permanent camp. One of these moved westward as far as the present site of Pensacola, where a Spanish ship was found, and a message was sent to Cuba ordering supplies to be sent to that harbor for the next

year. The men would gladly have gone with the message if they could, but it was something to be able to communicate with their countrymen, and to be assured that they would not want for food.

In the spring the whole body left their winter quarters, and started again on their march, with renewed hopes of finding the rich country of which they were in search. De Soto had secured a new guide, and whether he was himself deceived by the poorly interpreted signs of a cunning Indian, or to encourage his followers deemed it necessary to practise some deception by highly coloring the native's statements, it was given out that this new guide promised to lead the command to a distant region which abounded in gold. This country, it was said, was ruled by a woman, and it was further declared that the art of melting and refining of the precious metal was understood there, and was described by this guide so well that he must have witnessed the operation. These statements inspired the Spaniards with new hope; the promised land was now sure to be discovered, for this was the first definite information they had received concerning it. They ceased to think of returning, and eagerly entered upon a new campaign.

The native indicated that this rich country lay in a north-easterly direction, and it is possible that he really pointed to what has since been known as the gold region of North Carolina. But it is quite as probable that the land of which he told—if he did describe such a land—was an Indian myth, and he sought only to lead the strangers away from the country of his tribe. Be this as it may, the Spaniards unhesitatingly moved in the direction indicated. On higher ground, and less impeded by morasses, they made more rapid progress than they had in the previous year. They found a country watered by noble rivers, with a luxuriant vegetation, fertile valleys, and forests of magnificent timber, offering ample inducements for industrious colonists to settle. But they were in search of gold, and a people whom they could enslave and compel to toil for their emolument. So long as they met with no extraordinary obstacles, they thought not of delay or return. After a time, however, the Indian guide of whom they expected so much, grew tired of the service, or, perhaps, thinking he had led the invaders sufficiently far from the country occupied by his tribe, he began to hesitate. He feigned madness, or conducted himself in such

an unusual manner that the Spaniards thought him demented, and called in the priests to exorcise the devil that possessed him. This was done with appropriate ceremonies; in the language of an old chronicler, "They said a gospel over him, and the fit left him."

Though the devil was exorcised, the guide failed to lead the Spaniards by an easy path, and they became involved in thick forests, with frequent morasses and rivers. They made little progress, and the experiences of the previous year were renewed. The leaders threatened to deliver the guide to the bloodhounds, but he had become valuable as an interpreter, and for this reason they forbore. Some other natives had recently been captured, and as they lived nearer to the supposed land of gold, they were brought before De Soto and his officers to be questioned. The first promptly and truthfully replied, that he knew nothing of such a country as they sought. This so incensed the commander, who believed that the native was deceiving him, that he gave order to have him burned. The order was obeyed with alacrity. He was bound to a stake, the fagots were piled around him and lighted, and the whole force of the Spaniards looked on without remorse, if not with satisfaction, and jeered at his sufferings; but the brave Indian did not retract or falter. His companions, however, who witnessed the cruel scene, and comprehended the cause, learned that falsehood was more acceptable to their captors than the truth, and were not slow to practise the deception which might save their lives.

This was the first act of extreme cruelty on the part of the invaders, but it was by no means the last. As the march continued through weary months and years, and the promised land forever receded, they avenged their disappointment on the guiltless natives with unsparing hand. And considering the age, the nation, and the character of the expedition, why should they not? There were nobles who had exhausted their means and endured toils and hardships for the sake of conquest, wealth, and distinction. There were soldiers of fortune, eager for the chances of personal advancement. There were avaricious knaves seeking only for gold, and reckless adventurers ready alike for plunder or for blood. And there were priests, who, with vain pomp, proclaimed the supremacy of the Roman church, and were ready to enforce conversion by torture and the stake rather than teach the

principles of a better religion to the benighted natives. To all these of what account were the miserable heathen, who were worse than heretics? Were not heretics in their own country, men and women of their own nation and blood, daily tortured, and not unfrequently burned? De Soto and his companions were not acting in violation of the dictates of their consciences, the spirit of the age, or the teachings of their priests; but a fearful retribution awaited them.

De Soto believed that the terrible example he had made of their comrade had terrified the other Indians into telling the truth, and he followed the course which they indicated, though it was only a cunning device to avoid death by fire, and to increase the chances of escape. This course led them at last to a small Indian village, where a rosary and a dagger were found. From the uncertain information obtained from the natives it was supposed that these were relics of the expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon, who, some twenty years before, had landed on the shores of South Carolina, secured two ship-loads of natives, and carried them away to slavery, and who, in a subsequent attempt, was driven away with the loss of many men.

The discovery of these relics, an incident unimportant in itself, gave rise to a new feeling among a portion of De Soto's followers. They had again become dispirited by their toilsome journey. Day after day the weary march had been resumed, and yet they saw no signs of the coveted wealth; they found a country rich only in its luxuriant vegetation. But now these mementos of their countrymen led them to believe that they were not far from the eastern coast, and within reach of the sea, which might bear them to their home. What need of further fruitless toil? Near the coast they might form a settlement; the rich soil might be cultivated, and afford them ample sustenance; and, eventually, ships from Spain or Cuba might offer them an opportunity, if they wished, of returning to their own country. The idea soon grew into a desire, and a proposition was made to De Soto that it should be carried into effect. The haughty leader listened patiently to the proposal, but he replied with a refusal as decisive as before. He had come for conquest; the country had been assigned him to subdue, and to discover its hidden wealth, and he was not yet ready to acknowledge failure, and to found a miserable colony of poverty-stricken adventurers where he had promised to establish an empire of surpassing magnificence. His followers still

had faith in him, and were accustomed to yield to his imperious will; and though it may have been with disappointment and regret, they relinquished the idea of abandoning the object of the expedition, and prepared to continue their long, difficult, and fruitless wanderings.

Under the direction of uncertain guides the Spaniards now moved to the north, and during the months of the second summer they wandered about in various directions in the country which now forms the northern part of Georgia and Alabama. Reaching the mountain ranges, which they deemed impassable, they again turned to the south. The natives were less hostile than those nearer the coast, and furnished such supplies as their poorly cultivated fields yielded. The invaders, however, did not wait for the natives to offer their gifts; they not only demanded whatever the country afforded, but compelled the Indians to carry their burdens. They found a few miserable villages of wigwams, but no substantial towns, like those of Mexico and Peru. They saw no ornaments other than painted skins and feathers, and they discovered no traces of precious ores, though they traversed a country where, at a period long subsequent, gold has been found. The golden maize ripening in the meagre plantations of the natives was the nearest approach to the wealth of which they had dreamed, for it furnished them with palatable food. Berries and amber grapes hanging plentifully on the wild vines refreshed them on the weary march, and persimmons untouched by frost received their curses. Noble forest trees afforded them grateful shade from the noonday sun, and numerous streams quenched the thirst of man and beast. But all these tokens of a productive soil, and a land admirably adapted to meet the wants of civilized man, were held of little account. The object of their search, a land of gold and barbarian splendor, was still before them, in the mysterious depths of an unexplored continent.

In October, the Spaniards had reached what is now the south-western part of Alabama, and on the banks of the river of that name they came to a considerable Indian town. It was composed of slightly built houses of bark, but to the adventurers who had slept so long in the woods and fields, its shelter was not unattractive. They entered the town without any parley, and sought to take possession of the Indian dwellings without condescending to ask permission. The natives were indignant at the license in which the invaders indulged, and arose *en masse* to resist them.

A fearful battle ensued. The Indians fought desperately in defence of their homes, but they were unable to cope with the superior weapons of the Spaniards, and especially with the cavalry, whose horses and whose fiery charge inspired a mortal dread. They were slaughtered on every side, men, women, and children suffering alike at the hands of the vindictive "Christians." The houses were fired, and the flames spread rapidly through the closely-built town, consuming not a few of the unfortunate inmates. Upwards of two thousand of the Indians were killed, and only a small remnant of the inhabitants of the town escaped to the neighboring forest. Though the contest was extremely unequal, the Spaniards did not escape without severe loss. About twenty of them were killed, and a hundred and fifty wounded; a dozen horses were slain, and many others were more or less disabled; while a large part of the luggage of the invaders, which had been brought into the town, was consumed in the flames.

Besides the losses experienced in this battle, De Soto's force had previously been diminished by sickness and the hardships of the campaign. Here and there along the devious course of his march, rude crosses marked the graves where his followers had buried their comrades who had fallen by the way. Many were now suffering from wounds, others were sick, and a large number were dispirited. Clothing and supplies had been burned, and another winter was approaching. Under such circumstances most leaders would have moved to the neighborhood of Pensacola, which was within easy march, or would at least have sent a party thither, to obtain the supplies which he had ordered to be sent there from Cuba. But De Soto was unwilling to communicate with his countrymen until he could boast of success in some degree commensurate with his promises. He would not permit the news of his failure to be carried to Cuba and Spain; his haughty spirit could not brook the idea of the humiliation and ridicule which would attach to his name were such failure known. He determined, therefore, to direct his march again into the interior, still vainly hoping that at last his dreams might be realized.

With his weakened force, and his now slender supplies, he marched to the north, living in part upon the maize which was found growing wild, or here and there in the poorly cultivated fields of the natives. Winter had already come when he reached a village of the Chickasaws, in the northern part of what is now Mississippi. The Indians were away

on one of their hunting expeditions, and having carried all their limited stock of household goods with them, the village seemed utterly abandoned. It consisted of small houses, covered with bark, and thatched with grass and stalks of maize, clustered with little regard to order about a larger building, of like construction, in which the councils of the tribe were held. Here De Soto determined to go into winter quarters. With his higher officers and the priests he took possession of the council-house, and his men were closely quartered in the smaller wigwams, glad enough to secure even such poor shelter from the cold and storms. Snow fell, and though the winter was much milder than in more northern regions, to the Spaniards it seemed severe, and their sufferings were rendered more acute by the long and weary marches they had made, and the exhausting toil they had endured. But the forest furnished them with leaves for beds, and abundant fuel for fires. They gathered the maize, that was still standing in the fields awaiting the return of the Indians, and they killed such little game as the woods afforded, to supplement their rapidly decreasing stores. Sickness prevailed, and the greater part of the men, now thoroughly dispirited, no longer hoped to find the opulent towns in which, at the outset, they had expected to revel after a few days' march.

At last the wandering tribe returned, to find their homes occupied by a strange race. They were indignant, but they stood in awe of strangers who seemed to them to be of supernatural origin, and they forbore to resent the invasion, seeking shelter with a kindred tribe. When their chief and some of his warriors ventured to communicate with the Spaniards, De Soto, as usual, sought from them information concerning the rich country which he still believed or hoped must be within his reach. But they were as ignorant as those whom he had previously questioned. They exhibited no friendly disposition, but watched with jealous eyes the conduct of the invaders, whom they at length found to be only mortals.

As spring approached, De Soto, impatient to continue his fruitless search, prepared to resume his march. As he had done with other tribes, he demanded of the Chickasaw chief that he should furnish men to carry the supplies. Wholly ignorant of the character and customs of these independent savages, he sought to treat them as Pizarro had treated the more gentle and timid Peruvians. But this haughty demand,

added to the invasion of their homes, was too much for the incensed natives. They mustered their warriors, not to bear the burdens of the Spaniards, but to make a sudden and unexpected attack upon them.

Stealthily approaching under the shades of night, they set fire to the combustible houses on every side, and with the fearful war-whoop startled the slumbering Spaniards, who woke to find themselves surrounded by flames. Escaping as best they could, many of them with scanty clothing and without weapons, the surprised invaders were exposed to the attack of the savages, and might have suffered fearful loss had the latter availed themselves of the opportunity to deal an effective blow. The Indians, however, who were few in number, were satisfied with destroying the shelter of their foes, and were afraid of those unknown monsters, the horses, which, escaping from the flames, dashed wildly through the forest; after sending a few arrows into the midst of the confused Spaniards, they withdrew. Had they been more numerous, and made a determined attack on the invaders, they might have annihilated them.

Though they were spared the blows of the tomahawk and war-club, the Spaniards suffered severely. Eleven of their number perished in the flames, and many others were severely burned; numbers of their horses and of their swine were also burned; much of their clothing was destroyed, and their arms rendered useless; and scarcely any shelter was left even for the naked and wounded. Morning found them almost defenceless and wholly demoralized. But the indomitable will which had conducted them through their long and laborious march into this unexplored wilderness was equal to the emergency, and was at once exerted to restore order and efficiency to the demoralized force. The damaged arms were at once collected, forges erected, and swords and spear-heads newly tempered and sharpened. Garments and mats were woven from the bark of trees, grass, and trailing moss, and many of the Spaniards soon appeared in motley array scarcely superior to that of the natives. Stout lances were fashioned from the excellent timber which the forest afforded, and in a few days De Soto's forces were again prepared for resistance. Meanwhile the Indians had been gathering the scattered warriors of their tribe, and at last attempted to surprise their enemies; but they found the Spaniards ready, and they were too wary to risk an open battle.

III.

EXPEDITION OF DE SOTO.—THE MISSISSIPPI. DEATH OF DE SOTO.



A MONTH later, April, 1541, found De Soto and his followers, who had moved westward from their winter quarters, at an Indian village in the western part of Mississippi. With supplies greatly reduced by the fire, they began to experience privation in addition to the severe toil of the march, and they were glad to avail themselves of what they could obtain from the limited stores of the natives. But now, as always, their most anxious inquiry was for the region of gold and populous towns, and as usual they demanded guides who should lead them towards that favored country. Here, however, as before, the natives knew nothing of the fabled land. The happy hunting-grounds of their departed warriors they believed lay far to the west, and thither they were quite willing the invaders should hasten if they could but be rid of them. Guides were accordingly ready to conduct the wanderers to the verge of the territory occupied by this tribe, and under their lead De Soto discovered, not the object of his ambition, but the great river of the west, the mighty Mississippi!

The first European who had looked upon the "Father of Waters," De Soto stood upon a bluff and gazed in wonder at the majestic river that told how vast was the continent which he had claimed for the dominion of his sovereign. Had he been an explorer, and not an ambitious adventurer in pursuit of conquest and plunder, the discovery would have filled him with proud satisfaction. Now it was only a broad

river which impeded his progress, and separated him from his anticipated success. As it was an obstacle to overcome, so it had the effect to stimulate the hopes of De Soto and his followers. Surely, beyond this great river lay the country of which they were in search. This was the barrier which separated the poor and ignorant savages whom they had met from a more refined race that knew the value of gold, and had vast treasures in store ready for them to seize.

While the adventurers tarried a few days on the banks of the river, uncertain how they should cross, the news of the arrival of the strange force was carried across the waters, and spread among the tribes on the other side. They gathered in large numbers, and in a fleet of canoes came sailing down the river to the bluff on which the Spaniards were encamped.

To the strangers the approach of the natives was a splendid sight. Line after line, in regular order, came the canoes bearing warriors gayly decorated with paint and feathers, and chiefs, still more gaudily arrayed, sitting under gorgeous awnings. It was the first display of order and pomp that the invaders had witnessed, and they believed, as they saw the gallant array, that the people whose possessions they coveted were at last discovered.

The Indians approached the shore cautiously, the warriors grasping their bows and arrows, ready to resent any sign of hostility which the Spaniards might exhibit. But wonder and curiosity got the better of their caution and their fears, and they landed to look upon the strangers whom they believed to be "children of the sun." The invaders treated them with the same arrogance they had displayed towards all the natives, and came near precipitating a fight; but the Indians were impressed with their superiority, and submitted to indignities which they would not have borne if offered by men of their own race. They brought fish and maize, and such other food as their limited resources afforded, and the Spaniards, though expressing small thanks, were ready enough to accept even the simplest offerings of this kind.

De Soto was eager to cross the river and penetrate the country beyond, and he demanded of the natives canoes to transport his forces. The canoes, however, were small, and capable of carrying only a few men each at best. The horses could not swim so great a distance and against

so strong a current, and it was found necessary to construct barges to transport them. This labor occupied several weeks, but at last a sufficient number, capable of bearing three horses each, were built, and with canoes and barges the adventurers crossed to the western bank.

And now, with hopes revived, they commenced anew the search for the favored country which was the object of the expedition. They moved northward through a vast alluvial region, clothed with a magnificent vegetation, and abounding in morasses and bayous, which made the march a difficult and toilsome one. Surmounting these obstacles, they at last reached a more elevated country, and extended their wanderings to the southern part of Missouri. The natives with whom they met were mostly of a peaceful character, who lived in permanent villages, and depended for their subsistence upon a rude cultivation of the soil. They regarded the Spaniards as a superior race, and believed they were the "children of the sun;" a belief which the Spaniards encouraged. Through all this region the invaders found no want of subsistence so long as the natives could furnish supplies, and these were taken without regard to the rights or necessities of the owners. Unwarlike, and conscious of the superiority of the strangers, the Indians offered no resistance. On the contrary, they were anxious to propitiate the Spaniards, and, believing in their supernatural origin, brought the sick and the blind to be healed. To such humble and reverent entreaties, however, the Spaniards replied with more of arrogance than humility, by bidding them "pray only to God."

In a favorable locality on the banks of the Mississippi, at the northern limit of their march, the Spaniards encamped for more than a month. The river, the forest, and the stores of the natives furnished them with subsistence, and unmolested by hostile savages they lived a life of comparative ease and perhaps of pleasure. Far away from their country and civilized life, in the heart of an unexplored continent, they indulged in their favorite game of cards and such other amusements as their gypsy life suggested. They hunted in the forest, and fished on the river, and gathered wild fruits on the sunny slopes. They lay at ease in the shadow of the thick foliage, and forgetting for a time the disappointments of their fruitless search, they jested over the toils and dangers through which they had passed. And daily the priests said

mass and observed the various ceremonials of the church with all the formality and pomp that their brethren practised in the heart of Spain.

De Soto learned from the natives that the country farther north was composed of barren lands and open prairie, ranged over by herds of buffalo, and inhabited only by wandering tribes of hunters, and experience had taught him that he need not seek his *El Dorado* in such a region. He therefore moved to the west until he reached a low range of mountains. But in this direction, also, he found no indications that such a thing as gold was known. He passed through many Indian settlements, but they were small villages of the rudest huts, and the only wealth of the inhabitants was their limited stock of maize and a few skins and curiously wrought garments of feathers. Then the march was directed towards the south, and when winter came, the wanderers, again dispirited, were in the vicinity of the hot springs of Arkansas, on the head waters of the River Washita, where they tarried till spring.

As their prospects of success had diminished, the Spaniards added to the arrogance with which they had always treated the Indians vindictive and wanton cruelty. They cut off the hands of many of the natives on the most frivolous pretences, and without restraint reckless young adventurers would quarrel with and then maim or kill them in order to boast of their prowess. In the eyes of the Spaniards what rights had these miserable heathen that Christian cavaliers should respect? Such treatment produced its legitimate fruit. The Indians became more distrustful and wary, and but for their fears would have manifested open hostility. They attempted to conceal their small stores of food, and besides being robbed, were fearfully punished for the offence. Guides sought to conduct them away from the villages of their friends, and upon discovery of the treachery, if not upon mere suspicion, they would be bound and thrown to the bloodhounds.

The stay at their winter quarters in Arkansas was the last season of rest for the invaders, but it was far different from their summer sojourn on the banks of the Mississippi. The weary months were not passed in recreation. They experienced privations in spite of robbing the natives of their subsistence. Many were worn out by fatigue, or prostrated by sickness, and their numbers now were more frequently reduced by death.

They were disheartened; all hopes of the success of their enterprise were abandoned, except by a few over-sanguine spirits, who hoped without reason. De Soto himself was despondent. He had traversed vast distances through the country which was to be his royal province, but nowhere had he found the slightest token of that wealth which he coveted, and which he had so proudly promised, and he was now no nearer the goal of his ambition than when he landed on the shores of Florida. His followers were decreasing in numbers, and the natives were becoming more hostile. In spite of the disgrace of failure he thought once more of home, and he determined to follow the river, of whose course and outlet he knew nothing, to the sea.

In the early spring the Spaniards left their winter quarters and followed the course of the Washita River south. The march was a long and laborious one, through thick forests and dangerous swamps, and was often obstructed by bayous, where alligators showed their hideous forms. Reaching the mouth of the Red River, De Soto inquired the distance to the sea, but he could learn nothing save that a vast, uninhabited, and impenetrable country lay at the south. The haughty leader was dismayed. His men, overcome by the toils of the march and the malaria of the swamps, were dying around him, and he had lost many horses in the morasses. His force was daily becoming weaker, while the Indians, seeing that the strangers were mortal, no longer regarded them as children of the sun, and manifested open hostility. Reports of the cruelty of the Spaniards had preceded them, and the tribes whom they now met were not disposed to submit to robbery and outrage without resistance, and when they still claimed a supernatural origin, their pretensions were met with derision. "If you are children of the sun," said one of the chiefs, "dry up the river, and I will believe you."

Anxious and despondent, and worn out with the fatigues of his unsuccessful journey, De Soto could no longer bear up against disease. Hope was gone and reputation lost; his courage deserted him, and his haughty will surrendered at last to circumstances. He took to his miserable couch under an attack of malignant fever, for which the skill of the camp had no remedy. Conscious that death was near, he called his officers about him, and at their request named his successor; and then the priests administered the extreme rites of the church, with whatever con-

solation that ceremony might bring to his disappointed spirit ere it fled. And thus, after three years of fruitless toil to realize his unbounded expectations, and redeem his ambitious promises, died De Soto, and with him perished the dream of an El Dorado within the shores of Florida.*

Well might the Spaniards grieve for the loss of their commander, for it was his skill and energy that had carried them through the many difficulties of their long journey. Having perfect confidence in him, they had willingly followed wherever he chose to lead; to be without him now, when the difficulties and dangers were greater than ever, added a sense of general bereavement to personal grief for one beloved and honored. Fearful that so serious a loss should become known to the Indians, and encourage them to active and sudden hostilities, they determined to keep his death a secret, and, in the darkness of night, to sink his remains in the waters of the Mississippi.

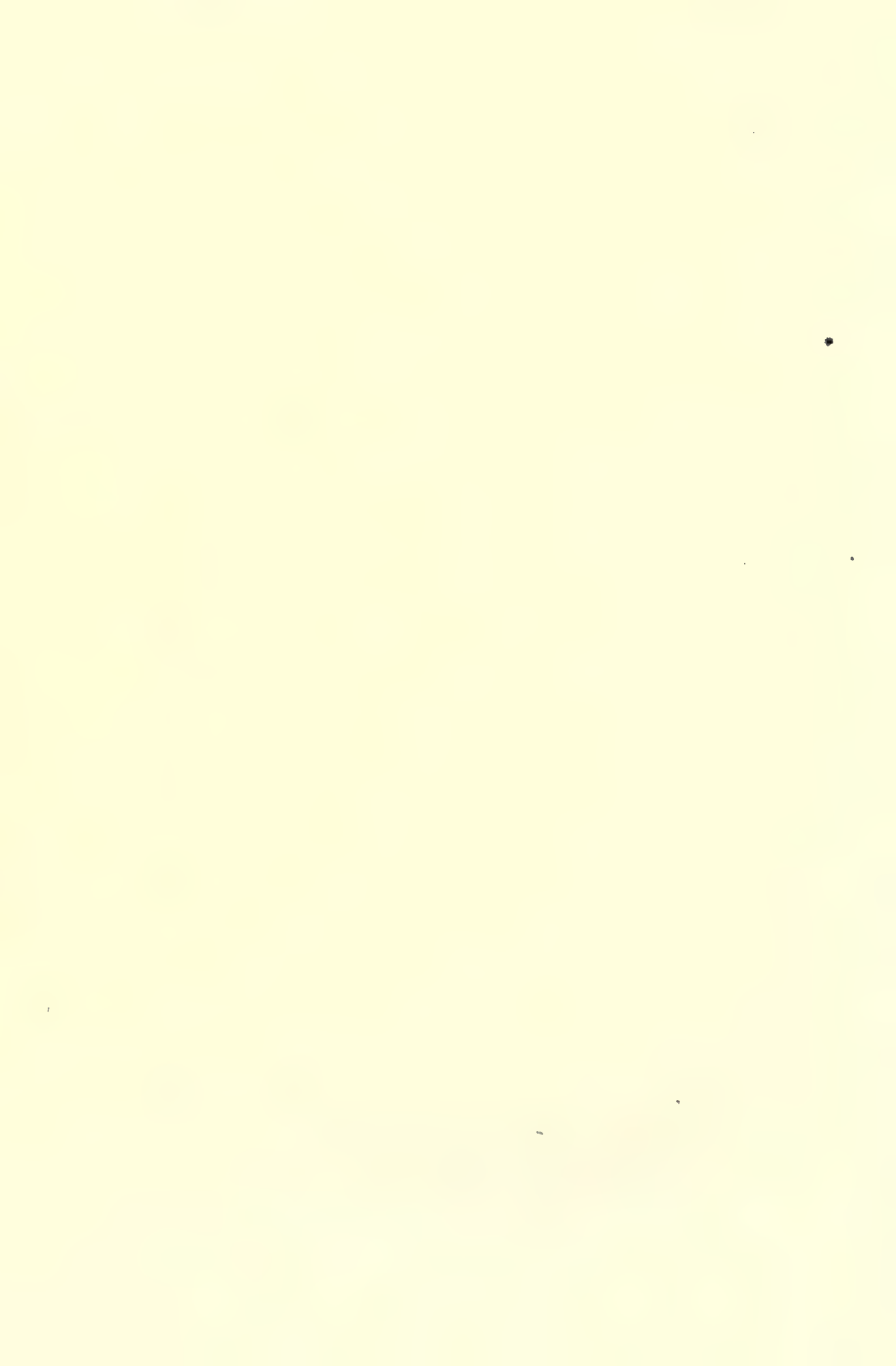
At midnight, as the waning moon just rose above the boundless forest, when deep silence brooded over the thick woods and the dark river, broken only by the hoot of the owl and the cry of the night-heron, a solemn procession moved slowly through the camp of the Spaniards, and down the winding pathway to the shore. It was headed by the priests, with crucifix and candles, chanting lowly a requiem for the dead. After them came the nobles of the expedition, bearing the body of their late leader, wrapped closely in his mantle, and followed by the whole force of the adventurers, in long array, sincerely mourning their chief, whom they had so faithfully served, and in whose iron will they had implicitly trusted. At the river side, the head of the procession embarked in canoes and barges, with their sacred burden, and, while the larger number stood in silence on the shore, paddled slowly out upon the river, the priests still chanting their solemn requiem. Midway between the shores they paused, and, with brief rites, the body of De Soto was committed to the waters, and sank to its resting-place in the bed of the great river which he had discovered. The procession of canoes returned to the shore, and the despondent wanderers to their camp.

Though, at divers places in its immense length, during the centuries the Mississippi had flowed on its winding course to the sea, doubtless many a solemn procession had passed over its waters, and many a mystic

* The name of Florida was then given to the country indefinitely, north and inland.



BURIAL OF DE SOTO.



rite had been performed upon its banks, never before had it borne a procession like this, or witnessed the sacred rites of Christian burial, and heard the chant of Christian requiem. And the first time these ceremonies of a new and better religion were here performed, was when the first Christian who had looked upon its waters was buried beneath them.

With the death of De Soto the romantic interest of this unfortunate expedition ends. There was no longer any hope of discovering and occupying a country abounding in gold, or of the conquest of a people who possessed immense treasures. The avarice which had at first impelled the adventurers was overshadowed by the desire to return to country and friends; the ambition, indomitable will, and energy which had led them were gone. Their thought now was, in what manner they might escape from this wilderness and the perils which surrounded them, and end the fruitless toil which for three long years they had endured. De Soto's successor, Moscoso, was of the same mind as his followers, and desired to be in a country where he might enjoy rest.

Ignorant of the geography of the country, the Spaniards sought at first to reach Mexico by land, and they again moved into the wilderness west of the Mississippi; but, under the lead of treacherous guides, they found themselves involved in difficulties more formidable than any they had yet experienced. Disheartened, they returned by a like difficult and exhausting march to the great river, with the purpose of following its course to the sea. Fatigue and climate continually reduced their numbers, and many of the Indians whom they had enslaved and doomed to the severest labors died on the march. Once more on the banks of the Mississippi, they determined to construct vessels, and sailing with its current to the sea, attempt to reach New Spain. This was no easy task with the slender means they possessed, but it seemed now to be their only chance of escape, and they bravely went to work. With great difficulty they hewed the timber and sawed the planks; they gathered all the iron to be found in the camp,—all useless arms and armor, and even the smallest scraps, and to add to the small supply struck off the fetters of their captives,—and erecting a forge, converted it into nails. After months of labor they constructed several small vessels, without decks and exceedingly frail, which were capable of bearing their di-

minished numbers. Then they killed their few remaining swine and their horses in order to provision their "ships," and with no little difficulty made casks capable of holding water. At last, more than a year after the death of De Soto, during which they had experienced greater hardships than in all the previous time, they embarked and sailed down the Mississippi to its mouth; thence following the coast, after a long and tedious voyage and much suffering, they reached a Spanish settlement in Mexico. They had landed in Florida more than six hundred strong, they returned to their countrymen with scarcely half that number, and the author, leader, and controlling spirit of the expedition, who was to them more than numbers, was among the lost.

The story of De Soto's long and fruitless search, his melancholy death, and the utter failure of the expedition, of the success of which such extraordinary expectations had been indulged, put an end to Spanish hopes of finding in Florida an empire which should surpass that of the Montezumas. The next attempt to secure the dominion of the country for the Spanish crown was the result of religious enthusiasm, and was an effort not to conquer, but to convert the natives. It met, however, with no better success than the previous expeditions, for the natives, remembering the former cruelties of the Spaniards visited upon these men who came with the olive-branch of peace a fearful retribution for the misdeeds of their countrymen.

IV.

HUGUENOT SETTLEMENT IN FLORIDA.



WENTY years after the failure of De Soto's expedition, the French, whose navigators had explored the coast of America from Florida to Newfoundland, undertook to assert their claims to a share in the newly-discovered continent; not, however, so much in the interest of the French crown, and to promote the glory of France, as to secure a refuge for French Protestants from the persecutions of the Catholics at home. Admiral De Coligny, an earnest Protestant, and a man of great influence, originated and cherished the idea of establishing such a refuge, and under his auspices an expedition was fitted out for the purpose of planting a colony in Brazil. That attempt proving a failure, an expedition was subsequently sent under Ribaut, an experienced navigator, to examine the coast of Florida, and select a site for a Huguenot settlement. Reaching the River St. Johns, where he tarried for a time exploring the neighboring region, and holding friendly intercourse with the Indians, Ribaut then sailed along the coast till he reached the spacious harbor which he named Port Royal, and which still bears that name, within the limits of what is now South Carolina. Delighted with the luxuriant vegetation of the country and its agreeable climate, and received with friendliness by the natives, the explorers determined to establish a settlement here, and a small garrison was left to erect a fort and maintain the claim of the French to the country, while the ships returned to France for colonists and supplies.

The garrison thus left was composed of soldiers and sailors with a

few gentlemen volunteers, the whole numbering about thirty. Though the expedition had been fitted out for the purpose of finding a site for a colony which might be a refuge for persecuted Protestants, and the more prominent men were undoubtedly earnest and sincere Calvinists, the religious purpose of the expedition was of little account to most of the men composing the garrison. With all other Europeans, they believed the country was rich in the precious metals, and they had come across the sea, not to found a Protestant colony, but to find gold. But even this was a task for the future, and their present desire was to lead a free and easy life of adventure among the Indians. They visited all the neighboring tribes, and as from the first the French had always treated the natives well, they were received in a friendly manner, and feasted with all the bounty that an Indian village could afford. After this season of feasting they returned to the fort, where they soon were obliged to fast. They were entirely dependent for their food on the Indians, who supplied them liberally so long as their limited stores lasted. Having exhausted the supplies, and perhaps the patience, of the nearest tribes, they sought help from chiefs farther south, and obtained a liberal supply of maize and beans, with the assurance that they should not want so long as the corn-fields yielded their harvest.

As the novelty of their adventures wore off, and they began to feel their helpless condition, discontent, insubordination, and quarrels ensued. The commander became arrogant, harsh, and cruel, and subjected some of those who opposed his will to the severest punishment, — hanging one and banishing another to an island where he was left to starve. Such cruelty and constant tyranny could not be endured by the reckless men who composed the garrison, and they murdered the commander, and chose another in his place. While the affairs of the fort now moved along more smoothly, discontent and homesickness were by no means diminished among this demoralized band. They were not settlers in this new land, but only sojourners, to hold possession until a permanent colony should arrive. Owing to the dissensions and civil war in France, Coligny found it impossible to send out the promised colonists. Delay seemed to them neglect, and they saw no way of escaping from their banishment but to build a vessel and embark for their native land. Under many difficulties they accomplished the task of constructing a

small vessel, and with the aid of the natives fitted it out. With scanty provisions they embarked, and gladly bade farewell to the country which had at first seemed to them a Paradise, and to the Indians who had proved such invaluable friends. But they fled to greater sufferings than they had endured on the land; their frail bark nearly foundered in a storm; their provisions gave out, and through all the terrors of famine they were at last reduced to cannibalism. The survivors succeeded, however, in crossing the Atlantic, and were finally rescued by an English vessel.

Notwithstanding the failure of this attempt to found a colony, De Coligny did not abandon his cherished purpose, and he took advantage of a fitful peace between the rival factions in France to obtain from the king vessels and means for another expedition. As before, he intended to establish a Protestant colony, and to afford an opportunity to Huguenots to seek a home in the new world, where they might escape the turmoil of civil dissensions and the persecution of bigots. Though nominally all Huguenots, and some of them zealous Calvinists, the company gathered for this new expedition was composed, to a large extent, of men who cared little for its religious character,—Huguenot gentlemen in search of adventure, paid soldiers whose faith was of little account, a few hired artisans, and traders who looked for chances of wealth in the land of gold. The commander of the expedition was René de Laudonnière, a man of noble family, an excellent sailor, and a pious Protestant.

After a long voyage the three vessels composing the squadron arrived off the coast of Florida in June, 1564. The misfortunes of the former colonists, or garrison, induced the adventurers to seek some other harbor than that of Port Royal, and they therefore sailed for the River St. Johns, or River of May, as it was called by Ribaut, who had visited it before leaving the garrison at Port Royal, and had doubtless given a pleasant account of its shores upon his return to France. Landing near the mouth of the River, Laudonnière found the column of stone engraved with the arms of France which Ribaut had erected, and before which the Indians had heaped maize as an offering to an unknown god. Here he was met by the principal chief of that region with a large number of followers. The Indians welcomed the French with demonstrations of delight. They believed, as all the natives seem to have believed at the first appearance of white men, that the strangers were children of the sun, and it

turned out that the gratification of the chief was in the belief that he would secure the aid of these children of the sun against his enemies.

About five miles up the river, above a bluff which was the highest eminence in the region, the site of the new settlement was chosen. The magnificent vegetation of the surrounding country, the broad, calm river, whose unexplored course might lead to the marvellous cities of the west, the fruitful soil teeming with beautiful flowers, and giving promise of abundant harvests in the Indian fields, all seemed to combine to make this a most convenient as well as attractive spot for settlement. The work of fortifying was at once commenced, and all, noble and peasant, soldier and artisan, joined heartily in the labor. The fort was triangular in form, and consisted of a palisade of timber on the river side, and a ditch and rampart of earth on the other two sides. Within these works buildings for the officers and men were erected, and on the ramparts cannon were mounted. Outside the defences also a few buildings were erected, and since the natives were friendly the protection of the fort did not seem essential. In honor of the king, Charles IX., the work was named Fort Carolina.

The construction of this fort at once alarmed the natives, and while it was in progress they appeared in considerable numbers, and in a somewhat threatening manner. But a council followed, with all the ceremonial used by the natives on such occasions. Communication between the French and the natives was carried on chiefly by signs, and in this way the cunning chief, by professions of friendship, and offering supplies, obtained from Laudonnière a promise to aid him in a war against a neighboring tribe. This at once secured the greatest good will of the Indians, and by command of their chief they assisted in the construction of the houses, teaching the French how to thatch the roofs with palmetto leaves. The French commander did not fulfil his unwise promise, and thus incurred the displeasure and ill-will of a chief whose friendship might have proved of great value at a later period.

As soon as the fort was well under way, the French sought to explore the interior of the country, expecting to discover rich treasures. One expedition went up the river under Ottigny, the second in command, and these were the first white men to explore those waters, and note the luxuriant vegetation of their shores, and the varied animal life which everywhere abounded.



SCENE IN FLORIDA.

Among the adventurers was an artist, Le Moyne, who was sent with the expedition by Coligny, for the purpose of bringing back authentic pictures of the country and its various productions. In these explorations Le Moyne looked for something besides gold, and found ample employment for his pencil. The placid river, with its low, reedy islands bright with flowers, and shores here shaded by the varied foliage of the magnificent forest, and there stretching far away in green meadows dotted with groups of pine and palmetto; broad estuaries, seen through a vista in the overhanging branches; hummocks crowned with the magnolia and the live-oak, their branches draped with the long Spanish moss; swamps, whose borders were clothed with luxuriant vines and shrubs, and whose mysterious depths were shadowed with the darkness of night by the thick-growing cypress; the hideous alligator, basking in the sun by the reedy shore; the scarcely less hideous Indian, in his paint and feathers; the countless birds, with rich and brilliant plumage; flowers and foliage of rare and gorgeous beauty;—all these scenes and objects, strange to the artist's eye, afforded subjects for many a picture. But it was fated that he should paint them only from memory.

Ottigny reached the country of another Indian tribe, and opened a friendly intercourse with them, although they were enemies of the first allies of the French. The French believed that the gold regions lay in the direction of the later found tribe, and, desiring to learn more, another expedition was sent out under an officer named Vasseur, who penetrated to an Indian town, where he was received with great distinction. The chief of this town informed him, by signs chiefly, that he was one of numerous vassals of the great chief Outina, whose warriors wore armor of gold and silver; that beyond Outina's nation were two mighty chiefs of the Appalachian Mountains, who abounded in gold; that if the French would join Outina in a war against these powerful enemies, each one of that chief's vassals would bring to them a heap of gold and silver. The credulous French officer believed all that the native's pantomime and his own imagination suggested, and he forthwith promised to join in the proposed war.

Meanwhile, the chief with whom Laudonnière had first formed an alliance, prepared for war against his constant enemy, Outina; and asked the French for the promised aid. It was refused. The Indians, indig-

nant at this want of faith, with their barbarous ceremonies and war-dance prepared for a hostile expedition without the French. After their usual manner, they made a raid into Outina's realm, and brought back a number of prisoners and several scalps.

Being desirous of keeping on friendly terms with Outina, through whose dominions he believed the way to the gold region lay, Laudonnière demanded the release of two of these captives, intending to return them to their tribe, and thus secure another hold upon the friendship of Outina. The demand was at first refused, but being peremptorily repeated, the chief at last yielded; but he never forgot the indignity put upon him, or the broken faith of the French. The captives were carried back to their country by a small party of French, who were received with demonstrations of gratitude and friendship, and were at once invited to join in a contemplated raid on a hostile tribe. In this raid an attack was made on an Indian town, when the French arquebuses produced a panic among the dusky warriors. One of the leading chiefs was killed by a shot, and the report seemed, to the simple savages, like thunder from the clouds. While they were thus terrified their native assailants made fearful work, and after butchering and burning to their satisfaction, they returned triumphant.

But the French found themselves no nearer to the El Dorado. They had seen none of Outina's warriors in golden armor, nor had the heaps of precious metals, which his vassal chiefs were to bring in, as yet appeared.

Laudonnière and a few of his principal officers, as well as some of those in humbler positions, were men of intelligence and worth, who had engaged in this enterprise with honorable and patriotic motives, and a purpose to carry out the views of Coligny. But in the company were not a few dissolute and reckless men, whose bad character was manifest as soon as they experienced disappointment, hardship, and want. The toils and perils of hopeful adventures could be endured without a murmur, but a dull, monotonous round of fruitless labor, and increasing privation, with a prospect only of suffering and famine, gave rise to discontent that soon ripened into mutiny. In the midst of the discontent, one of the adventurers claimed that he had discovered (by magic, which did not render it any the less credible) a mine of gold, far up the river, and which would make them all rich, but that the commandant

stood in the way, oppressing and starving them. Thereupon a plot was formed to murder Laudonnière, and one of his intimate friends and confidants was concerned in it. Fortunately, the several plans which they conceived for effecting the murder, in some way miscarried, and the treacherous confidant fled to the woods.

The next movement of a portion of the malcontents was to take two pinnaces and go on a piratical excursion, in which they were not successful; but being obliged to put into Havana to escape starvation, they gave information to the authorities of the existence of the French fort on the St. Johns, and the purpose of establishing there a Huguenot colony. This information was promptly sent to Spain, where it was confirmed by secret messages from the Spanish faction at the French court, and created there a bigoted hostility, which resulted in the most atrocious deed in the history of the new world.

These pirates did not take all the bad blood with them. Privations, enforced for the good of the garrison, grew more severe, and the discontent greater. A more formidable plot was entered into, in which all but four of Laudonnière's officers joined against him. They demanded permission to take the vessel, which had remained in the river since their first arrival, and cruise among the Antilles, to procure provisions. The commander refused this demand, but endeavored to encourage the men, by assuring them that a more vigorous search should soon be made for the gold mines, and that the small vessels, then building, should be sent to procure provisions. The mutineers were not pacified by these promises, and while Laudonnière was confined to his bed by illness, they rose *en masse*, attempted to kill one of his faithful officers, confined the others, disarmed the loyal soldiers, and seizing the sick commander himself, carried him fettered out of the fort, and on board the vessel that lay in the river. Here, by threatening his life, they compelled him to sign a commission, drawn up by one of the mutineers, authorizing the piratical cruise. They then completed, armed, and provisioned as best they could, the two small vessels, and set sail on their buccaneering expedition. Their avowed purpose was to attack a certain Catholic church on one of the Spanish islands, and plunder it of its costly ornaments. They were Protestants, and they intended to make the attack during the midnight mass at Christmas, in order that

they might punish idolatry, and wreak vengeance on the enemies of their religion, while obtaining rich booty.

After the departure of the mutineers, Laudonnière was released from his confinement on board ship, and returning to the fort, reorganized his diminished garrison with new and trusty officers in the place of those who had proved faithless. The mutineers had carried off provisions, but there were not so many to feed, and there were fewer discontented spirits to complain of being starved. Still, they were on short allowance, and were glad to barter with the Indians for food, and even to beg for or steal it. There were frequent expeditions into the interior, in order to obtain maize, and other food, such as the natives had in store; and, from the recklessness of the soldiers, these expeditions did much to alienate the Indians, upon whose good will they were, in a measure, dependent.

The winter passed without any incidents of much moment, after the buccaneers had sailed, till, three months later, a remnant of them returned. Towards the end of March a Spanish brigantine was seen, anchored at the mouth of the river. In one of the small vessels which had been built to replace those carried off by the mutineers, an armed force was sent down to see what were the character and purpose of the stranger. They found the vessel was evidently piratical, and suddenly boarding her, they captured the half-drunken crew, who proved to be their own mutinous countrymen. The pirates had at first been successful, but while they were rejoicing over their greatest prize, they were attacked by some Spanish ships, the prize was retaken, with many of their own men, and the brigantine with the survivors had a narrow escape. The pilot who had been forced to join them was anxious to return to the fort, and he had steered the bark to the coast of Florida without the knowledge of the pirates, who were thus brought back to their deserts for mutiny as well as piracy. The Spaniards, without doubt, would have killed them all, either as pirates or heretics. The French, less vindictive, and in this case with no bigotry to satisfy, condemned only the leaders to death.

In the spring one more attempt was made to reach the imaginary gold country, under the assurance of Outina that if he could have the aid of a few of the French arquebusiers he would open a way to that

long-desired region. The French soldiers were furnished under the command of Ottigny, and with their aid the wily savage made an attack upon his inveterate enemy. As usual, the fire-arms carried death to some and panic to the rest, and a savage slaughter followed. But the victory did not open the way to the gold mines. The Indians returned to their own towns with many scalps, and the French to their fort with another disappointment.

Outina, on whose account the French had forfeited the friendship of the tribes who were their nearest neighbors, was ungrateful as well as deceitful. As time passed, and the expected supplies from France did not arrive, the wants of the garrison became more and more pressing. The neighboring tribes had parted with all the corn they could spare, or, because of their robbery by the reckless soldiers, refused to furnish more. Reduced to such a strait, the colonists applied to Outina, whom they had twice aided against his enemies, but they received only a scanty supply, and were invited to join him in war against one of his own rebellious chiefs, whose country, he said, would afford an abundant reward. The French accepted the invitation, but they were grossly deceived, and not only found no granaries to plunder, but were sent back half starved.

This conduct on the part of the chief whose battles they had fought and given him the victory, exasperated the suffering garrison. They demanded that an expedition should be sent to take him prisoner, and force him to furnish supplies. There was nothing else to be done, and a sufficient force, commanded by Laudonnière himself, went to accomplish this object. Outina was captured in his lodge, and carried, amid the howlings of women and the threats of men, to the boat, where he was held captive, and a supply of maize and beans demanded as his ransom. But the ransom was not forthcoming, and after waiting two days in vain, the French returned to the fort again with their captive. The Indian chief had probably expected death, but he was well treated, and on being assured that he would be released if the ransom was paid, he made the most liberal promises, which his captors were anxious to realize.

He was accordingly carried back to his chief town, accompanied by a strong body of soldiers, who were to receive the ransom. It was promised as soon as the captive should be released; but the savages would

bring nothing in advance, for they believed that the French, according to savage custom, would take the ransom and kill the captive. Outina was then released, but instead of a prompt payment of the ransom there were signs of hostile movements on every side. Armed warriors were assembling, and malignant faces were scowling on the intruders with deadly hatred, the terrible arquebuses alone keeping them from instant attack. Alarmed at the aspect of affairs, the officers complained to Outina that the ransom was not promptly paid. The chief, who sat apart, apparently at a discount since his captivity, replied that he could not control his people, and warned the French that they were in danger. Ottigny, who was in command, determined therefore to return to the boats at once with what corn had been brought them. They had passed but a short distance beyond the palisade that surrounded the town, when, with a fearful yell, the savages made an attack with their arrows. The French, with their arquebuses, drove them back; but again and again, as they marched towards the river, the attack was renewed, hundreds of painted warriors having gathered along the way, determined to destroy the handful of intruders. The handful of intruders, however, with their armor and their fire-arms, were more than a match for the savage horde, many of whom fell under the fire of the arquebusiers. All day the march and fight continued, till the boats were finally reached, with the loss of two soldiers killed and many painfully wounded with the barbed arrows. And all the ransom they secured was two small sacks of corn.

The spring (1565) had now gone by, and yet the hoped-for supplies from France did not come. The condition of the garrison was getting desperate, and suffering from heat, disease, and hunger made it daily weaker and more dispirited. They were at the mercy of the Indians, for they still obtained from them small stores of food, and fortunately the tribes round them were not so vindictive and savage as the subjects of the chief, Outina, though they now brought the colonists no free gifts, and demanded exorbitant prices in barter for their smallest supplies. Despairing of aid from France, though Laudonnière still hoped, the colonists determined to abandon the fort, and sail for home in the one small vessel which had remained with them and the Spanish brigantine brought in by the mutineers. The chief, and indeed the insuperable, obstacle to carrying out this purpose, was the want of provisions for the voyage.

While they were vainly devising means to secure the needed supplies, a squadron arrived off the mouth of the river, causing the greatest excitement. It was not, however, the hoped-for fleet from France, but the ships of Sir John Hawkins, the English slave-trader, who had just disposed, in the West Indies, of a large number of negro slaves whom he had brought from Africa.

In striking contrast with the cruelty with which he had kidnapped the Africans, Hawkins showed the greatest generosity to the French. He supplied them with provisions, and offered to carry them all to France. This offer was declined by Laudonnière, and the Englishman, condemning the frail craft in which the French proposed to sail, offered to sell one of his smaller vessels, and take in payment the cannon and other articles which would be abandoned with the fort. Urged by the garrison, who threatened otherwise to desert him, the commandant assented, and the vessel was transferred to the French, and duly provisioned for the voyage.

Hawkins, having completed his generous service, set sail, leaving the French, now happy with the hope of soon seeing their native land, to make some further preparations. These were not yet completed, when another fleet appeared at the mouth of the river, producing a new excitement. This time it was the long-expected supplies and re-enforcements, — a fleet, bringing abundant stores of food and a large number of emigrants, under the command of Ribaut, who had brought the first colonists to Port Royal, and who now came to establish in fact the permanent settlement which De Coligny had so long contemplated.

V.

THE HUGUENOT COLONY.—MASSACRE BY THE SPANIARDS.



THE arrival of Ribaut put an end to all thought of returning, on the part of the despairing garrison, and their despondency was turned to joy. The new colonists had brought with them their "household gods," their families of women and children, and all their social and home associations. They had brought their Protestant religion to a land where they might be free from the persecutions of the Catholic church. They had brought agricultural implements and seeds for the cultivation of the generous soil, and various means of industry to supply the necessities and comforts of life. The country, with all its natural attractions, took on a new aspect with the advent of such a company; its genial climate seemed specially adapted to the genial temperament of the settlers, whose character not even the austere religion of Calvin could render morose or joyless.

Alas for human hopes! Their dream of security was doomed to an early and fearful disappointment. The new colonists had scarcely disembarked and trodden the soil of their new home, when a Spanish fleet appeared off the mouth of the St. Johns, where the French vessels were at anchor. When the French demanded who the strangers were, and their errand, the Spanish commander replied, "I am Pedro Menendez, sent from Spain, with orders from my king to gibbet or put to the sword all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a

Catholic I will spare, but every heretic shall die!" This fierce reply alarmed the French, though they at first shouted back defiance. They were then unprepared to contend against such a force, and when the Spaniards bore down upon them, they cut their cables and put to sea. The Spanish fleet gave chase, but unable to overtake the fugitives, sailed again to the south, and the French returned to their roadstead.

This unexpected appearance of an enemy, whose nationality and religious bigotry betokened a terrible warfare, caused the greatest consternation among the French colonists. Those upon whom their defence devolved were divided in opinion as to the best course to pursue. Some were in favor of strengthening the fortifications, and awaiting an attack by the Spaniards, but others advised that the French fleet should sail in pursuit of the enemy and attack him on the sea. Among the latter was the commander, Ribaut, and he adopted this course. But just as he discovered the position of the Spanish fleet, a fearful storm arose, and continued many days, with unabated fury, till all his ships were wrecked upon the sand-bars and reefs that stretch along the Florida coast, though most of the men escaped with their lives.

The Spanish fleet was anchored in the harbor of St. Augustine, and also suffered serious damage. This, and the long continuance of the storm, induced Menendez, who was impatient to do the bloody work which bigotry and national hatred imposed upon him, to march against the French settlement, which he knew must now be left in a defenceless condition; for the French vessels had been seen as they were driven along the coast. Learning from the Indians the situation of the settlement, in spite of the continued storm, he marched, with great difficulty, through the intervening forest and swamps, and one morning, before daylight, reached the neighborhood of the fort.

Ribaut had taken with him all the soldiers he had brought to re-enforce the fort, but had left the women and children and non-combatant camp-followers. The garrison was, therefore, as the Spaniards thought, in a truly defenceless condition. The fort itself had several breaches, and the cannon given to Sir John Hawkins had not been replaced. With such soldiers and able-bodied men as he had, Laudonnière endeavored to put the works in a condition for defence, but the heavy rains seriously impeded their labors. While the storm continued they

did not anticipate any attack, for they believed that the Spaniards could come only by sea, and the storm would prevent such an attempt. The night that Menendez reached the St. Johns, the French sentinels had been withdrawn, on account of the storm. They were worn down by their long privation and their recent toils, and the officer in command had pity on their miserable condition, believing there was no occasion for their exposure.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards, too, were disheartened by the long and toilsome march, in drenching rain, through endless swamps; their provisions were exhausted, their ammunition wet, and they were ready to mutiny, when at last, one morning, soon after daybreak, they reached the vicinity of the fort. Menendez then aroused them by an appeal to their religious zeal, and the whole force advanced silently, regardless of storm and all obstacles, till they reached a position from which the assault could be made. Then, with a shout, they rushed forward, and just then they were discovered by a French soldier, who gave the alarm. But it was too late; the garrison could offer no resistance, and the Spaniards soon gained an entrance to the fort through a breach in the palisade.

Then commenced a massacre such as only the religious intolerance of a cruel age and a vindictive race could prompt. Armed and unarmed, sick and wounded, men, women, and children, hurrying from their beds at the alarm, were slaughtered with a ferocity worthy only of savages. A few escaped by flying to the woods, among them Laudonnière, the commander, after a vain attempt to resist the assailants, and Le Moyne, the artist. Some of the women and infants, when the fury of the Spaniards was in some degree appeased, were spared, but only for captivity and the tender mercies of the Inquisition. A hundred and fifty of the inmates of the fort, many of them helpless women and children, were killed; and not content with the slaughter of the weak and defenceless, the vindictive murderers treated the corpses of the slain with shocking barbarity.

And all this was done in the name of the Christian religion! On the spot where the carnage was greatest the Spaniards reared a cross and said mass, to commemorate their bloody work and to dedicate the ground as the site of a church.

The murderous work did not end with the death of those in the fort.



MASSACRE OF THE HUGUENOTS AT FORT CAROLINA.

Some of the men who escaped to the woods, driven by want, appealed to the mercy of the Spaniards, and gave themselves up; but the mercy they met with was a speedy and cruel death. Those who knew the treachery and ferocity of the Spanish Catholics preferred to trust to some providential escape; and after severe sufferings they succeeded in getting on board two small French vessels which had remained in the roadstead when the fleet sailed. Among those thus rescued were Laudonnière and Le Moyne.

The shipwrecked mariners and soldiers of the French fleet for the most part experienced a like fate with that of their countrymen at the fort. They had escaped death in the sea, but they were exposed on the bare reefs and sandy shores, without food or fresh water to sustain them, or arms to defend themselves. In their half-famished and helpless condition one party of about two hundred was discovered by the Indians, who informed the Spaniards of their position. Menendez, who had returned to St. Augustine, immediately proceeded with a body of soldiers to the place where they were, and demanded their surrender. Well might they hesitate to give themselves up to an enemy whose religious and national hatred they had reason to fear. But Menendez assured them of his compassion, and bade them rely upon his honor, saying he "would act towards them as God should give him grace." After some parleying, the French agreed to surrender, and they were brought across the narrow inlet which divided the two parties, in small detachments, by means of a canoe. As each detachment of prisoners landed, with a treachery equalled only by their atrocity, the Spaniards led them back from the shore, and bound their hands behind them. When all were thus secured, they were driven, with cruel goadings, towards St. Augustine, until they reached a spot designated by Menendez, when their captors fell upon them and massacred them with the same ferocity, rendered more hateful by treachery, which had been manifested at Fort Carolina. And Menendez gloried in the bloody deed as one by which he served God and his king.

The corpses of these murdered Frenchmen were hardly cold, when the Indians informed the Spaniards that a much larger body of the shipwrecked men were at the same inlet where the first party had been found. Again Menendez, with a strong force, proceeded to the place signaled

by his treachery. The French now here numbered three hundred and fifty, and were under the command of Ribaut himself. Another parley ensued. Ribaut urged that the French and Spanish monarchs were friends, and begged that Menendez would aid him in sending his men home. The treacherous Spaniard expressed himself as before, leading the Frenchman to believe that he would act mercifully. Ribaut offered a ransom of a hundred thousand ducats for his men who should surrender; to which Menendez replied, "It would grieve me not to accept it, for I have great need of it." This answer seemed to satisfy Ribaut; but two hundred of his men refused to surrender, and retreated to the south, preferring to risk the danger of famine, and murder by the Indians, rather than trust themselves to the mercy of the Spaniards. The remainder surrendered. They were transported across the inlet in the same manner as their predecessors; in the same manner they were treacherously bound and cruelly murdered. Four or five only escaped death to be held in captivity. Those who had refused to surrender were subsequently captured, but their lives were spared.

Such was the fate of the French Huguenots who attempted to establish the first permanent colony within the territory now comprised in the United States. The fierce Menendez, fit instrument of a bigoted king and a vindictive priesthood, had wiped it out in blood; boasting that by his wholesale slaughter he had served God and his Catholic Majesty, and proclaiming to the world that he had murdered these men, "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." For this treacherous and cruel work he received the warm approval of the king and the blessing of the church. But a day of retribution came.

When the news of the massacre of the colonists and soldiers reached France, it aroused the indignation of all classes except the zealous Catholics. But Frenchmen, who demanded redress for the outrage on their nationality, and Huguenots, who begged that the murder of their brethren should be punished, appealed alike in vain to the weak and vacillating king. Spanish influence was dominant at the French court, and Catholic bigotry was preparing the way for a more terrible massacre in a French province. It was left, therefore, for private enterprise and private vengeance to vindicate the national honor and to avenge the atrocities of Spanish bigotry.

Dominique de Gourgues, a soldier of distinction and of noble birth, had suffered grievous wrongs at the hands of the Spaniards during a long captivity, when he was chained to the oar as a galley-slave, and he longed for an opportunity to retaliate for the outrages that had been heaped upon him. When he heard of the massacre of his countrymen in Florida, his long-nursed hatred of the Spaniards burned with a fiercer flame, and he determined to avenge his own wrongs as well as the cruel murder of his Protestant brethren. He disposed of his property, and, with the aid of his friends, fitted out three small vessels, in which he embarked with a hundred and fifty men, mostly Huguenots, who were best fitted for the work he had in view.

After a long and perilous voyage he reached the West Indies, where he first divulged his purpose, and by eloquent appeals infused something of his own spirit of revenge into his followers. They were eager to join in the dangerous enterprise, and the ships were steered to the coast of Florida. Landing some leagues north of the St. Johns River, they were met by the Indians of the tribes who had first welcomed the former French colonists, and who, having already experienced the cruelty and arrogance of the Spaniards, were glad to welcome again the countrymen of their former neighbors. An alliance was readily entered into, and a body of Indian warriors agreed to join in an attack on the Spaniards.

After the destruction of the French colony, the Spaniards garrisoned Fort Carolina and constructed two other forts nearer the mouth of the river. On the latter the attack was to be made, the French sailing in their ships to an appointed rendezvous, and the Indians moving through the forest. After the French soldiers landed, there was yet a difficult and weary march before they could reach the forts. But under the lead of the fiery Gourgues and the guidance of the Indians they toiled through swamps and across inlets till they arrived near the Spanish position. Then an attack was made on the nearest fort by the French on one side and the Indians on the other. The Spaniards were taken by surprise, and offered but a feeble resistance. Attempting to escape, they were cut off by a detachment of the French, and every man perished, or was captured and reserved for further punishment. The other fort was on the opposite shore, and its garrison briskly can-

nonaded the assailants, and were cannonaded in return by the captured guns. The first garrison disposed of, the French crossed in their boats, which had now arrived, and the Indians swam the river. Alarmed at the numbers of their enemy, who swarmed out of the woods and advanced through the water with fearful yells, the Spaniards rushed out of the fort only to find the French, who had already landed, confronting them. The savages followed in their rear, and between the war-clubs and spears on the one hand, and the arquebuses on the other, their doom was soon sealed.

Fort Carolina, called by Spaniards San Mateo, still remained. It was some distance above those already captured, and a day or two intervened before Gourgues advanced against it. While the French and their Indian allies were concealed in the woods, preparing for the assault, a Spanish detachment sallied from the fort to reconnoitre, and was cut off by the French and destroyed. Their comrades in the fort, learning the disaster, sought safety by abandoning their works and flying to the woods on the side farthest from the French. But here they met their savage foe, who in great numbers assailed them with war-club and spear, and not one escaped. Entering the fort, Gourgues disposed of the few Spaniards who had as yet escaped death by hanging them to the trees where they had hung the French; and over them he placed a board inscribed, "I have done this not as to Spaniards and Mariners, but as to Traitors, Robbers, and Murderers."

Having destroyed the forts, Gourgues, with a piety that ill comported with the bloody work in which he had been engaged, gave thanks to God for his victory, and returned to his ships. The Indians were greatly disappointed when he prepared to sail, but his mission was accomplished. He had come to destroy, not to plant a new colony, and with thanks and gifts he bade his savage allies adieu, and sailed for France. His exploit was applauded by those of his countrymen whose nationality was not extinguished by their bigotry; but he was denounced by the extreme Catholics who surrounded the throne, and was obliged for a time to seek safety in exile.*

* In Parkman's "*Pioneers of France in the New World*" is a most interesting and graphic account of the French colony on the St. Johns, its destruction, and the retribution which followed, and to it the writer is indebted for the facts narrated above.

VI.

SPANISH SETTLEMENT AT ST. AUGUSTINE.



WENTY years after the utter failure of De Soto's expedition was known in Spain, the Spaniards made another and more successful attempt to colonize and hold Florida. It was hastened, if not prompted, by information received by the government that the French Huguenots had made a settlement within what was claimed as the dominion of Spain. Philip II. was a bigoted Catholic as well as a bitter enemy of France. To destroy the colony of heretics and Frenchmen, and to secure Florida to Spain and the church, was a religious duty. Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles, who had been thoroughly trained in the cruel warfare of that age, who had manifested his intolerance in the Netherlands, and his unscrupulous ability in New Spain, was selected to perform that duty. He was appointed hereditary governor of Florida, which included a territory of indefinite extent, and of which he was to complete the conquest within three years. He was required to plant a colony there composed in part of married men, with such number of priests, including Jesuits, as should satisfy the bigotry of the king and his priestly advisers. And he was also required to exterminate the French heretics who had sought a refuge there. This, indeed, became the first, and apparently the most important, object of the expedition. In return for such service he was granted princely emoluments and privileges.

The expedition was fitted out on the most extensive scale, exceeding all previous enterprises of the kind. It comprised thirty-four vessels and twenty-six hundred persons, and was supplied with everything

necessary for the establishment of a colony — families of emigrants anxious to make a home in a new country, the luxuriance and beauty of which had been painted in glowing colors, — monks and priests who should plant the cross there, and soldiers who should defend it, and destroy all heretics, — domestic animals, agricultural and mechanical implements, and whatever else the necessities of the settlers or the object of the expedition required.

Information having been received in Spain that a French fleet, under Ribaut, had sailed for Florida, Menendez hastened his departure, and sailed with only a portion of his fleet, leaving the smaller vessels to follow. The voyage was boisterous, and the fleet was separated. Reaching the West Indies, Menendez, after waiting a short time for the arrival of all his ships, became impatient to carry out his enterprise, and proceeded to Florida before they all joined him. Sailing along the coast in search alike of the Huguenot settlement and a favorable place to plant his own colony, he discovered a harbor which by its beauty and fine situation invited him to enter. He tarried, however, only long enough to note the advantages it offered, and to learn from the Indians the position of the French. He then sailed north to the St. Johns River, where he found Ribaut's French fleet, and sent to the "heretics" the intolerant threat which has been mentioned on a previous page. Failing to overtake the French fleet when it put to sea, he returned to the harbor where he had previously anchored.

Here he determined to establish his colony, and in honor of the saint on whose day he had first sighted the land granted to him for conquest, he named the place St. Augustine. The harbor, which was capable of affording a haven for most of the Spanish ships of that time, though accessible only to the smaller craft of the present day, was separated from the ocean by a narrow island, afterwards named Anastasia. On the west, two rivers flowed into it, forming a peninsula, which was selected as the site of the settlement. Experience proved that the place was well chosen, though more by chance than wisdom. Being surrounded by salt marshes and tidal water, it was free from the miasma of the swamps which rendered the interior so fatal. The sea breezes tempered the tropical heat of summer, and the winters were mild and pleasant. It was, moreover, easily protected from the attacks of hostile

Indians on the landward side, and capable of defence against the fleets of enemies approaching from the sea.

It was on the 8th of September (1565), the festival of the Virgin Mary, that Menendez landed and took formal possession of the country in the name of the Spanish monarch. The proceedings were conducted with all the pomp of military display and religious ceremonials. Soldiers, priests, and colonists debarked; the royal banner was unfurled, and beside it the banner of the church; a solemn procession moved over the soil hitherto trodden only by a few savages; high mass was performed, the ground was duly consecrated, and the land was claimed for the dominion not only of Spain, but of the Roman church. A site was selected for a church and another for a fort, and after ample reservations for the governor and his officers, the humbler colonists, who were neither priests nor soldiers, were allowed no very liberal extent of ground on which to erect their dwellings. Such was the founding of St. Augustine, the first settlement of Europeans which proved a permanent one within the territory now composing the United States, though Santa Fe was settled at about the same time by an expedition moving north from Mexico.

The work of landing the emigrants, the domestic animals, and the various supplies, and of erecting temporary shelter, was hardly completed when a severe storm arose, and continued many days. Many of the Spanish vessels suffered great damage, though, sheltered in the harbor, they escaped the disaster which befell the French fleet. Menendez, never forgetful of his promise to his bigoted king, and surrounded by priests who would not permit him to forget, even if his intolerant spirit had not urged him to cruel action, made it his first purpose to destroy the Huguenot colony. Knowing that the French ships had put to sea, and were scattered, if not wrecked, by the storm, and that the settlers would be left in a more defenceless condition, while the storm yet prevailed he marched, under the guidance of Indians, through forest and swamp, to the River St. Johns. The atrocity with which he executed his mission has been narrated in a preceding page. After it was perpetrated, leaving a sufficient number of his men to hold the position, and prevent re-occupation by the French, he returned to St. Augustine, and soon after crowned his bloody exploits and his treachery by murdering the shipwrecked French mariners.

But Menendez was able as well as cruel, and under his direction, after the arrival of the remainder of his expedition, the settlement soon assumed form and permanence. In a few years it possessed all the characteristics of a Spanish village transplanted to the new world. It was protected on the landward side by a palisade in lieu of wall. It had its fortress, its church, and its monastery, and its humbler dwellings ranged around the plaza in which grew the palmetto and magnolia. Soldiers and priests were numerous. The people, naturally indolent, imposed their burdens on negro slaves; and even these were not encouraged to industry by the strict observance of all the festivals of the Roman calendar. The genial climate and fruitful soil made the life of the settlers an easy one, so long as they offended neither priests nor soldiers.

By the door of the low palmetto-thatched cottage the Spanish maiden plaited strands of the palmetto or the tough grass of the meadows, while at her feet a youth thrummed the guitar and sang the love-songs of their native land. Haply a soldier, wandering from the fort, would make bolder love to the maiden, and treat with unreserved insolence the favored lover. After vespers, as the sun sank behind the western forest, all the settlers, old and young, would gather in the plaza of the little village, and join in the graceful Spanish dance, or talk of by-gone pleasures in Old Spain, which they would fain renew in this strange land. The sable African, torn from his native land, and not yet possessing the childish gayety of succeeding generations, looked on in sullen wonder. The gray Franciscan friar came forth from the humble monastery to gaze upon the scene, and the black-robed Jesuit smiled upon the merry-making if the dancers but faithfully attended mass, and did not neglect the confessional.

Unlike the later colonists in other parts of the country, they were not exposed to hostile incursions of Indians, nor subjected to severe privations and hardships. The most they had to fear were the arrogance of the soldiers and the inquisitorial powers of the church. The settlement was the offspring of bigotry, and over it bigotry ruled supreme.

Soon after the settlement of St. Augustine, the foundations were laid for the remarkable fortress, known as St. Marks, which was more than three quarters of a century in building, and which still stands a picturesque memorial of a past age, such as is found in no other part of the country. It was built from coquina, a conglomerate of shells and sand,

quarried on the Island of Anastasia. In its external appearance it has all the characteristics of a castle of the middle ages, and in its interior are found not only ample quarters for its garrison, massive casemates, and an elaborately finished chapel, but dark and mysterious passages and dungeons, of which the fearful use has been revealed by the discovery in them of skeletons, whose crumbling bones were still encircled by fetters, and bound with rusty chains to massive ring-bolts. Other skeletons have also been discovered sealed up with solid masonry within its walls. When these victims of a cruel power were consigned to their fearful death cannot be known, but, from the first, cruelty was the characteristic of the military rulers, and religious intolerance inspired its indulgence. The evil practices of Spain were readily transplanted to the new world. It is said that between the fortress and the monastery was a subterranean passage, and possibly along this gloomy way more than one unfortunate heretic was conducted from the chamber of the Inquisition to a dungeon of which the door never again opened for him. But whether the sufferers were heretics, political offenders, criminals, or the victims of private vengeance, they probably met their doom in the early period of the history of St. Augustine, when the successors of Menendez inherited his cruelty, and religion encouraged its exercise.

It was many years, however, before the Castle of St. Marks attained anything like its complete proportions. At first, a less ambitious structure served for defence, and gradually forts were constructed at other points on the coast, designed more to resist the foreign invader than for protection against the Indians. The ships of France, England, and the buccaneers were more feared than the savages from the swamps and forests of the interior.

But it was not till twenty years after the settlement of St. Augustine that it was visited by a foreign foe. In the mean time, it had become a comparatively well-built town, with a few substantial buildings. Gardens in which the orange and fig trees flourished were cultivated, and the village had a pleasant aspect, with its semi-tropical vegetation. The colonists, a portion of whom had grown up from childhood here, had long since ceased to sigh for the scenes of Old Spain, and had become attached to their homes, which, if less substantial than those they had left in their native land, were, perhaps, quite as comfortable and pleas-

ant. Life passed very much as in a village of Castile, where, in peaceful times, monk, soldier, and peasant droned away the noontide in undisturbed indolence. From such quiet the settlement was one day startled, in 1586, by the appearance of a number of ships bearing the English flag. Though Spain and England were then at war, the colonists at St. Augustine little dreamed that in their remote quarter of the world the enemy would seek them out, and they were not prepared for the visitation. The fierce Menendez was no longer in the colony, there were no ships capable of meeting the enemy, and the commander of the garrison, fearful that he could not successfully resist an attack, determined to abandon the fort. The alarm spread quickly through the settlement, and, in their terror, the inhabitants at once prepared to abandon their homes. Soldiers, priests, villagers, and slaves, men, women, and children, seizing whatever of food was at hand, moved with all haste through the gateway of the palisade, and toiled through the swamps to the forts on the St. Johns. It was a fearful journey for many of them, but they believed that death was behind, and safety only before.

The cause of this alarm was the squadron of Sir Francis Drake, who had been capturing Spanish ships, and attacking and destroying various Spanish forts and settlements in the West Indies, and who determined, before returning to England, to add one more to his list of achievements. He had suffered heavy loss, on one of his early trading voyages, at the hands of the Spaniards, who had attacked the ships of Sir John Hawkins, one of which Drake commanded, and destroyed nearly all of them. Failing to obtain indemnity from Spain, he vowed that he would avenge his wrongs and make good his losses by warfare on his own account. He had, on former expeditions, made good his threat by attacking and plundering various Spanish settlements in South America, and capturing richly laden ships. The rupture between Spain and England now afforded him a new opportunity to gratify his hostility to the Spaniards, and he promptly improved it.

Entering the harbor of St. Augustine, no cannon replied to his, and Drake soon discovered that the fort and hamlet were deserted. He accordingly landed a sufficient force, and having plundered the fort, church, and monastery of all that was valuable, he set fire to them, and to the humbler dwellings of the colonists, and then withdrew. To this

extent, though happily free from bloodshed, did retribution come upon St. Augustine, whose settlement was the offspring of intolerance, and was celebrated by a more fearful and bloody destruction of the Huguenot settlement on the St. Johns.

When the fugitive Spaniards were assured that their enemy had departed, they returned to St. Augustine, to find their homes in ashes, their church despoiled and burned, and their defences destroyed. Then came longings for their old home, in the interior of Spain, where there was no fear of hostile fleets. But for the honor of Spain the garrison must remain; the younger colonists remembered no other homes, and it was impossible to return impoverished to their native country. Nothing remained, therefore, but to rebuild the fort, church, and dwellings, and the work was speedily commenced. They now experienced more of privation and hardship than had yet befallen them, though the genial climate caused no real suffering, and supplies from Cuba prevented want. The rebuilt town grew slowly, but was undisturbed by foreign foes until a century after its settlement. The monastery, at least, flourished, and a large number of monks and priests made St. Augustine a rigid Catholic town.

Spain had always aimed at conquest in the new world. Her expeditions were always military or naval ones, and colonies were to follow conquest. Menendez had come, like his predecessors, to conquer Florida; but he found that the scattered Indian tribes afforded no opportunity for such conquest as he contemplated, and that the mineral wealth of the country was a myth. He planted the colony at St. Augustine, and built a few forts, but he accomplished nothing more. He did not realize the wealth he anticipated, either from mines or the fruitful soil; on the contrary, he had exhausted his means in fitting out his expedition. He had gratified his intolerant spirit and his hatred of the French, and that compensated in some degree for his other disappointments; but after a few years he returned to Spain impoverished. He was not dishonored, however, for the bigoted Philip II., rejoicing in the murder of the French heretics, and in the establishment of a Catholic colony in Florida, did not demand the fulfilment of other promises, but applauded his cruelty, and conferred new honors upon him.

VII.

THE FRENCH ON THE ST. LAWRENCE.— ROBERVAL AND MARGUERITE.



ALTHOUGH the French failed to establish a colony in Florida, they were more successful in a higher latitude. Their hardy Breton and Basque fishermen were among the first to pursue the cod on the banks of Newfoundland, and their daring mariners early explored the northern shores of the continent, bent upon finding a northern passage to the Indies. Verrazzano, an Italian, but sailing under the French flag, in 1524 sailed along the coast from North Carolina to Newfoundland; Cartier, in 1535, sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal, and built a fort on the banks of the St. Charles, where with his followers he passed the winter. He came, however, more to explore than to plant a colony, and after one winter, during which his men suffered fearfully from the scurvy, and many of them died, he returned to France, carrying with him a number of natives, whom he treacherously induced to go on board his ships. But the report which Cartier carried to France led to another expedition, the objects of which were discovery, settlement, and the conversion of the natives. This, also, was under the command of Cartier, who was to be joined by a nobleman named Roberval, commissioned as viceroy of New France, as all the northern part of the continent was called. Cartier again sailed up the St. Lawrence (in 1541), built two forts, and planted some small patches of ground. But when another miserable winter had been passed, the motley crew of colonists, many of whom were the released convicts of prisons, became mutinous, and Cartier abandoned

the forts, and again set sail for France, carrying some quartz crystals which he thought were diamonds, and some yellow mica which he thought was gold. While lying at St. John, Roberval arrived with three ships and two hundred colonists, who were to join the pioneers of the expedition on the St. Lawrence. Astonished and indignant to find that Cartier had abandoned the object of the expedition fitted out at so great expense, Roberval ordered him to return to the St. Lawrence; but, disgusted with the country and the prospect, he refused, and in the night sailed away for France.

Roberval continued his voyage, and, sailing up the St. Lawrence, landed his colony at the place where Cartier first constructed a fort. Here it was determined to make a settlement, and the men were set at work to erect a huge structure which should afford ample accommodation for the two hundred colonists, and at the same time should be a work of defence against any hostile natives. It was a motley community, composed of nobles and gentlemen, soldiers and artisans, and not a few convicts, besides women and children; and all these were housed in one great castle built of timber and divided into various apartments designed to meet all the wants of such an assemblage. But though the colonists had shelter, and ample store-rooms, and mills for grinding corn, they were but poorly supplied with provisions. The long, cold winter came, and with it came famine. The colony was reduced to extremity, half starving on the fish they could buy of the Indians, and the roots which they dug in the forest. Sickness and death followed, and before the winter had passed, one third of their number were dead. Roberval ruled with an iron hand, and punished with the greatest severity anything like mutiny or rebellion. The lash was frequently used, and the gallows had its victims; men, and even women, were shot, and some unfortunates were bound and left upon an island to starve. Under such circumstances, and such despotic rule, no community could long survive, and this attempt at settlement failed more disastrously than that of Cartier.

An instance of the stern cruelty of Roberval is said to have occurred on the voyage to the St. Lawrence. Among the company on board his ship was his niece, a young woman named Marguerite, whose personal attractions had won the heart of a young gentleman who left

France in the same ship for love of her. The affection was mutual, and as they took no pains to conceal it, Roberval was greatly incensed, and determined to punish his niece for the offence. North of Newfoundland was an island reputed among the sailors of that superstitious age, as well as the Indians, to be inhabited by demons. Whether it was the roar of the winds through the cedars, the mysterious moaning of the sea, the howl of wild beasts, or the clamor of sea-fowl, a fearful din was said to be ever heard over the island, and was attributed to the infernal orgies of raging demons. The fishermen carefully avoided these fearful shores, lest they should fall into the clutches of the devils, whom some of them professed to have seen in all their hideous proportions. Off the shore of this island Roberval cast anchor, and put his offending niece ashore, accompanied by an old female servant who had encouraged her mistress in her passion. He gave them some provisions to sustain life for a time, and some arquebuses with which to defend themselves against the assaults of wild beasts and savages, if not against the more dreaded spirits of evil. The lover, too faithful to allow his beloved to be left thus to perish, resolved to share her fate, and plunging into the sea succeeded in reaching the shore. No attempt was made to capture him, and the ship soon sailed away, and the three were left on the desolate shore to the tender mercies of savages and beasts, and, as the sailors believed, to the tortures of the devils.

Left to perish, with little hope of escape, the lovers at least found consolation in each other's presence. They constructed such rude shelter as they could, and indulged the love for which they were so cruelly punished; and however much the demons may have raged about their devoted heads, they suffered no harm from that source—a result which the devout old chroniclers ascribe to the protection of the Holy Virgin. The short summer passed, and the long winter came, and with it privations and suffering, relieved at last by the return of spring. A child was born; after a time the father sank under hardship and disease, and died, and the child soon followed. The old servant did not long survive, and then the unfortunate lady was left alone to fight the battle of life on this desolate and haunted shore. No savage ever appeared; but hungry bears, prowling about the cabin, had been shot in

self-defence, and afforded the outcasts food, even while they believed that the demons assumed such shape. To defend life and to sustain it, Marguerite, when left alone, was obliged more than once to shoot the savage beasts. With a remarkable capacity to resist cold and hardship, she passed another dreary winter; but ere the third came she was fortunately discovered by some adventurous fishermen, and rescued and returned to France, to tell the wondrous tale of her adventures. But this forced settlement on the Isle of Demons was of longer duration than the larger one which Roberval attempted on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Probably this story is not altogether a myth, although, as related by the old chroniclers, it would appear such; for they are more concerned with the efforts of imaginary demons to capture the souls of the exiles, and the protecting care of the Virgin, than with the physical sufferings and mental anguish of the exiles. We may imagine something of the miserable life they led upon that desolate island—their efforts to provide a shelter from the cold and storms, and to husband their scanty supplies; their timid wanderings over a limited extent of their domain, gathering scanty berries, or searching for the eggs of the sea fowl, and ever watching with hopeless anxiety for some approaching sail; their sufferings through the long and dreary winter, when the shores for months were ice-bound, and the drifting snows almost buried their cabin; the pangs of hunger, appeased sometimes only by innutritious roots; their conflict with ferocious beasts; and, through all the misery, the continuance of a mutual love that could endure these common hardships, and even find some brief moments of happiness. But who can picture the anguish with which the unshriven lover, and then the unbaptized babe, and then the last human companion, were dragged forth, by that lonely woman, from the desolate cabin, for unsanctified burial, in a shallow grave which hungry beasts might violate; and the utter loneliness and despair that must have followed! The torture of demons, raging and threatening with all the horrid orgies which superstition could paint, could be no more fearful than the sufferings which the unfortunate Marguerite must have endured.

After the failure of Cartier and Roberval to establish a colony on the St. Lawrence, all further attempts were abandoned by the French for many years. Their attention was engrossed in the feuds of their

own country, and their activity found abundant occupation in the wars between contending factions. Their fishermen, in large numbers, continued to gather the harvest of the sea about Newfoundland, and fur traders found their way up the St. Lawrence to Tadoussac, to barter with the Indians, but no settlement was anywhere attempted.

In 1598, however, the Marquis de La Roche undertook to colonize the country claimed as a domain of France. He was granted extraordinary powers and privileges by the king, and sailed in a small vessel, with a company composed in part of criminals taken from the prisons. Arriving at Sable Island, he landed forty convicts, and proceeded with the more worthy part of his company to make explorations, and select a site for the permanent establishment of his colony. But a storm drove him out to sea, and he was forced to sail back to France, leaving the band of criminals to take care of themselves. They were on a low, treeless island, where the only vegetation was a coarse grass and low bushes. But a wreck was on the beach, and from this they constructed a shelter, and they caught fish and wild fowl for food. They also hunted wild cattle found on the island, — the progeny of some left there many years before, — and trapped foxes, and killed seals. Leading a miserable life, where they could not prey upon society, they preyed upon each other, quarrelled, fought, and murdered, so that disease and violence at last reduced their number to twelve. Five years this "colony" endured the hardships of their hopeless life, and then the survivors were rescued by a vessel of their countrymen. Probably the "fittest survived," for they are said to have subsequently engaged in the fur trade, instead of returning to a life of crime in France.

VIII.

FRENCH SETTLEMENT IN ACADIA.



It was not till more than sixty years after the failure of Cartier and Roberval to found a colony on the St. Lawrence, that a more successful attempt was made to establish a French settlement in New France, and that at first was little better than a failure. Aymar de Chastes, to whom a patent was granted by the king of France to plant a colony in New France, formed a company among the merchants engaged in the fur trade and fisheries, for the purpose of carrying out the objects of his grant. Under the auspices of this company a preliminary voyage of exploration was made by Champlain and Pontgravé. They sailed up the St. Lawrence, and Champlain attempted to ascend the rapids above Montreal, but without success. After a brief examination of the shores where Cartier, nearly seventy years before, had attempted a settlement, they returned to France, to find that De Chastes was dead.

The Sieur de Monts was then granted a patent to colonize Acadia, which comprised all the north-eastern portion of the continent as far as the St. Lawrence, with extraordinary powers and privileges. De Monts reorganized the company which De Chastes had formed, Champlain and Pontgravé being still interested, and fitted out two vessels, in which (in April, 1604) he embarked a singular combination of gentlemen, vagabonds, and criminals, Huguenot ministers and Catholic priests. Such a company was not very good material for a colony, the gentlemen alone feeling any interest in the success of the expedition; the others, with the exception of the clergy, being hired, and some of them forced into the service. Before the voyage was over there were not only quarrels

among the vagabonds and thieves, but the edifying spectacle was exhibited of Catholic priests and Protestant ministers pommelling each other because neither would accept the tenets of his opponent.

Reaching the Bay of Fundy with one of his vessels, De Monts explored its shores, and entered the strait which opens into the harbor of Annapolis. The Baron de Poutrincourt, one of the noblemen who accompanied De Monts, was greatly pleased with the aspect of the country, rising in gentle hills about the broad expanse of water, and clothed with summer verdure. He desired to settle there, and obtained from De Monts a grant of the region about the harbor, which was afterwards confirmed by the king. The place was at once named Port Royal, which name it retained as long as the French held it.

The exploration was then continued in search of a place to establish a settlement of the motley company now in the ships, for Poutrincourt intended to bring out his own party to his domain at Port Royal. At last they selected an island, near the mouth of the St. Croix River, which was nearly surrounded by rocks, and was well adapted to defence, either against hostile natives or the ships of civilized enemies. The colonists disembarked, and the various stores and materials were landed. The island was well covered with cedars, which afforded timber for building, and the whole company was set at work to construct houses. These were built about an open square, and were apportioned to the various classes of colonists. The little village was surrounded by a palisade, and some cannon were mounted on a commanding rock. There was also a small chapel where the Catholic priests officiated, to the exclusion of the Protestants, and ere many months elapsed the little colony found ample need of the cemetery, which was duly set apart and consecrated.

The colonists being housed, Poutrincourt sailed again for France, to make preparations for his own settlement at Port Royal. Pontgravé, who was to follow De Monts from France with the other ship shortly after the former sailed, did not arrive, and the company had no choice but to remain in their new settlement. Through the remainder of the summer and the early autumn they found their situation novel and pleasant. Finishing their houses and defences, and collecting wood for fuel, gave them occupation, and they found amusement in fishing and in various games, not to mention the continued conflicts of priests and ministers.

But the long northern winter came, with its severe cold and pitiless storms, its drifting snows and its thick ice. Their houses were ill adapted to exclude the cold; and though they piled wood upon their fires till the island was almost devastated, they suffered severely. Even the wine froze, so that it was dealt out in solid lumps. Their food was not such as to preserve health, and they were stricken down with scurvy. Thirty-five of their number died, and most of the others suffered terribly from the disease. All the priests and ministers died, and when the irreverent hirelings buried a priest and minister in the same grave, to see if they would lie quietly together, the devout Catholics were sadly scandalized, though they lacked the energy to prevent it.

Spring at last brought relief from the cold, and a change of food restored the survivors to health. Most of the company, however, were utterly dispirited, and longed to get away from this rock-bound island back to France. But there was no vessel in which to sail, and they watched the sea with anxious eyes for some friendly ship to appear. At last Pontgravé, who had been unable to sail the previous year, arrived with forty more colonists, and there was great rejoicing among the long-imprisoned islanders.

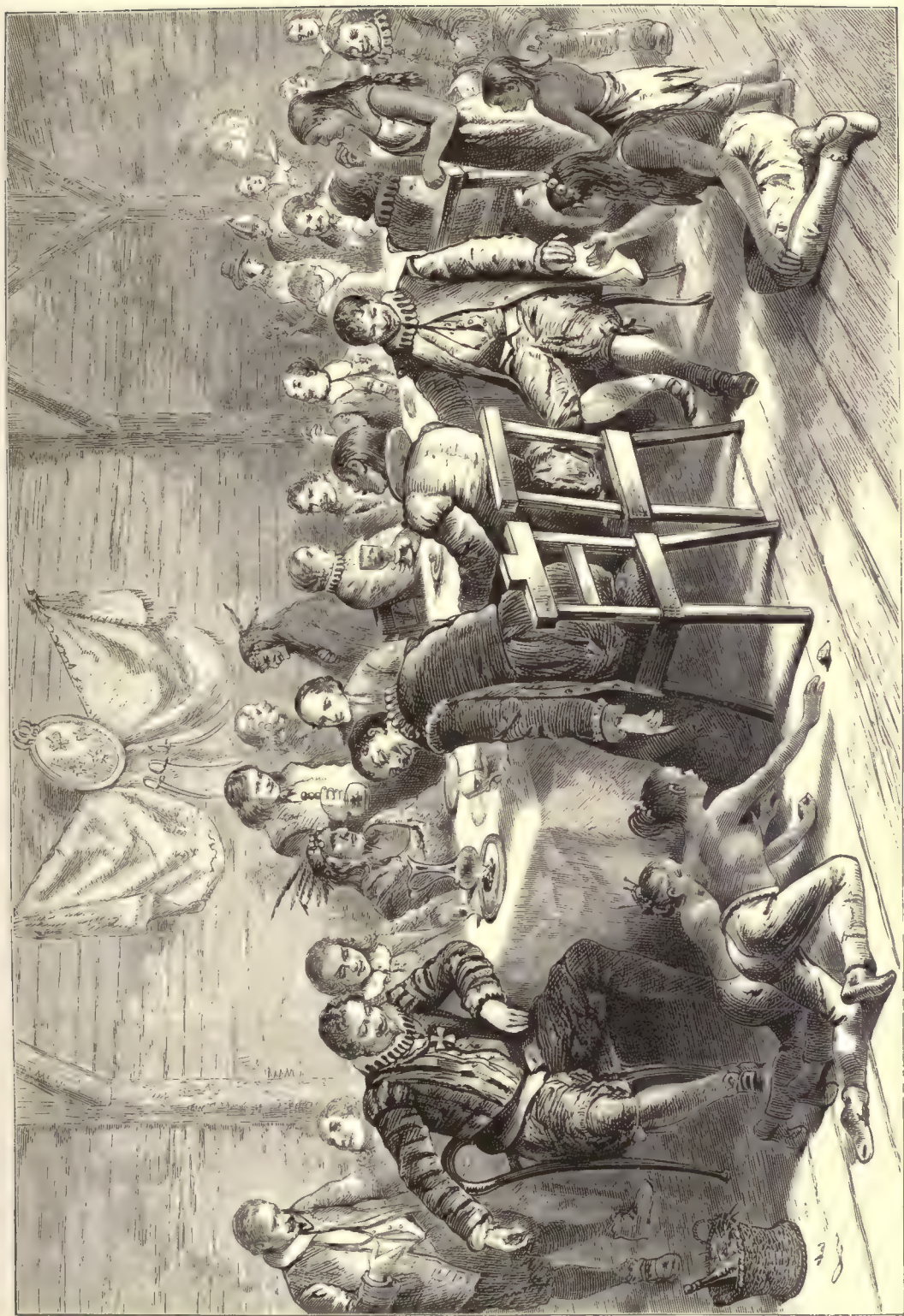
De Monts, as well as his company, was quite satisfied with one winter in his ill-chosen settlement, and he desired to find a more attractive place for his colony. The ever active Champlain, at once a daring soldier, an intrepid navigator, and an ardent explorer, sailed on a voyage of exploration to discover the better site. He coasted along the shores of Maine, and even as far as Cape Cod, landing at various points and trading with the Indians; but he nowhere found a place which invited a settlement, and his provisions being nearly exhausted, he returned to the St. Croix. De Monts then determined to return to Annapolis harbor, and to establish his colony on the shores which had seemed so attractive, although he had granted them to Poutrincourt. Everything valuable was placed on board the vessels, and the whole company, embarking, sailed across the broad bay into the spacious harbor of Port Royal, and selected a pleasant spot on its northern shore on which to begin anew their settlement. The summer was passing, and no time was lost in clearing away the forest and erecting buildings. Timber was abundant, but the toil in preparing it for use was heavy, and the work was slow. Before winter came, how-

ever, they had constructed buildings around a spacious court-yard or square, into which a gateway opened on the water side. The whole structure formed a sort of fort, enclosed on all sides, the passage to the shore being protected by palisades. It had its more spacious accommodations for the gentry, with ample dining-hall, and quarters for the soldiers, artisans, and laborers on another side, while its kitchen, workshop, storehouse, and magazine filled the remainder of the quadrangle. Here, in feudal state the colony was established, like one great family of nobles and retainers in a castle in the middle ages.

As soon as the houses had sufficiently advanced to afford shelter, De Monts sailed for France, where his presence was necessary to protect his rights, and Pontgravé remained in charge of the colony. Another winter came, with rigors to which the colonists were unaccustomed. Again they suffered severely, but they had no lack of fuel, and around the blazing logs they kept from freezing, and they were not decimated by the scurvy, as they had been at St. Croix.

With spring came anxiety for news from France, and for fresh supplies in their almost exhausted storehouse. But as the weeks passed and still no ship arrived, affairs began to wear a gloomy aspect, for the colony was poorly calculated to be self-supporting. At this stage, Pontgravé set sail, in two small vessels, with all his company but two, in search of some French fishing vessel, which might furnish them with food. Two men were left to guard the buildings. They were assisted in this care by an aged Indian, the chief of a small tribe who sojourned in the vicinity. The French, always better disposed towards the natives than the Spaniards or English, had made friends of these Indians, and the old chief, who, according to his own account, had seen more than a hundred summers, was especially friendly. When Pontgravé sailed away, he daily watched for his return. Twelve days after the departure of the expedition the vigilant chief descried a sail, and aroused the Frenchmen in the fort, who bravely rushed to the cannon mounted on a bastion at one corner of the quadrangle, to defend their position against any hostile ship.

It was no enemy, however, but the ship of Poutrincourt, who had come with more colonists, and ample supplies for the settlement, now planted in his own domain. The new comers landed, and soon made



DINING HALL OF THE FRENCH COLONISTS AT PORT ROYAL.

themselves familiar with their new home, and with the friendly natives who came to welcome them. Pontgravé's vessels soon arrived, and great were the rejoicings over the changed aspect of affairs. The liberal stores provided by De Monts were landed, and the company was content to continue their residence in Acadia, where their life, while supplies were plenty, was an easy one.

Pontgravé soon returned to France in the ship that had brought the new adventurers, and Poutrincourt and Champlain set sail in a small vessel to make explorations along the coast, the latter being by no means content to live an idle life. They went as far as Cape Cod, where they had a conflict with Indians, and lost two or three men; and finding no place so attractive as Port Royal, late in the autumn they returned. The colony, in the mean time, was left in charge of Lescarbot, who had come from France with Poutrincourt on his last voyage. He was a man of varied accomplishments, as well as solid merits. He contrived to keep the motley company under his charge in good humor, and he labored for the more lasting welfare of the colony by burning the grass on the broad meadows by the neighboring river, and sowing wheat and other grain for crops in the following year, and by preparing a garden near the fort.

A milder winter than the two previous followed, and the colonists had little to complain of. Their storehouse was well filled with food and wine, and an ample supply of fuel was always at hand. Deer, moose, bears, and wild fowls, as well as many varieties of fish, added to the luxuries of the table. Hunting expeditions with the Indians at once afforded healthful amusement, employment, and bountiful supplies of food. Thus discontent and scurvy were kept at bay.

In the larger building, occupied by the gentry of the colony, was an ample dining-hall, where Poutrincourt and his friends and officers sat at a table constantly supplied with good cheer. There, with Poutrincourt, the feudal lord, were Champlain, the ardent knight-errant, Lescarbot, the troubadour and chronicler, and others of less distinction, who possessed, however, a fair share of national vivacity. The daily noonday meal was the occasion of some pleasant pomp, contrived by the lively Frenchmen to add zest to the feast, and there was no lack of hilarity, before which ennui and discontent found small chance of

indulgence. Indians were frequent guests, the aged chief already mentioned having almost daily a seat at the table, while less distinguished warriors, squaws, and children of the tribe were disposed about the floor, eager to enjoy the tidbits of French cookery which were tossed to them, and especially relishing the bread, even if it were a rejected crust. At night, by the light of the blazing pine, heaped high upon the broad stone hearth, Champlain would narrate the scenes he had witnessed among the Spaniards in the West Indies, Lescarbot would improvise a poem celebrating the exploits of his friends, while the others, with song and jest, contributed a share to the amusements of the evening. But long after the majority, weary of song and story, and content with well-filled stomachs, had gone to rest, Champlain would write out the account of his voyages and explorations, or make unskilful drawings of the wonderful scenes and objects he had met with, while Lescarbot composed a more ambitious poem, or prepared the material for a history of New France.

The humbler portion of the colony, retainers of this feudal seignior, the soldiers, artisans, and servants, in their own quarters, without ceremonial, and with fewer luxuries, enjoyed an abundant supply of flesh and fish, and a liberal measure of wine, which was their constant beverage. At night, they too, around their cheerful fires, enjoyed their pleasures, joining in boisterous games, singing the rude songs of the time, or recounting the marvellous exploits of mythical heroes.

After such a winter the colonists were well prepared to enter upon the more serious work of the settlement. Though originating in a monopoly of the fur trade, the organizers of this colony determined to establish it on a more permanent and certain foundation by engaging the settlers in agriculture. Poutrincourt, Champlain, and Lescarbot were all interested in this, and the latter, as already remarked, had sown some patches of wheat and barley in the preceding autumn. Spring revealed the green blade of these grains, and encouraged them to more extensive planting. Fields were cleared and enclosed, and gardens were laid out, and in due time planted. A mill was built on one of the many streams with which the region abounded, and various other measures taken which betokened a purpose to establish in time a self-supporting colony. With their fields and fisheries, the abundant game of

the forest, and the introduction of cattle, they would require only a partial support from the company in France, and even a limited fur trade would meet the expense. The prospect was encouraging, and the leaders engaged earnestly in the work of establishing the first agricultural colony in America, by their example inducing the hirelings, who composed the great body of the settlers, to do likewise. But the fact that its sinews were thus hired, and took little interest in the success of the settlement, while they were a constant drain upon the resources of the company, exposed it to failure at the first gust of adversity to the company.

That adversity came ere the spring-time labors of the colonists were completed, and while their hopes were blossoming like the trees and shrubs about them. A small vessel, whose arrival as she sailed up the basin was awaited with pleasant anticipations, brought the disastrous tidings that the monopoly granted to De Monts was rescinded, and that the company organized on the strength of that grant was ruined, and could no longer maintain the settlement at Port Royal. To remain without the aid of the company to pay the hired soldiers, artisans, and laborers, and to furnish the necessary supplies, seemed impossible, and nought remained but to abandon the settlement and return to France. It was a great disappointment to the leaders, who had recently, with good reason, indulged in hopes of success, and with many regrets they yielded to necessity and left the scene of their labors. But Poutrincourt, whose title, being confirmed by the king, could not be disturbed, resolved that he would renew the attempt at a settlement even if he were obliged to bring his own family to reside there.

The Indians, between whom and the French the most friendly feelings existed, were greatly grieved at the departure; but they were in some degree consoled by presents and the promise of a speedy return. They gathered on the shore, and bade their friends farewell with loud lamentations, as the boats, laden with men and stores, sailed away for Cape Canseau, where Poutrincourt's ship was still engaged in fishing. The dwellings, where the French had hospitably entertained them, they not only did not disturb, but watched with jealous care.

IX.

THE FRENCH IN ACADIA.—JESUIT SCHEMES
AND ENGLISH EXPLOITS.



IT was in 1607 that Poutrincourt abandoned Port Royal, with the determination of returning to persevere in establishing a colony there; but he met with many obstacles in his endeavors to carry out his purpose, and it was not till 1610 that he again set sail from France for his domain in Acadia. With a small colony, similar in composition to the former one, after a long voyage, he sailed up the broad basin of Port Royal, and anchored before the buildings abandoned three years before. They were still standing, and were in good condition, except the roofs, which had in some places fallen in, but could be readily repaired. The Indians had guarded the place well, and whatever temptation it offered them of comfortable shelter, they had never occupied it, and furniture which had been left when the post was abandoned was found undisturbed. Always looking for the return of the French, they hailed the arrival of Poutrincourt with demonstrations of joy, and the aged chief, who still lived, hastened to welcome his old friend.

The colony lacked the influence and direction of such men as Champlain and Lescarbot to lead it to resume the labors for material prosperity which had been so suddenly brought to nought. But it brought a new spirit, a desire to convert the Indians to Christianity, and the colony was no sooner established in its new home than the work of Christianizing was begun. This, however, with Poutrincourt, was a work of policy rather than of piety. He was a Catholic, but



BAPTISM OF INDIANS AT PORT ROYAL.

he hated bigotry and the Jesuits, and had fought on the side of the Protestants and liberal Catholics. On his return to France he had found that the king, who had reached the throne by victory over the extreme Catholics of the League, had become an apostate from Protestantism, and that his conscience was in the keeping of a Jesuit. This priest, true to the purposes of his order, prompted the king to demand that Poutrincourt should take some Jesuits with him to carry religion among the natives, and one Pierre Biard was designated to lead in this work. But the baron contrived to give that expectant priest the slip, and sailed from Dieppe while the latter waited at Bordeaux. Poutrincourt, however, was a good Catholic, and had no objection to, if he had no ardent desire for, the conversion of the heathen. He therefore took with him a priest of a less objectionable order to carry on the pious work, hoping thereby to show that there was no need of Jesuits in his domain. Accordingly Father La Fleche, as this priest was called, at once entered upon his duties of converting the friendly Indians who gathered about the post.

The aged chief, Membertou, was the first to accept Christianity and be baptized. His conversion was speedily followed by that of his squaws and all his family. The baptism of this score of half-naked savages was a great occasion, and was duly celebrated by the discharge of cannon and the blast of trumpets, and, what was more acceptable to the converts, a bountiful feast. The news of these remarkable proceedings spread through the forest, and the red men came in anxious to embrace the new religion, be baptized, and share the good things dispensed to the converts. Under such circumstances it is not strange that a baptized Indian, who was at the point of death, anxiously inquired if they had as good pies in heaven as those which the French had given him.

Father La Fleche had his hands full, but with brief catechism he prepared his numerous applicants to renounce the devil, and be baptized. He found an ardent ally in the old chief, who, like the Catholic powers of the old world, would fain proselyte by force, and make war upon all heretical red men. But the inducements offered by the French cooks were more potent than war-club and tomahawk, and few Indians within reach of the settlement refused to become Christians.

A register of the baptisms was duly kept, and was sent in charge of Poutrincourt's son to France, as evidence that the saving of souls was faithfully and successfully attended to, and that there was little need of Jesuits in Acadia. The conversion of the Indians, with its various ceremonials, religious, secular, and gastronomic, left little time to promote the material welfare of the colony, and the wise foresight and industry which had promised to make the former colony a permanent and self-supporting one were entirely wanting. No gardens had been planted, no fields prepared for grain, no stock of fish put in store. Winter came, but there was no Champlain and Lescarbot present to devise means for supplying the tables with luxuries, and making the gloomy days and long evenings cheerful. The supply of provisions was limited, and it became necessary to deal them out with a sparing hand. The spirits of the men sank and discontent prevailed, and they anxiously counted the days and weeks, watching for succor from France.

Meanwhile Poutrincourt's son, Biencourt, met with little success in preventing the invasion of Port Royal by the Jesuits. He found the king had been assassinated, and the followers of Loyola more powerful than ever at court. He could not resist the demands of the queen-regent without incurring the risk of greater evils to his father's interests than even the presence of this dreaded order of priests. He, therefore, was obliged to consent to take with him, on his return to the colony, two members of the order, Fathers Biard and Masse, and he was rewarded by being appointed vice-admiral in the waters of New France. Two Huguenot merchants, however, who were associated with Poutrincourt, refused to permit the priests to sail in their ship. But this was a difficulty which the Jesuits and their friends at court soon overcame by purchasing the interest of the obstinate merchants, and loaning a liberal sum to Poutrincourt and his other partners. The two priests embarked, and Biencourt again sailed for Port Royal, carrying in their presence a deadly blight to the welfare of the colony.

The colonists hailed with joy the arrival of Biencourt's ship, for which they had long anxiously watched. They were in a half-famished condition, and longed for the supplies which he was expected to bring, but his long voyage of four months had reduced the limited stores with which he had started, and their visions of plenty were not realized. Their

immediate wants, however, were relieved, and for a time they were not disturbed by the prospect of a famine. Poutrincourt sailed for France in the ship in which his son had arrived, not, however, till he had come in conflict with the Jesuits, who lost no time in asserting their authority, and placing themselves in opposition to his authority.

Biencourt was left in charge of the colony, and by virtue of his office as vice-admiral he claimed authority over the trading vessels in the waters of Acadia. To assert this authority, and to purchase supplies for the colony, he sailed in a large boat with a force of armed men, and accompanied by Biard, the Jesuit. When he took a party of traders prisoners, because they resisted his authority, Biard remonstrated, and renewed the conflict which had been commenced with Poutrincourt. The young vice-admiral was not disposed to submit to the dictation of the priest, and enforced his commands. After a cruise along the coast of Maine as far as the Kennebec, he returned to Port Royal with little addition to the scanty supplies of the post.

Winter came again, with its long, cold, and dreary months, and short rations rendered the men sullen and discontented. Quarrels were fomented rather than allayed by the priests, and instead of the merry company which had gathered about the crackling fires a few years before, with song, and jest, and story, there were anxiety and jealousy in the hall of the leaders, grumbling and threats in the quarters of the followers. Before spring came the colony was in a deplorable condition.

While the Jesuits had lost no time in making trouble in the colony, they were equally ready to assume their task of converting the Indians. Masse went to live in one of their lodges, but, unlike some others of his order, he was unable to endure the hardship and annoyances to which he was subjected, and was glad to escape from the cold, smoky, filthy cabin of the natives, with its noise and indecencies, and to return to the settlement. Biard undertook to learn the Indian language from one of the natives, that he might translate the Catechism into that tongue for the saving of souls. But while the Indian had no words to represent the abstract ideas and sacred terms of the Jesuits' faith, he gave the credulous father scurrilous and obscene words and phrases to represent sacred things. When the priest tried his Catechism, filled with such words, upon other natives, the effect can be readily imagined. He was more

successful in persuading the centenarian chief, who died during the winter, to forego his desire to be buried with his fathers, and to consent that his body might be laid in consecrated ground, in order to save his soul.

The colony was once more reduced almost to famine before succor again arrived from France. But sooner than it was expected a vessel sent by Poutrincourt sailed up the bay, and anchored before the post. Besides supplies, however, this vessel brought another Jesuit to sow discord in the settlement. Disputes arose between Biencourt and the priests, who were not disposed to submit in anything to his authority. They withdrew from the post and went on board the vessel, threatening to return to France. Biencourt might well rejoice to be rid of them, but he was indignant at this insubordinate disregard of his supremacy at Port Royal, and ordered them on shore again. They refused to obey, and threatened excommunication, but concluded at last to yield, and in retaliation refused to say mass, or perform any religious ceremony. This probably did not greatly trouble Biencourt; and the fathers finally relented, and made peace with the young commander on condition that the last comer might return to France. The object of his mission was to secure aid from zealous friends at court, by which they would be enabled to prosecute their special work of converting the Indians under better auspices.

The mission was successful. The ladies of the court, whether saints or sinners, were great admirers of the Jesuits, who were their chosen confessors, and through the arts of these priests were exceedingly zealous for saving the souls of the Indians. By their efforts a liberal sum was obtained for this pious service, and a ship was fitted out with abundant supplies, and two Jesuits, who, with Biard and Masse, should establish a mission in some part of Acadia, the spiritual dominion over which had been formally granted to them; of Biencourt and Port Royal they were to be entirely independent. Great hopes of the success of this expedition were entertained by the Jesuits and their saintly followers, as well as the fair and frail bigots who aided them, but they were doomed to disappointment.

The vessel sailed up the harbor of Port Royal, after the voyagers had landed at one or two other places, and claimed the territory for the

dominion of the church by erecting a cross and saying a *Te Deum*. At the settlement they found the two Jesuits, Biard and Masse, with only three of the colonists, the others being engaged in scooping alewives from the brooks and gathering roots in the woods for their scanty subsistence. Taking the two priests on board, the voyagers again sailed away in search of a more favorable place for the establishment of the mission, where they would not be forced to contend with Biencourt. The priests, however, found that they had to contend with other obstacles, for the sailors were refractory and mutinous. They at last landed on the shores of Mount Desert, where they found the Indians friendly, and quite ready to be baptized, for they had heard of the festivities attending Father La Fleche's efforts at Port Royal. A favorable place was selected for a settlement, and amid dissensions the little colony pitched their tents and prepared for more permanent habitations. But they had hardly commenced their work when an English ship, commanded by one Thomas Argall, a bold and reckless adventurer from the colony in Virginia, appeared. Argall claimed all the territory as the domain of his king, and at once attacked the French ship, which was unprepared for resistance. It was soon captured, and the party on land were subsequently made prisoners. A part of them were turned adrift in an open boat, from which in time they were fortunately rescued by a fishing vessel and carried to France; the others, with the captured ship, were taken to Virginia, and among these was Biard, who was destined still to be an evil spirit to the colony at Port Royal.

While the Jesuits were thus scheming, and preparing for a new settlement by means of which they could better carry out their purposes, the colonists at Port Royal were reduced to scanty supplies, and another winter of hardship was endured. Their stores from France were nearly exhausted, and they were obliged to depend upon hunting and fishing, in which they had no great skill, for their food, and were glad even to dig roots to eke out their daily meals. In the autumn they had sown grain, where Lescarbot had first set the example, and in the spring they planted a few vegetable seeds; but the harvest-time had not yet come, and famine stared them in the face. They watched in vain for help from France, but Poutrincourt was unable to send it. His property was seized by the Jesuits to satisfy their claims for previous advances, and he was

thrown into prison. There was no one to send them aid, and they were left to shift for themselves.

When Biencourt and his men returned to the post, and learned that a ship from France had come in and again departed without leaving a single package of biscuit or cask of wine, well might they be filled with disappointment and indignation. But doubtless it was some compensation to be rid of the Jesuits, whose presence had been a constant shadow on the peace and comfort of the colony. Whither they had gone, however, and for what purpose, were mysteries which occasioned some anxiety to Biencourt, who had reason to believe that they entertained little love for him.

Spring passed, and yet no succor from France. Summer came, with a few wild fruits and palatable herbs, which were gladly culled by the colonists, who now anxiously watched the ripening of their little fields of grain. At last a ship arrived, — Poutrincourt's last effort, — bringing supplies, together with a number of horses, cattle, and swine. The prospect was again bright, and the spirits of the company revived. At last the harvest was ripe, and a band of reapers was sent to the fields, while Biencourt, with the rest of his men, joined the Indians in a hunt for game. With good cheer, and something of the gladness of the season in their native land, they would celebrate their first harvest.

While the entire company was thus absent from the post, three vessels entered the basin, and sailed before a favoring wind towards its northern shores, where the post was situated. They did not come with aid from France, under the folds of the banner emblazoned with the *fleur de lis*, but bore the flag of England, and came with no peaceful errand. They were commanded by Argall, and had on board the Jesuits Biard and Quentin, and other prisoners, whom that buccaneer had captured on a former expedition near the mouth of the Penobscot. There is reason to believe that Biard had made known the existence of the French colony at Port Royal, and had directed the English adventurer to the place. He entertained no friendly feelings towards Biencourt, though he had dissembled successfully while the expedition to establish a Jesuit mission was in preparation.

As soon as the vessels came to anchor before the post, Argall landed a party of armed men, and entered the vacant fort. Here was great

good fortune — booty without a conflict to obtain it. Without delay the men were set at work; the storehouse was emptied of its contents, the magazine of its ammunition, the chambers of whatever was worth removing; the cannon were taken from the bastion; even the latches and bolts of the doors were torn off; and all this plunder was carried on board the ships. Then the horses and cattle were taken from the adjoining fields, and also transferred to the ships. When this labor was accomplished, the torch was applied to the buildings, and they were entirely consumed.

Meanwhile another party, conducted by Biard, who alone knew the country, proceeded up the river in boats to the fields where the reapers were at work. Alarmed at the appearance of boats with armed men, the harvesters fled to the woods, and the marauders set fire to the ripened grain, which was speedily consumed by the swift-moving flames. Biard attempted to parley with the Frenchmen, who saw with dismay their highly-prized harvest thus wantonly destroyed. He tried to induce them to desert Biencourt; but they had no greater regard for the Jesuit than their leader, and threatened to despatch him if he did not retire. Finding his efforts vain, the priest rejoined the English, and they returned to the ships.

Before Argall was ready to weigh anchor and sail away from the scene of his marauding exploit, Biencourt and his men returned. As through the openings in the forest they saw the smoke, and at last, emerging into the clearing, found their habitations a heap of smouldering ruins, their mingled feelings of dismay and anger may well be imagined. Just as their hopes had been raised by substantial supplies and the prospect of a fair harvest, everything was swept away, and they were plunged into irretrievable ruin. They were powerless to attempt revenge; their cannon and ammunition were gone, and they were outnumbered by the robbers.

Biencourt, learning from the reapers that Biard was among the assailants, could not fail to attribute the disaster to him. He tried to induce Argall and some of his officers to land, hoping, doubtless, that the priest would accompany them, and all might be taken prisoners. But Argall was too wary, and the Frenchman then asked for an interview, word of honor being exchanged that no hostile act should be

committed. The Englishman came on shore, and the interview took place. Enraged at the dastardly act which had ruined him, and which he attributed to the treachery of the Jesuits, Biencourt denounced Biard as a deserter and traitor, and demanded that he should be delivered up to him, frankly avowing that as soon as he got him in his power he would hang him. But Argall, however much he may have detested the Jesuits, was too much beholden to Biard for his good luck to deal so treacherously with him, and he refused. The interview was stormy, and productive of no good. Argall returned to his ship, and soon weighed anchor and departed, leaving the plundered colonists to watch his receding sails with sullen and impotent anger.

The colonists were now reduced to greater extremity than ever before. They were houseless and without supplies; they had no powder except the little they carried with them to the woods; most of their tools and cooking utensils were carried away or destroyed; they had no means of leaving the place to seek aid from fishing vessels or fur traders, and there was no hope of further help from France before another year. Biencourt, however, was brave and determined, and he encouraged his dejected followers to bear up under their misfortunes. They constructed a temporary shelter of huts as best they could with the few tools they had, and made such preparation as their circumstances permitted for the winter. But to provide food for their daily wants was no small matter, and to obtain even a limited supply for the long, dreary months that must elapse before they could hope for relief, was impossible. As the cold storms drove the wild fowl southward from their summer breeding-places, the colonists were able to obtain a sufficiency of food; but when the season advanced, the fowl became scarce, and they were obliged to resort to nuts, acorns, roots, and even the buds of trees, while a few fish, and small animals trapped occasionally, afforded a more substantial, though not abundant, variation of their miserable fare. Ammunition did not hold out for the hunting of larger game, and they had not the skill of the Indians in capturing the animals that ranged through the depths of the forest. From the Indians themselves, as needy as the colonists, they could obtain little or no assistance. Half famished, and miserable in mind and body, they crouched around their fires, after a weary day in the pursuit of

food, or went to shiver on their beds of evergreen boughs and dry leaves.

At last the dreary winter passed, and the unfortunate colonists, though wasted and weak, had lived through it. Early in the spring, Poutrincourt came once more to look after his colony. He found the post, which had sheltered the company for whose welfare he had so earnestly labored, in ashes; and unable, with his exhausted means, to rebuild and start anew, he felt that he must abandon an enterprise which had cost him so much, and of which he had indulged such hopes. Biencourt, however, did not despair, and a sufficient number of men were willing to remain with him. He had become attached to the country, and the life of freedom which he led, even with all its hardships, had more attractions for him than the comforts of a life in France with all its contentions. With the supplies which his father brought he determined to make another trial, while Poutrincourt returned to France for the last time.

Biencourt and his men now built new habitations of more moderate dimensions than the spacious quadrangle which had been destroyed, and sowed grain again in the fields where their first harvest had been consumed. They were able to reap their scanty harvest undisturbed, and in the following winter had a small store of grain, peas, and beans, which, with such game and fish as they could secure, afforded them a moderate subsistence. Left to their own resources, and having little hope of further help from France, they engaged, in an unmethodical way, in labors which should insure support. By trapping and bartering with the Indians they collected furs, which they bartered again for supplies with the fur traders, whose vessels began soon to frequent the basin. Fur traders, indeed, set up their temporary establishments on the shores which had been granted to Poutrincourt; but his son was powerless to prevent them, even were he so disposed. Fishing vessels resorted to the harbor for repairs, affording opportunities to secure some supplies. These visitors carried back to France a favorable account of the harbor, and the pleasant region about it, and in time a few more adventurers came to settle in "the forest primeval." By slow degrees other colonists followed with their families, and a little French village grew

up, where the customs of their native provinces were long preserved, —

“And over the roofs of the village
Columns of pale blue smoke, like clouds of incense ascending,
Rose from a hundred hearths, the homes of peace and contentment.”

The Jesuits who had blighted the prospects of the earlier colony at Port Royal were engaged in other fields, but the village had its little church and its pious curé, —

“And the children
Paused in their play to kiss the hand he extended to bless them.
Reverend walked he among them; and up rose matrons and maidens,
Hailing his slow approach with words of affectionate welcome.”

Other settlements followed in various parts of Acadia, the colonists devoting themselves chiefly to agricultural pursuits, and living a life of “peace and contentment.” They continued to grow slowly, preserving their primitive customs and habits, until by the fortunes of war they were transferred to the dominion of England, and the names of Port Royal and Acadia were blotted from the map. A still greater misfortune befell their descendants when they were ruthlessly driven from their homes by the English, their houses burned, and their crops destroyed, families separated never again to be reunited, and they were crowded into transports to be carried away and scattered among strangers in the English colonies, —

“When on the falling tide the freighted vessels departed,
Bearing a nation, with all its household gods, into exile, —
Exile without an end, and without an example in story.”

CHAMPLAIN IN CANADA.



WHILE Poutrincourt's colony was struggling against its misfortunes, Champlain engaged in a new enterprise for the establishment of a colony on the shores of the St. Lawrence, and the exploration of the vast region from which it receives its waters. After the abandonment of Port Royal by the first colony, Champlain had returned to France; and thirsting for new adventures, he enlisted the Sieur De Monts in a scheme, the object of which was to establish a colony at some point on the St. Lawrence that should control the fur trade and close the river against intruders, while he could explore the interior, and perhaps discover a northern passage by water to the East Indies. More than this, he had at heart the conversion of the Indians and the saving of their souls—a purpose which he entertained and carried out with more zeal than consistency.

De Monts obtained a monopoly of the fur trade, and in the spring of 1608 fitted out two ships, in one of which Champlain had charge of a company of colonists, while in the other Pontgravé was to engage in the barter for furs, and thus, it was hoped, meet the expenses of the expedition. Early in June the two vessels reached Tadoussac, which had already become the resort of adventurous fur traders. There Pontgravé remained to trade with Indians who came down the Saguenay in their canoes laden with furs, and Champlain, after settling a difficulty with an interloping Basque trader, proceeded farther up the river, and selected as a place for settlement a spot near the point formed by the conjunction

of the St. Charles with the St. Lawrence, under the rocky and precipitous Heights of Abraham, where the lower town of Quebec has since been built. The strip of land between the base of the cliffs and the river was then covered with woods, and in the fervid summer sun its shade and verdure offered a pleasant contrast to the bare rocks above, while these in winter promised a protection from the bitter northern blasts. It was, moreover, at a point where the river narrowed, and made it a strong place for defence and the control of the waters and country above. The importance of the position has been proved in its subsequent history.

The trees fell fast before the axes of the pioneers, and soon a spacious clearing was made, in which was built the fort, always the first home of the settlers at that period. It consisted of a strong wall of palisades, surrounded by a moat, and having a gallery along the top, from which small arms could be used through frequent loopholes, while two or three cannon were mounted on the side towards the river. Within the enclosure three large wooden buildings, with high, thatched roofs, were erected about a court-yard, affording quarters for Champlain and his men. As if to give it a home-like look, a dove-cote was built upon the trunk of a lofty pine tree on one side of the court-yard, and kennels for dogs were provided below. Outside of the enclosure Champlain, who delighted in horticulture as well as exploration, laid out gardens for fruit and vegetables, as well as small patches of grain. This work occupied the summer, and was not wholly completed before the winter came.

Ere the summer passed, however, the enterprise came near a sudden termination, by a plot among some of the men to murder Champlain, and deliver the post into the hands of Basque and Spanish fur traders. The company, as usual, was composed, in part at least, of a class of reckless men, ready for any evil deed which might promise immediate advantage. One Duval, with two or three others, had hatched the conspiracy, and by promises and threats had induced most of the others to join in it. One of these, stung by his conscience, revealed the plot to a faithful follower of Champlain, who was thus informed of his danger, and took prompt steps to avert it. By a ruse, the ringleaders were induced to go at night on board a small vessel in the river, where they were at once arrested. The rest of the company were suddenly awakened and informed that the

conspiracy was discovered, and that Duval and his accomplices were arrested. Terrified at the consequences of their treachery, they gladly promised fidelity upon being pardoned, and they were confirmed in their fears, if not their good behavior, when the next day they saw Duval's body hanging on a gibbet. His accomplices were sent in chains to France, where they were condemned to the galleys.

When autumn came Pontgravé sailed for France with his furs, and Champlain was left with his little colony of twenty-eight men to winter at Quebec. The forests for a brief season put on their gorgeous array of brilliant leaves, and the sombre gray of winter soon followed. Leaden clouds came sweeping from the north, and the frozen ground was whitened with snows. In the earlier part of that long and dreary season Champlain found occupation for his men in finishing their dwellings and providing a supply of fuel for their fires. Around their blazing logs, doubtless, the men, like all rough adventurers, found pleasure in rude games and ribald jest and song, and while health continued they were not likely to be cast down. The commander himself, with no associate with whom he could discourse on subjects of mutual interest, found diversion in trapping foxes and martens, while his active mind was laying plans for exploring the rivers for a new passage to the Indies, and devising means by which the savages might be converted, and held under the dominion of France. He held such communion as he could with the chiefs of the roving bands of Indians who encamped near the fort, seeking always some knowledge of the interior of the country, and especially of any great waters at the north, and he secured promises of their aid in making his projected explorations.

The monotony of winter life in the fort was somewhat varied by the visits of these roving bands. They belonged to a tribe that made no attempt at agriculture, and had no permanent villages, like the Hurons and Iroquois, to whom they were much inferior in the higher characteristics of the savage. They wandered about the wilderness, securing subsistence by the chase and fisheries, and housed only in portable tents of bark spread upon poles. When the fur traders came, they learned to collect a few skins to barter for knives and trinkets. In the summer they roved where they could best find game, and in the autumn they sometimes laid in a small store of eels, which they dried for their winter's food.

When they had a plenty they gorged themselves with half-cooked food, but often in the winter they were reduced to dire extremity, when they

"Sought for bird or beast and found none,
Saw no track of deer or rabbit,
In the snow beheld no footprints,
In the ghastly, gleaming forest
Fell, and could not rise from weakness,
Perished there from cold and hunger."

One day, towards the end of winter, when the snows were still deep in the forest, and the river was full of drifting masses of ice, a band of these miserable and famished savages appeared on the shore opposite Quebec. Half-starved and worn to skeletons by their long fasts and hardships, they saw in the settlement a chance for food, and, rendered desperate by famine, in spite of the danger which threatened them with death in the icy waters, they launched their canoes, and hunters, squaws, and children hurried into them. For a space they paddled dexterously and safely between the cakes of ice, but when midway in the river their frail canoes were crushed by crowding masses, and it seemed to the French, who were looking on in wonder at their temerity, that they were lost. But with an agility born of desperation, they leaped upon huge cakes of ice, and set up a mournful wail in view of the certain death which seemed to await them. Fortunately for them, however, the masses of ice soon became packed together against the northern shore, so that they were enabled to reach the land. They soon appeared at the fort, and by their emaciated appearance, as well as by words and signs, appealed to the French for food. Champlain ordered a supply to be brought out to them, but it was no easy task to deal it among them with anything like justice, so ravenously did they seize whatever came within their reach, regardless of each other's want. Not satisfied with the bounty bestowed upon them, they pounced upon the carcass of a dog, which Champlain had left for two months upon the snow as a bait for foxes, and breaking it into fragments devoured the carrion with sickening avidity.

Before the winter passed, the French were reduced to a condition even more miserable than that of the famished Indians; not for want



FAMISHED INDIANS SEEKING FOOD AT QUEBEC.

of food, but because of the kind of food and an unwonted climate. They were afflicted with the scurvy, which attacked nearly the whole company, except Champlain, leaving few able to nurse the helpless sick. Under it they sank one after another, and were carried out to the place set apart for burial, until only eight of the twenty-eight were left alive. When spring at last came, and the snows departed, Champlain, with these few survivors, most of whom were weak and miserable from the disease, watched anxiously for a ship from France, and great was their relief when at last they learned that Pontgravé had again arrived at Tadoussac.

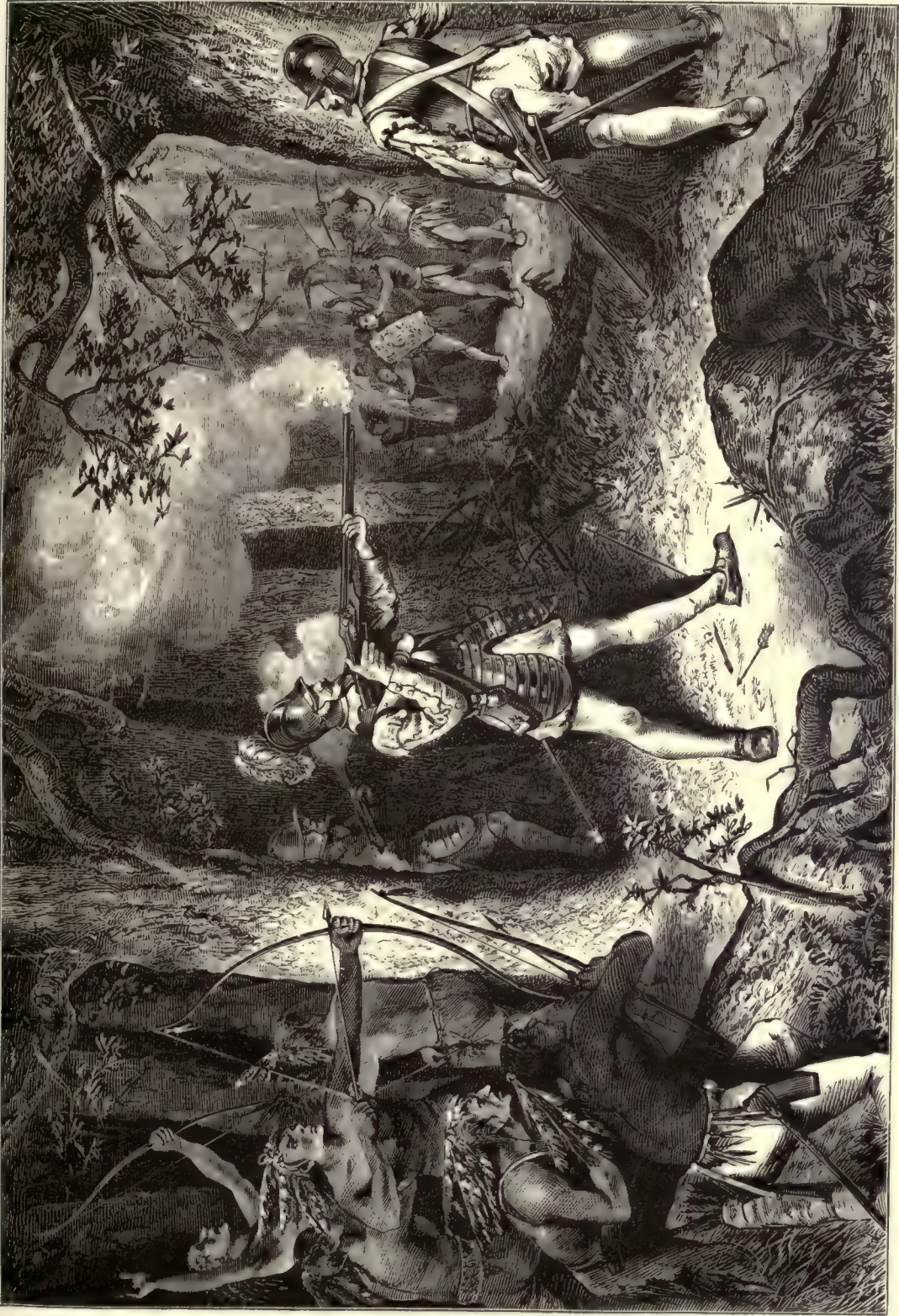
The interest of the early settlement of Quebec centres in Champlain. He was the founder of the colony, and his care and energy preserved its existence, to become the base from which the dominion of France was extended gradually to the great lakes, and thence to the Mississippi. But by temperament he was an adventurer, and his ambition was to make explorations and discoveries rather than to regulate the humdrum life of a sluggish colony. When Pontgravé arrived, he hastened to put in execution the plans which during the long winter he had turned in his ever-active mind.

During the previous autumn a chief of the Algonquins, who inhabited a region beyond the Ottawa River, had visited Quebec, and impressed with the power of the white men, who could deal out thunderbolts from their arquebuses, he had solicited the aid of Champlain against the enemies of his tribe. Ready for adventure, and hoping thus to obtain an influence with the Indians which should promote his objects, Champlain agreed to meet the Algonquins and their Huron allies in the spring, and join them in an expedition against the warlike Iroquois, or Five Nations, who inhabited the region south of Lake Ontario, and who formed a remarkable and formidable confederacy, the terror of all the surrounding tribes. It was a daring piece of knight-errantry, which secured for the French the friendship of the more northern tribes, and the lasting enmity of their foes. Champlain could not then see the results of such an adventure, but they extended through many years and much bloodshed.

Leaving Pontgravé in charge of the settlement at Quebec, Champlain with eleven men started in a boat to meet his Indian allies. He

soon found them on the banks of the river feasting, and dancing war-dances, and threatening terrible punishment upon their enemies. When these preliminary ceremonies were concluded, the Indians embarked in their canoes, and the French in their boat, and proceeded up the river to the mouth of the *Sorelle*. After a halt and another period of feasting and dancing, they again advanced up the last-named river, but coming to rapids which could not be ascended with the boat, Champlain, who had begun to be disgusted with his savage allies, sent the boat back with all but two of his men, with whom he agreed to proceed in the canoes of the Indians. A disaffection had also arisen among the latter, and a part of them had abandoned the expedition. With those who were still eager for the war-path Champlain and his two followers advanced. The Indians shouldered their canoes, and moved through the forest, since even their light barks could not be forced up the foaming current. When they reached smoother water the canoes were again launched, and the party paddled leisurely along the river between dense forests abounding in game, while a portion of the warriors hunted for the subsistence of the whole. At night the canoes were drawn up on the shore, a barricade of felled trees was made, and under extemporized tents of bark the warriors slept. Thus they proceeded for several days, till they reached deeper channels and broader expanses of water, and at last came out upon the lake which now bears the name of Champlain, who was the first European to behold it.

The enemy, of whom they were in pursuit, dwelt far to the south and west, though they frequently fished in these waters, and hunted in the adjacent forests that stretched away to the Adirondacks. Lest they should meet with a wandering party of hunters or warriors, the allies now rested by day, pulling their canoes up on the shore, and advanced cautiously in the night. They had proceeded in this way but a few nights when they saw some dark objects moving on the water. Immediately fierce war-cries arose from both parties, and were echoed back from the woody shores, but there was no movement for attack by either side. The Iroquois paddled to the shore, and landed, still making night hideous with their cries of defiance. On the shore they went to work vigorously, cutting down trees with their rude hatchets, and constructing a barricade for defence. The allies, in the mean time,



CHAMPLAIN FIGHTING THE BATTLE OF THE INDIANS.

remained in their canoes, beyond bow shot, till morning, responding fiercely to the war-cries of their enemies. At daybreak they retired a little farther, and landed, preparatory to an attack.

The Iroquois, seeing the allies on shore, did not wait to be attacked, but at once moved out of their barricade, eager to commence the fight. They were some two hundred in number, and the most formidable warriors of the forest. Completely armed with the rude weapons of the savage, they also carried shields of wood and hides, and wore breast-plates of twigs woven with leathern thongs. The advance of these stout warriors, under the lead of their renowned chiefs, caused the allies some alarm, however eager for the battle and defiant in their cries, and they called upon Champlain and his countrymen to come to the front with their thunderbolts.

Champlain wore the armor still in use at that period — a steel cuirass, plates of steel upon his thighs, and a plumed casque of the same metal on his head. He was armed with his sword and arquebuse. The other two Frenchmen wore similar armor, without the marks of distinction, and were armed in like manner. Confident in himself and his arms, Champlain readily complied with the demands of his allies, and as they opened their ranks he advanced to the front. His sudden and strange appearance, like some warrior of a superior order of beings, caused the Iroquois to halt for a moment in amazement. But as their cry of defiance again arose, he levelled his arquebuse and fired. Two of the Iroquois chiefs fell dead, and the others were terrified at the loud report, while the allies sent a shower of arrows upon their astonished foes. These familiar weapons seemed to restore the courage of the Iroquois, and they returned the shower of arrows bravely. But the other two Frenchmen were posted on either flank of the allies, and when they discharged their arquebuses with deadly effect and deafening noise, the enemy fled in terror before these strange warriors, who had come with the lightning and thunder of the clouds. Swiftly the excited allies pursued, with tomahawk and scalping-knife, and many of the flying Iroquois, who in their fear had thrown away their arms, were killed or captured. The victory was as complete as savage victories usually were, but it had been won by Champlain and his two countrymen.

This was the end of the war-path, and the allies, rejoicing in their

success, embarked in their canoes, and hastened homewards with their trophies and their captives. Champlain had redeemed the promise he had given, but when he parted with the savage rabble he had served so well, they besought him to visit their lodges, and join them in another war. Ready for adventure against a foe for whom he seemed to have contempt, and hoping to promote his cherished objects, he promised to do so at a future time. This promise, too, he afterwards redeemed; but now the interest of the colony at Quebec demanded his care, and soon after reaching the settlement he sailed with Pontgravé for France.

On arriving in France, Champlain found that De Monts, who had borne the expense of establishing the settlement at Quebec, was unable to obtain a renewal of his monopoly of the fur trade, and consequently numerous traders prepared to compete for that trade, the wealth of which was greatly exaggerated in France. De Monts determined to join in this competition, hoping, with Champlain's aid, to secure advantages which others could not. With further supplies and more men Champlain returned to Quebec, in the ship of De Monts, the next year (1610); but other traders were already in the river securing the treasures which De Monts had counted upon to repay him for his heavy expenses.

Champlain at once determined to visit his Indian allies, as he had promised, hoping, by laying them under obligations, not only to carry out his projected explorations, but to obtain advantages for his associate in the way of trade. Proceeding up the river in a boat, he found one of the Indian tribes near the mouth of the Richelieu, awaiting the arrival of the Hurons and Algonquins, who were to join them on the war-path against the Iroquois. While with feast and war-dance they were preparing to receive their allies, and go to battle, two Indians came paddling swiftly down the river, and announced that the Algonquins were fighting a band of Iroquois in the forest not far distant. With wild and savage cries the Indians hastened to their canoes, and paddled away to join in the fight, followed by Champlain and four of his men. Landing again, the fleet-footed Indians soon left the Frenchmen behind, to find their way as best they could through thicket and swamp, guided only by the cries of the excited savages.

Reaching at last the scene of the combat, Champlain found his allies

had made an unsuccessful attack on the Iroquois, who were fighting behind a barricade of felled *trées*. The arrival of the Frenchmen was hailed with loud shouts of exultation, and fiercer war-whoops for the benefit of the besieged Iroquois. The Frenchmen soon joined in the conflict, and with their arquebuses carried death and terror among the savage foes. Champlain also directed his allies how to make the attack, and while one party bravely rushed up to the barricade, and pulled away the thick branches and trunks, another party, with whom were the steel-clad white men with their arquebuses, made a sudden assault which ended the contest. The French thunderbolts, added to Indian arrows and war-clubs, were too much for the Iroquois, though they fought with desperate bravery, and the whole party, with the exception of a few who were captured, fell in defence of their barricade. To Champlain and his fire-arms the allies again owed the victory over their dreaded foes.

Instead of going with the Indians to their homes, whither they hastened with their captives and their trophies, Champlain returned to Quebec, abandoning for the time his purpose of exploring the interior of the country. The numerous fur traders who had come to the St. Lawrence convinced him of the necessity of adopting some different plan for the establishment of a settlement, and carrying out his views for the salvation of the souls of the savages. Leaving only a few men at Quebec he again went to France. The next spring he returned to Quebec, to find a crowd of adventurers in the St. Lawrence. He now selected a site for a settlement at Montreal, though nothing further was then done for its establishment. He visited the camps of his Indian allies, but the condition of the colony,—if such his little band of followers at Quebec could be called,—and the lawless conduct of the traders who swarmed in the waters of the St. Lawrence, forbade his intended explorations, and he soon returned to France again to take measures for the better establishment of a permanent colony, and the regulation of trade. In form he was partially successful; but practically the traders whom he wished to control, by sharing their profits with the Prince of Condé, who had been appointed Lieutenant General of New France, secured privileges which were detrimental to the projects of Champlain and the best interests of New France.

While engaged in making the arrangements from which he hoped good results, an adventurer who had accompanied him when he first began the settlement at Quebec, and who had passed a winter among the Indians, appeared at Paris, and declared that he had reached an open sea at the north, which, it was believed, afforded a passage to the Indies, and on the shores of this sea he had discovered the wreck of an English ship. The circumstantial and clear account which he gave, found credence among all interested in such discoveries, and Champlain, who had long indulged the hope of reaching and exploring this alleged route to Asia, eagerly embraced the opportunity of verifying the reputed discovery, and prosecuting it to some valuable result. With the adventurer, who had gained no little distinction by his alleged discoveries, the ardent explorer embarked once more for New France.

Arrived at Quebec, Champlain lost no time before setting out with four Frenchmen, one of whom was the above-named adventurer, to visit the Algonquins, and reach the field of discovery. With native guides they proceeded up the Ottawa in canoes, stemmed the rapids, crossed broad lakes, threaded the dark forest, passed through Indian towns, met with strange incidents and various hardships, till the guides declared they could advance no farther. After all their weary progress and laborious exertions, it turned out, much to Champlain's chagrin and disappointment, that the adventurer was an impostor, and his tale of discovery a myth. The Indians proved his falsehood, and finally the guilty pretender confessed to Champlain his perfidy, and admitted that at the time of the pretended discovery he was playing the sluggard in the lodges of the Indians.

Champlain returned to Quebec more impressed than ever with the duty of converting the degraded savages, but the merchants, who were the chief support of the colony, were as indifferent as he was earnest. On his next visit to France, however, he enlisted influential parties in the cause, and four Recollet friars, a branch of the Franciscan order, accompanied him (in 1615) to Quebec. There they established a convent, and then two of them departed on their mission to the Indians, ready to endure hardship and misery in the service of the church. One of them, accompanied by twelve Frenchmen, penetrated to the country of the Hurons, where the Indians built him a lodge, and he set up his

altar, with its decorations, which had been carried with no little difficulty through the long and perilous journey.

The Indians gave the priest a hospitable welcome, but they were far more anxious to have the aid of Champlain against their enemies than the sacred offices of the peaceful friar. Champlain had promised such aid, and the Hurons and Algonquins had once assembled near the mouth of the Ottawa, eager to have the redoubtable warrior, who was sure to win a victory for them, join them once more on the war-path. He made his preparations, believing that by thus securing the friendship of these allies he would strengthen his colony and the dominion of France over the vast territory which they inhabited. But while he was making preparations on as large a scale as was possible with his limited resources, the Indians, who went to war with a quiver of arrows and a pouch of parched corn, were disgusted at his delay, and returned to their homes.

But Champlain was bound to visit them, and with two of his countrymen and a number of Indians, paddled up the Ottawa, and proceeded on a long and laborious journey through forest and across lakes, over precipitous hills and through swamps, until he reached the cultivated fields and the palisaded towns of the Hurons. In the forest near one of these towns he found the Recollet friar in the hermitage where he had erected his altar and daily attempted to give the benighted natives, who with savage curiosity thronged about the cabin, some faint idea of the religion he so zealously had brought to them. The devoted but almost despairing priest was overjoyed to see Champlain once more, and with a little band of Christians about him, and a crowd of the heathen before him, he celebrated mass with all the solemnity that the surroundings would admit, hoping to impress the savage spectators by the ceremonial, if not with the spirit, of his worship.

The Hurons received Champlain with the greatest hospitality, and feasted him to satiety, as he visited several of their towns. They honored him as an invincible warrior, and were only too glad to go on the war-path if he would go with them. A hostile expedition against the Iroquois was soon planned by the Hurons and a kindred tribe. With a large number of these Indians Champlain and his followers entered upon the campaign. It was a long journey by canoes and march, and the halts made to fish or hunt game for supplies consumed much time,

but in the course of two months the army—if the rabble of warriors can be dignified by that name—crossed Lake Ontario, and invaded the country of the Iroquois. A fortified or palisaded town was attacked, but without success, and the French arquebuses could not win the victory here. Many of the assailants were wounded, and among them Champlain, who had received an arrow in his leg. Discouraged, the Hurons retired, carrying Champlain packed in a basket till they reached their canoes, and then crossing Lake Ontario they journeyed homeward without the spoils of victory.

Winter was approaching, and Champlain desired to return to Quebec; but since he had failed to secure victory, and proved not invulnerable, the Indians were less disposed to defer to his wishes, and none could be found who were willing to undertake the journey with him at that season. He was forced, therefore, to pass the winter with the Hurons. Before they returned to their towns, however, they separated into hunting parties to procure a stock of venison and deer-skins. Champlain engaged in the sport with pleasure; and deer, wolves, and wild-fowl fell before his arquebuse. While in pursuit of birds, one day, he wandered too far into the trackless forest, and lost his way. For several days he roamed about endeavoring to find some clew by which he could retrace his steps to the Indian camp, sleeping at night without shelter in the frosty air. At last he found his way within reach of the Indians who were in search of him, and who conducted him into camp with great rejoicing. The hunting season over, the Indians returned to their towns, and Champlain, ill disposed to pass the winter in feasting, smoking, and idleness, after the manner of the savages, visited several of the towns, and explored much of the country about Lake Huron. He was everywhere received with the greatest hospitality and honors, according to the Indian standard, and he everywhere endeavored to secure the permanent friendship of his entertainers. After a winter thus spent in congenial pursuits, but with uncongenial companions, he was glad in the spring to take the long journey back to Quebec.

As before remarked, the chief interest of the settlement at Quebec centres in Champlain. He was not only the founder of the colony, and its main support in its early years, but he inaugurated the policy under which the French so successfully extended their trading-posts, forts, and

missions through the region of the lakes, and across the prairies to the Mississippi. He made friends and allies of those Indian tribes whose friendship was most likely to be of service to the French by reason of their location. His policy and his example were largely followed by his countrymen. The French, unlike the Spaniards and English, generally sought to establish friendly relations with the natives, and from the first settlement of Quebec there were French adventurers who went to dwell among the Indians, and who, with less scruples than Champlain had exhibited, took squaws for wives. From them sprang numerous half-breeds, who, in after years, were of incalculable service to the French, whether in the pursuits of trade or in war.

There was, however, one notable exception to the friendly relations established by the French with the Indian tribes. In joining the Hurons and Algonquins in their wars against the Iroquois, Champlain and the French incurred the lasting hostility of those warlike tribes, and a fearful retribution followed, continuing through many years. The Iroquois, first supplied with fire-arms by the Dutch on the Hudson, waged a fierce warfare on the French settlements, and in after years were the most dreaded allies of the English in the wars which followed. They almost annihilated the Indian allies of the French, and more than once nearly destroyed the French colony itself.

XI.

QUEBEC AND THE JESUITS.



MEANWHILE the settlement at Quebec grew slowly, and at the end of eight years was scarcely more of a settlement than when first founded. Outside the enclosure constructed by Champlain, some warehouses, and a few dwellings, had been erected by the traders, and the monks had built a small monastery and chapel, while on the summit of the rock a fort had been constructed, and gardens and fields were planted. Champlain was nominally commander, but the fur traders practically controlled affairs, and in such a way as to make the place of little account except as a trading post. In the company that had the grant of a monopoly of trade there were dissensions between Catholics and Huguenots, and the condition of the colony grew gradually worse, in spite of Champlain's efforts, in France, to secure more stringent conditions upon the merchants. He brought his wife to Quebec, in the hope that now affairs might improve; but after remaining there a few years, during which she found little to enjoy, she returned to France, and entered a convent.

At one time, a band of Iroquois appeared near the settlement, threatening an attack; but fearful of cannon and arquebuse, they contented themselves with an attack on the stone monastery, which the Recollet friars had recently erected on the St. Charles, and which, with the aid of some Indian converts, they successfully defended. Complaints from Champlain and the friars at length induced the nobleman who held from the king the vice-royalty of New France to suppress the company of merchants, whose quarrels and negligence had brought the affairs of

the settlement to such a pass. The exclusive trade was then granted to two Huguenot merchants, only to bring about new disorders ; for those who lost the monopoly were defiant, and boldly engaged in illicit trade, causing a constant succession of quarrels, from which the colonists experienced anything but good. A change in the vice-royalty led to the introduction of the Jesuits, but the Huguenot merchants, who virtually maintained the colony, refused to harbor them, and they were forced to establish themselves outside the settlement. Their presence did not add to the peace of Quebec, and the truculent conduct of the Huguenots so scandalized the Catholic viceroy in France, that their monopoly was in turn annulled.

New measures were soon after taken for the advancement of New France. Cardinal Richelieu, who was then supreme, abrogated all grants, whether of honor or profit, and placed himself at the head of the management of the affairs of New France. A new and large company was created, composed of nobles and merchants of the Catholic faith, which was to enjoy the exclusive right of trade, while it succored Quebec, established new settlements, and aided the church in converting the Indians. Under this new dispensation none but Frenchmen and Catholics were to be allowed to settle in New France, and each settlement was to be liberally supplied with priests. With abundant means a fleet was fitted out, carrying ample stores, and a large number of men of various trades and occupations, not only to succor and strengthen Québec, but to establish other settlements.

Meanwhile the settlers at Quebec, numbering scarce a hundred men, women, and children, were short of supplies, and needed the aid that was thus provided for them. But at this time France and England were at war, and while the fleet was sailing up the St. Lawrence, an English squadron, fitted out under private auspices to seize the settlements of New France, intercepted it, captured the supplies, and carried away the crews and passengers as prisoners.

At about the same time an outpost of the colony, at Cape Tourmente, where the cattle were pastured, was visited by a party of the English, and pillaged, and the cattle killed. When this was reported at Quebec, Champlain awaited a similar visit, and made preparations for a show of defence, though he had a garrison of only a few half-starved

men, and scarcely fifty pounds of powder. The English squadron which had captured the French ships was commanded by Admiral Kirk, a Huguenot, with his two brothers as subordinates, and there were many French refugees among the crew, who were nothing loath to fight against the government that excluded them from the settlement. A part of the squadron apparently had gone to visit some other French settlement, leaving one of Kirk's brothers to capture Quebec. That officer, however, did not care to attack a place of such apparent strength, but sent by the hands of some Basque traders a courteous summons for the surrender of the place. Champlain replied in like polite terms, but with a prompt refusal, and a declaration that he should defend the place to the last.

An attack was expected; but Kirk, deceived by the bold attitude of Champlain, forbore to make one, and contented himself with cruising after French trading and fishing vessels. The destruction or capture of the French fleet was unknown at Quebec, and the colonists watched anxiously for its arrival; but no friendly sail appeared, and the months went by with ever-increasing want. The colonists were crowded together in the fort, and a scanty allowance of peas for food was eked out with roots and acorns gathered in the forest. Some of the men took refuge with the Indians, and those who remained would gladly have welcomed the enemy for the sake of food. Even Champlain was not unwilling to surrender if the enemy appeared.

It was not till July in the following year (1629) that the sails of either friend or foe appeared. Then three English ships were seen, and Champlain mustered his little garrison of sixteen men. A boat with a flag of truce put off from one of the ships, and an officer landed with a summons to surrender. Resistance was impossible, and the terms of surrender were soon settled; the French were to be carried to their own country, and the post was to be occupied by the English. The French flag was hauled down, and the English flag was raised in its place, and saluted with the roar of artillery. The commander of the English ships, a brother of Admiral Kirk, treated the settlers well, and urged some of them to remain under the English flag; but to the Jesuits he showed little favor, and took them on board his ships to be carried to France.

Champlain was now anxious to return to France, and embarked with

Kirk for Tadoussac, whence he hoped to be able to find a passage. On the way down the river they met a French ship, bearing supplies to Quebec, which had passed the English squadron at Tadoussac in safety. Kirk bore down upon her, and a battle ensued, in which the English ship was finally victorious, and the Frenchman was taken to Tadoussac as a prize. Soon after the squadron set sail for Europe, and on its arrival in England Champlain learned that peace was re-established, and by his efforts negotiations were entered into for restoring New France to its original settlers.

While Quebec was under the English flag its buildings fell into a dilapidated condition. Most of the French Catholics left, the Huguenot traders and some English came, the Indians made the acquaintance of fire-water, and becoming troublesome were abused, and affairs were generally in an unhappy condition. At last, agreeably to treaty, the English flag was hauled down, and the place was restored to the French, — at first to the Huguenot merchants, who were to have a monopoly of the trade for a year, and then to the company of which Richelieu was the head. By the latter Champlain was again commissioned to take charge of the colony. Two Jesuits had accompanied the Huguenots when they took possession of the restored settlement, and others of the order accompanied Champlain, when, in 1633, he returned to Quebec. The affairs of the colony were now to be administered for the advantage of Catholics, and the exclusion of heretics; and the Jesuits, long anxious to enter this field of labor, were to establish missions among the Indians. The work of saving the souls of the heathen was to go hand in hand with the colonization of the country and the extension of commerce, — was, indeed, to take the lead, and precede trading-posts and permanent settlements.

Under this new régime the character of Quebec was greatly changed from its former turbulent and mercenary spirit. Trade was made subordinate to religion, and the black-robed Jesuits were more powerful than the military officers. The ordinances of the church were observed with strict fidelity by all the inhabitants, and the Indians were induced, by gifts and kind treatment, to attend mass, and to be baptized. Champlain himself was no longer the bold adventurer and ardent knight-errant, ready to fight the battles of the Indians, but a zealous observer of reli-

gious duties, with his conscience in the keeping of a Jesuit father. From the trunk thus firmly established on the St. Lawrence the branches soon extended into the vast wilderness. Missions were marked out, and the devoted followers of Loyola penetrated the forest, established themselves among the Indians, labored with unflagging zeal and untiring patience, and endured privations and hardships, to extend their religion and save the souls of the benighted worshippers of Satan. Following the missions came the trading-posts, and after them the forts, not to hold the neighboring tribes at bay, but to protect traders and Indians alike from their enemies; and thus the French advanced through a vast region into the heart of the continent, while the English occupied a mere fringe along the coast. But this long line of widely separated posts accomplished but little for the permanent dominion of France.

Champlain lived but two years and a half after his return to Quebec, during which he piously labored for the welfare of the still feeble colony which he had planted there twenty-seven years before. By his efforts alone its existence had been continued through the misfortunes and discouragements which attended it, and though, after all his toil, he did not live to see it self-sustaining and strong, he died in the belief that its peace and prosperity were assured.

With regard to the zealous missionaries who were the pioneers in the progress of France in North America, a brief account of the experiences of one of the missions will illustrate the toils and hardships of all. As previously stated, while Huguenot merchants had a nominal monopoly of trade at Quebec, and virtually controlled the settlement, several Jesuits arrived. They soon set out on their long-desired labor among the Indians, and after great toil and hardship reached the country of the Hurons. Their success in converting the savages was far from encouraging, and they returned to Quebec, and when that settlement was surrendered to the English they went with Champlain to Europe.

When at last Quebec was restored to France, and Champlain returned to administer its affairs, a party of Jesuits came with him, and after establishing there a convent, in which their superior resided, they organized various missions, and the most devoted of their number went to establish and maintain them. The chief of these was among the Hu-

rons, and thither went several of the priests, among them Brébeuf, who had visited that nation in former years, and had mastered some of the difficulties of the Huron language. The missionaries were received with the greatest hospitality by the Indians, who built for them a spacious lodge of saplings covered with bark. Brébeuf was especially welcomed, for he was remembered as a friend. When the lodge was finished, according to the Indian notion, the priests built partitions, dividing it into a chapel, a storeroom, and a living-room; and in the chapel they set up their altar, and adorned the rough walls with sacred pictures which they had brought laboriously through the wilderness, while with their tools they contrived conveniences which were wonders in the eyes of the savages.

Their first efforts were to secure the good will and confidence of the Indians; and by trifling gifts and extraordinary patience, as well as their harmless lives, they succeeded so long as matters went well. They undertook to instruct the natives in religion, but while the latter listened and assented to all that was said, little impression was made upon their minds. With the children they were more successful than with the adults, and gathering them frequently at their house, they taught them to chant the *Pater noster*, translated into the Huron tongue, to make the sign of the cross, to repeat the *Credo*, with other similar lessons, which the young savages were not slow to learn. Some of the children were baptized, but to scarcely any others were they able to administer this rite except those apparently about to die.

The feasts and orgies of the Indians, when they celebrated some great domestic event, or undertook to drive out the evil spirits which, as they believed, caused the sickness of their friends, not only disturbed the slumbers of the priests, but troubled their minds. They soon experienced, however, more serious troubles. A drought came, and the crops in their poorly cultivated fields were withered. The Indian sorcerers, or "medicine men," performed their heathenish rites, and cried aloud for rain without avail. Finding their efforts vain, they charged the priests, whom they looked upon as rivals, with the calamity, saying that the red color of the cross erected before their house scared away the thunder-bird that brought the rain. The savages then began to murmur, and demanded that the red cross be taken down. The priests remon-

strated, and painted the cross white; but though the Indians were appeased, the rain did not follow. The zealous missionaries then called upon the troubled natives to worship the true God, and they would make a daily procession, and implore the divine favor, that rain might fall. Regarding the priests as only a superior order of medicine-men, and their religious ceremonies as rites of an order similar to the native sorcery, the Indians promised all that the priests demanded. The processions were duly made, and masses were said, and when, soon after, copious rains fell, the blessed relief was attributed to the power of the priests, and they were re-established in the good opinion of the fickle Indians.

But a greater evil than the drought befell the poor natives; a pestilence visited the Huron towns, sweeping away hundreds of the inhabitants. Then it was that the Jesuits labored with unceasing toils in behalf of humanity. Braving the fierce cold and the deep snow, they visited the villages far and near, ministering as best they could to the sick, who were always eager to take even the simplest potion from their hands, believing it had, when thus administered, a mysterious healing power. It was no agreeable labor that the missionaries imposed upon themselves. In cold, dirty, and smoky lodges men, women, and children lay in all stages of a loathsome disease, or crouched in sullen dejection around their fires. Smoke, filth, and foul air oppressed their senses, and contagion threatened them. The moaning of sufferers and the wail of mourners were mingled in saddest strains. And what troubled these pious zealots most, the souls of all these dying creatures were going to everlasting perdition. But with self-forgetting bravery and patience they visited each one of the sick, giving a bowl of broth or a little senna, or even a cup of cold water sweetened with a bit of sugar, not forgetting to administer kind words and entreaties that the dying should embrace the faith for which they labored. The Indians, however, were little disposed to accept the religion which was thus offered them. They appreciated the terrors of hell, as painted by the Jesuits, but they preferred to join their friends in the happy hunting-grounds of departed savages, rather than enter the Frenchman's paradise where no one would give them food. Penitence was a feeling unknown to the Indians, and the priests found it hard to prepare even those who were desirous of

going to heaven for the baptismal rite. In a few cases, however, their labors were apparently successful, and then, with great joy, the priests touched the forehead of the convert with the holy water, and saved a soul from torment. While they hesitated to baptize adults without some show of contrition, they baptized dying children without attempting any preparation, and in this way believed they were doing a righteous work in saving souls. As the rite was seldom administered except in cases when the subject was at the point of death, the Indians, who at first believed that baptism was a kind of sorcery which would work a cure, came to regard it as a cause of mortality. They refused to have their sick children baptized, and jealously watched the priests lest they should touch the little sufferers with the mystic drop of water, and doom them to certain death. The Jesuits were determined, however, to do the work to which they were called, and frequently, with the dexterity of magicians, secretly touched the sick child with a moistened finger while administering a bit of sugar.

Some of these secret baptisms being observed by the watchful Indians, a feeling of resentment was aroused, and the medicine-men, whose skill and power as sorcerers had somewhat fallen into disrepute before the achievements of the priests, who were looked upon as more potent sorcerers, were not slow in fanning this feeling into hostility. The pestilence and all the other evils which afflicted the nation were attributed to the Jesuits, and finally a great council was called to determine what should be done to get rid of them. It was held at night, according to custom, in the spacious council-house of the town where the mission was established, and was attended by chiefs from all the divisions of the nation, who sat in circles around the fire, which alone lighted the dusky assembly. After deliberately discussing treaties and other matters concerning the general welfare, the pestilence was considered, and gave rise to a more excited debate. Chiefs of renown, whose words were weighty with their tribe, mournfully recounted their losses, and then fiercely inveighed against the priests as the cause of all their woes. The sentiments thus expressed were received with general approval by the assembly, whose mutterings boded no good to the missionaries. The Jesuits, however, who had been informed of the purpose of the council, were present, determined to meet any charges with a bold front

becoming their high calling. They listened without flinching to the denunciations and threats of the savage orators, and then Brébeuf addressed the assembly in reply to the charges, showing how false and unreasonable they were, and calling upon the superstitious accusers to renounce the service of Satan, and worship the true God, that they might find relief from their sufferings. His harangue had but little effect, except to provoke contradiction; and new charges were made as often as one was refuted; but the Jesuits persisted in their bold denials till the assembly was tired out, and gradually diminished to a very small number, when at last it broke up without any decision, though not without threatening looks and words from some of the more savage chiefs.

Though the council had not taken action, and the priests escaped immediate martyrdom, they were still in the greatest danger. Among the Indians were a few converts, and others, who, on account of some kindness, had a friendly feeling for them, and by such they were warned of their peril, and that a new council was called to pass sentence of death upon them. Again they appeared and confronted their accusers so boldly that the council was abashed, and postponed the sentence which had already been determined upon, but which they hesitated to execute upon men whose bravery was of a higher order than their own. The doom, however, though delayed, seemed certain, and the sullen and threatening looks of Indian men and women, and the conduct of the children, who reviled and assailed them with sticks and stones, convinced the devoted missionaries that they might at any time be struck down with a hatchet as they opened the door of their house.

The Jesuits had from the first studied the Indian habits and customs, and so far as they did not run counter to their religion, had conformed to them, as one of the means adapted to win the confidence of the natives. One of these customs was the giving of a feast by those who expected death, and thus bade farewell to their friends. Even this custom, which was regarded as a sacred duty by the Indians, the priests determined to follow, either as a possible means of arousing the more generous feelings of the savages, and thus escaping death, or as a last and most impressive way of reaching the savage mind with the truths of Christianity.

Their purpose being announced, according to the Indian custom, a



THE JESUIT BREBEUF CONFRONTING THE INDIAN COUNCIL.

large number of chiefs and warriors assembled at the mission-house, and seated on the ground, in their usual manner, each received a bowl of food. Brébeuf addressed them with the same confidence and boldness which he had always displayed, painting in glowing colors the bliss of heaven and the torments of hell, and showing no sign of fear or regret for the fate which impended over him and his brethren. The assembled feasters listened in silence, and gave no sign which augured either good or evil, except so far as sullen looks might indicate the latter; and when they had devoured their food they rose and departed. The priests were in doubt as to the intentions of the Indians, but they soon found that they had acted wisely, and that the immediate peril which threatened them was, for a time at least, averted. Those who were friendly defended them openly, and their conduct commanded the respect of all. Hostile looks were less frequent, and even the children, in a measure, ceased their revilings.

This, however, was by no means the end of their persecutions, which from time to time were renewed during many years. They were still regarded as sorcerers, and each new misfortune was attributed to their incantations, for such the Indians regarded all religious observances. A number of them narrowly escaped death at the hands of some excited Indian. Sometimes they were saved by their own unflinching looks and words, which overawed the assailant, and sometimes by the intervention of more friendly or cooler bystanders. Their conduct was incomprehensible to the Indians, who could not conceive the spirit of martyrdom which animated these men so devoted to their religion and propagandism. The priests themselves attributed their preservation in all cases to the direct intervention of the Virgin, saints and angels, in answer to their pious prayers and repeated masses.

The mission to the Hurons, once established, was soon increased by the advent of others of the order, with whom came a still larger number of servants and mechanics. More spacious and better buildings were erected, including a separate chapel, and from this, as a parent mission, others were organized, and priests with the same devoted enthusiasm went out to like toils, dangers, and persecutions. Quebec was the head of the Jesuit missions, and as the priests of the order arrived from France, eager to engage in the work of converting the Indians, they were sent

to the various missions already established, or to found new ones among distant tribes. Many of these encountered severer toils and persecutions than those above recorded. Some of them, who fell into the hands of the Iroquois, suffered fearful tortures; but when rescued by the Dutch, as some of them were, and sent back to France, with an enthusiastic devotion to their cause, and undeterred by their terrible experience, they went back to New France to engage again in their work.

It is not proposed, however, to follow these men who led the van in the progress of the French from the St. Lawrence westward. The object of the foregoing pages was to show briefly the character of the early French settlements. Quebec was now little else than a monastic colony, controlled by the Jesuits, who thence extended their missions and their power through Canada, and who claimed the whole country as their rightful domain. Trade and military force followed them, but always subordinate, and to these able, shrewd, and bold enthusiasts, who did not scruple at the means by which they might attain their pious ends, France was indebted for the dominion she acquired in America, — acquired, but could not retain against a sturdier race of colonists, whose growth was more vigorous if their advance was less rapid.

XII.

ENGLISH SETTLERS IN NORTH CAROLINA.



WHILE Spain planted colonies in the West Indies, achieved the conquest of Mexico, and, ever in search of gold, with the sword carried the cross among the feeble natives of the tropics,—and France, with the aid of the Roman Church, secured a monopoly of the fur trade, and attempted the dominion of the north by the establishment of trading-posts and missions, and the conversion of the Indians,—England, though her navigators had explored the coast of America, made no attempt to colonize the country which, equally with her rivals, she claimed by right of discovery or exploration. But coming later into the work of colonization, under a different policy and more liberal auspices, the English at last planted colonies which ultimately extinguished the dominion of Spain and France in all the vast region north of Mexico.

The first English colony planted in America was established on Roanoke Island, on the coast of North Carolina, under the auspices of Raleigh, afterwards distinguished as Sir Walter Raleigh. Cabot, Fro-bisher, and Gilbert had failed in establishing any settlement, though they had made some attempts to do so in a more northern latitude. Raleigh, who was a step-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, after the death of the latter, who was lost at sea, obtained a liberal patent from Queen Elizabeth, giving him almost absolute jurisdiction over an extensive territory of which he had power to make grants according to his pleasure. He determined to establish a settlement in the balmy regions of the south, from which the French Huguenots had been excluded by the bigotry of the Spaniards, and he found little difficulty in obtaining

adventurers who were willing to seek their fortunes in the country which had been described as so delightful. Two vessels were fitted out and laden with men and ample provisions, and the company sailed from England, in 1584, with the expectation of making a settlement somewhere in those pleasant regions. By the way of the West Indies they at last reached the coast of America off the Carolinas. It was in the summer season, and the weather was propitious for calm seas, so that they approached the coast, so perilous in storms, under the most favorable circumstances. Sailing along the shores the perfume of the woods was wafted to them on the breeze as if they had been in some delicate garden abounding with fragrant flowers. They landed off Wocoken, and with thanksgivings for their safe arrival took formal possession of the country for the Queen of England.

The adventurers were delighted with the country and the placid seas which seemed so calm and pleasant under the skies of July. The luxuriant vegetation, the magnificent forests, called forth their admiration, and their imagination added innumerable attractions to the real beauty of the country upon whose shores they barely touched. They met some of the natives, who appeared peaceful, gentle, and hospitable, living an Arcadian life in consonance with the delightful country they inhabited. But though all was so rose-colored the adventurers were not inclined to make a settlement and experience the pleasures of such an Arcadia. Satisfied with seeing its beauty, and imagining its untold delights, they returned to England, carrying with them two of the natives and the most glowing accounts of the attractiveness of the country they had visited. The stories grew with each new relation, and the people listened with credulity to many wonderful tales. Queen Elizabeth was greatly pleased with the reports brought her of the beautiful country of which the adventurers had taken formal possession in her name, and honored it by calling it Virginia, in token of her unmarried state. For this discovery, as it was called, and for other services, Raleigh was knighted; and eager to reap the benefit of his proprietary rights in this "paradise of the world," he fitted out another expedition, with a more definite purpose of colonizing Virginia, and found no difficulty in securing a sufficient number of emigrants.

This expedition consisted of seven vessels, carrying upwards of a

hundred colonists, with the necessary supplies to establish a settlement. The fleet was commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, a man of ability and distinction, and one Ralph Lane was deputed by Raleigh as governor of the colony. Sailing from England in April, 1585, by way of the West Indies, where they traded or levied tribute in the Spanish ports, they arrived off the Carolina coast in the latter part of June. Here they did not find the clear skies and calm seas which the former adventurers had extolled, but experienced rough weather, and came near being wrecked. But at last, entering Ocracoke Inlet, the fleet sailed along the smoother waters of the broad Pamlico Sound till it reached the Island of Roanoke. This island was then well wooded and pleasant, and near its northern extremity a place was selected for a settlement, and a fort and houses were erected with a spirit that betokened a permanent colony. Manteo, one of the natives who had been taken to England by the former expedition, had returned with this one, and he was at once sent to the main land to announce the arrival of the colonists to his countrymen. The accounts brought by the preceding adventurers in regard to the gentleness and hospitality of the natives, and the friendly feeling of Manteo, led the colonists to expect a hearty welcome. They were, indeed, received with hospitality, inspired, probably, by fear and wonder, and this might perhaps have been continued with advantage to the colony, had not an unjust and cruel act excited the fears and revengeful spirit of the savages. Grenville, with Lane and others, made an excursion into the interior of the main land, and were entertained by the natives with a rude but generous hospitality. But in one of the Indian villages where they tarried it happened that a silver cup had attracted the eye of a native, and excited his cupidity, so that he slyly appropriated it. When its restoration was demanded it was not immediately produced, and Grenville, with a hasty spirit of revenge better suited to the untutored savage than the titled Englishman, ordered the village to be burnt, and the standing corn in the meagre plantations of the natives to be destroyed. This inconsiderate act, committed in utter ignorance of the Indian character, was intended to deter the natives from the repetition of such an offence, but produced a very different effect; it aroused a spirit of hostility and revenge in the

savage breast, from which the English experienced a punishment more fearful than they inflicted.

Soon after the return from this expedition Grenville sailed with the fleet for England, and Lane and his company were left to complete the settlement. The fort of palisades and earth was finished, and about it several houses were built, but nothing was done in the way of cultivating the soil, providing subsistence, or otherwise establishing a permanent settlement. The fort and houses being completed, the colonists began in a small way to explore the country, though they went no great distance from Roanoke Island. They found it "the most pleasing territory in the world," and the soil "the goodliest under the cope of heaven," and they declared that "if Virginia had but houses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it." They marvelled at the luxuriant growth and productiveness of maize, tested the value of the potato, and observed the culture and use of the poisonous weed, tobacco, which has become so important an article of agriculture and commerce, and some of them acquired the habit of using it after the Indian fashion of smoking, and subsequently introduced the novelty into England. While engaged in these unimportant explorations they made some further acquaintance with the Indians. To these the strangers appeared to be a superior race of beings, and as there were no women among them, the natives imagined they were not mortals. Such visitors naturally inspired the superstitious savages with fear, and they would gladly have got rid of beings who, they believed, would otherwise eventually destroy them.

The desire for gold, and the belief that it would be found here, as the Spaniards had found it in more southern regions, was soon made manifest among the colonists; and as soon as it was understood by the Indians they invented a story to lead some of the adventurers far into the interior, so that by dividing the unwelcome strangers they might more easily dispose of them. As the English understood this story, the River Roanoke rose so near the Pacific that the waves of that ocean were sometimes dashed into its waters; its banks abounded in gold, and were inhabited by a nation who were skilled in the art of refining the precious ore, and who dwelt in a city whose walls were studded with gems. It was a credulous age, and the English, smitten with the desire of discov-

ering gold, believed the extravagant stories. Lane, with a party of his followers, made the attempt to ascend the Roanoke and reach this El Dorado, and though they encountered great difficulties, and yet found not the slightest indication of the truth of the Indian reports, they continued their efforts until their provisions were exhausted, and they were therefore forced to return. Before they reached the settlement they were reduced to the extremity of eating the dogs that accompanied them. The return of Lane prevented the execution of a plan of the savages to destroy the settlement and murder those left there.

That the savages were hostile was now manifest to the settlers, and for some reason they believed that there was a combination of several small tribes for a general massacre of the colony. This at least was the excuse for an act of treacherous cruelty on their part. They sought an audience with Wingina, a prominent chief, and it was granted with a readiness which indicated entire confidence on his part in the honor of the English. But though received in a hospitable manner, at a preconcerted signal they fell upon the unsuspecting chief and his companions and murdered them. After this atrocious treachery, which was prompted by their fears and credulity, the colonists well might feel uneasy. Another spring had come, but they made no attempts to plant seed and raise crops for their subsistence, and now looked anxiously for supplies and additional numbers from England, lest they should be overwhelmed by a countless host of enemies from the unknown depths of the continent. Most of them, too, were tired of the now aimless life they led in this "most pleasing territory in the world," and longed to return to their native land.

This homesick desire was gratified in an unexpected manner. While they were watching for the arrival of a ship or two with stores, a large fleet appeared off the coast, and anchored outside the inlet nearest to the settlement. This proved to be the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, who was on his way to England from the West Indies, and who had come on a friendly visit to the colony of his friend Raleigh. Drake found the colony in a demoralized condition, and in order to inspire it with some activity, and give it a motive for continued existence, he not only furnished supplies of food, but gave them a vessel of seventy tons, and several pinnaces and small boats, with which to make explorations

along the coast, and in the interior waters, under the direction of two experienced seamen. While this would afford them an object of pursuit, and might result in the selection of a better site for the settlement, it would also give them a feeling of greater security, and in case of extremity might be the means of returning to England.

Unfortunately the generous intentions of Drake were frustrated by a severe storm which compelled the fleet to put to sea for safety, and when the storm subsided the vessel and boats left for the colonists could not be found. The storm had swept them away, and wrecked them on the dangerous coast. Drake, however, was ready to furnish other means for the colonists to continue the exploration of the coast, which he deemed important for the interests of Raleigh and of future emigrants. But the colonists, from Lane down to the humblest member of the company, were thoroughly disheartened. They dreaded seeing Drake's fleet sail away for England, leaving them still banished from their homes, and begged permission to return with him to their native land, as if this were their last chance of escaping from a miserable exile. With great reluctance Drake yielded to their importunity, and stripping the houses of their slight furniture they embarked, after a sojourn of one year in the country, carrying with them, as their only acquisition, a small supply of the Indian weed, and the habit of smoking it after the manner of the natives.

It was a hasty and ill-advised abandonment by Lane of the enterprise committed to his charge; and it was wholly unnecessary, for Drake's fleet was but a few days on its way when a ship sent by Raleigh arrived with stores. The new-comers found the vacant settlement, but no further trace of the colonists, and they returned to England to learn that the deserters were already there. Two weeks later Sir Richard Grenville arrived again with three ships well laden with supplies, and a few additional colonists. He searched the coast for the colony, hoping it had merely gone to some more favorable locality; but finding no sign of any other settlement, he determined that the rights of England to the possession of the country should not be altogether abandoned, and left fifteen men to hold the place till further measures could be taken to re-establish the colony.

XIII.

THE LOST COLONY OF ROANOKE.— GOSNOLD'S FAILURE.

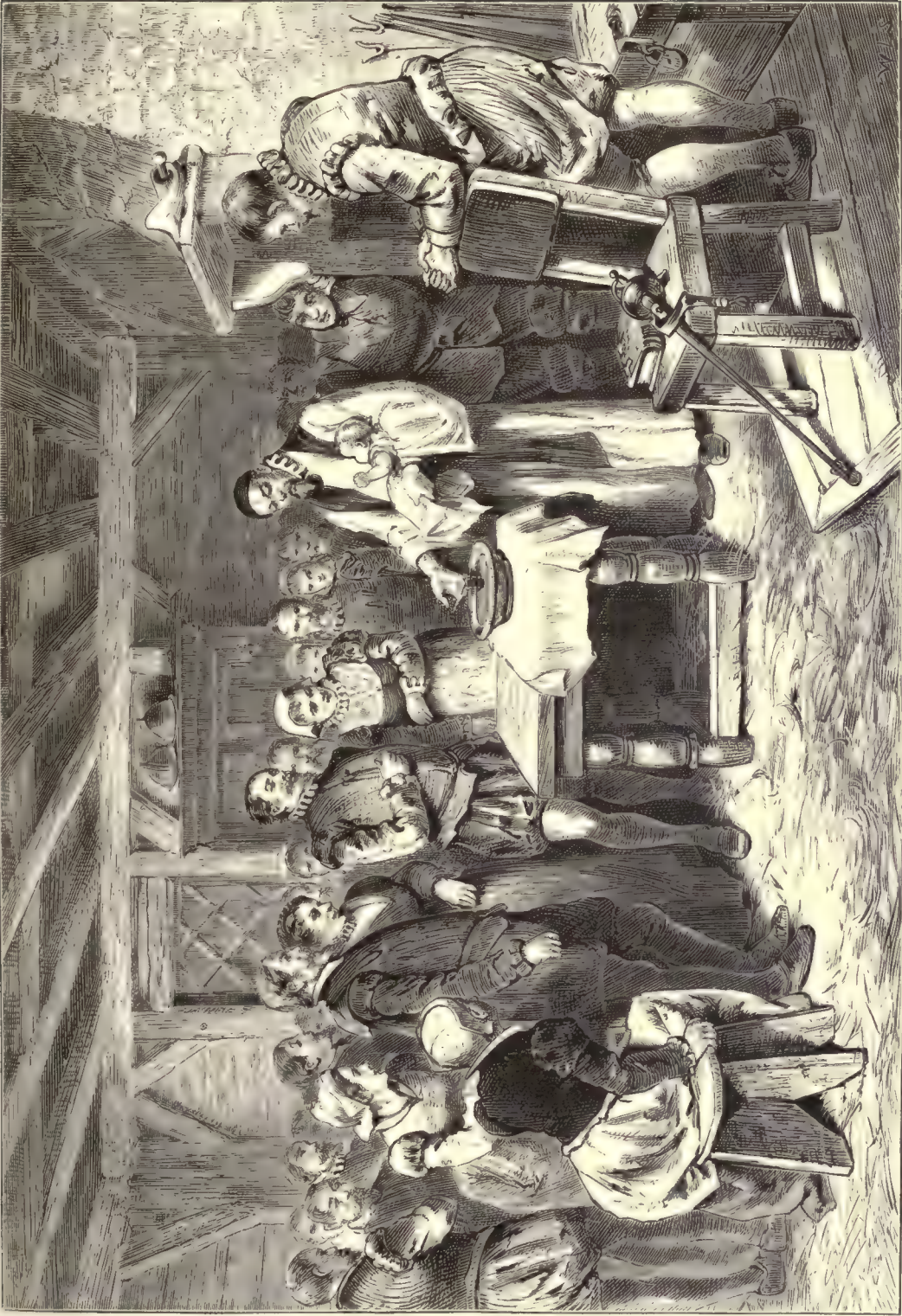


DISCOURAGING as were these failures to plant a permanent English colony in America, Sir Walter Raleigh did not abandon his cherished purpose. On the contrary, he determined to make a new effort, in which a wiser policy should be adopted. The former colony was composed only of men who went to build a fort and a few houses for shelter, and then had nothing to do. Discontent, and homesickness, and consequent failure, were the natural results. Raleigh saw this, and determined now to send out emigrants with wives and families, prepared to cultivate the soil and establish their homes in the new world. Carrying their "household gods" with them, they would not be longing constantly to return to their native land and friends. Such a company of emigrants was without great difficulty collected, and to encourage them in making a permanent settlement a charter of incorporation was given them with a form of government for the "City of Raleigh," which they were expected to found. They were to engage in agriculture, and raise a portion of their subsistence, instead of depending upon England for constant supplies; and ample provision was made for this purpose. The pursuits of industry and the presence of women, it was considered, would attach them strongly to their new homes. A gentleman of ability, John White, was appointed governor, who, with eleven assistants, was to administer the affairs of the colony.

It was in the spring of 1587 that this new company sailed from

England, and in the early summer they arrived off the coast of North Carolina. It was intended by Raleigh and his associates that the new settlement should be somewhere on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, but the emigrants were first to visit Roanoke Island, and take with them the men left there by Sir Richard Grenville. Arrived at the island, they found the houses deserted and in ruins, and tenanted only by birds and wild deer. In the rank grass and weeds that grew around them were scattered human bones, the only vestige of the unfortunate garrison left by Grenville; they had doubtless been killed by the Indians, whose hostility he had so inconsiderately aroused on his first visit to the country. The place spoke only of ruin and disaster, and well might White and his company desire to hasten on to their destination in Chesapeake Bay, to establish their settlement where they would not be constantly reminded of the failure and death of their predecessors.

But now a difficulty arose which prevented the carrying out of Raleigh's orders. The commander of the ship was anxious to return to the West Indies to trade, that he might make a profitable voyage, and he refused to explore the coast in search of a better site for a settlement. He had brought the colony to America, and he would not submit either to the orders or entreaties of White to make explorations which might detain him too long from his anticipated profits. Nothing remained, therefore, for the colonists but to settle at Roanoke, and found there the city which Raleigh had chartered, and which he had hoped would be built on Chesapeake Bay. The fort and houses built by Lane were repaired, and a few additional dwellings were erected. With proper ceremonies, the settlement was dignified with the name of the "City of Raleigh," and lands were set apart for cultivation in accordance with Raleigh's plan. It was too late in the season, however, to do much in agriculture, and it was soon seen with alarm that the colony, for more than a year, must depend upon the supplies brought with them from England, and these, there was reason to fear, would be insufficient. This clouded the prospects of the colony, and cast a shadow of doubt and anxiety over the future, which other events soon increased. The settlers were hardly established in their new home when a neighboring tribe of Indians manifested hostility, and coming one day upon one of the "assistants," who was alone, and some distance from the fort, they killed him. This event added to the uneasi-



BAPTISM OF VIRGINIA DARE.

ness of the colony. The emigrants had believed that they were coming to a delightful region, full of beauty and fruitfulness, whose inhabitants were gentle and hospitable. They now found that they were exposed to the attacks of savages, and the presence of women and children increased the danger and the consequent anxiety.

Fortunately all the natives were not hostile. The tribe of Manteo, who accompanied the first expedition to England, and manifested his friendship to Lane's company, continued friendly, and welcomed them to the region they inhabited. But the settlers were so fearful of attacks from hostile Indians, and so ready to drive them off by anticipating the attack, that they once came near making enemies of their friends by firing upon a band of Manteo's tribe while they were resting quietly in their camp. The mistake was discovered before the whole party of natives were shot, but the hasty attack alarmed the Indians, and made them less cordial towards the whites. Manteo, however, remained as friendly as ever, and by Raleigh's order he was invested with the dignity of nobility, with the title of Lord of Roanoke. Doubtless the simple native was highly pleased with the trinkets with which he was decorated, and it confirmed him in his attachment to the English.

After a stay of two months, the ship which brought the colonists prepared to depart. Discouraged at the prospect before them, with limited supplies, and surrounded by hostile natives, the settlers united in urging White, the governor, to return and obtain re-enforcements and further provisions. Reluctant to leave the colony committed to his charge, he at first refused, but the entreaties of the settlers were so urgent that he at last consented. Previous to his departure, a somewhat remarkable event took place, being the baptism of the first child of English parents who was born in America. White's daughter, who was the wife of one of his assistants named Dare, about this time gave birth to a daughter, and the baptism of the child was celebrated with all the solemnity befitting the occasion and the uncertain prospects of the colony. From the name which Queen Elizabeth had given the country, she was named Virginia. A new tie now bound White to the settlement, but it was urged as a stronger reason why he should return to England and secure further aid; and soon after he bade farewell to his daughter and her child, and sailed, with the determination to bring back the requisite aid as speedily as possible.

A melancholy interest attaches to the name of Virginia Dare. The first English child born in America, the daughter of a gentleman prominent in the colony, and baptized under a name which might commend her to the favor of the queen, had she lived, and the colony prospered, a career of some distinction might have awaited her. But all that is known of her is her birth and baptism. Her fate, and that of the unfortunate colony after the departure of White, are shrouded in mystery. Upon reaching England, White found the government and people engrossed in preparations for defence against a threatened invasion by the Spaniards. Sir Walter Raleigh, however, faithful to the interest of the colony he had planted, was able to fit out two ships with the necessary supplies, and White embarked, with a fair hope of carrying the needed aid before the colony was reduced to want. But at that period every private vessel was a ship of war, and all navigators but little better than buccaneers. The opportunity to capture Spanish vessels, laden perhaps with wealth from Mexico or the West Indies, was a temptation not to be resisted by the commanders and crews of the two ships, and they went out of their true course in pursuit of such prizes. But they unfortunately fell in with a formidable war vessel of Spain, and after a desperate fight were themselves plundered, and forced to return to England in a crippled condition. Raleigh's resources were unequal to fitting out another expedition, and the threatened Spanish invasion so engrossed the attention of all Englishmen, that the infant colony was left unsuccored, if not forgotten.

When at last the mighty Armada of Spain was shattered by storm, and driven home by English valor, and Raleigh could again give his thoughts to his interests in the new world, he was wholly unable to send out any further aid with his own resources. But, unwilling to abandon an enterprise in which he felt so deep an interest, after long delays, and in spite of many obstacles, he formed a company, to whom he granted great privileges under his patent; and after the lapse of three years since the return of White, a vessel was fitted out in which he returned to seek his daughter. It was too late. The settlement on Roanoke Island was deserted and in ruins, and no trace of the colonists was found, except an indistinct inscription on the bark of a tree, which indicated that they had gone to an island named Croatan. But White could not compel or induce the captain of the vessel to make further search, and the

stormy season was made an excuse for returning to England. With what feelings White was thus forced again to abandon the hope of seeing his child, and succoring his friends, may be imagined. It was the last chance. Time sped on; and though, in subsequent years, some search was made for the lost colonists, no tidings were ever obtained.

What had become of the vanished colony? When White returned to England for supplies, he left in the settlement eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children. If they had perished from want, or some fatal epidemic, or been murdered by the savages, there would probably have been some remains to tell the story. That they should all perish from want is not probable, so long as there was any friendly tribe near them; and the friendship of Manteo's family, at least, was assured. Nor is it more probable that hostile savages, to whom fire-arms were a terror, would easily destroy a colony defended by so many armed Englishmen. A siege might have reduced the settlers to starvation, and a capitulation which resulted in a massacre; but the Indians did not conduct their wars in that manner, and a massacre would have left its traces in the bleaching bones of the slain. That the colonists abandoned their settlement is quite probable; but whether, despairing of receiving succor from England, they went voluntarily to live with a friendly tribe of natives, or the survivors of repeated conflicts were carried into a hopeless captivity, is a matter of conjecture. Long afterwards, when settlements had been successfully established by succeeding generations in North Carolina, and the natives were dwindling away, it was said to be a tradition among the Hatteras Indians that a company of whites had been adopted into their tribe, and the races became amalgamated; and it was thought that the appearance of many of this tribe indicated that the tradition was well founded. This tradition, and its alleged confirmation, offer a possible, but by no means satisfactory, solution of the mystery. If it be true, what was the fate of Virginia Dare?

Before proceeding to the story of more successful efforts at colonization, it is proper to allude to an expedition which came near establishing the first permanent English settlement in America within the limits of New England. The English had now begun to visit frequently the coasts of the country, to which they applied the general name of Virginia, and Bartholomew Gosnold fitted out a small vessel for trading

purposes, and with a view to establish a trading post at some favorable point, which should result in a permanent settlement. Unlike his predecessors in voyaging to America, he did not sail by the circuitous route by the Canaries and West Indies, but steered directly across the Atlantic, and first saw land on the coast of Massachusetts. He landed first on Cape Cod, to which he gave its name, but finding no good harbor, and no opportunity to trade or obtain any valuable cargo, he proceeded south, and, passing westward, he reached an island whose luxuriant vegetation seemed to offer inducements to tarry, and to which he gave the name of Elizabeth, in honor of the queen. The name is still preserved in the group to which this island belongs. Landing to explore the island, Gosnold and his companions were delighted with the rich foliage of the early summer, and the promise of wild fruits with which it seemed to abound. There grew in abundance the strawberry and raspberry, just showing fruit and blossoms, and grape-vines were throwing out their tendrils high up on the trees, up whose sturdy trunks and branches for many years they had been climbing. And, more valuable to the adventurers than timber or fruits, they found an abundance of the sassafras tree, the root of which was then greatly esteemed as a potent drug. Not far inland, they discovered a pond, in which was a little rocky island, and here they established a storehouse and fort, where it was proposed that a part of the company should remain, gathering the precious root for future freights, and holding the place till new colonists and supplies should come. The main land was also visited, and by trafficking with the natives Gosnold was soon able to obtain an abundance of sassafras root and some furs, so that, after a month's stay, he was ready to return to England. The party which was to remain now became alarmed at the prospect of being left with inadequate supplies, and exposed to the attack of savages, and all refused to be left behind. The fort and storehouse were accordingly abandoned, and the proposed settlement failed.

XIV.

JAMESTOWN AND CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

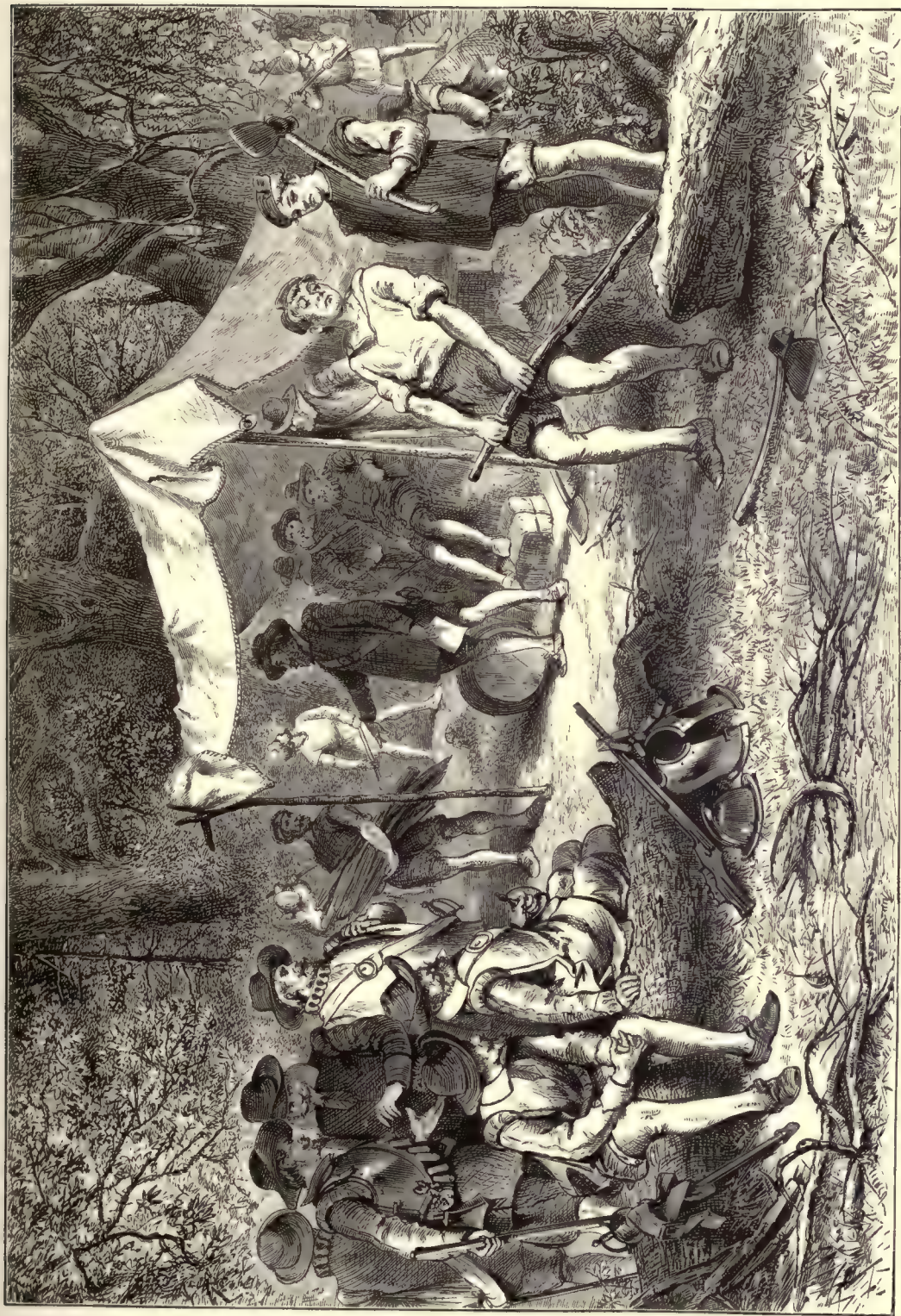


ON the banks of the river called by the Indians Powhatan, and by the English named the James, about forty miles from its mouth, and a few miles below the junction of the Chickahominy, was established the first permanent English colony in America. In the latter part of April, 1607, three small ships, the largest of which was not more than a hundred tons burden, were driven by a storm past the shores where the unfortunate colony of Raleigh had been planted, into the waters of Chesapeake Bay. They had been sent out by a company which had received a charter with authority to plant a colony in America, and which included in its number some of those who had been associated with Raleigh in his later enterprises, and were inspired with a like desire to settle the country which had been described in such glowing colors. Passing through Hampton Roads they explored the shores of the bay, and sailed up the broad river. The land was covered with a magnificent forest just putting on its spring verdure, and here and there broad meadows were green with grass already waving. Fair skies and warm weather made the region most attractive, and "heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation." After exploring these attractive shores for seventeen days, the adventurers selected the site for their settlement. It was on a little peninsula, and seemed to them to offer advantages they had not met with at any other point; but it proved to be an ill-chosen and unhealthy place. Here the col-

onists landed on the 13th of May, 1607, and began to prepare, in an indifferent way, to establish themselves in their new dwelling-place.

It was a company little adapted to the purposes in view. Of the one hundred and five emigrants only twelve were laborers, and a still smaller number were mechanics; the rest were gentlemen and tradesmen, who had come with a vague hope of mending their shattered fortunes, or escaping the ills that had befallen them at home. These were unaccustomed to labor or hardship, and were consequently the last men who should have undertaken to settle in the wilderness, where toil and endurance were necessary to subdue the forest and compel the untamed luxuriance of the soil to yield support for a civilized community. For this work, so essential for the success of the colony, there were twelve laborers, and four carpenters were to build the dwellings necessary to shelter the company, at least one half of whom knew nothing of labor, and being bred as gentlemen looked upon it as degrading. In the company were some worthy men, among whom was Bartholomew Gosnold, the projector of the settlement, who had previously visited New England and sought to plant a colony there, Thomas Studley, the treasurer, Wotton, the surgeon, and a few others, who honestly desired the success of the expedition. But there were others who sought only their own advancement and the retrieving of their broken fortunes. The leading men of this class were Wingfield, Ratcliffe, and Kendall; the ablest and the only man really capable of managing the affairs of the settlement was Captain John Smith. The former, by artful and false insinuations, succeeded in excluding Smith from participation in the government of the colony at the outset, and Wingfield was made president of the council, a body appointed by the company in England. Envious of his shining qualities, these men charged Smith with sedition and aiming at usurpation; but not being able to prove anything, except that he possessed superior abilities to manage the affairs of the colony, they abandoned an attempt at trial, and by the good offices of the clergyman, Hunt, he was restored to his place in the council.

Smith was, indeed, the leading spirit of the colony, and the man of all others best qualified to rule it and secure its ultimate welfare. Though still a young man, he had led a remarkable career, met with the strangest experiences, shown the utmost daring, and studied human



THE SETTLERS AT JAMESTOWN.

nature under the greatest variety of circumstances. Having received a fair education in his boyhood, he went to France, where he learned something of the art of war and skill in the use of arms. He afterwards went to the Low Countries and engaged in the war against Spain, where he distinguished himself by his bravery and his ardent espousal of the cause of the Netherlanders. Then he travelled in France, visited Egypt, and wandered through Italy. Eager for adventure and a more exciting and active life, he went to Austria, and made his way to Wallachia, where the Turks were engaged in war against the Christians, and where he enlisted under the Prince of Transylvania against the Moslem. There he distinguished himself by his bravery, and, repeating the feats of the days of the Crusades, vanquished many a follower of Mahomet in single combat. But at last, in a sudden skirmish, a party with which he was acting was overpowered by superior numbers, and he was left wounded on the field. He was taken prisoner, and sent to Constantinople as a slave, and as such consigned to the service of a Turkish lady. She was struck with his looks and bearing, and designing to save him from being sold as a slave in the market, sent him to a fortress in the Crimea, with orders that he should be well treated. There, however, the keeper to whose charge he was consigned treated him in the harshest manner, riveting an iron collar on his neck, and subjecting him to the severest tasks in company with brutish serfs. Smith could not long endure this. Rebelling against the indignity and cruelty inflicted upon him, he killed his oppressor, and mounting the horse of the latter sought safety in flight. Ascertaining the roads which led towards the Russian territory, he succeeded in reaching it, found relief from his hunger and weary toil by the kindness of a Russian woman, and at last travelled across the country to Transylvania. His former comrades hailed his return with joy, for his bravery was worth more than numbers to them. But Smith was now desirous of returning to his own country, and would not yield to their solicitations to join them in further warfare. He started, therefore, for England, but before reaching it the spirit of adventure was again aroused within him by rumors of war in Morocco, and thither he hastened in search of new dangers. At last he returned to England, and found that a new field of adventure was opening in the attempts to colonize Vir-

ginia. His active mind immediately engaged with enthusiasm in this undertaking, and he eagerly joined the company which was preparing to sail with Newport. His active mind, rich in experience, his confident bearing, his enthusiasm, and his wise suggestions as to the management of affairs, on the voyage, showed that he was the man to lead in the new enterprise, and excited the hostility of the gentry who assumed to be the leaders, and they laid their plot to get rid of him by trying and condemning him for imaginary crimes, or sending him back to England under serious charges. Happily for the existence of the colony, the plot failed; otherwise there is little doubt that the fate of the settlement at Jamestown would have been like that of Raleigh's unfortunate colonies.

The first preparations for a settlement were clearing the ground and pitching tents. Wingfield, the president of the council, would not allow any military preparations or fortifications, but consented to an enclosure made of the branches of trees thrown together, which would prove quite as advantageous to the savage assailants as to the defenders of the place. Trees were felled, partly for the purpose of constructing shelter more substantial than tents, and partly for freighting the vessels. Gardens were laid out and planted to a limited extent. Goods were landed, and the emigrants took up their abode on shore, giving to the place the name of Jamestown, in honor of the king. The work proceeded but slowly, for there were more gentlemen lounging about in idleness, or assuming to direct affairs, than there were laborers and sailors to put their hands to the toil. Ever active and ready for emergencies, Smith not only gave direction to the work, but himself joined in the labor. The Indians, who witnessed these proceedings with some amazement, manifested a friendly disposition, although some previously met with had shown hostility.

While these preparations were in progress, Newport, the commander of the ships, with Smith and twenty others, proceeded in boats up the river to discover its head, it being imagined that from its head-waters another river might flow westward into the South Sea, as the Pacific Ocean was then called. The natives received them with great hospitality, and being repaid with gifts of bells and other trinkets, were all the more eager to bring offerings of bread and fruits. Proceeding slowly



INDIAN ATTACK ON SETTLERS IN VIRGINIA.

up the river, in six days they arrived at a place called Powhatan, the name given by the natives to the river, and borne also by the principal chief of the tribe dwelling in this region. The place consisted of twelve lodges or wigwams, pleasantly situated on high land, about which were many cornfields, planted in the rude manner of native agriculture. From this point the falls were reached the same day, and a cross was set up to indicate the limit of their progress. Powhatan received his strange visitors with hospitality, and was requited with some trifling gifts, and after a short stay, the explorers returned down the river. Hitherto the Indians had behaved in a friendly manner; but, as the boats reached a point some twenty miles above the new settlement, there were evident signs of hostility and some arrows were discharged at them from the shore.

During the absence of this party, those remaining at the settlement experienced more severely the hostility of the natives. The latter perhaps imagined that the warriors of the white men had gone on the expedition up the river, and, according to the custom of savages, they made a sudden attack on the unarmed men who were engaged in planting. A boy was killed, and seventeen men were wounded by the flight of arrows shot from a neighboring thicket. Fortunately the attack was observed on board one of the ships, and a shot from a cannon crashing through the trees alarmed the Indians, and they quickly withdrew. But for this the unarmed settlers might speedily have fallen under the tomahawk and scalping-knife. This event showed the obstinate president the necessity both of fortifications and military preparation, and accordingly a palisade fort was constructed, cannon mounted, and the men exercised with arms. These preparations prevented any repetition of the attack, but careless stragglers were not infrequently wounded by the arrows of lurking savages.

Newport soon after sailed with his ships for England, leaving a hundred settlers, and enough provisions, as was supposed, to last them three months. The departure of the ships was like breaking the last link that bound them to their native land, and the colonists soon became despondent. The hopes which the beauty and luxuriance of the country had aroused speedily vanished. They were left in the wilderness, surrounded by savages who were inclined to hostile acts, though they

had lately professed friendship. The wretched material of which the colony was composed made it all the more subject to discontent and despondency. Unaccustomed to labor, and prostrated by the heat of the summer, most of them passed their days in idleness, which served to nurse their unhappiness. The ill-advised selection of the site for the settlement soon became apparent. It was low, and exposed to the malaria of extensive marshes, which engendered a fatal sickness. The idle and careless habits of the colonists rendered them less capable of resisting the attacks of disease, and they soon fell victims to it. At one time, there were scarcely five men able to guard the fort, and for weeks the tents and huts were filled with the dying, whose sufferings could not be relieved by those less severely afflicted. At times three or four died in one night, and there were hardly enough able to drag forth the dead for a hasty burial. By September fifty of the one hundred died, and among them Gosnold, who, next to Smith, was the most valuable man in the company, and had done much to preserve some sort of harmony among the discordant elements. During this season of sickness and death, Smith, by his more careful habits, his constant occupation, and his constitution, inured to hardship, escaped the disease, and devoted himself to the relief of the suffering. Wotton, the surgeon, also constantly ministered to the sick.

During the sickness, the provisions failed, and the want of proper food added to the misery of the sufferers. In addition to this, Wingfield, the president, was accused of appropriating the public stores to his own use, and thus living in plenty, while the others suffered want. When the mutterings of discontent aroused by his baseness reached Wingfield's ears, he attempted to escape in the pinnace, which had been left for the use of the colonists, and sail for the West Indies. But his treachery was discovered, and the survivors of the colony arose in indignation and deposed him, choosing Captain John Ratcliffe in his place. Kendall, who was a confederate of Wingfield, was also removed from the council. The choice of Ratcliffe, however, was of little benefit to the colony. He was inefficient at a time when the colony most needed capacity and energy to save it from destruction, and he soon became unpopular. Under his maladministration the colonists would have starved but for the good will of the Indians, who brought them

supplies. At this stage the management of affairs devolved upon Smith, who alone showed himself competent to the task. He acted as "cape-merchant," or treasurer, and assuming command, with Ratcliffe's consent, he set the colonists to work to build houses better adapted to afford shelter in the coming winter than the tents and frail huts in which they had hitherto lived. The grass in the meadows was cut and used for thatching the houses, and in a short time some comfortable habitations were constructed, capable of housing the greater part of the company. A rough, barn-like structure was also built, in which the Rev. Mr. Hunt held daily service, according to the forms of the church of England. In the mean time, some of the men were employed in catching fish for the sustenance of the colony, and when the work of building was well advanced, Smith embarked, with six men, in a boat, to go in quest of supplies. Visiting a small Indian village, the party was met by the natives with hostility, but a discharge of fire-arms so alarmed them that they speedily brought him the supplies for which he asked, furnishing a quantity of venison, wild fowl, and corn. The success of this expedition induced Smith to make others, and by his visits to various Indian villages he obtained, from time to time, a supply of corn and venison sufficient to sustain the colony. While absent on one of these expeditions, Wingfield and Kendall, with a few confederates, again attempted to desert the colony, and sail away in the pinnace. Fortunately Smith returned just as they were about to put their plot in execution, and, without waiting to parley, he opened so hot a fire upon them that they were compelled to surrender or sink. Kendall, who was the boldest, and the leader among the conspirators, was tried by a jury, and being convicted, was shot. This result, however, did not prevent a repetition of the attempt; and not long after, Ratcliffe and one Captain Archer planned a similar escape from their hardships, but it was foiled by the vigilance and resolution of Smith.

With the approach of winter came an immense flight of wild fowl from the north, and the river and inlets were filled with ducks. The waters yielded also an abundant supply of fish. Persimmons and wild peas were plenty, and, with what corn they could obtain from the Indians, the settlers now found no lack of wholesome food. But they were careless and improvident in this season of plenty, and recklessly

wasted much which might have been preserved for future use, in spite of Smith's efforts to provide against a less propitious time. When the wild fowl migrated southward, and food became less abundant, the idlers of the settlement, who did little except to consume and waste the supplies which Smith so carefully provided, began to murmur, and utter complaints against him because he had not traced the Chickahominy to its source, whence, as they believed, a way would be speedily discovered to the South Sea. The discontent at last extended to the council, and the idea of remaining in permanent exile in the wilderness when there was, as they believed, a probability of opening a new way to the Indies, and obtaining for themselves the much coveted wealth of the Orient, was not to be endured. To allay the growing dissatisfaction, and to test the soundness of this belief, in which he did not share, Smith determined to make another voyage up the Chickahominy, and explore it to its source.

He accordingly started, with nine men, in a barge, accompanied by two Indian guides, and proceeded up the river until his course was obstructed by fallen trees. He then went back a few miles, and leaving the barge moored in a wide bay, in charge of seven men, with strict orders that they should not venture on shore till his return, he proceeded, with two men and the Indian guides, in a canoe, some twenty miles farther up the river. Shortly after he left the barge, the men in charge, disregarding his injunctions, went on shore, and one of them was surprised and killed by the savages. Smith, unaware of this misfortune, went on till he reached the marshy ground near the head of the river. Being in want of food, he went out with one of the Indian guides to shoot some game. The Indians on the banks of the river were watching for an opportunity to attack the strangers, and while Smith was on shore, the two men left in the canoe were slain, and soon after he met a party of the savages, who discharged their arrows at him. But seeing their hostile intentions, he made a shield of his guide, binding him by the arm with one of his garters. As the Indians advanced, he shot one of them, and thus kept the party for a time at bay. They continued, however, to discharge their arrows at him, some of which pierced his clothes and slightly wounded him. He then endeavored to reach the canoe, walking backwards and keeping his eye on the enemy,

and holding the guide between them and himself. While proceeding in this way he suddenly sank to his waist in a muddy stream. While he still retained his arms, the Indians, who had a wholesome fear of their mysterious power, were afraid to approach very near him; but the weather was cold, and he was becoming chilled in the mud, from which he could not extricate himself, and in token of surrender he threw away his gun and pistol. The savages seeing this soon drew him out, half dead with cold, and taking him to a fire, chafed his limbs till he was restored.

Smith had previously met with some strange experiences among barbarians, and he had learned something of the nature of the savages whom he now encountered. His presence of mind did not desert him in this trying emergency, and he coolly inquired for the chief of the tribe. The great chief of Pamunkey, Opechancanough, was pointed out to him, and Smith, taking a small mariner's compass from his pocket, presented it to him, pointing at the trembling needle, which still held its position whichever way the case was turned. While the chief was wondering at the mystery of his gift, the other Indians bound the prisoner to a tree, and were about to shoot him with their arrows, when Opechancanough, holding up the compass, bade them desist. The chief's command was promptly obeyed, and after a brief consultation among his captors, Smith was again unbound, and conducted under a strong guard to an Indian town in the upper part of the Chickahominy swamp.

This town consisted of thirty or forty lodges, and as the warriors approached it, men, women, and children swarmed out of them with wild cries, and gazed in astonishment upon the prisoner, he being the first white man that most of them had seen. Then followed a war-dance, with its fearful howls, and a terrible din by the women and children, who rejoiced over the capture of the mysterious stranger. A great feast was then prepared, and an enormous quantity of food was set before Smith, after the custom of the Indians, who thus treated their captives when about to kill them. Smith's fate, however, was as yet undetermined, though one Indian, whose son he had mortally wounded, attempted to avenge the loss by killing him, and would have succeeded but for the interposition of his guards. The chief, Opechancanough, desired to make a better use of him by securing him as an ally. He was intending to

make an attack on Jamestown, and he offered Smith such inducements as seemed to the savage mind most powerful, promising him life, liberty, land, and wives if he would join in the raid. Learning the purpose of the chief, the wary captive, without refusing or assenting to the proposal, induced his captors, under some pretence, to send messengers to the settlement, and by them he sent a letter written upon the leaf of a book, in which he warned the settlers of the intended attack, and directed what measures should be adopted to impress the messengers with fear, and what presents should be sent back by them. The messengers executed their errand, and brought back the presents with the astonishing story that the mysterious captive had made the paper speak to his friends and tell them where he was. This served to impress the Indians with awe as for a supernatural being, or one having powers far beyond their most cunning sorcerers. The contemplated attack on Jamestown was abandoned, and Smith was conducted from village to village, exciting everywhere the astonishment and curiosity of the natives. Arriving at the residence of Opechancanough, the sorcerers were summoned, and for three days the whole tribe were engaged in the wildest orgies and incantations for the purpose of divining the character of the prisoner, and whether his designs were friendly or hostile. The effort was not altogether successful, and opinions differed as to the disposal to be made of him. The journey was then continued till it reached the residence of Powhatan, the great chief of all the clans in this region. During all this time Smith was well treated, and furnished with abundance of food and fur robes. And he endeavored to secure the good will and confidence of his captors, as well as to inspire them with respect for his superior knowledge.

At last the prisoner was taken to the residence of Powhatan, on the banks of the Pamunkey River. The great chief was found in a large lodge, which Smith dignified with the name of a palace. Adorned with feathers and beads, and wearing a robe of furs, he reclined on a raised seat or platform, which to the Englishman seemed a throne, while at his head and feet respectively sat a young Indian girl, and around the lodge were seated the warriors of the tribe in rows as if for a council. Behind the warriors stood the squaws, adorned in gayest Indian fashion with paint and feathers. As Smith was led into the lodge the whole

assembly set up a terrific yell, whether of welcome or triumph the captive might well doubt. He was seated on a mat in the midst of the assembly, when a squaw, who was presumed to be the "queen," brought him water for washing, and another brought a bunch of feathers for a towel. Then came the feast which usually attended such extraordinary occasions, and that being finished, a long consultation followed, in which the warriors listened with grave dignity while in turn they expressed their views concerning the captive. The purport of the long talk Smith could only guess from the gestures and violence with which some of the Indians uttered their brief speeches; but the consultation being finished, he was left no longer in doubt, when two large stones were brought in, and he was seized by several of the warriors, thrown down, and his head laid upon the stones. Others snatched up their war-clubs and tomahawks, and brandishing them in the air, threatened his immediate death. The fatal blow would have descended, when it was arrested by the cry of Pocahontas, Powhatan's favorite daughter, a girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, who entreated her father and his followers to spare the captive's life. The savages murmured their disapproval, and would have persisted in the sacrifice, but Pocahontas forced her way into the crowd of warriors, and throwing her arms around the captive, laid her head upon his. The arm ready to strike was again arrested, and, moved by this strange appeal of his daughter, Powhatan ordered the captive's life to be spared.*

Already inspired with awe by Smith's mysterious character as that of a superior being, the Indians regarded this interposition of the chief's child with superstitious reverence, and acquiesced in the decision of mercy.

Grateful to the child who had thus saved his life, Smith manifested his thanks in a way which won her confidence. He gave her such

* Such is the purport of Smith's own account of his condemnation and rescue, but there is some reason to believe that in describing his own adventures he drew a long bow. Some of the proceedings are not altogether in accordance with the customs of the Indians, and he may have drawn incorrect inferences from some of their actions. Of the main fact, however, that he was saved by the intercession of Pocahontas there is little doubt, though there are not wanting iconoclasts who would destroy this image of mercy so familiar and pleasing to the youthful student of colonial history.

trinkets as he could divest himself of, and fashioned some toys to please her native curiosity, and by his gentleness secured her lasting friendship, which proved of inestimable value to the colony. Powhatan and his followers, ceasing to regard him as an enemy, sought to make him a friend and ally in their warlike enterprises. They endeavored to induce him to join them in an attack on Jamestown, but without exciting their suspicions he succeeded in diverting their thoughts into other channels. At last, upon the promise of two great guns and a grindstone, the use of which they had in some way discovered, Powhatan agreed to send him back to Jamestown, and to regard him as his son. With two Indians for guides he started on his return, and it was not without a feeling that they might treacherously despatch him as he slept, that he lay down with them in a deserted wigwam to rest, but not to sleep, for the night. The next day he arrived safely at the settlement, after an absence of seven weeks, to the great joy of most of the surviving settlers. The Indian guides were treated hospitably, and received a number of presents to carry back to Powhatan, including the promised cannon and grindstone.

Escaping from death at the hands of the Indians, Smith was now in like danger from his own countrymen. Archer had been illegally admitted to the council, and fearing and hating Smith on account of his well-earned distinction, and possibly some justly administered rebuke, with some of his confederates he trumped up a charge against Smith on the strength of a chapter of Leviticus, and procured his trial for the death of his two men who were slain by the Indians. He was condemned to be hanged, but the opportune arrival of Newport saved him from a fate which would probably have brought disaster upon the colony.

When Smith returned, the number of colonists had been reduced to forty, and they were planning an escape from the wilderness and a return to England. It was, perhaps, to remove a formidable obstacle to this course that the condemnation of Smith was plotted. The arrival of Newport with additional settlers and a supply of provisions gave a new aspect to affairs. Smith reported, too, that there was an abundance of food to be had from the Indians, and that their friendship was secured through the kind offices of Pocahontas, and accordingly the hopes of the



JOHN SMITH A CAPTIVE AMONG THE INDIANS.

settlers revived. Soon after that remarkable Indian girl came with a train of attendants bearing gifts of corn, venison, and furs from her father. A friendly intercourse between the settlers and the natives was thus begun, based on the admiration of Pocahontas for Smith. It was followed up by a visit from Newport, Smith, and others to Powhatan's residence, and a presentation of various gifts to the chief and his family. While the good will of the great chief of the Indians was thus secured, and the danger of famine seemed to be averted for the future, an accidental fire destroyed the greater part of the little settlement. It originated in the common storehouse, and the flames spread rapidly over the slight, thatched dwellings, consuming them and a great part of their contents, and reaching even the palisades that formed the defences of the place. The loss of a large portion of their stores reduced the settlers to short allowance again, the destruction of their houses exposed them to the inclemency of the weather, and they were again attacked by sickness, which in many cases proved fatal.

After a stay of more than three months, Newport again sailed for England, and with him the colonists sent Wingfield and Archer, who had been the cause of no little trouble and discontent by their selfish ambition and assumption of honors and emoluments. Ratcliffe, the president, was no less selfish, but he contented himself with liberally supplying his own wants from the public store, and showed no capacity for managing the affairs of the little colony. Upon Smith devolved the care which no one else seemed capable of assuming, and scarcely of sharing. He undertook to rebuild the settlement, and by his energy and example set the whole company at work, felled trees, constructed new dwellings and another church, and, as spring advanced, prepared and planted some small fields. Occupation prevented discontent and despondency, and the settlers were engaged—if not cheerfully, at least without much murmuring—in their work, when they were pleasantly surprised by the arrival of another ship from England with an additional number of settlers, and a supply of stores sufficient to last six months.

The composition of this accession was very similar to that of the first company of settlers, and was calculated to be of little advantage to the colony. Of the one hundred and twenty emigrants brought by New-

port and this last ship, thirty-three were gentlemen, twenty-one laborers and servants, six tailors, two apothecaries, two jewellers, two gold-refiners, two goldsmiths, a gunsmith, a blacksmith, a cooper, a surgeon, a tobacco-pipe maker, and a perfumer. The number of jewellers, gold-refiners, and goldsmiths, as well as of gentlemen, shows how little the wants and necessities of a settlement in Virginia were understood. The gold fever had already raged, much to the disgust of Smith, who was very far from indulging in the vain dreams of imaginary wealth. The arrival of the recruits caused it to return with increased violence, and "there was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold." The necessary artisans were present to refine and work the precious metal, it was only requisite to find it, and much energy and labor were wasted in searching for it, which would have been of some value to the colony if devoted to agriculture. The only result was a discovery of some yellow earth which proved to be of no value.

Smith devoted himself to more useful labors, and in June, 1608, with seven gentlemen and seven soldiers embarked in a barge for the purpose of exploring Chesapeake Bay. They explored the eastern shore of the bay, meeting with various tribes or clans of Indians, who were rewarded with small gifts or frightened by the discharge of fire-arms, according as they manifested hospitality or a defiant hostility. They afterwards ascended the Potomac, meeting with a like varied reception at the hands of the Indians, but always inspiring them with awe and alarm whenever they appeared in a threatening attitude. While in the Potomac Smith was one day amusing himself with spearing fish with his sword, when, taking one of the victims from its point, he was struck and stung in the wrist by the fish, which is now known by the name of "stingray," or "stingaree," and has a long, serrated tail, flexible like a whip-lash, and armed with a poisoned sting. The wound was very painful, and soon the symptoms became so alarming that Smith believed it would prove fatal, and gave directions for his burial on a neighboring island. Fortunately, however, one of the company was a surgeon, who exerted his skill for the relief of the sufferer, and the effects of the poison soon passed away.

After an absence of several weeks the explorers returned to Jamestown, where they found sickness and discontent prevailing. The self-

indulgent and incompetent president, Ratcliffe, could no longer be tolerated, and he was removed, and Smith, who was entitled to succeed, being desirous to resume his explorations, named Scrivener to act in his stead. With six gentlemen and as many soldiers he again embarked about the end of July, and explored a number of the rivers and creeks, and made his observations with such care that he was enabled to prepare a map giving a very good outline of the shores of Chesapeake Bay and the rivers flowing into it. In his explorations during this summer Smith estimated that he had traversed upwards of three thousand miles, and had been in Jamestown only three days during three months.

Affairs in the colony meanwhile had not prospered for want of efficient management, and Smith now consented to take the office of president. He at once set the settlers at work repairing the church and storehouse, erecting magazines for stores, and reconstructing the fort. The military force was reorganized, and the whole company was mustered under arms for exercise every Saturday, and scores of Indians came and watched in amazement their movements and their target practice. Thus order and discipline were restored, and the settlement prepared for any hostile movement of the treacherous natives, who were duly impressed with the superior power of the English.

At this time Newport again arrived from England, bringing seventy new emigrants, one of whom was accompanied by his wife, with her maid,—the first English women in the colony. The English company who held the charter imposed upon Newport the performance of one of three things, which were impossibilities; namely, to bring back a lump of gold, to discover a certain passage to the South Sea, or to rescue one of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colonists. Disappointed in their expectations of profit, they also required that the colonists should load the ship with commodities sufficient to defray the expense of the voyage,—about two thousand pounds,—and threatened that if this were not done they should be left in Virginia as banished men.

Such orders did not contribute to the welfare or content of the colony. The desire to discover gold was re-awakened, and Newport was compelled to make an effort to discover the imaginary passage to the Pacific, and even to send an expedition to the south in a fruitless search for some survivor of Raleigh's colony. These things unsettled the

newly established industry of the colony, and engaged the settlers in fruitless labors. Newport had also brought some presents for Powhatan, who was to be duly crowned as king, though for what purpose it is difficult to imagine, since it could not increase his authority over the tribes of which he was the great chief.

The first business was to deliver to the chief the presents brought for him, and perform the ceremony of coronation. Accordingly Smith, with three or four companions, went overland to the usual dwelling-place of Powhatan, to invite him to Jamestown to receive the honors in store for him. The chief was absent, but native messengers were sent to call him home, and in the mean time Smith and his companions were entertained in a remarkable manner by Pocahontas and a troop of Indian girls, whose performances were quite as startling as pleasing. They made a fire in an open space in the midst of the woods, and seating Smith and his companions, with two or three aged Indians, on mats before it, they retired. Soon a hideous noise of shouts and shrieks was heard in the woods, and the Englishmen, seizing their arms, laid hold of the Indians, fearing a hostile attack. But Pocahontas immediately came forward and assured Smith that no harm was intended, and that he might kill her if there was any attempt at a surprise. Having entire faith in the friendship of the "princess," as she was called, Smith reassured his companions, and they awaited further demonstrations. Soon a band of Indian girls emerged from the woods, their nearly naked bodies painted with brilliant colors, and adorned with feathers, the antlers of deer, and various other savage ornaments. At their head was Pocahontas, wearing a fine pair of buck's horns, with a quiver of arrows at her shoulder and a bow in her hand, and some fine furs hanging at her girdle, — a veritable Indian Diana. Her followers carried swords, — obtained from the English, — clubs, and apparently whatever implement they could seize for the occasion. With piercing shrieks and cries in imitation of wild beasts, they circled round the fire, dancing after the Indian fashion with the wildest and most fantastic motions. This performance continued for an hour, when they retired again to the woods, soon after returning in a more quiet manner, and invited the guests to their lodges, where an Indian feast was served, and the wild singing and dancing continued while the Englishmen ate. Then, with lightwood

torches, they escorted the party to a lodge assigned for their use, paying Smith especial attention, and seeking from him some expression of admiration.

When Powhatan arrived the next day, Smith informed him of the presents which awaited him at Jamestown, and invited him thither to receive them. He also promised Newport's aid to revenge himself upon his enemies the Monacans, who inhabited the country at the north-west, where Newport was to seek his passage to the South Sea. Powhatan probably suspected some treachery, for he replied haughtily that he would not go to Jamestown, but would wait eight days for the presents to be brought to him, and that he was able to fight his battles with the Monacans without help. As for the salt water beyond the mountains of which Smith spoke as the object of Newport's proposed expedition into the country of the Monacans, he declared there was no such water, but land everywhere. Smith returned to Jamestown, and the presents were sent by water, on a circuitous route, while he with Newport and fifty men proceeded by land to the Indian town.

Having reached the appointed place, and the presents having arrived, the next day was appointed for the coronation and presentation of gifts, with befitting ceremonies. The presents consisted of a bed and furniture, a basin and ewer, and clothing. These were delivered to the chief in due form, and then a scarlet suit and cloak were brought out, and with some difficulty substituted for the fur mantle more familiar to his limbs. Having dressed him in a civilized fashion, not without some objections and fears on his part, the next step was to make him kneel to receive the crown. This was a still more difficult task. The haughty savage was not accustomed to kneel, and was not disposed to try the unusual posture in the presence of his followers and women. But at last, after urgent persuasions and hard pressing on his shoulders, he was made to bend a little, when three Englishmen solemnly placed the crown upon his head. The ceremony being accomplished, a volley of musketry was discharged from the boats, greatly to the alarm of the Indians. They were soon pacified, however, and Powhatan, not to be outdone in generosity and condescension, bestowed upon Newport his old mantle and moccasins. With these valuable gifts, and some corn, which they purchased with a few beads and trinkets, the English returned to Jamestown.

Contrary to the advice of Smith, who had no faith in the discovery of any passage to the Pacific, or any gold, Newport soon after set out on the expedition which he was required to undertake into the country of the Monacans, on the banks of the upper portion of James River. Taking a force of one hundred and twenty men, comprising nearly all the able-bodied men of the colony, he left Smith with the sick and feeble to take care of Jamestown. This force proceeded up the river as far as the falls in boats, and then marched some forty miles farther; finding a pleasant and picturesque country and one or two Indian towns, but neither any prospect of a passage to the South Sea nor any signs of gold. The Indians were afraid of so formidable a party of strangers armed with thunderbolts, and they made no attack. But they manifested no desire to propitiate the visitors, and would not furnish any corn. His provisions getting short, and many of his men being exhausted by their unusual toil, Newport was obliged to return, and his party reached Jamestown worn down with fatigue, sick, and utterly disappointed.

Jealousy of Smith was always slumbering in the hearts of some of the colonists, ready to break out in acts of insubordination upon any pretext. Disappointed at the result of his expedition, and perhaps discontented with himself, Newport, consorting with Ratcliffe, attempted to depose Smith from the presidency of the council, but the latter, by his watchfulness and tact, foiled their schemes. He soon had occasion to exercise his authority against Newport, who suffered his sailors, together with some of the settlers, to carry on an illicit trade with the Indians, by which the colony suffered a serious loss of supplies, and the Indians obtained many useful articles at so cheap a rate that they would not furnish corn except for much more valuable presents than previously. This was so serious a matter that Smith threatened to send away the vessel and compel Newport to remain a year in the colony, that he might learn by experience the difficulties with which the settlers had to contend. This threat had the desired effect, and Newport, acknowledging the folly of such a traffic, prohibited it.

Among the emigrants brought out on the last voyage were a number of Dutchmen, who had been sent by the corporation to make glass, tar, and soap ashes. These Smith set at work, together with some of the other colonists, that the ship might carry back some return for the

expenses of the voyage. Always ready to encourage the men to labor by example, and to share their toil and hardship, he went with thirty of them some miles below the fort to fell trees and saw plank. In this party were two or three of the gentlemen who had recently arrived. They were unused to labor, but encouraged or shamed by Smith's example, they engaged in the work with spirit, and were rather pleased with the novelty of the occupation. When, however, their delicate hands were blistered by the axe helves, they grew profane, and the woods resounded with their oaths, as well as with the blows of the axes. The president, who was never guilty of profanity, took a novel way of punishing the offenders and curing the evil. He took measures to have the oaths of each one numbered, and in the evening for each oath he poured a can of water down the offender's sleeve. The oaths had been so numerous that the punishment was anything but a joke, and it proved so effectual that scarce an oath was heard for a week, however many were indulged in mentally.

Loading the ship with such glass, tar, pitch, and soap ashes as the settlers had been able to prepare in a few weeks, Newport at last sailed for England, and with him Ratcliffe was sent back as a troublesome and odious person, and "lest the company should cut his throat." Smith also sent a letter to the managers in London, in which he expressed himself quite freely as to the policy which was pursued with regard to the colony. In reply to the threat that if the cost of the last voyage was not repaid by the colony they should be abandoned, he showed in caustic terms the utter folly of expecting an immediate profit from Virginia. He pointed out the unsuitable character of most of the emigrants for settling in this new country, where labor was so essential. "When you send again," he wrote, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have."

It was still necessary to obtain food from the Indians, and Smith made several excursions to explore the country and traffic for corn. The Indians, actuated by fear rather than good will, remained quiet, and were not unwilling to barter their corn for copper and toys. Powhatan, having assumed English clothes, aspired to own a better dwelling than the bark lodge which he occupied, and to increase his possessions, and

he accordingly sent a request to Smith that he would send men to build him a house, and would give him a grindstone, fifty swords, a pair of domestic fowls, and much copper, and many beads. In return, he promised to load the boats with corn. The wily chief had learned to be cautious in his traffic, and not to deliver his goods till he received his pay for them. He had on a previous occasion presented Newport with twenty turkeys, for which he had demanded and received an equal number of swords, and being greatly pleased with these weapons, he coveted more, and subsequently sent twenty turkeys to Smith, with a proposal for a similar exchange. But Smith did not consider it wise to put such arms into the hands of the savages, and refused to send the swords. The disappointed chief then told his followers to steal the desired weapons, and the attempt being made, some of the savages were severely punished by Smith. Still anxious to possess more swords and guns, Powhatan now made this new proposition for a trade, being determined not to deliver the corn till he received the price. Smith sent a party of Englishmen and two Dutchmen by land to build the house, and then embarked, in the latter part of December, in three barges, with nearly fifty men, to visit the chief, carrying articles for barter, but not the coveted arms. Being detained on the way by stormy weather, the party stopped at an Indian town called Kecoughtan, where, going ashore, they spent the holidays among the friendly natives, feasting on oysters, venison, and wild fowl, as sumptuously as they would have fared in Old England, and enjoying sports which, if not like those of Christmas time in their own country, made the time pass merrily. The waters were filled with wild fowl, and the English guns afforded sport alike to the colonists and the Indians who shared the game thus provided. The numbers of fowl, among which probably there was an abundance of canvas-back ducks, may be imagined when it is reported that Smith and two others killed one hundred and forty-eight in three shots.

Reaching at last the residence of Powhatan, Smith and some of his companions landed and took up their quarters in one of the lodges, where the old chief, having sent a liberal supply of food, came and had a conference with them. Powhatan declared that he was very old, and had seen the death of all his people thrice, that he must soon die, and he desired that his people might live at peace with the English. He

wanted his visitors to lay aside their arms, and was so urgent in this that Smith with good reason suspected he contemplated some act of treachery, for which his talk about his strong desire for peace was only a cover. To anticipate any such movement Smith privately sent orders to his men in the boats to come cautiously and capture him. The wily chief, however, seeing the armed men approaching, fled with his women and children, while the warriors surrounded the cabin, threatening Smith and his companions with an assault. The brave Englishman, however, had faced greater danger, and seizing his arms, rushed out and discharged his pistol at them so boldly and suddenly that some were wounded and tumbled one over another, and the others fled in dismay.

Powhatan, finding that his scheme had failed, and that he was no match for the English with their fire-arms, sent an aged Indian with a string of wampum to Smith, in token of amity, together with a liberal supply of corn. This was, probably, intended to lull Smith's suspicion rather than as a sincere token of friendship, for the chieftain soon after plotted with the Dutchmen who had been sent to build him a house, and who were greatly pleased with the good cheer and free life they enjoyed, to accomplish Smith's destruction. The Dutchmen, in common with many others of the colonists, hated and feared Smith, whose energetic administration of affairs was regarded as a sort of despotism, and the Indian knew well that he was the master spirit of the English, whose bravery and watchfulness awed the natives and preserved the colony from starvation and destruction. It was therefore no very unnatural alliance which these worthless whites and the savage chief entered into. But the plot failed through the firm friendship and bravery of Pocahontas. Learning what treachery was contemplated, this young girl stole cautiously through the woods at night, and coming to the cabin where Smith lodged, told him that her father would soon send him a bountiful supply of game, in order that he and his men might have a great feast, but that the Indians would come in great numbers, and kill him and all the English with their own weapons while they were enjoying the repast. She begged him, therefore, with an earnestness which attested her love, to leave at once. Smith would have rewarded her brave friendship with gifts, but she declined to receive them, saying that if they were seen, and her visit should be discovered, her father

would kill her. Urging him to depart without delay, she ran away again to her distant cabin. Smith did not comply with the prayer of Pocahontas, and hasten away from the danger, but being thus forewarned, he was prepared for any treachery. Soon after Pocahontas had gone, eight stout warriors arrived from Powhatan's residence, bringing professions of friendship and platters of venison for Smith and his companions. They desired that the matches for the guns, which had been lighted when the Indian girl's story was told, should be extinguished; but Smith declined to accede to the insidious request, and fearing poison, made the savages taste of the food on each of the platters they had brought. He then bade them return to their chief and tell him that he was ready to receive him. The treacherous plot of the savage was thus foiled through the friendly service of his daughter.

Leaving the Dutchmen to finish Powhatan's house, and a young Englishman, named Boynton, to shoot wild fowl for him, Smith, with the rest of his men, proceeded farther up the river to procure an additional supply of corn from the chief Opechancanough, a brother of Powhatan. The treachery of the Dutchmen was not then suspected, but the English had hardly departed before they entered into a new plot with Powhatan. While one of them remained with the Indians, and made stone tomahawks, which he could do much more easily with his tools than the natives with their rude implements, the other, with a party of Indians, went to Jamestown. By false pretences and the assistance of some of the colonists who were equally ready to become traitors, these renegades procured a supply of arms and ammunition, which the natives carried back to Powhatan. Boynton, ascertaining what was going on, attempted to stealthily make his way to Jamestown with the information; but his movements were watched with suspicion, and he was soon captured and taken back, expecting from the threats of the savages that he would be put to death. He was spared such a fate, however, but did not dare to repeat the attempt.

Meanwhile Smith, having reached the place where Opechancanough dwelt, landed with a number of his men and proceeded to the chief's lodge, a quarter of a mile or more back from the river. They found the village deserted, a lame man and a boy being the only inhabitants left. Though the cabins were stripped of the few household goods per-

taining to the domestic life of the savages, it was not an abandonment of their homes, for even on short journeys and hunting expeditions they carried their effects with them. They had heard of the coming of the English, and had retired to avoid the delivery of corn which had been previously promised, and they were, like the more immediate followers of Powhatan, inclined to hostilities whenever, according to Indian tactics, they could take the English at disadvantage. Opechancanough, however, was not far off, and he soon appeared with some of his warriors armed with their usual warlike weapons. A conference was held, and Smith reproached the chief for not bringing corn according to promise, and for his inhospitable and unfriendly action. The Indian replied that he had but a scanty supply, but would bring what he could on the morrow.

The next day Smith with his party went again to the lodge, where they found four or five Indians, who had brought each a large basket. Opechancanough soon came in, and with an appearance of honest regret told Smith with what trouble he had been able to collect this corn and thus keep his promise. While still speaking, one of the English announced that the lodge was surrounded by a large number of Indians. Some of the party were dismayed at this announcement, but Smith, who never knew fear, appealed to them to show some courage, and to fight like men, and not die like sheep. He then upbraided Opechancanough for his treachery and murderous purposes, and challenged him to single combat on a neighboring island, where they could fight it out without interference. This did not suit the chief's idea of fighting, and he tried to lure Smith into an ambuscade—a more approved style of warfare among the Indians. But the watchful Englishman, divining his purpose, suddenly seized him by the hair, and pointing a pistol at his breast, led him trembling before his astonished followers. The terrified chief gave up his weapons, and the other Indians immediately threw down theirs in dismay. Hostilities being thus suspended, it was not long before men, women, and children brought various commodities to trade with the English, and friendly relations seemed to be entirely restored. The Indian propensity for treachery and surprise, however, was still indulged, and when at last the Englishmen retired to one of the cabins for rest, a party of warriors armed with tomahawks and swords stealth-

ily approached, intending to despatch them while asleep, and liberate their chief, who was still in custody. Fortunately they were discovered in time, and Smith and his comrades, starting up, soon put the natives to flight by the terrors of their fire-arms.

While the English tarried at this place, a messenger from Jamestown, who had come safely through the wilderness, protected by Pocahontas, brought intelligence of the death of Scrivener, Waldo, and other prominent men of the colony, who had been lost while on an expedition down the river in a boat. This determined Smith to return to the settlement, making such further collection of corn as he could on the way. As he passed the territory of Powhatan, the Indians appeared in considerable numbers on the banks of the river, unarmed, and carrying baskets of corn. There was a mutual attempt on the part of Powhatan and Smith to inveigle each other into an ambuscade, but neither succeeded; and Powhatan, as if despairing of destroying so superior an invader, caused a large quantity of corn to be delivered to the English, and then abandoned his new house, and carried away all the remainder of his provisions, as Smith shortly afterwards discovered upon returning from an excursion up the Pamunkey and again visiting what had been the chief's favorite residence.

Smith now returned to Jamestown, having purchased with a few pounds of iron and copper, and some beads, nearly five hundred bushels of corn. And there was need of this supply in the colony, for the provision in the public store had been greatly damaged by exposure to the rain, or devoured by rats and worms. The affairs of the colony were again in a bad way, as was always the case when Smith was absent. The settlers had been living in idleness, and had bartered away arms and implements to the Indians for trifling supplies of game or corn, thus impoverishing themselves, and putting into the hands of the savages weapons for their own destruction. Smith at once applied himself to enforce discipline and order. He now was virtually supreme, there being but one other surviving councillor, and the president having two votes. He insisted that every man should perform labor during a certain number of hours, and established a rule that "he who would not work should not eat." While requiring work, he wisely provided recreation, and thus made his administration more tolerable to the indo-



CAPTAIN SMITH AND THE CHIEF OF PASPAHEGH.

lent settlers, who nevertheless regarded with little favor the man whose foresight, energy, and bravery were the salvation of the colony.

His bravery and strength were fully illustrated at this time in a rencontre with a chief of a neighboring tribe, or clan, whom he met near Jamestown. This savage, who was of great stature, attempted to shoot Smith, but the latter closed with him so quickly that he could not use his weapons. Then followed a fierce struggle, in which the savage, by superior strength, forced his antagonist into the river, and attempted to drown him. But by desperate exertion Smith at last grasped the Indian by the throat, and, drawing his sword, would have killed him, had he not uttered piteous cries, which induced the victor to spare his life; and he led him a prisoner into Jamestown, and put him in chains. The wives and followers of the captive chief came with presents to ransom him; but he was held as a hostage for the good behavior of his tribe. At last, however, he made his escape, and though quickly pursued by a party of fifty men, he was not captured. Fearing the consequences of his return to his tribe, Smith determined to go out and "try conclusions" with the savages, without waiting for them to attempt a surprise. He accordingly made war on this tribe, and killing some, taking others prisoners, burning their cabins, and carrying away their canoes, he so terrified them that they sued for peace, and so long as he remained at Jamestown made no further hostile demonstrations.

Smith's bravery inspired the natives with superstitious reverence. They regarded the other settlers with little respect or fear unless he was with them, but they feared Smith as a superior being. An incident of a different kind confirmed their regard for him. A young Indian had been captured for stealing a pistol, and was detained in a guard-room until some of his comrades should return the stolen article. The weather was cold, and to contribute to the captive's comfort, some charcoal was sent to him with his food. The fumes of the charcoal in the small room in which he was confined soon deprived the unfortunate prisoner of consciousness, and when a companion who had brought back the pistol was admitted to him he was found stretched upon the ground, apparently lifeless. The Indians who were present, upon seeing their comrade in this condition, set up a grievous lamentation, believing he had been killed. Smith soon appeared, and immediately applied brandy and vin-

egar, and with other remedies he succeeded in restoring the patient. This performance added to Smith's reputation among the savages; they looked upon him as having supernatural powers, and they were ready to worship him as a god who could restore the dead to life.

The unrestrained intercourse with the Indians, who manifested a friendly disposition, had led to such a barter of the property, not only of individuals but of the colony, that Smith now prohibited it, and constructed a block-house at the neck of the peninsula, and garrisoned it with soldiers, who alone were authorized to trade with the Indians. The colonists were not allowed to pass out beyond the block-house, nor the Indians to come in, except by permission of the president. Twenty houses were also built in the settlement, and a block-house at Hog Island, where the swine were kept. As spring came thirty or forty acres of land were planted with corn. Smith also partially constructed a small stone fort on a high bluff overlooking a creek that flows into James River, which was intended as a place of refuge in case of being compelled to retreat from Jamestown. The want of provisions prevented the completion of this work, and proved a serious interruption to all work of improvement. The majority of the settlers were too indolent to work if they could avoid it, and those who would work were, from the first, chiefly occupied in obtaining food, not only for themselves but the drones. Smith's new rules had secured a little more industry, but the provisions had been so wasted by rats and damaged by rains, that he was at last obliged to abandon all work, that the whole company might procure food, each for himself. Even then, of such worthless material was a large part of the colony composed, that they would rather starve than take the trouble of procuring food, except as a pastime. They murmured and became mutinous in the manifestations of their discontent, so that Smith arrested the ringleader, and ordered that whoever failed to provide daily as much food as he should consume should be banished from Jamestown as a drone. For some time the Indians supplied the colony daily with squirrels, turkeys, and deer, and corn was again bought from Powhatan; but at last it became necessary to distribute the settlers in different parts of the adjacent country, and compel them to procure their own subsistence. One party was sent down the river to live on oysters, another to fish at Point Com-

fort, and still another up the James River in search of whatever they might find in the woods, while not a few were billeted among the Indians, where they led an indolent and vagrant life, which was probably not distasteful to many of them.

Meanwhile the Virginia Company in England, disappointed in their extravagant expectations of deriving immediate profit from the settlement at Jamestown by the discovery of gold or a passage to the South Sea, determined to take a new departure. They added to the number of their stockholders, and obtained a new charter from the king repealing the old charter, and conferring ampler powers and privileges and a more extensive grant of territory. This charter provided for a government vested in a governor and captain-general, whose authority was nearly absolute, as he was granted arbitrary power, and authorized to declare martial law. Thomas, Lord Delaware, was appointed to this office, Sir Thomas Gates was appointed lieutenant-governor, and Sir George Somers admiral. Certain leading men were also appointed councillors, though with little authority. Under this government the colony was to be reorganized and much increased in numbers. Nine vessels were fitted out to carry five hundred emigrants, some of whom were women, and an ample supply of provisions and other stores. Newport, who had already made several voyages to Virginia, was placed in command of this fleet, and Gates and Somers were to go with it, while Lord Delaware was to embark at a later period. Newport, Gates, and Somers were each authorized, whichever arrived first at Jamestown, to supersede the existing authorities, and take command until the arrival of Lord Delaware; but being unable to settle the point of precedence among themselves, they embarked in the same vessel, the *Sea Venture*.

The fleet sailed from Plymouth in May, 1609, and when within about eight days' sail of Virginia, it encountered a hurricane which dismasted some of the ships and crippled all. One small vessel was lost, and the *Sea Venture*, carrying the three leading men and a hundred and fifty emigrants, was separated from the rest. The other vessels, shattered by the storm, and having lost many of the passengers by sickness, and a large portion of the supplies, arrived in James River in August. When this fleet approached, Smith thought they were Spaniards, coming with hostile intent, and he prepared to resist them, the Indians offering to

assist him. He soon discovered, however, that they were English ships, bringing a re-enforcement of his countrymen for the colony. It would have been better, perhaps, had the fleet been a hostile one, for it brought the seeds of anarchy and ruin to a colony already in a state of mutiny. Captain Samuel Argall, who afterwards figured conspicuously in Virginia, and who waged war upon the French settlements in Acadia, as related in a preceding page, had already arrived, and brought intelligence of the repeal of the charter under which the colony was established. This news had the effect of stirring up the evil elements in the settlement to insubordination and defiance of Smith's authority. Among the new arrivals came Ratcliffe, Archer, and Martin, who had been sent to England on account of their mutinous conduct, and of the three hundred settlers who came with them the greater part were "profligate youths, sent from home to escape ill destinies," reckless adventurers, bankrupt traders, "decayed tapsters, and ostlers trade-fallen, the cankers of a calm world and long peace."

The arrival of this evil company gave rise to new confusion and disorder. Ratcliffe and other self-constituted leaders, though they brought no commission with them, insisted on abrogating the old charter, and denying the authority of Smith, insolently undertook to usurp the government. Disagreeing among themselves, and acting by no authority, they would one day claim that the new charter was in force, and another that the old one still governed, and by their continual change they encouraged the spirit of lawlessness, and involved the colony in complete anarchy.

Disgusted with the folly and factiousness of these assuming leaders, who succeeded only in plunging the colony into anarchy, Smith would gladly have returned to England, leaving the settlers to whatever fate they might bring upon themselves. But as yet the old charter was not legally abrogated, and the commission for the establishment of a new government was in the hands of Gates, whose arrival was uncertain, and who, indeed, was supposed to have been lost at sea. To permit these insolent and troublesome leaders to usurp the authority which was still vested in him did not comport with his ideas of duty, and would surely and speedily ruin the colony. He determined, therefore, to assert his rights as president, and to put an end to the plots of the mischief-

makers by arresting Ratcliffe, Archer, and others who were the ring-leaders. This he was able to do the more readily as the soldiers were attached to him as a gallant leader, and at his command would not have hesitated to kill any who opposed him; and afterwards, when these men again rebelled against him, while he was in a helpless condition, the soldiers begged for permission "to strike off their heads."

When Smith's term as president expired (the position being held for one year only) he was succeeded by Martin, who, conscious of his incompetency, transferred all his powers to Smith. Having secured some degree of order at Jamestown, Smith went up the river to look after the colonists who had been sent thither under West. He found them established on low ground, liable to be inundated by a rise of the river, and "surrounded by many intolerable inconveniences," a site selected with less judgment even than Jamestown. He proposed that they should take possession of Powhatan's village, a short distance further down the river, which consisted of a number of cabins, affording comfortable shelter, and was well protected from Indian attacks by palisades, while near by the Indian fields of nearly two hundred acres were ready for cultivation. A messenger was despatched to Powhatan proposing a purchase, but whether a bargain was effected does not appear. The settlers, however, obstinately refused to remove to this more eligible situation, and became so mutinous and abusive that Smith landed and arrested the principal offenders; but having only five men with him, the prisoners were rescued, and he was compelled to retire to his pinnacle. Here he remained some days, the Indians supplying him with food, for which kind office the mutinous settlers retaliated on them by plundering their cornfields, damaging their cabins, beating them, and even taking some of them prisoners. This of course aroused the spirit of revenge in the savages, and as soon as Smith set sail they made an attack on their persecutors, many of whom were killed.

Smith's vessel had proceeded but a mile or two down the river when she ran aground, and the mutineers, now seized with a panic, came and agreed to submit to his orders. The most troublesome men were again arrested, and the others went and established themselves in Powhatan's abandoned village,—a place well adapted for a permanent settlement, and which was named Nonsuch, as being "the strongest and most

delightful place in the country." West, however, who had chosen the other insalubrious place, would not admit the superiority of this, and the settlers, under his influence, soon returned to their first choice. Finding all further effort vain, Smith returned down the river in his boat, leaving the perverse settlers to their own devices. This was virtually the end of Smith's career in Virginia, for on the voyage down the river he was terribly wounded while asleep by the explosion of some gunpowder, which injured his eyes and burned his face, so that in his agony he plunged into the river, and was nearly drowned before his companions could rescue him.

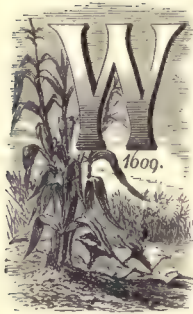
Returning to Jamestown, maimed and suffering, he again encountered the factious and mutinous crew who had previously defied his authority and caused contention and anarchy, and one of his most bitter enemies, with cowardly insolence, presented a cocked pistol at him as he lay almost blind in his bed; but fortunately the fellow had not the courage or the brutality to fire. Called upon to surrender the presidency to Percy, Smith refused to do so; and it would have been of little avail, for Percy was in too feeble health to control a colony composed of such discordant materials, and already in a state of anarchy. Retaining the presidency nominally, he was unable, through his unfortunate condition, to exercise its powers, and at last, when a ship was ready to sail, he embarked for England, having been in Virginia a little more than two years.

During those two eventful years he had been the saviour of the colony, which would have perished from the earth but for his capacity, foresight, and energy, as surely as had those earlier ones sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh. Having to deal with an exacting and greedy corporation in England, and a company of selfish adventurers and worthless idlers in Virginia, his merits were recognized by neither. He was himself an adventurer, of a higher order, indeed, than any who came with him; he had been a soldier of fortune, and did not possess the rank which might have secured to him more respect and higher honors; but no one whom the company had been able to enlist in their service possessed equal qualifications for the difficult task of founding a colony in the new world. Restless and eager for adventure, he was accused of wandering too much, but he engaged in no expedition which

did not produce advantageous results. He repeatedly obtained by these expeditions the food which preserved the colonists from starvation, and by his daring energy saved them from massacre, while his explorations were of great and permanent value to those who came after him. He was, moreover, a brave and chivalrous gentleman, who demanded from his followers no exposure to hardship and danger, and no service which he was not willing to share. His loss to the settlement at Jamestown was the commencement of many woes.

Smith never returned to Virginia. For four or five years he remained in retirement, and in 1614 made his first visit to New England, on the coast of which he made some explorations. The next year he embarked on a second voyage to the same shores, but was captured by a French squadron and carried to France, where he was accused of Argall's piratical exploit, the destruction of the French settlement at Port Royal. At length, at much risk, he effected his escape, and returned to England. He afterwards devoted himself to writing several works on Virginia and New England, and an account of his own life and exploits. The Plymouth Company conferred upon him the title of Admiral of New England, but it was to him only an empty title. For all his services in the cause of colonization, which were invaluable; for his discoveries, labors, and sacrifices, he received no recompense. In neither Virginia nor New England did he have "one foot of land, not even the house that he built, nor the ground that he cultivated with his own hands, nor even any content or satisfaction at all, while he beheld those countries bestowed upon men who neither could have them, nor even know of them, but by his descriptions." He died in London in 1631, and was buried in St. Sepulchre's Church. Famous for his remarkable exploits in his own day, it was left for subsequent generations to appreciate the true value of his services and character.

VICISSITUDES AT JAMESTOWN.



WHEN Smith left Jamestown the colony numbered about five hundred, one hundred of whom were soldiers, who were now somewhat acquainted with the country and its savage inhabitants, a few were women, but the rest, unfortunately, were mostly broken-down gentlemen, servants, worthless adventurers, and profligates. The settlement consisted of about fifty houses, of various degrees of comfort, and was fortified with palisades at the neck of the peninsula. For its defence and that of two or three other small forts there were twenty cannon, three hundred arquebuses or muskets, with a good supply of ammunition, and swords and pikes sufficient to arm most of those who could not have guns. The colony had also several horses, goats, and sheep, and five or six hundred swine, while in the river there were two or three vessels in which there were further supplies of provisions. It would seem that a colony of such numbers, so fairly supplied, and in a country capable of supporting all who might settle in it, would be able to maintain itself either against the hostility of poorly-armed savages, or against want and starvation. But unfortunately it had within itself the seeds of ruin—incompetency in management, and a factious, mutinous crew of malcontents.

Smith's departure was the signal for the Indians to commence attacks upon the settlers. They feared and respected him on account of his bravery and lofty bearing, but no one else had impressed them with either fear or friendship. Percy at first administered the government

as president under the old charter, but, feeble in health, he was unable to contend with the factious and ambitious spirits around him, and they soon gained control of affairs. The supply of corn running low, West and Ratcliffe embarked with thirty men to procure more. Neither of these leaders was acquainted with the habits and characteristics of the Indians, and were in no respect capable of contending with the peculiar warfare of the savages. Led into an ambuscade by Powhatan, who had in vain attempted that game with Smith, Ratcliffe and his companions were slain, two only escaping, one of whom, a boy, was rescued by the still friendly Pocahontas, and was adopted into one of the tribes, and in after years rendered good service to the colonists as an interpreter.

Constant hostilities after the Indian fashion followed; whoever was caught away from the settlement was shot with arrows or brained with the tomahawk; whatever the Indians could lay their hands on was carried off. There was no one capable of organizing resistance and inflicting punishment, or of enforcing any sort of discipline among the settlers which would secure their safety. While some of the natives indulged in these hostile acts, others traded with the colonists with little or no restraint. They came into the settlement and helped devour the stores, while the shiftless idlers bartered swords, guns, and ammunition for small quantities of food. There seems to have been no attempt to obtain any common store of food, and, with the country filled with hostile Indians, none could well be made except by such a bold and skilful leader as Smith. Nor was any earnest effort made to punish and overawe the savage tribes.

The public stores were at last exhausted, and want together with malaria brought on a fatal sickness, which rapidly reduced the numbers of the settlers. They were indeed in a starving condition, and that unhappy period was long afterwards known as "the starving time." They subsisted on roots, herbs, acorns, and nuts, and were glad to devour dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and the skins of horses after the flesh had been consumed. They resorted even to cannibalism; the body of an Indian was disinterred and eaten, and even the dead bodies of their comrades were said to have furnished them food. One man murdered his wife; and such was the terrible state of affairs that he pleaded cannibalism to escape starvation as a palliation of the crime. The colonists, however,

spite of their experience of the fiercest cravings of hunger, did not admit the plea, which was in fact a pretence, and the murderer was put to death by being burned at the stake.

All their miseries the unhappy settlers charged upon the neglect of the London Company, rather than, in any degree, upon their own want of industry, thrift, and foresight. They bitterly denounced the treasurer of the company, Sir Thomas Smith, for failing to send out adequate supplies; and when on one occasion the carcass of a mare which the Indians had killed was being cooked, they devoutly wished "that Sir Thomas was upon her back in the kettle."

While the colony at Jamestown thus suffered from the savages, internal discord, and starvation, the Sea Venture, in which Newport, Gates, and Somers, with a hundred and fifty emigrants, had embarked, was a wreck on a reef of the Bermudas. Racked by the storm which had separated her from the rest of the fleet, she sprang a leak, and the water rose in her hold above two tiers of hogsheads, so that the crew and passengers were obliged to stand up to their waists in water baling out with buckets and kettles. For three days and nights they continued at this work without diminishing the depth of water, and at length, utterly exhausted, they indulged freely in wine, and resigned themselves to their fate. Sir George Somers, though advanced in years, had bravely and faithfully maintained his position on the quarter-deck, endeavoring by his skill to keep the ship upright, and to steer her on a course which might bring them to a haven. Still watching when the others had given up in despair, he at last descried land. The people, who had sunk in sleep, exhausted or stupefied by drink, were aroused by his cry of "Land," as if it were "a voice from heaven," and hurried on deck, scarcely crediting the announcement. Land was indeed within sight, and hope again succeeded to despair. All sail was spread that the distant shore might be reached, but soon the ship struck upon a reef, and then was lifted by the surges from rock to rock, till at last she was lodged in an upright position firmly upon the ledge. They were still far from the shore, but they had escaped the destruction with which each succeeding billow threatened them as it thumped the ship upon the rocks. A calm succeeded, and taking to the boats, the entire company of upwards of one hundred and fifty was landed safely on the shore, nearly a league distant.

Great was their joy as they stepped upon the land, though it was an island hitherto avoided by all navigators, and was regarded by the superstitious sailors of that time as the desolate abode of demons. They had additional cause for thanksgiving when they found, instead of the desolation and terrors with which the place was invested by the wild stories of Spanish navigators, a delightful climate, luxuriant vegetation, and an abundance of game and fruits to supply them with food. They soon constructed slight houses or cabins thatched with palmetto leaves, which afforded them all the shelter they required in so agreeable a climate, and they found little difficulty in procuring sufficient food. So pleasant was the change from the stormy sea, which had threatened them with destruction, to this land of beauty and plenty, that many of the company desired to remain there, and were unwilling even to contemplate a further tempting of the perils of the sea to reach the less happy shores of Virginia. The leaders, however, did not share in these feelings, and devoted their energies to discover some means of reaching their destination, or of sending intelligence of their safety, and obtaining succor. The ship had yielded to the force of the waves, and gone to pieces. Portions of the wreck were strewn upon the shore, and were carefully preserved. The trees of Spanish cedar afforded timber that was easily wrought. Using the wreck as far as it would answer the purpose, and supplying its deficiencies with the cedar, they undertook to construct vessels which should carry them away from this pleasant island. First they constructed a deck over the long-boat, and despatched one of the mates of the ship, with eight men in it, to obtain succor in Virginia. But this boat was never heard of again, and the succor hoped for by some, and dreaded by others, was awaited in vain.

As time passed, and all hope of hearing from these messengers vanished, Gates completed the construction of another vessel of about eighty tons. It was built from such timbers of the lost ship as could be used, together with cedar, wrought with much difficulty with their insufficient tools. Another smaller vessel was also built of cedar, with fastenings of wood, there being no iron to be had. These vessels were rigged with such ropes and spars as had been saved from the wreck, and when completed were duly named the "Patience" and "Deliverance." With such supplies as the island afforded, the whole company

at length embarked on the 10th of May, 1610, after having been on the island about nine months. During that time two children were born, one of whom, a daughter of John Rolfe, who afterwards married Pocahontas, was christened by the name of Bermuda; the other child, a boy, was christened by the name of Bermudas. Six persons, including the wife of Sir Thomas Gates, had died. Some of the company were loath to leave a place where life was so pleasant and easy; but at last, being reconciled to the duty of finishing the voyage on which they had originally embarked, all again ventured in the two frail barks upon the sea which had proved so disastrous to them.

Fortunately the weather was good, and encountering no storm, which would probably have caused the vessels to founder, in about two weeks they arrived in James River. Landing at Jamestown, they found only sixty miserable colonists surviving out of the five hundred whom Smith left there but six months before. Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-governor, landed on the 24th of May; and, the church-bell being rung, the surviving settlers and the new-comers were assembled, and after a solemn prayer by the chaplain who accompanied the new expedition, the commission of Gates was read, and Percy, the president under the former charter, feeble and scarcely able to stand, surrendered his authority. There were no rejoicings at the accession of the new government; the sick and half-starved settlers, though relieved at the prospect of supplies, were too miserable to make any demonstrations of joy, and the new-comers were too much shocked at the sad condition in which the colony was found.

Jamestown was indeed in a fearful state; the palisades of the fort were torn down, the ports open, and the gates wrested from their hinges; many of the houses had been demolished and burned for fire-wood; the storehouse was empty; the burial-place was full of graves, and the survivors moved about feebly among the ruins of the settlement. It is surprising how rapidly the colonists had perished and the settlement gone to ruin; but under the utter incompetency with which affairs had been administered, and the anarchy which had prevailed, little else than destruction could be looked for. A sad prospect was before the new governor; and, indeed, the future looked as hopeless for the newly arrived as was the present for the old settlers. Under these circum-

stances Gates reluctantly determined to abandon the settlement, and to sail for Newfoundland, where he might receive succor from English fishing vessels, and be enabled to return to England. Preparations were at once made to carry out this purpose. The cannon and ordnance stores were buried near the gate of the fort, the houses stripped of whatever it was worth while to carry away, and the flames would quickly have destroyed the houses themselves had not Gates, with a few gentlemen, restrained the people from setting them on fire. A parting volley was fired, and then all embarked in four pinnaces, the governor remaining on shore till the last to prevent any wanton destruction. Without regret the settlers left the spot where they had suffered so much of misery, and as the vessels dropped down the river, rejoiced in the hope that they would never again ascend it.

Near the mouth of the James they anchored for the night, intending the next morning to set sail for Newfoundland. When morning came they descried a boat approaching, which proved to be one sent by Lord Delaware, with despatches announcing that he had arrived off the mouth of the river with three ships, after a tedious voyage of three months. Though this intelligence was a disappointment to some who had hoped to escape from the wilderness and return to England, it was to most a great relief from the uncertainty which attended the perilous voyage they were about to undertake. Ample supplies were at hand, and new settlers to share their dangers and toils. Gates and his company accordingly returned up the river, and again took possession of the deserted settlement. The next day Lord Delaware's ships arrived, and on the following day he landed with his retinue and settlers, and was received with such honors as they could offer by Gates and his entire company. Lord Delaware, who was a pious and exemplary gentleman, fell on his knees and remained some time bowed in silent prayer. All then repaired to the dilapidated church, where services were performed, and an appropriate discourse was delivered by the chaplain who had accompanied Gates. The new governor addressed the people, and the colony was re-established under the new charter.

Narrow indeed had been the escape of the colony from utter ruin. The arrival of Gates had saved the surviving settlers from starvation and probable massacre. His prudence had prevented the wanton de-

struction of the fort and dwellings. A few hours' delay before sailing away for Newfoundland had brought in Lord Delaware's ships before it was too late to intercept the departing colonists.

Lord Delaware, as governor and captain-general of Virginia,—a title which was always thereafter given to the chief magistrate of the colony,—was accompanied by a somewhat imposing suite. Besides the three high officers who had previously arrived,—Sir Thomas Gates, the lieutenant-governor, Sir George Somers, admiral, and Captain Newport, vice-admiral,—there came with the governor Sir Ferdinand Wayman, master of ordnance, Captain Holcroft, Captain Lawson, and other gentlemen who held some sinecure posts of honor. The council under the new charter consisted of the principal officers above named, and Mr. Strachey was the secretary or recorder.

The new governor was a man of energy and discretion, and he at once began the work of restoring the settlement. Discipline and industry were enforced as the first requisites, and hours of labor were prescribed which were no very severe tax upon the strength of the colonists, being from six o'clock to ten in the morning, and from two to four in the afternoon. The forts were first repaired, and the cannon disinterred and remounted; houses which had been torn down were rebuilt; a better church was constructed on the site of the old one, and was by far the best building in the settlement. It was sixty feet long and twenty-four feet wide, with a chancel of cedar, a communion-table of walnut, pews of cedar, and wide windows with cedar shutters, "as also a pulpit with a font hewed out hollow like a canoe," and at one end were hung two bells. "The building was so constructed as to be very light within, and the lord governor and captain-general caused it to be kept passing sweet and trimmed up with divers flowers." Under the new administration, religious exercises were more carefully observed than they had previously been, and daily, at ten o'clock, when the morning labor was done, and again at four in the afternoon, when the day's work was finished, the people were summoned by the bells to attend prayers. On Sunday the full service of the church was performed, and two sermons were preached, and on Thursday another sermon was added to the daily service. All these exercises were attended by most of the people, though without that strict observance of the duty

which characterized the Puritan settlers of New England. The governor went to church in state on Sunday, being "accompanied by the councillors, officers, and all the gentlemen, with a guard of halberdiers in his lordship's livery, handsome red cloaks, to the number of fifty on each side and behind him." In the church he had his seat in the choir, in a green velvet chair, with a velvet cushion before him on which he knelt, and on either side sat the council and officers. After the services he returned to his house, escorted in the same manner. This display suited the taste of most of the settlers perhaps better than the more simple habits of Captain Smith, but in this small settlement on the verge of the wilderness it was a most absurd transplanting of the pomp of courts. But, notwithstanding his splendid retinue and show of state, Lord Delaware was an energetic and able governor during the short period he remained in Virginia, and was a good friend of the colony.

The leading men who held positions under the new charter did not long remain in the colony. Sir Ferdinand Wayman, master of ordnance, died without being distinguished for anything more than his title and office. Sir George Somers sailed in his cedar vessel for the Bermudas, accompanied by Captain Argall in another vessel, to procure supplies. Argall was forced by adverse winds to put back, and returned to Jamestown; but Somers, in his frailer bark, succeeded in reaching his destination, where he soon after died. For a time the Bermudas were called the Somers Islands, which was soon corrupted into Summer Isles, a name not inappropriate to their pleasant climate. Sir Thomas Gates, whose wife had died during their long detention at Bermuda, and whose daughters had been sent back to England, returned there himself to report the condition of the colony, and the events which had transpired. Lord Delaware, after placing Jamestown in a good condition for defence and comfort, procuring corn from the Indians, and constructing two forts on the shores of the bay, where emigrants might first land, also took his departure. He had suffered much from sickness, and, being in a feeble condition, embarked with Captain Argall and about fifty others for England, by way of the West Indies. Adverse winds drove them to the north, and they were driven to the mouth of the river which thence received the name of Delaware.

The higher officers having gone, Lord Delaware left the colony

again in charge of Captain Percy, a member of the council, but whose feeble health disqualified him for an energetic administration of affairs. Fortunately, however, the condition of the colony did not demand extraordinary prudence and capacity. The colonists numbered about two hundred, and were not disturbed by the factious leaders who had previously produced disorder and anarchy; the supply of provisions was sufficient to last ten months, and the neighboring tribes of Indians were peaceable, if not altogether friendly. Matters in the settlement, therefore, went on without serious disturbance from within or without until the following year, though the settlers relapsed into their old habits of idleness.

When the council of the Virginia Company in England heard the accounts of the disasters which had fallen upon the colony, they were greatly discouraged. The prospect of profit was as distant as ever, and they seriously contemplated abandoning the enterprise and recalling the colonists. But Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived in England before a decision had been reached, strenuously opposed such a step, and made such representations that the company was again encouraged, and new measures were adopted to strengthen the colony. All the high officers with various titles having left the colony, a new title was created, and Sir Thomas Dale was appointed high marshal of Virginia, and endowed with almost supreme authority. With three vessels well laden with supplies, including cattle and swine, Dale sailed for Virginia, where he arrived in May, 1611. He was a military man who had served in the Low Countries, and being intrusted with extraordinary military powers, as indicated by his title, he carried with him a code of military laws, some of which were barbarous and inhuman.

When Dale arrived at Jamestown, he found the settlers busily engaged in their "usual occupation, playing at bowls in the streets." This did not accord with his notions of useful employment; and, making known his authority and promulgating some of his laws, he established military discipline, and set the men at work planting corn, felling trees, and providing material for enclosing a new town, which he proposed to build as soon as he could find a suitable site. There were too many indolent persons in the colony to submit cheerfully to the strict discipline of Dale's administration, and discontent and murmurs were fol-

lowed by open insubordination and disturbance. The high marshal accordingly exercised his authority, and enforced martial law with extreme rigor. Eight colonists were summarily tried by court martial for treasonable conspiracy, and, being found guilty, were executed in a cruel manner. These rigorous measures secured order, and probably nothing short of extreme severity would have succeeded. Though Dale was a strict disciplinarian, and administered an arbitrary code of laws, he was not vindictive, but was disposed only to be just, and the colonists were fortunate in having so fair-minded a despot.

Dale's administration, however, did not continue long, for Sir Thomas Gates, who had labored earnestly in England for the good of the colony, arrived in August of the same year, with six vessels, bringing three hundred more colonists, and abundant supplies. Gates was commissioned anew to take charge of the colony, and Dale not unwillingly took a subordinate position, in which he was permitted to carry out his cherished purpose of founding a new settlement. The site selected for this new town was a peninsula about twelve miles below the falls of the James, formed by a bend in the river, which, after making a circuit of about seven miles, returns within one hundred and twenty yards of the starting-point. An artificial channel or cut-off across this narrow neck of the peninsula has since been famous under the name of "Dutch Gap." With three hundred men, Dale established himself at this favorable point and founded a town, which was named Henrico, in honor of the king's eldest son, Prince Henry. Across the neck of the peninsula, from water to water, a strong palisade and breastwork was constructed for defence, and within this three streets were laid out, on which were built some well-framed houses, a good church, storehouses, and other buildings. On the river banks were five houses, in which lived "the honester sort of people," and kept watch, for the town's security. Back from the town another palisade was erected, nearly two miles in length from bank to bank of the bend, enclosing the fields for cultivation.

While Dale was still at work upon his new settlement, the Appomattox Indians committed some depredations, for which he led a force against them, and captured their town near the mouth of the Appomattox River, and about five miles from Henrico. Pleased with the situation, he

established another plantation there, and called it Bermudas,—a name still preserved in the more recent one of Bermuda Hundred. Dale had a *penchant* for laying out new settlements, and he selected the sites of several others, which were subsequently occupied, and under his favorite code of martial law each was subjected to the control of a captain. These settlements were all enclosed by palisades, some of them of great extent, and houses were erected within the enclosure. Dale thus accomplished much more than had previously been done for the settlement of the country. Meanwhile Jamestown also improved. Two rows of frame houses and three large storehouses were built, and on the fertile peninsula there were cultivated fields and gardens, showing a more prosperous condition of affairs than had hitherto existed. Forty miles below Jamestown, at Kiquotan, another plantation was established, where the settlers planted some small fields of corn, and enjoyed an abundance of fish and wild fowl.

The system of cultivating common fields and being provided for out of the public store, though unavoidable at first, had the effect to paralyze industry and retard the growth of the colony. Sir Thomas Dale wisely introduced a different system by allotting to each man three acres of cleared land to be cultivated for his own benefit, and from which he was required to contribute to the public store only two and a half barrels of corn. This measure, which created a new incentive to industry and independence, proved highly acceptable to the settlers and beneficial to the colony. Subsequently, in 1615, a more important step was taken in the establishment of individual property in the soil, the charter company granting to each freeman fifty acres of land in absolute right. This measure was also brought about through the influence of Sir Thomas Dale, who proved himself a wise ruler and earnest friend of the colony.

During Dale's administration, however, Captain Argall achieved some exploits which were not so creditable, though characteristic of the age. It was at this time that Argall captured the Jesuit company as they were about making a settlement near the mouth of the Penobscot, and destroyed the settlement at Port Royal, an account of which has been given in previous pages. One account states that this expedition of Argall was sent out by Dale, who looked upon the French settlements

as an encroachment upon the territory of Virginia. Another declares that Argall, while sailing along the shores of Cape Cod, first learned from the Indians there that the French had settlements at the north; and having captured the party on the island of Mount Desert, he received information about the settlement at Port Royal from the Jesuit Biard, whose hatred of Biencourt prompted the treachery towards his countryman.

Sir Thomas Dale, after a stay of five years in Virginia, during which he had done much for the permanent establishment and welfare of the colony, returned to England in the spring of 1616, taking with him John Rolfe and his wife Pocahontas, with several other Indians. The condition of affairs was better than at any previous period. Health prevailed; order and industry had taken the place of confusion and idleness; peace had been secured with most of the Indian tribes, and free trade readily obtained from them what commodities they had to spare. Dale could carry home with him a good account of his stewardship.

XVI.

POCAHONTAS.



NO incidents in the history of the association of Europeans with the Indian race have awakened so tender an interest and so complete admiration as the story of Pocahontas. The daughter of the chief Powhatan, who was regarded by the English as the "king" or "emperor" of the neighboring tribes, she was called a princess, and the admiration which she excited in Smith and the first settlers was enhanced by that title and the position which she was supposed to occupy among her people. The same sentiment has come down through succeeding generations, and has become more deeply tinged with romance as the days of the dusky heroine have receded into a more remote past, and her story engages the attention chiefly of the young, whose feelings are most easily touched by such a recital, and whose imaginations clothe her with surpassing beauty and virtues. Let not the stern iconoclast destroy the beautiful image! There is enough of truth in the romantic story to preserve it for all time.

When first introduced to the knowledge of the English she was said to be twelve or thirteen years of age; but as she was always small of stature, she might have been somewhat older, and as the Indian youth were more precocious than the whites, she was perhaps more mature than her apparent age indicated. More comely than most of the Indian girls, the romance which surrounds her has made her beautiful. That she possessed traits unusual in savage maidens—gentleness and mercy—there can be no doubt, and her constancy in friendship and love was abundantly proved.

Captain Smith, after being captured, was carried from village to village, exciting the wonder of the natives, until at last he was brought to Werowocomoco, on the banks of the river York, the favorite residence of the great chief Powhatan. Here, in his spacious lodge, upon a raised platform cushioned with furs, the chief sat in state, attended by two of his women. Before him, in the centre of the lodge, burned a generous fire, and along each side were seated his warriors, and behind them stood a crowd of women. Into the midst of this assembly Smith was brought, and seated near the fire. His coming was greeted with a fearful yell, the meaning of which was as much a mystery to the captive as he was to the natives, who gazed at him with wonder not unmingled with savage fear and jealousy. Among those who looked with deepest curiosity and interest on the bearded stranger were the favorite children of Powhatan, his daughter Pocahontas and his son Nantaquaus, a youth a little older than the girl, whom Smith describes as "the manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage." These children, who doubtless enjoyed privileges not permitted to those of less degree, manifested their interest by a close examination of the captive, and some little savage courtesies which he thankfully acknowledged.

The occasion was a grand council which was to determine the fate of the prisoner, and the deliberations were preceded, as usual, by a feast, at which none were better served than he who was pretty sure to be condemned to death. The feast being over, the matter in hand was considered in the usual deliberate manner of the Indians. Harangues, accompanied sometimes with fierce gestures, were made and listened to with ominous grunts of satisfaction. Pocahontas and Nantaquaus, watching the speakers with the closest attention, soon found that the wonderful stranger was doomed to death, and they earnestly entreated their father to save him. That appeal was in vain, for the jealousy of the haughty sachem was aroused, and he feared the coming of a mightier chief than himself. The fate of the prisoner was sealed, and preparations were at once made to carry the sentence into execution. But when the fatal stones were brought in, and Smith's head was laid upon them, and with a savage delight a stalwart Indian was preparing to deal the fatal blow with his ponderous club, Pocahontas, finding her entreaties vain, forced her way to the intended victim, and throwing herself beside him,

laid her head upon his, declaring by her act, if not by words, that they should slay her first. This brave act of the chief's daughter produced a mighty effect upon the savages. The arms raised to strike the fatal blow dropped powerless, and a murmur of amazement ran through the assembly. Such an appeal, enforced by a spirit of self-sacrifice, together with the mysterious character of the white stranger, impressed the superstitious natives with awe. Powhatan saw with alarm the momentary danger in which his favorite child was placed by her devotion, and declared that the captive's life should be spared. He was permitted to rise, and was assured of his safety. Such was the change wrought in the feelings or policy of the natives by the heroic action of Pocahontas, that they not only spared the prisoner's life, but determined to send him back to Jamestown.

During the brief period that elapsed before he set out on his return, it may well be imagined that Smith expressed his grateful admiration of the preserver of his life in no doubtful manner, spite of his ignorance of her language. Thus he made a still deeper impression on her heart, and thenceforth she was devoted to him with a love and reverence that were proof against the influence of her father, and a barrier to his treachery. When he departed, he felt assured that he had one friend, at least, among the savages.

It was not long after Smith's return to Jamestown before Pocahontas, with her attendants, visited the settlement, bringing corn and other gifts as a token of her friendship and the good will of her father, whom she seems to have influenced in favor of the strangers. These visits were frequently repeated, and she thus brought food, which saved the miserable settlers from absolute want. It was a long journey for the young girl. Crossing the River York in canoes, with her attendants she travelled on foot many weary miles through the wilderness, carrying her burden of corn, venison, and turkeys, and receiving a hearty welcome from Smith and his comrades, and such gifts as pleased the untutored taste of the Indians.

The wild performance with which she and her train of Indian girls entertained Smith and his companions while they awaited the arrival of Powhatan, has been described in a preceding page. It was conceived and carried out with a view to please the strangers, and when the mad

shrieks of the entertainers alarmed the guests, who were unused to barbarian plays, Pocahontas alone reassured them by her earnest declaration that they might slay her if any surprise was intended. Such faith had Smith in her friendship, that her simple word was sufficient to allay all fears of treachery. And well might he, if not the others, have confidence in her who, at the risk of her own life, had saved his. A little later, it was again at the risk of her life that she warned him of a contemplated attack by Powhatan's followers while he and his companions slept in an Indian cabin. Secretly leaving her father's lodge, where she had heard the plot arranged, with a fleet foot she ran through the forest, in danger of being discovered by the watchful savages who were preparing for the attack. Entering the cabin, she told Smith of the contemplated attack, and with tears in her eyes besought him to fly before the deadly assault should be made. With remarkable prudence, she declined to receive any token of thanks, lest it should be seen, and her errand of mercy be discovered. Savage disappointment would have visited vengeance on her head, though she was the great chief's favorite daughter, were it known that she had betrayed the secrets of her people. Silently she again passed through the forest, and returned unnoticed to her rude couch, and the intended victims were saved.

The friendship manifested by Pocahontas for the English was evidently on Smith's account. She had conceived for him a strong attachment from the first. It would have been contrary to his chivalric nature if he had not felt a tender interest in her. The nature of this mutual attachment was not understood by some of the coarser-minded settlers, and doubtless Smith was sometimes rallied by his comrades on account of his Indian love. In later times, imagination has framed romantic tales of the tender relations which existed between the adventurous Englishman and the savage maiden. The small stone fort, which Smith partially constructed some miles away from Jamestown, has been supposed to have been intended for a safe retreat for the lovers, alike from English settlers and from Indian warriors. The youth of Pocahontas, the difference in their ages, and Smith's character, render such romantic fancies absurd. Whatever might be the nature of the feelings of Pocahontas towards Smith, his regard for her was not that of a lover.

Smith was not the only one of the settlers whom Pocahontas directly rescued from death, while her action and influence doubtless indirectly saved many, if not all, of them from massacre. When Ratcliffe, after Smith's departure from the colony, was inveigled into an ambushade, and with thirty of his men was slain by the followers of Powhatan, among his company was a boy named Henry Spilman. This youth would have shared the fate of the others had not Pocahontas interfered and saved his life. He was detained a prisoner, adopted into an Indian family, and carried away to the banks of the Potomac, where he lived among the natives for many years. He acquired the Indian language, and afterwards did the settlers good service as an interpreter. Having rejoined his countrymen, his long sojourn with the Indians did not save him from their hostility, and he was killed by them in 1622.

When Pocahontas learned that Smith had left the colony, she ceased to visit Jamestown. He was the only one for whom she cared, and when he left, nothing was heard of her for a long time. It seems she went to dwell with some of her race on the banks of the Potomac, where the sight of the English was not likely to remind her of the friend who had deserted her. But about two years after Smith left, Captain Argall sailed up the Potomac to trade for corn. Learning from Japazaws, a friendly chief, that Powhatan's favorite daughter was in that region, he bribed the treacherous native to betray the unsuspecting girl into his hands, his intention being to hold her as a hostage for the good behavior of Powhatan, who had long been hostile, and to exchange her for some English prisoners and arms then held by the Indians. When Pocahontas discovered the treachery of Japazaws, and that she was held as a prisoner by those whom she had so faithfully befriended, she wept bitterly, as well she might, at the perfidy of the chief, and the ingratitude of the English. Sending a messenger to Powhatan, to inform him that his favorite daughter was a prisoner and must be ransomed by the delivery of all the Englishmen and arms in his possession, Argall carried her to Jamestown. Three months afterwards, Powhatan, who seemed in no haste to rescue his daughter, restored seven prisoners and some damaged guns, and sent word that if his daughter was released he would make restitution for all the injuries he had inflicted, give the colonists five hundred baskets of corn, and for-

ever remain in peace and amity. Having little confidence in the good faith of the chief, the English refused to surrender Pocahontas till full satisfaction was rendered.

Greatly offended at this demand, Powhatan refused for a long time to have any intercourse with the settlers. At length Sir Thomas Dale went up the York River with several small vessels, carrying a hundred and fifty men, and taking the captive girl with him. Arriving at Werowcomoco, once Powhatan's favorite residence, but now abandoned by him, the English were met with a scornful defiance from the Indian warriors, and landing a strong party, they burned the cabins and destroyed the poor possessions of the natives. They then proceeded farther up the river to Matchot, another residence of Powhatan, where several hundred warriors were assembled, apparently to attack the intruders. The English landed, and the natives, in wholesome fear of fire-arms, asked for a truce till Powhatan could be heard from,—a request which was readily granted. While waiting for the great chief's decision, two of his sons went on board the vessel to see their sister Pocahontas. It had been reported among the Indians that she was sick and ill-treated; but finding that she was well, the young chiefs were greatly pleased, and promised to persuade their father to make peace and forever be friends with the English.

John Rolfe and another Englishman were sent to communicate to Powhatan the willingness of the English to make peace and exchange prisoners. The old chief, suspicious of the purpose of the visitors, or disposed to show his displeasure towards the English, refused to admit them to his presence, though they were hospitably entertained. They saw his brother, however; and that chief, who was a renowned warrior, promised to use his influence with Powhatan to secure peace. This was more readily promised than accomplished; and as no progress was made towards a treaty, and it was now planting-time, Dale returned to Jamestown, determined to wait till after the harvest before renewing hostilities and compelling a peace. Pocahontas was carried back again, and through her a more cordial peace was at last established.

During her long stay at Jamestown, Pocahontas had adopted the habits and manners of civilized life. She was an object of deep interest, and the few women of the colony had not spared their efforts to

minister to her material and spiritual welfare. She was clothed after the manner of English women, and she renounced the idolatry of her nation, and was baptized as a convert to Christianity under the name of Rebecca. She was now about eighteen years of age, of comely form, naturally graceful carriage, and with features more refined than was usual in girls of her race. Under these circumstances it was not strange that there should be young men in the colony, where there were no marriageable women, who should be attracted towards the interesting captive. Whether more than one thought seriously of her, does not appear; but John Rolfe, a young man of good position, who had lost his wife either at Bermuda or since his arrival at Jamestown, fell in love with her, and by his attentions and kindness won her regard. Had Smith been there, it is quite probable that Pocahontas would never have been won by another, for he occupied the first place in her heart. But she had been informed that he was dead, and Rolfe assented to, if he did not originate, the false report. Perhaps he had learned enough of her sentiments to lead him to believe that he had no hope of winning her heart if she knew that Smith was living, and there was a possibility of meeting him again. Whatever the motive, she was made to believe that the man for whose life she had twice risked her own was dead, and in that belief she listened with favor to Rolfe's declarations of love.

Laying the matter before Sir Thomas Dale, the governor, Rolfe proposed to marry Pocahontas, and the governor, seeing no objection to such a step, and believing that it would be the means of securing the lasting friendship of Powhatan, gave it a hearty approval. Pocahontas informed her brother of the affair, and it was soon announced to Powhatan, who, from like motives of policy, gave his "royal" consent to the proposed union. Still unwilling or not condescending to visit Jamestown, he sent an aged uncle of Pocahontas and her two brothers to attend the wedding and to represent him on the occasion.

The marriage took place at Jamestown in April, 1613. The few women in the settlement of course took a lively interest in the occasion, and in the preparation of the bride for the ceremony. She was accordingly arrayed in such appropriate costume as their limited wardrobes supplied, and her native simplicity and modesty were ornaments more attractive than costly jewels. The ceremony was performed in



MARRIAGE OF JOHN ROLFE AND POCAHONTAS.

the church, where were assembled the governor and all the principal people among the colonists, together with the uncle and brothers of Pocahontas, and other Indians, men and women, who had come into the town to witness the strange proceedings. The bride and groom knelt before the altar, the clergyman in his robes read the marriage service of the English church, the responses were duly made, the wedding-ring put on, and the marriage, which has become memorable in history, was concluded. Festivities followed, and the representatives of Powhatan, highly delighted, promised perpetual amity with the English.

For three years Rolfe and his Indian wife remained in Virginia, and then, in 1616, accompanied Sir Thomas Dale to England, where Pocahontas attracted great attention. She then spoke English intelligibly, and her manners had become refined by associating with gentlewomen, and as she was the daughter of a great chief, or king, she received the courteous treatment considered to be due to her rank as a princess, although her husband was an untitled and needy gentleman.

At the time of the arrival of Pocahontas in England, Smith was preparing to sail for New England. Remembering with gratitude her devotion to him, and fearing he might not be able personally to render her any service while she was in England, he addressed a memorial to the queen, in which he prayed her majesty's favor towards the savior of his life in eloquent terms, as follows:—

"So it was, That about ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantaquaus, the manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage; and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate, pitiful heart of my desperate estate gave me much cause to respect her. I being the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw, and thus inthrall'd in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks' fattening amongst these savage countries, at the minute of my execution she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine; and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Jamestown. . . .

"Such was the weakness of this poor commonwealth, as had not the savages fed us we directly had starved. And this relief, most gracious Queen, was commonly brought us by this lady, Pocahontas; notwithstanding all these passages when unconstant fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jars have been oft appeased, and our wants supplied. Were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection for our nation, I know not; but of this I am sure, when her father, with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and, with watered eyes, give me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his fury, which had he known he had surely slain her.

"Jamestown, with her wild train she as freely frequented as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three years, she, next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this colony from death, famine, and utter confusion. . . .

"As yet I never begged anything of the state, and it is my want of ability and her exceeding desert; your birth, means, and authority; her birth, virtue, want, and simplicity, doth make me thus bold humbly to beseech your majesty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter as myself, her husband's estate not being able to make her fit to attend your majesty."

This petition had the effect to make the "Indian princess" known not only to the queen, but to the court and the general public, and she became an object of much curiosity as well as hospitable attention. She was presented at court by Lady Delaware, and was received with special kindness by the king and queen, while her "modest, dignified, and graceful deportment excited the admiration of all." She was called "Lady Pocahontas," and we are told by contemporary writers that she carried herself "as the daughter of a king." The nobility, encouraged by the queen, paid marked attention to her, and she was entertained at a series of masquerades, balls, plays, and festivities by many of the most prominent persons at court, including the Bishop of London. Many people, also, of various grades, called to pay their respects and gratify their curi-

osity, and declared that "they had seen many English ladies worse favored, proportioned, and behaved."

Smith did not leave London before the arrival of Pocahontas, as he feared he might; and while she was staying at Brentford, to avoid the smoke and din of the city, he went to see her. His appearance affected her deeply. After a hasty recognition she turned away, and, without uttering a word, buried her face in her hands. In this position and mood she remained for a long time, thus manifesting, after the manner of her race, her sense of injury and grief. This was before Pocahontas was presented to the queen; and Smith, attributing her silence to want of words to express her feelings, says that he regretted he had represented that she could speak English.

At length, however, she began to talk, and reminded Smith of the kindness she had shown him in her own country. "You did promise Powhatan," she said, "what was yours should be his, and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a stranger, and for the same reason so I must call you." Smith declined to be called "father" for fear it might provoke the anger of the king, who was always jealous of the royal prerogative, and as she was "a king's daughter" would claim the appellation himself. It is said, and probably Smith had heard the report, that King James was at first greatly offended that Rolfe, a commoner, should presume to marry a princess without the royal consent, but upon a fuller representation of the matter he had expressed himself as satisfied. Smith might reasonably suppose, therefore, that the king's absurd jealousy of his prerogative would object to one of his subjects being called "father" by that same princess. Pocahontas, however, was not willing to abandon the name which she had long ago given to Smith, and looking at him steadily, she said, "You were not afraid to come into my father's country and cause fear in him and all his people but me, and fear you here that I should call you *father*? I tell you then I *will*, and you shall call me *child*, and I will be forever and ever your country-woman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew not otherwise till I came to Plymouth."

Whether the feelings which Pocahontas entertained towards Smith had always been those of filial affection, as indicated by these expressions, there were those who doubted; and it is not improbable that she was told

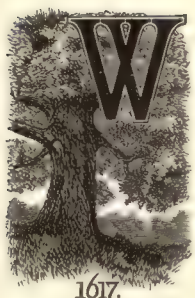
that he was dead because she had shown so strong an interest in him. But whatever may have been the nature of her affection for Smith, his regard for her was inspired by the purest gratitude and honor, and there is nothing authentic to show that he ever expressed to her or others any different emotion, or in any way encouraged her to think that he regarded her other than a child, to whom, indeed, he owed the deepest gratitude as the savior of his life. He had never played the lover to her, as perhaps Rolfe and others had imagined, and some romantic stories told long afterwards concerning them were mere fancies, conceived perhaps to immortalize certain pleasant localities. If the interview was at first painful to Pocahontas, it ended more happily. They parted as friends, and Smith had no reason to reproach himself with deceiving or neglecting her, since it was chiefly through his instrumentality that she had received the kindly attentions of people of high position.

While in England Pocahontas gave birth to a son, an event which was deemed of some importance to the colony in Virginia as a further pledge of peace between her nation and the settlers. The Virginia Company made provision for the maintenance of mother and child, and Rolfe prepared to return to Jamestown with them, after a stay in England of about a year. Pocahontas was reluctant to return, dreading perhaps the perils of the sea and the sickness which she had experienced on the voyage out. From the time when her departure was determined upon she seemed despondent, as if foreboding some evil, and on the eve of embarkation she sank under a fatal malady, and died at Gravesend in the latter part of March, 1617, "leaving a spotless name, and dwelling in memory under the form of perpetual youth." She was buried in the chancel of Gravesend Church, which a hundred years later was destroyed by fire, and no monument to her memory remains, if any ever existed.

The infant son of Pocahontas, Thomas Rolfe, remained in England, though his father returned at once to Virginia. He was educated by his uncle, and afterwards went to Virginia, where he had a grant of lands, and became a man of wealth and note in the colony. His descendants were among the distinguished families of Virginia, who thus claim a descent from one who was the "daughter of a king," and who, in truth, displayed the virtues that became a princess.

XVII.

ARGALL.—A NEW CHARTER.—INTRODUCTION
OF SLAVES.—IMPORTATION OF WIVES.



WHEN Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, Captain George Yeardley was appointed deputy governor during his absence. The condition of affairs was such that the deputy governor found little difficulty in administering them. The only trouble he had with the Indians was with the Chickahominies, who at this time refused to observe a treaty which they had previously made, and to pay the tribute of corn required by it. Yeardley conducted a force of a hundred men against the refractory savages, and, after "killing some and making some prisoners," brought off much of their corn. With the other natives the English were now on friendly and familiar terms, and gradually ceased to feel the necessity for the protection of fortifications. They had already been distributed among six or seven different settlements, which contained from twenty-five to one hundred inhabitants, the total number being three hundred and fifty. From the settlements or towns they soon began to occupy outlying plantations wherever they could take up fertile land for cultivation. Yeardley directed the attention of the settlers to the cultivation of tobacco, which was becoming much used in England, and was by far the most profitable article of commerce that they could produce. It soon became the staple production of the colony, and has ever since maintained its importance as a chief source of wealth to colony and state. Engaged in the cultivation of the plantations allotted them, the

colonists neglected the common settlements, and suffered them to go to decay; and when, in 1617, Argall — who, by the intrigues of unscrupulous friends in the Virginia Company, was appointed deputy governor and admiral — arrived at Jamestown, he found there but five or six habitable houses,* the church fallen, and a storehouse used for religious services instead, the palisades broken, and the streets and market-place, and all vacant ground, planted with tobacco. Excessive attention to the cultivation of tobacco, indeed, led to a scarcity of corn; but Argall, who was a man of energy, by trade with the Indians secured the necessary supply of that important commodity.

Argall was energetic in promoting his own profit as well as in the administration of affairs. Coming invested with powers to enforce martial law more arbitrarily than Dale had been, unlike that prudent governor he exercised his powers to the utmost limit, and in a despotic way, seeking to enrich himself by extortion and oppression. He decreed, among other things, that tobacco should be rated at a fixed value of three shillings, and whoever rated it either higher or lower should be subjected to three years' slavery to the colony; that there should be no trade or intercourse with the Indians, and that none of them should be taught the use of fire-arms under the penalty of death to both teacher and learner; that no man should fire a gun before a new supply of ammunition arrived, on pain of a year's slavery; that no one should hunt deer or hogs without his leave. The Puritans are considered stern in their measures to secure attendance at "meeting," but they were not more severe nor quite so arbitrary as was Argall in enforcing the virtue of church-going. His edict was, that absence from church on Sundays or holidays should be punished by confinement for the night and one week's slavery to the colony; for the second offence, slavery for a month; and for the third, slavery for a year and a day. While many of his regulations were wise, and calculated to promote the welfare of the colony, the penalties for offences were often excessive and barbarous, and as he enforced them with characteristic energy, he became an odious and intolerable tyrant.

Some of the colonists sent a report of Argall's oppressive proceedings to England, and some of the members of the council of the London

* Many of the houses were of very slight construction, and when neglected soon went to ruin.

Company addressed to him a letter reciting a series of charges against him for dishonesty, corruption, and oppression. Another letter was addressed to Lord Delaware, who had previously sailed with another party of emigrants for Virginia, but who, with thirty others, had died on the passage. In this letter the writer said that such was the indignation of the stockholders in the Company against Argall, that they could hardly be restrained from going to the king, although he was on a distant journey, and procuring his Majesty's command for recalling him as a malefactor. Lord Delaware was also directed to seize all the goods and property in Argall's possession. This letter, in consequence of Lord Delaware's death, came to the hands of Argall as deputy governor. Knowing that his career was drawing to a close, he determined to improve the time before he should be superseded, and he accordingly increased his extortions and grew more tyrannical than ever. His unscrupulous conduct is shown by his removal of the servants from Lord Delaware's estate without any authority to do so, and employing them on his own land; and his tyranny is exhibited in his treatment of Edward Brewster, the steward of Lord Delaware, who had been left in management of the property, and was a man of good repute. Brewster endeavored to make the servants return, and upon the refusal of one of them to do so he threatened him with the consequences of his contumacy. Argall immediately ordered Brewster to be arrested on a charge of sedition and mutiny, and tried by a court-martial, by whom he was speedily convicted and condemned to death. Shocked at their own act, however, some of the members of the court joined with the clergy and interceded for his pardon, which Argall reluctantly granted on condition that Brewster should leave Virginia under an oath never to return, and never to "say or do anything to the disparagement of the deputy governor." Repudiating the obligation of an oath extorted under duress, Brewster, on reaching England, appealed to the Company, and exposed more fully Argall's corrupt and tyrannical conduct.

Captain George Yeardley was now appointed governor and captain-general of Virginia (1619), and was knighted, the better to qualify him for the place, perhaps, by securing to him more respect from the colonists. Before the new governor arrived, Argall, having made the most of his opportunities, loaded a vessel with his effects and sailed for

England, where, being a relative of Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the Company, he was never called to account. He left Captain Nathaniel Powell, who had come over with Smith, as his deputy, who, however, held his office only ten days before the arrival of Yeardley with a new charter for the colony, and a number of new settlers.

The new charter provided for a legislative assembly composed of "burgesses" elected by the freemen of the several towns, plantations, and hundreds, which were styled "boroughs." The first assembly, which was also the first that ever met in America, was convened at Jamestown on the 30th of July, 1619, and held its session in the choir of the church. It enacted laws for the government of the colony, and disposed of complaints for offences by voting such punishment as the case seemed to require. Among the laws enacted were such as the following: "It shall be free for every man to trade with the Indians, servants only excepted upon pain of whipping, unless the master will redeem it off with the payment of an angel." "No man to sell or give any of the greater hoes to the Indians, or any English dog of quality, as a mastiff, greyhound, bloodhound, land or water spaniel." "Any man selling arms or ammunition to the Indians to be hanged so soon as the act is proved." All ministers "shall duly read divine service and exercise their ministerial function according to the ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England, and every Sunday, in the afternoon, shall catechize such as are not ripe to come to the communion." "All persons whatsoever, upon the Sabbath days, shall frequent divine service and sermons, both forenoon and afternoon; and all such as bear arms shall bring their pieces, swords, powder, and shot." The Virginia colonists, it will be observed, though not so austere as the Puritans of New England, were not remiss in compelling attendance at church. In many other matters, however, they were not so particular in enforcing good morals. Measures were adopted for the maintenance of the new government by the colonists themselves. A large tract of land was appropriated to the governor; and to compensate the speaker, clerk, and officers of the assembly, a pound of the best tobacco was levied from every male above sixteen years of age.

In August, 1619, occurred an event which is generally said to have had a far-reaching influence on the affairs not only of Virginia, but of other colonies, and the sequences of which ultimately produced fearful

results in the states which succeeded the colonies. A Dutch man-of-war at that time visited Jamestown and sold to the settlers twenty negroes as slaves. This was the first introduction of negro slavery into the country; but this event is remarkable only as being the beginning of what would soon have come through other means. A kind of slavery, or enforced and unpaid service, already existed; and among a body of colonists, so many of whom looked upon labor as degrading, any opportunity to secure labor for the now increasing plantations, and for the performance of menial service, was pretty likely to be improved. The condition of the white servants of the colony, many of them convicts, and rendering compulsory service, was so abject that chattel slavery was seemingly but a short step beyond. It was a step which any people of that age, under like circumstances, would not have hesitated to take.

There was another arrival the same year, of far more immediate advantage, and of ultimate benefit rather than evil. The London Company, under the wise and energetic management of the new treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, sent out upwards of twelve hundred additional emigrants, and among the number were ninety marriageable women. "The people of Virginia had not been settled in their minds;" they had gone there to "make their fortunes" and return to England, very few of them looking upon the new country as their home. It was desirable that they should become attached to the soil, and held by ties that would preclude the idea of seeking homes elsewhere. The granting of land was one step towards this happy condition; it was necessary that they should have the society of women and the associations of family. Few women had yet dared to cross the Atlantic, but the affairs of the colony were at last in so fair a condition that Sir Edwin Sandys succeeded in inducing "ninety agreeable persons, young and incorrupt," to embark for the colony, where they were assured of a welcome and a prospect of honorable settlement in marriage. They were transported at the cost of the corporation; and, in anticipation of a sharp demand among such a number of unmarried men, a rule was established that none but those well able to support them should marry them, and that in every case the cost of transportation should be paid by the husband, it being fixed at a hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco.

It may well be imagined that the arrival of these new emigrants

created an unusual excitement among the settlers. . When it was known — and the news was quickly spread — that ninety young women, candidates for wedlock, were on board the ships, the planters and others who had any desire for a wife hastened to Jamestown to take a view of the fair ones, and to select their mates. The rules of the Company, however, were strictly applied, and the unfortunate wight who wanted a wife but had not the means to support one, was sent away disconsolate; and even the more fortunate man who had a house and plantation, must make or secure the payment of the hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco before he could take his chosen partner to the clergyman to be married.

Doubtless there were some pretty hasty marriages which, under other circumstances, might have been followed by a leisurely repentance; but, on the whole, there was perhaps as reasonable good luck in these marriages as the parties would have had in England, with a wider choice. It is not to be supposed that the settler went with his proper weight of tobacco, and bought a wife as he might a piece of furniture. The consent of the woman was necessary, and the man must appear as a suitor, though probably the courtship was remarkably short. These women were confessedly in search of husbands, and, though said to be of good repute, they were not of a class to be fastidious, or to stand long on ceremony. It was not long before the entire number was disposed of, and the unfortunate bachelors cried for more. The adventure, which had been in part a mercantile speculation, as well as an effort to give permanence to the colony, proved so successful that an attempt was made to send a hundred more candidates for matrimony the next year. But the Company found itself so poor that it was necessary to resort to subscriptions to obtain means to forward this interesting freight, and it was with some difficulty they were enabled to send sixty. Whether these were a superior class to those previously sent is not certain, but they were described as maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended. A portion only of the sixty were first sent out, and with this consignment went the following letter: —

“We send you a shipment, one widow and eleven maids, for wives of the people of Virginia: there hath been especial care had in the



WIVES FOR THE SETTLERS AT JAMESTOWN.

choice of them, for there hath not one of them been received but upon good commendations.

"In case they cannot be presently married, we desire that they may be put with several householders that have wives until they can be provided with husbands. There are nearly fifty more that are shortly to come, and are sent by our honorable lord and treasurer, the Earl of Southampton, and certain worthy gentlemen, who, taking into consideration that the plantation can never flourish till families be planted, and the respect of wives and children fix the people on the soil, therefore have given this fair beginning; for the reimbursing of whose charges it is ordered that every man that marries them give one hundred and twenty pounds of best leaf tobacco for each of them. . . .

"We desire that the marriage be free according to nature, and we would not have those maids deceived and married to servants, but only to such freemen or tenants as have means to maintain them. We pray you, therefore, to be fathers of them in this business, not enforcing them to marry against their wills."

The policy of thus providing wives for the colonists was a wise one, and of great benefit to the colony. Emigrants who otherwise would have made Virginia only a place of temporary abode, were content to settle down permanently and become industrious owners and cultivators of the soil. They had their household gods with them, and were no longer mere adventurers seeking some turn of fortune's wheel which should enable them some time to establish a home in England.

In 1620, by the arbitrary interference of King James, Sir Edwin Sandys was suspended as treasurer of the Company, which office he had wisely administered, and the Earl of Southampton was elected in his place, though the latter was not the choice of the king. At the same time, an unscrupulous and corrupt faction made it so uncomfortable for Yeardley that he begged to retire from office as governor of the colony. Sir Francis Wyatt, an Irish gentleman of education and integrity, was appointed in his place. The new governor arrived in October, 1621, with a large number of emigrants, and still another frame of government, in which, however, the assembly was preserved. He brought, also, a body of instructions for the guidance of the governor and council, according to which he was to provide for the service of God in con-

formity with the Church of England, as near as may be; to be obedient to the king, and to administer justice according to the laws of England; not to injure the natives, and to forget old quarrels now buried; to be industrious, and to suppress drunkenness, gaming, and excess in clothes; not to permit any but the council and heads of hundreds to wear gold in their clothes, or to wear silk till they make it themselves; not to offend any foreign prince; to punish pirates; to build forts; to endeavor to convert the heathen; and each town to teach some of the Indian children fit for the college which was to be built; to cultivate corn, wine, and silk; to search for minerals, dyes, gums, and medicinal drugs, and to draw off the people from the excessive planting of tobacco, or any such useless commodity; to build water-mills; to make salt, pitch, tar, and ashes; to make oil of walnuts, and employ apothecaries in distilling lees of beer; to make small quantity of tobacco, and that very good. Here, certainly, were instructions enough, and many of them excellent, to keep the governor busy in carrying them into effect, and thus promoting the welfare of the colony.

The colony was now in a prosperous condition, and the tide of emigration was strongly setting towards it. During the year when Governor Wyatt arrived, twenty-one vessels came over, bringing more than thirteen hundred men, women, and children, and during the following year more than two thousand arrived.

XVIII.

MASSACRE OF SETTLERS BY THE INDIANS.



IN the midst of the prosperity which was dawning on the infant colony a fearful calamity befell it. The aged Powhatan, who had maintained peaceful relations with the settlers since the marriage of Pocahontas, was gathered to his fathers, and his brother, Opechancanough, a warlike chief, succeeded him as head of all the neighboring tribes. When Wyatt arrived, he sent a messenger to this chief to renew the treaties of peace and friendship which had existed between Powhatan and the colonists. Opechancanough seemed well disposed, and confirmed the pledges of harmony. He was, however, a treacherous savage, and had a great dislike for the English. Fear alone kept him peaceful, and he only needed a pretext and an opportunity to take them at disadvantage to inflict upon the objects of his hatred a terrible vengeance. A pretext was soon found, and an opportunity was cautiously awaited.

Among the Indians there was a famous chief named Nemattenow, or "Jack of the Feather," as he was styled by the English, from the manner in which he ornamented his hair. This chief went to the store of one of the settlers named Morgan and persuaded him to go to Pamunkey to trade, when he murdered him on the way. A few days afterwards Nemattenow appeared again at Morgan's place, and told two of the latter's servants who inquired for their master that he was dead. These young men, seeing their master's cap upon the Indian's head, suspected that he had committed the murder, but without charging him

with it undertook to conduct him to Mr. Thorpe, a pious gentleman who had labored zealously for the conversion of the Indians, and had treated them with uniform kindness, that he might question the suspected savage. Mr. Thorpe had by many acts of friendship endeavored to secure the confidence and good will of the Indians. He had built a house for Opechancanough, with which that redoubtable chief was highly pleased, and he had caused some English mastiffs, which were a source of terror to the natives, to be killed. He was, therefore, an excellent person to inquire into the disappearance of Morgan without exciting alarm or hostility among the Indians.

But on the way Nemattenow objected to going to Mr. Thorpe, or otherwise got into a quarrel with the young men, and one of them shot and wounded him. Then putting him into a boat, they carried him a prisoner to Jamestown, where he shortly after died. Before his death he begged the young men not to disclose the fact that he was wounded by a bullet, for he had always boasted among his own people that he was invulnerable to English arms. Opechancanough was greatly incensed at the loss of one of his most famous warriors, and muttered threats of revenge. His threats, however, were met with defiance by the English, and he accordingly suppressed his anger, and still made professions of friendship, which the settlers accepted without question.

At this time, as before stated, the settlers were scattered at various points between the James and Potomac Rivers, and had established plantations wherever fertile lands had attracted them. Many of them were, unwisely, destitute of arms, and had no defences about their houses, which were everywhere open to the Indians, and were frequented by them at all times. Such was the feeling of security that the natives were readily allowed not only to eat at the tables of the settlers, but to lodge under their roofs.

Opechancanough here found his opportunity for revenge. With consummate artifice he concealed his purpose under a show of friendship, while he instructed his followers in his bloody plans. Scattered at all points where the English had established themselves, they were to await the time fixed for a general massacre; and so secretly were the plans perfected that up to the very day and hour set for the horrible butchery they were not divulged, nor the least indication given of what was about

to occur. About the middle of March, only a week before the fatal day, a messenger having been sent to Opechancanough on some errand, that cunning chief entertained him kindly, and protested that he held the peace so firm that the sky should fall before he broke it. On the twentieth of the same month the Indians guided a party of the English safely through the forest, and the more completely to lull all suspicion they sent one Brown, who was domiciled with them for the purpose of learning their language, home to his master. They even borrowed boats to cross the river to hold a council on the proposed attack; and on the evening before, and the very morning of the massacre, they came unarmed into the houses of the unsuspecting colonists with fish, turkeys, and venison for sale, and sat down to eat at the breakfast tables.

It was the season of planting, and on the 22d of March, 1622, the settlers went to the fields to work, or engaged in avocations about their houses. At about noon that day the savages suddenly, and everywhere at the same time, came forth from the woods and hiding-places, and fell upon the unsuspecting and unarmed whites and butchered them. From the fields they proceeded to the houses, and swiftly falling upon the inmates, killed them, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition. Women and children, the sick and helpless, alike fell before the infuriate savages. Even their steadfast friend, Mr. Thorpe, who, though warned by a servant of the approach of the Indians, still trusted to his influence over them, fell a victim to his misplaced confidence, and was murdered with remorseless cruelty.

A few of the settlers defended themselves with fire-arms, and drove the Indians away. One of Smith's old soldiers was surrounded by Indians, when, although wounded, he killed one of his assailants with an axe, and put the rest to flight. A settler named Baldwin, by the good use of his gun, saved himself and family, the savages still having a wholesome fear of bullets. Not far from Baldwin's house the savages at the same time appeared at another house where was Thomas Hamor, who from Smith's time was well known to them. They attempted to induce Hamor to come out of the house, saying that Opechancanough was hunting in the neighboring woods, and desired to have his aid. Hamor was writing at the time, and was not disposed to leave that occupation. The Indians then set fire to a tobacco-house, and several

men who were in the house with Hamor ran out, when they were pursued by the Indians and killed. When Hamor had finished his writing, he also went out to see what was the matter, entirely unsuspecting of treachery; but he was pierced in the back with an arrow, and hurrying into the house, barricaded it. There were with him now none but women and children, but fortunately a boy of the family, finding a loaded gun, discharged it at random, and the Indians withdrew after setting fire to the house. Baldwin was still firing his gun, and Hamor, with the women and children, fled to his house, where they were saved from the knife and tomahawk. Another family seems to have been overlooked by the savages and escaped, not knowing anything of the massacre until two days after, though all the people of their region—seventy-three in number—were killed; so quietly did arrow, knife, and club do their bloody work.

Thus in an hour three hundred and forty-nine men, women, and children were massacred, and their bodies mangled by the savages, who carried away scalps and limbs as trophies. Six of the victims were members of the council, and many others were among the most worthy of the colonists. The massacre was intended to be universal, for Opechancanough had boasted to his people that he would wipe the English from the land. It might have been more successful but for the disclosure of a converted Indian, who during the night preceding had revealed the plot to the settler with whom he lived. This man, after fortifying his own house, hastened to Jamestown and gave the alarm to the governor, who took such precautions that all within reach were saved from destruction.

The massacre struck terror into the hearts of the surviving colonists, though their numbers were sufficient to oppose any force which the Indians could muster. They were completely demoralized by fear, and twenty or thirty days elapsed before any plan of defence was determined upon. Many were urgent to abandon James River, and to withdraw to the eastern shore, where some newly settled plantations had been undisturbed. At length it was determined to abandon the weaker and more exposed settlements, and concentrate the population in five or six places which could be well fortified and defended. Some of the planters who occupied exposed situations were unwilling to leave their plantations,

and a few persisted in remaining, and resolutely fortified and defended their dwellings, while others were compelled by force to withdraw. In the mean time, a large part of the cattle and effects of the victims of the massacre, and of those who left their homes, had fallen a prey to the Indians, and the horrors of famine threatened to follow. Fortunately, however, this evil was averted.

When intelligence of the sad event reached England, it aroused a great deal of sympathy and indignation. King James, with a pretence of magnanimity, but with characteristic meanness, granted the Virginia Company some unserviceable arms from the Tower, and "*lent* them twenty barrels of powder." One of the nobility, with somewhat more sincere generosity, gave sixty coats of mail, and the city of London sent out one hundred settlers to recruit the diminished colony. But Captain John Smith, who had had experience with the Indians, and knew their characteristics and how best to deal with them, made a better considered proposal. He offered, if the Company would send him to Virginia with a small force, to reduce the savages to subjection and protect the colony from future attacks. The Company, however, was as much demoralized as the colonists; filled with dissensions, it scarcely entertained the offer, and the few who were willing to accept it proposed such niggardly terms that the bold and chivalrous Smith was disgusted, and the project failed.

In Virginia, when the first effects of the massacre had passed, a spirit of retaliation naturally followed. The colonists were Englishmen, and were not to be cowed by these poorly-armed savages. Opechancanough still entertained the purpose of annihilating the people who had come to take possession of his country, and in a message which he sent to Japazaws, a chief of the Potomacs, urging him to slay a party of Englishmen who were trading on that river, he boasted of the massacre, and declared that before the end of two moons not an Englishman should be left in all the country. Japazaws, however, would not be bribed to kill his guests, but informed Crashaw, the commander of the party, of Opechancanough's proposal, who thereupon sent a challenge to that redoubtable chief "that he would nakedly fight him, or any of his, with their own swords." Defiance like this was not the kind of warfare suited to the Indian character, and the challenge was not accepted.

The chief preferred stratagem and treachery, and he hoped to repeat the massacre of defenceless settlers. But the colonists were more wary now, the Indians were no longer allowed to come freely into the settlements, and all their movements were carefully watched. Captain Madison, who occupied a fort on the Potomac, suspecting a treacherous movement on the part of a tribe there, without waiting to verify his suspicions, attacked their village, and killed thirty or forty of their men, women, and children. Similar punishment for suspected treachery was inflicted upon smaller numbers at other points, and the Indians soon found that another massacre was impossible.

When corn was ripe, Sir George Yeardley, with three hundred men, invaded the territory of the Nansemonds, who set fire to their cabins, and fled. Yeardley, however, obtained their corn, which was the chief object of his expedition. He then visited the residence of Opechancanough, and inflicted a like punishment upon the immediate followers of the great chief, who thus found that his treachery had provoked a spirit of retaliation from which his race was likely to be the greatest sufferers. For several years subsequent to the massacre this spirit prevailed. A war of extermination was fiercely advocated by some of the colonists, and, to some extent, such a policy was adopted by the authorities. The rights of the Indians were no longer in any degree respected, and they were driven from the choice lands where they had established their villages and plantations. In July of 1623 an organized force of the colonists made a campaign against the neighboring tribes, and a law of the general assembly commanded that the attack should be repeated the next year. This spirit of ruthless vengeance continued for some years, and it was sternly insisted that no peace should be concluded with the Indians. It was not till 1632, ten years after the massacre, that a treaty of peace was sanctioned.

In April, 1644, the Indians, who had always cherished a hatred toward the whites, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, suddenly showed open hostility, and attempted another massacre of the invaders of their country. Opechancanough had never abandoned his hopes of exterminating the invaders of his domain, and though now very old, he retained great influence over all the tribes of Virginia. Aggravated by the encroachments of Governor Harvey, or encouraged by the dissensions of

the colonists, he resolved to make another attempt to destroy the colony. Large numbers of the Indian warriors were assembled, and without warning made a sudden and concerted attack on the frontier settlements. Again the settlers were unprepared, the long period which had elapsed since the Indians had ventured any attack upon a number of whites lulling them into a sense of security. With their usual ferocity they murdered men, women, and children alike, and upwards of three hundred whites fell victims to their vengeance. But when they had accomplished thus much, alarmed at their own rashness, or satisfied for the time with their achievements, as usual with the Indians, they retired again to the wilderness. Had they persisted in their bloody work, they might have inflicted a more terrible blow on the colony before an organized resistance could have checked their savage career. Their retreat enabled the English to take measures not only for defence, but for offensive war, and they were soon pursued by a force with which they did not dare to contend. The aged Opechancanough was made prisoner and taken to Jamestown. His commanding form, which from the first planting of the colony had been conspicuous among the warriors of his race, was now bent with age and hardships, and he was nearly blind. Haughty and implacable in his hatred, he still retained much of the spirit of his earlier years, and indignantly protested against being exhibited to the curious visitors who came to see him. He was kindly treated, in the main, but one of his guards, for some real or fancied affront, basely shot him in the back. Languishing for a time from the effects of the wound, he at length died, at the age, as was supposed, of nearly a hundred years. His death seemed to destroy the courage of the natives, and a peace was soon established, and endured for a long period.

CHARACTER OF THE VIRGINIA COLONISTS.— CONDITION IN 1648.



THE character of the early settlers of Virginia has been already mentioned. A few of them were adventurous spirits warmly enlisted in the enterprise of founding a colony in the new world; some were gentlemen "in reduced circumstances," who found it necessary to seek the smiles of fortune in a new field; others were scions of good families who on account of disreputable conduct or offences were compelled to leave their native land. Many were needy adventurers of all sorts, who expected to find wealth with very little effort. The whole company were sent out as a commercial venture. They were not animated by devotion to principle like the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England, and in their character and habits they were like those classes in England from which they came, easy-going supporters of the Church of England, not very moral, and fond of sports and good living.

Those who came afterwards were generally of a better sort than the earlier settlers, though they came from similar motives and with similar habits. They were loyal supporters of the king, and admirers of rank and titles; not a few of them were knights, or connected with the nobility. From political more than religious motives they were stanch supporters of the Church of England. Recollections of the persecutions of "bloody Mary," the Spanish armada, and the gunpowder plot, made them earnest haters of papists, and the charter of the colony required that the oaths of allegiance and supremacy should be taken for the

purpose of guarding against the "superstitions of the Church of Rome." In a less degree they were intolerant towards dissenters; and when a few Puritans, who had come among the later emigrants, had invited some ministers from Massachusetts to come and preach to them, these missionaries were ordered to leave the colony. And when Puritanism began to develop itself among some of the clergy, ministers were ordered to conform themselves in all things according to the canons of the Church of England. Other measures were adopted against those inclined to "Independency," and a considerable number of non-conformists left Virginia in consequence. An act of the assembly also banished all Quakers, and provided that their return should be regarded as felony. Otherwise there was considerable religious freedom of an undemonstrative sort, and there was very little bigotry in the maintenance of the established church. A due regard for religious observances was enforced by a law requiring all persons to attend church. But that neither clergy nor laymen were very strict in their religion or morals is shown by another act, which directed that ministers should not "give themselves to excess in drinking, or riot, spending their time idly by day or night, playing at dice, cards, or any other unlawful game."

As the affairs of the colony prospered, and the planters obtained a competence, they lived freely, and were much given to hospitality. With none of the sternness of the New England Puritans, they enjoyed life, and were deterred by no conscientious scruples from indulging in sports and merry-makings.

Although stanch loyalists, they showed a spirit of independence, and stoutly asserted and maintained their rights. They claimed the right to manage their own affairs so long as they did nothing in conflict with the laws of England and the prerogatives of the crown. They established a representative assembly, the first in America, on the basis of almost universal suffrage; and they boldly denied to the governor the right to levy any tax without the concurrence of the assembly. The spirit of freedom which animated them descended to succeeding generations, and was a potent force in achieving the independence of the colonies.

In 1648 there were about fifteen thousand English settlers in Virginia, and three hundred African slaves. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the early days, and the two massacres, the condition of the

colony was at this period prosperous and very encouraging. Thousands of acres had been cleared and planted, and in the fruitful soil was found wealth more certain than the first uneasy settlers had hoped to find in mines of precious metals. There were twenty thousand cattle, and the planters made plenty of butter and cheese. Horses were not yet very numerous, numbering only about two hundred, but attention was now given to the rearing of them, with great care for the excellence of the breed. Subsequently the Virginia horses were of marked superiority, and the planters were famous horsemen. Three thousand sheep and five thousand goats were among the live-stock possessions of the colonists, and swine were not only raised on the plantations, but ran wild in the forest, while the farm-yards were well filled with poultry. Deer were abundant in the woods, and with other smaller animals, and wild turkeys, quail, and waterfowl, furnished an ample supply of game, while the rivers and bay supplied some thirty varieties of fish.

To garnish this abundance of necessities and luxuries, the settlers also cultivated a good supply of vegetables, such as potatoes, asparagus, peas, beans, carrots, and other roots, and a variety of garden herbs and medicinal flowers, and fifteen kinds of fruits, which were said to be "comparable to those of Italy." One planter made twenty butts of excellent cider from apples of his own orchard, and another had for several years made forty or fifty butts of perry from pears of his own raising. Governor Berkeley had fifteen hundred fruit trees in his orchard, besides his apricots, peaches, and quinces. Maize, or Indian corn, for which the settlers were indebted to the natives, was the principal production, except tobacco, yielding five hundred-fold, and furnishing their chief supply of bread. Wheat, oats, and barley were also sown, and yielded abundantly. Bees, wild and domestic, supplied honey and wax. Thus the colonists found themselves at last in a land of plenty; it was "the best poor man's country in the world."

For commerce, tobacco was raised in large quantities, so that the price became very much reduced. The Virginia tobacco was in high esteem in England, and it brought, in return, the various manufactures of which the colony stood in need. The yield was very large; one man could plant and cultivate enough to make two thousand pounds, besides sufficient corn and vegetables for his own support. A little

indigo was made from the leaves of a small tree, and great hopes were entertained that Virginia would soon supply Christendom with this article. Pitch and tar were also made for export, and the forests furnished excellent lumber for the same purpose. Mulberry trees abounded, and it was confidently believed that silk would be produced in Virginia, as well as in France. The colony was therefore well supplied with actual and prospective articles of commerce, and a considerable trade had already grown up between it and the mother country. Upwards of thirty vessels at this time came annually to Jamestown to trade, and many of them were repaired and provisioned here. At Christmas, in 1647, there were in the James River ten vessels from London, two from Bristol, twelve from Holland, and seven from New England.

Under such circumstances many of the colonists grew to be comparatively wealthy. Liberal grants of land had been made to them, and enterprise was amply rewarded by its cultivation. As an instance of the style in which the Virginia gentleman lived even at that early day, it is said that "Captain Matthews, an old planter of above thirty years' standing, had a fine house, sowed much hemp and flax, and had it spun; he kept weavers, and had a tannery where leather was dressed; and had eight shoemakers at work; had forty negro servants, whom he brought up to mechanical trades; he sold large crops of wheat and barley. The wheat he sold for four shillings a bushel. He also supplied vessels trading in Virginia with beef. He had plenty of cows, a fine dairy, a large number of hogs and poultry. He kept a good house, lived bravely, and was a true lover of Virginia."

After the importation of wives for the settlers, and the accession of married men among the later emigrants, there was a goodly number of children in the colony, for which blessings the assembly on one occasion expressed devout thanks. But no very ample provision was made for the education of the young. One free school had been endowed, liberally for the times, and there were a few other schools; but the Virginia colonists were not so careful to provide for the instruction of the young as were the Puritans of New England. At a later period than that here referred to Sir William Berkeley said, "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing (in Virginia), 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."

From a very early date in the history of the colony there was some talk among the members of the Company in England, and the church dignitaries, about establishing a "college" for the education of Indian youth, that they might become missionaries for the conversion of their race, but the project was not carried into effect. Some good men labored for the conversion of such Indians as they could reach, and with partial success; but the subjects generally were not very docile, and the labor was not very encouraging. Among those who engaged in this good work was Mr. Thorpe, mentioned in the preceding chapter, who won the confidence of the natives by his uniform kindness, and, having secured their good-will, began to instruct them in the common arts of civilized life, and to impart to them some idea of the Christian religion. The Indians were freely admitted to his house, and often sat at his table, and slept before his fire. A few of them became his stanch friends, and were considered "converted;" but to most of the treacherous savages his kindness was of little account, and when they resolved upon the destruction of the English he was one of the earliest victims.

XX.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.



THE plan of this work did not contemplate any connected narrative of events in Virginia beyond the early period of which some account has already been given; but there are a few later events which may well be recounted to illustrate the character of the colonists.

When the people of England rose against the usurpations and tyranny of Charles I., and brought that monarch to the block, the colonists of Virginia continued loyal to the crown, and were bitterly opposed to the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth. The loyalty of Virginia, when everywhere else his friends were few, was duly appreciated by the son of the fallen king and his supporters, and from his poor court in Breda he sent to Sir William Berkeley, the governor, a new commission confirming the powers granted by his father. Berkeley was a most earnest loyalist, and the great majority of the colonists, not having experienced the ills under which their countrymen in the mother country had suffered, remained true to the fortunes of the Stuarts, even when they seemed most hopeless. The new commission confirmed governor and people in their loyal prepossessions.

As the loyalty of Virginia won the grateful acknowledgments of the royal party, it excited the displeasure of Parliament. Measures were adopted to secure to the mother country all the advantages of commerce with the colonies, and a powerful fleet of armed vessels, carrying also a considerable land force, was fitted out in 1651, under the command of

Sir George Ayscue, with instructions to reduce all refractory colonies to subjection. The orders were stern and decided. If the rebellious colonists would immediately submit, favorable terms should be extended to them; but if they should resist, the terrors of war should be visited upon them. Having reduced Antigua and the Barbadoes to subjection, Ayscue, who was a distinguished naval commander, sailed for Virginia, where he anticipated no serious resistance.

Berkeley, however, having been informed of this expedition, determined to show his loyalty to the prince and his hatred of the Commonwealth. Jamestown was fortified, and a large part of the men who were able to bear arms, and could be depended upon, were called to its defence. At the time of the arrival of the Parliamentary force in James River it so happened that several Dutch ships were lying at Jamestown, and as England was then at war with Holland, the commanders and crews of these ships knew that they would be made captives should the force of the Commonwealth triumph, and their rich cargoes would be confiscated. They therefore readily assented to Berkeley's proposal that they should unite with the colonists in resisting the coming fleet. The ships were accordingly moored in line along the peninsula, and their cargoes carried on shore. Select crews were placed on board each ship, and with guns heavily charged they presented their broadsides to the water approaches to the town.

When Captain Dennis, who commanded the Parliamentary force, saw this preparation for resistance, he was greatly disappointed in his expectations of a ready submission on the part of the colony. He hesitated making an attack, and resorted to negotiations as a better means of securing the object of the expedition than a bloody and doubtful conflict. He had, moreover, in his hands the means of appealing to the private interests of some of the council, and thus dividing the colonial authorities. On board of some of the English ships there was a large quantity of goods belonging to two members of the council; and after a number of messages had passed between Captain Dennis and the colonial government, he found means to convey to these members intelligence concerning their goods, and intimated to them that the fate of their property depended upon their conduct in the pending negotiations. By this shrewd move Captain Dennis was pretty sure to have two advo-

cates of a pacific settlement of difficulties in the council. Public affairs are very apt to assume a new aspect when viewed through the spectacles of self-interest, and the councillors in question became strenuous opponents of resistance, and argued that it would be useless to contend with the power of England, which was now wielded by the Commonwealth, and that it would be wiser to submit while they could obtain favorable terms, than to wait till they were forced to yield after a fruitless contest. These views prevailed with other members of the council, and the governor found himself overruled by a majority. The negotiations proceeded, and resulted in a treaty signed on the 12th of March, 1652, by which the most liberal terms were secured for the colony, honorable alike to the colonists and to the officers of the Commonwealth.

By this treaty the colony was to remain in obedience and subjection to the Commonwealth, but at the same time it was stipulated that this submission should be considered a voluntary thing, and not imposed upon them by force of arms. On the other hand it was agreed that the colonists were to enjoy all the "privileges and freedoms" of the most favored subjects of the English government. The colonial assembly was to meet as before, and might enact laws, provided only that they were not inconsistent with the laws of the mother country. A general amnesty for acts, words, or writings against Parliament was granted; and should any of the inhabitants not choose to submit to the Commonwealth, they were allowed a year to remove with their effects out of Virginia. The existing boundaries of Virginia were guaranteed, former patents were confirmed, and the colonists were to be allowed to trade with all nations. No taxes were to be levied upon them except by consent of the assembly, and other minor privileges and exemptions were allowed. But the most remarkable concession, considering the dislike of the Parliamentary party for the Church of England, was the stipulation that the Book of Common Prayer should continue to be used for one year in those parishes that desired it, provided only that the parts recognizing the king and the royal government should be omitted in public worship.

Another remarkable provision in the treaty was the leniency and consideration conceded to Sir William Berkeley, who was known as a staunch supporter of the late king, and ardent friend of his son. Both he and

his council were exempted for one year from taking the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, and from censure for speaking well of the king. He was even permitted to send a report of his proceedings to the sovereign whom he still recognized. His lands and other property were secured to him, and he was allowed a year to provide a ship and transport himself and his effects to any part of the world he might choose; and if he went to England, he was to be allowed six months "to follow his occasions" after his arrival.

These favorable terms, which of course were not conceded except on the firm demands of the colonists, show the spirit of freedom and independence which animated the people even in those early days of Virginia. The liberties and privileges of the people were guaranteed, and all that was required of them was allegiance to the Commonwealth and a partial or future discontinuance of forms of worship. The colony thus continued to enjoy everything essential to its welfare, and prospered in a greater degree than before. The terms of the treaty were so propitious that scarcely any animosity was excited, and so favorably disposed were the colonists to the Commonwealth that, in the April following, one of the commissioners of Parliament, Richard Bennett, who had signed the treaty in behalf of the Commonwealth, was elected to the office of governor, and until the restoration of the Stuarts the governor was elected by the colonial assembly, and not appointed by Parliament or the Protector.

At the restoration of the monarchy in England there was great rejoicing among the numerous cavaliers who had come to Virginia, which was foolishly shared by the mass of the people, who were lovers of royalty and haters of "round-heads" and republicans. Under the Commonwealth they had enjoyed great freedom and prosperity unexampled in any previous period. Forgetting this, they hailed with joy the accession of a monarch who could not possibly bring to them any new benefits, and from whom, directly or indirectly, soon came oppression, followed by discord and civil war.

XXI.

ROYALIST OPPRESSION.—BACON'S REBELLION.



WHEN Charles II. was firmly seated on the throne, he sent to his loyal supporter, Sir William Berkeley, a new commission as governor. Berkeley, who had not left Virginia, already held the office, having been elected about the time that Richard Cromwell, unable to wield the power which his father had left to him, retired from the cares of government, and the hopes of the monarchists were revived. The liberal spirit in which the affairs of the colony had for some years been conducted, upon the resumption of power by Berkeley soon gave place to a more arbitrary administration and laws. When the monarchy was re-established in England, the cavaliers and other loyalists who composed the colonial assembly made haste to expurgate from the laws everything derogatory to monarchical government, or tolerating dissent from the Church of England. Though all this was hailed with joy by a majority of the people of Virginia, they soon began to realize that they did not enjoy the privileges or the prosperity which had been assured to them under the Commonwealth. They soon experienced the effects of the change of government more severely when the king and parliament adopted oppressive measures towards all the colonies. The "navigation laws" and other enactments for the supposed benefit of the mother country, and in the interest of the crown, formed a complete system of commercial oppression which soon affected the prosperity of the Virginia colonists.

The governor and his cavalier friends were such ardent admirers of

royalty that they approved of all that received the sanction of the king, and imitated the arbitrary and often vindictive spirit with which authority was exercised in the mother country. But the assembly, seeing the evil effects of the oppressive laws, commissioned Berkeley, on his visit to England, to attend specially to their interests, and endeavor to procure more favorable laws. The governor, however, enjoyed the gayeties of the court and the smiles of royalty, and found time, during a year and a half that he was absent from Virginia, only to secure some valuable privileges for himself, but nothing for the relief of the colony.

The price of tobacco had fallen so low that the planters were threatened with ruin, and other causes of discontent were increasing in number and weight. Even those who had rejoiced at the restoration of a king and a royal governor felt that their joy was only a mockery, and that the hopes in which they had indulged were already crushed by oppression. But there were now in the colony many others who had no love for royalty or established church, and who were disposed to resist the oppressor. Not a few of Cromwell's old soldiers had come over to Virginia when the civil wars subsided, and they had no scruples about opposing the king or his subservient parliament. They fanned the flames of discontent, and encouraged the spirit of rebellion. Secretly and with skill a formidable insurrection was organized, designed to overthrow the existing colonial government, and to resist the authority of the king whom it so faithfully represented. The movement was planned and carried on so privately that not a hint of its design was received by the authorities; and civil war would have been precipitated upon the colony had not one of the conspirators, moved by remorse or cowardice, on the evening preceding the day intended for the rising, revealed the plot. Berkeley at once took decided measures to crush the proposed insurrection. He privately ordered a large force of militia to meet at the place appointed for the rendezvous of the insurgents before the time when they were to assemble. His directions were obeyed, and when the conspirators appeared they were arrested and disarmed. All those who came first were thus seized; but soon the alarm spread, and many turned back and escaped. Four of those who were supposed to be among the instigators of the insurrection were speedily hung, and the rebellion was nipped in the bud.

But the grievances of the colonists were by no means ended. They continued, however, to bear them as best they might, till an act of Charles II. threatened them with new and untold evils. In 1669, that unworthy monarch, regardless of former grants and the rights and privileges of the colonists, exercised what he claimed as his prerogative, and gave to two of his favorites the whole of Virginia, land and water, forest and plantation, for the full period of thirty-one years. These two men were to enjoy the profits of this large domain, now occupied by forty thousand inhabitants, who under grants and charters had occupied the land, and expended the toil of years in making it fruitful. They could impose rents, duties, tithes, services, or what they pleased upon the people, whose burdens had previously been light and such only as their own representatives approved. Great was the astonishment and alarm among all classes of the colonists when this grant was promulgated. Even the most loyal supporters of the king felt aggrieved; for, under the letters-patent issued to the favorites, they were subject to the same oppression as the most determined opponent of royalty, and could only escape by favor, of which they were by no means sure.

The assembly immediately resolved to seek redress, and sent three commissioners to England to implore the king to revoke his grant, or, failing in that, to attempt to effect a compromise with Culpeper and Arlington, the favored grantees. But the mission was a failure; Charles II. thought more of his two favorites than of forty thousand of his subjects, and refused to withdraw his letters-patent. With the patentees the commissioners were scarcely more successful; for, after protracted negotiations, they obtained terms little favorable to the colonists.

Berkeley, who for many years had been governor, and whom the colonists had delighted to honor, exhibited his true character as a subservient courtier, and took sides in this, as in all other oppressive measures, with the king and parliament. He drew from the people a princely revenue for his private benefit, and was ready to enforce any other exactions which royalty or its favorites should demand. He was a faithful follower and imitator of his royal master in all but his voluptuous life, though he possessed some traits that elevated him far above the false king. Ever since the restoration and his appointment by

royal commission, he had been always on the side of the oppressor, and had gradually forfeited the respect with which he had formerly been regarded. Nor was the assembly now what it had formerly been. It was composed chiefly of landholders and royalists, and for some years had perpetuated its existence by adjournment, so that no new election had taken place. The institutions of Virginia had been essentially changed, and the colonists no longer enjoyed the republican privileges which had formerly been secured to them, nor the rights and immunities which they claimed as English freemen. They now found themselves not only the victims of parliamentary oppression, but the subjects of royal insult and wrong, while their immediate rulers sympathized with the oppressor.

With such grievances now long continued, and in danger of losing the reward of all their toil under the infamous grant to the king's favorites, it is not strange that many of the colonists were ripe for rebellion. In the midst of their troubles they had yet another cause of complaint, which ultimately led to open resistance to the colonial government. The Indians had long been practising hostilities on exposed plantations, and on the upper streams of the James and York Rivers they were sufficiently numerous and unfriendly to be dangerous. Berkeley promised to send a force against them, but forgot his promise. A volunteer force, organized and ready to march against the treacherous enemy, was disbanded by his orders without good cause. Meanwhile planters and their families were exposed to the terrible warfare of the savages, and many of them were murdered or carried away to be tortured as captives.

Finding that they could receive no protection from the governor, the people resolved to protect themselves. A large number assembled, and selected as their leader Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., a sufferer at the hands of the Indians, who had recently treacherously murdered his overseer and a favorite servant. Bacon was a young man of good parentage, born in Virginia, and heir to a valuable estate. He had been well educated, and had passed several years in London, where, in the inns of court, he had acquired a knowledge of law. On his return to Virginia, his character and acquirements made him a man of mark, and he soon became a prominent member of the council. "His figure was graceful and commanding; his countenance was remarkable for manly

beauty and for engaging expression; his manners were easy and natural, betraying neither the hauteur of the professed aristocrat nor the coarseness of the plebeian. Nature had gifted him with intellectual endowments of the highest order. His mind was capacious, yet exact; full of native energy, yet highly cultured by well-applied art. He was an orator of uncommon power. His eloquence appears to have been of that character, at once impassioned and convincing, which carries away alike the feelings and the reason of the auditors, and renders them subservient to the speaker's will. He possessed dauntless courage, and he feared not to encounter any danger in the cause of freedom and of innocence."*

Such a man was worthy to lead a good cause, and there can be little doubt that he accepted the position from motives of pure patriotism and philanthropy. His social and political position was such, that self-interest would have prompted him not only to abstain from rebellion against existing powers, but to refrain from doing anything which did not receive the approval of the government. The purpose of the assembled people was to march against the savage enemy and secure the safety which the colonial government refused to afford. But it was a time when they felt more keenly than ever the wrongs they had suffered, and with his impassioned eloquence Bacon reviewed the grievances visited upon them by king and parliament, and the wrongs and abuses of which the governor and assembly were guilty. There was ample opportunity for a fiery orator to stir the feelings of his auditors with a skilful enumeration of the evils under which they suffered. But it was the description of the Indian murders and outrages, from which a selfish and unsympathizing government refused protection, that formed the climax of his address, and that made the excited assembly pledge each other not to lay down their arms till the savage foe was punished and their own safety was secured.

That Bacon and his followers did not contemplate rebellion against the colonial government is shown by the fact that they applied to Sir William Berkeley, "humbly begging" that he would grant a commission to Bacon as commander of the forces against the Indians. It was, under the circumstances, a moderate and reasonable request; but the governor,

* Howison; Hist. of Virginia.

knowing the discontent that pervaded the people, perhaps feared the organization of any such force, and he hesitated to comply with the request. But the case was urgent; the families of these men were exposed to the attack of the savages, and delay was dangerous. Bacon therefore resolved to march against the Indians without a commission, and to inflict punishment upon them before they committed further outrages. He moved rapidly to the upper rivers, and falling upon the savages, he defeated them with a heavy loss. Having thus accomplished his purpose, and secured safety to the frontier plantations, for a time at least, he returned to his home.

In the meantime, however, he was threatened in the rear by another foe. When Berkeley learned that Bacon had marched with his volunteers against the Indians, he was greatly incensed at his presumption in daring to act without authority, and, declaring him and his followers to be rebels, he raised an armed force, and marched in pursuit. But Berkeley found that his rear was also threatened, and before he could reach the volunteers who were protecting their homes, he was called back to Jamestown by the symptoms of an insurrection there. The people throughout the colony sympathized with Bacon and his followers in their efforts to protect themselves, and in their indignation against the governor for his arbitrary and treacherous refusal of a commission to the young leader, they remembered more keenly their own long-continued grievances, and were ready to rise against their oppressors. The governor and council became alarmed at this state of things, and adopted two important measures to quiet the threatening storm. They issued orders to dismantle the forts erected to enforce the obnoxious "navigation laws," and writs for a new election of members of the general assembly.

These measures had the effect to restore hope to the people, and consequently calmed the excitement. The new election was held, and a more liberal assembly was chosen. The old freedom of suffrage was exercised, regardless of the law which, since the restoration, had restricted the right of voting to freeholders, and many of the burgesses chosen were only freemen, and did not possess the property qualification required. The oppressive laws passed by the last assembly, which was known as the Long Assembly, and the dangerous powers which it had

usurped, seemed to be overthrown by the result of this election. But Sir William Berkeley, while he apparently acquiesced, was by no means disposed to yield what he considered his prerogative, nor to smother his resentment and desire for revenge on Bacon for his alleged insult to the dignity and authority of the governor.

Bacon was elected a member of the assembly at this election, and, as he approached Jamestown in a small sloop, to attend the session of that body, his vessel was suddenly brought to by an armed ship, and he was arrested and carried a prisoner into the town. When the assembly convened, however, there were such manifestations of affection for the young leader, and murmurings at the governor's arbitrary conduct towards him, that Berkeley did not dare to hold him in confinement. With a pretence of clemency he released the prisoner, reversed the sentence of attainder which had previously been pronounced against him, and restored him to his place in the council, on condition that he should acknowledge that he had been guilty of unwarrantable practices, should beg pardon of the governor for his offences against him, and should promise true faith and allegiance to the government in future, pledging his whole estate for his good conduct. Before Bacon would consent to make this acknowledgment and give his parole, he demanded and received from the governor a promise that he should have a regular commission as commander of the forces against the Indians. The acknowledgment was then made, and the parole given, and the assembly, entering upon its duties, repealed some of the unjust and oppressive laws of the Long Assembly, and adopted other measures to restore to the colonists their former privileges and contentment.

This reaction in favor of liberty did not please Berkeley, and he foolishly determined to oppose it. Disregarding his promise, express or implied, he positively refused to give Bacon the commission he sought. Indignant at this breach of faith, the young planter denounced it in no measured terms. Warned by his uncle that some treachery would be employed against him, he secretly left Jamestown. Berkeley, knowing that the people sympathized with him, feared that this move boded no good, and immediately issued warrants for his apprehension; but Bacon was beyond the reach of the angry governor, and had too many friends to permit his arrest, even had he remained.

In a short time, numerous planters and others, indignant at the treatment their idol had received, pledged themselves to stand by him; and organizing a force of four hundred armed men, Bacon marched them into Jamestown, and forming them in front of the government house, he demanded from the governor and council the commission which had been promised. Berkeley was a high-spirited old cavalier, and, angry at this daring act, he advanced towards the followers of Bacon, exclaiming, "Here, shoot me—a fair mark; 'fore God—shoot!" But Bacon, restraining his anger, coolly replied, "No; may it please your honor, we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's. We have come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised; and now we will have it before we go."

The council and assembly persuaded the haughty and angry governor to grant the commission, and thus calm the excitement that was spreading among the people. As soon as it was obtained, Bacon led his force away from Jamestown, and prepared for a vigorous prosecution of war against the Indians, which was still the sole object of his movements. He had no sooner gone, however, than the governor and council repented of their act of justice, and, under the pretext that the commission had been obtained by force of arms, they denounced Bacon as a rebel, and prepared to wage war upon him as such. Berkeley raised the royal standard, and called upon the planters to rally round it, and put down the disturbers of the public peace. But the planters regarded Bacon as a friend and a brave defender of their homes against the savages, and they refused to bear arms against a patriot who was ready to sacrifice his life in their defence.

When Bacon received intelligence of Berkeley's movements, he halted in his march against the Indians. He was justly incensed at being thus "hunted in the rear like a savage animal, while he was pursuing the wolves, tigers, and bears in front," and he resolved at once to compel the treacherous governor to abide by his promises, and adopt a more just and reasonable course. He marched rapidly back to the place where Berkeley had undertaken to collect a force; but the latter, finding himself so feebly supported, withdrew, and with a few adherents fled across the bay to the eastern shore, where he remained until



GOVERNOR BERKELEY AND THE INSURGENTS.

by treachery he was relieved from his ignominious position. Even then the people received him coldly, and would not rally to his support.

Bacon now summoned the leading men of the colony to consider the state of affairs, and to take measures to organize a government. The flight of Berkeley, it was urged, was equivalent to abdication. Moreover, the ten years for which he had been appointed had already expired, and the people had a right, therefore, to take the government into their own hands, and choose his successor. These views were generally approved, and Bacon, with four other members of the council, issued writs for the election of a new assembly. These proceedings were hailed with great enthusiasm by the people, who felt that they had regained the liberties of which they had been deprived. A manifesto was issued by the assembled leaders, bearing the signatures of all of them, which, from the character and influence of the signers, might well be considered as the declaration of the people. This paper, after reciting the facts which led to the existing condition of the country,—the outrages of the Indians, the raising of a force to subdue them, the appointment of Bacon as commander, and Berkeley's unjust and arbitrary measures,—concludes with three articles of agreement. By the first, the signers pledged themselves at all times to join with Bacon against the common foe, the Indians; by the second, they promised to use all proper means for the discovery and apprehension of those who desired to beget civil war by opposing him; by the third, after reciting that Berkeley had represented to the king that the people of Virginia were rebellious, and requested troops to keep them in subjection, they solemnly engaged to oppose such troops until his majesty should be informed of the true state of the case by delegates sent to England in behalf of the people.

Having taken these steps for the re-establishment of the government, Bacon resumed the work which he had first undertaken—a campaign against the Indians. Destroying their towns and plantations as he advanced, he marched to the region where it was understood the savages had collected in formidable numbers. A few miles below the site of the present city of Richmond is a stream still known by the name of Bloody Run. On a hill overlooking this stream the Indians had collected their

whole force of warriors, with their women and children, in a large palisaded enclosure or fort. It was a formidable place to assault, but, defended by few if any fire-arms, a daring attack by well-armed whites could carry it, and Bacon did not hesitate to make the attempt. The hill was mounted, the palisades were torn down, and the Indians were met in a hand-to-hand conflict. The savages fought desperately for a time, and the carnage was so great that it was said that streams of blood ran down the hill into the little brook below, and gave it the name by which it has ever since been known. Before the fire-arms and greater persistency of the whites the Indians could not stand. A large number of them were killed, and many were taken prisoners, to be held as slaves; the remnant fled to the forest, dispirited, and weak in numbers; and in eastern Virginia there were no more Indian murders and outrages.

While Bacon was engaged in this campaign against the Indians, treachery put it into the power of Berkeley to return to Jamestown and resume his role of governor and tyrant. Two zealous supporters of the recent movement, Bland and Carver, undertook to make a descent upon the eastern shore in two armed vessels, and to take Berkeley prisoner and carry him to Jamestown. With poorly disciplined crews they sailed, and arrived off the shore where the fugitive was residing, but seem to have hesitated as to their further movements. But treachery was more prompt. One Captain Larrimore commanded one of the vessels, and, from his loud professions, was supposed to be a zealous friend of the revolutionary cause. He was, however, a traitor, and, influenced by the hope of reward, he secretly advised Berkeley of the object of the expedition, and arranged for the betrayal of the vessels into the hands of the governor. Bland and Carver were not the men to lead such an enterprise as they had undertaken. Confident of success, at night they indulged in the pleasures of the wine-cup, and their crews followed their example. While thus unprepared for any attack, Larrimore, at midnight, conducted two boats carrying an armed force of twenty-six men to the vessels. The crews, overcome by wine and sleep, were soon made prisoners, and Bland and Carver were carried on shore and put in irons. Berkeley was overjoyed at this success, and he hastened to gratify his vindictive spirit. Four days after the capture Carver was hung, and

Bland met the same fate at a later date, although he pleaded a special pardon from the king, which the governor basely suppressed.

Learning that Bacon was absent on his campaign against the Indians, and that there was no force to resist him at Jamestown, Berkeley collected what force he could, numbering five or six hundred men, and set sail with one large armed vessel and seventeen small craft. Arriving at Jamestown, he landed without opposition, but without any shouts of welcome, and, having devoutly thanked God for his delivery, immediately issued a proclamation against the "rebels," whom he supposed to be already circumvented and defeated. The old cavalier had imbibed the spirit of his royal masters, the Stuarts, and had neither magnanimity nor tact by which he might make friends even among the revolutionists. The "divine right" of the king and his own prerogative as the representative of royalty had been assailed, and he thought only of vengeance. Bacon and his more prominent associates must be speedily punished.

But while the vindictive governor was anticipating his complete triumph over the rebellion, Bacon, in his camp near the scene of the bloody battle with the Indians, received intelligence of the change in the condition of affairs at Jamestown. With the promptness of an able general he called upon his followers to march against the domestic foe, and advanced rapidly towards the seat of government. On the march he caused the wives of several prominent royalists, who were found on their plantations, to be brought into his camp, and then sent one of them to announce the capture to their husbands in the town.

At sunset, after a march of several days, Bacon's forces reached a gentle eminence near the defences of Jamestown. Their arrival was announced by a sounding of trumpets and the discharge of a volley of musketry, and they immediately went to work digging trenches and throwing up a breast-work for defence. Through the night the work was continued, and the governor and his associates being informed that the captured wives of their royalist friends were exposed on the ramparts, not a shot was fired from the fort or ships to disturb the beleaguering force. The next morning, however, Berkeley led out a force of seven or eight hundred men to storm the intrenchment, vainly imagining that he could drive the "rebels" before him. But the force which he encountered was superior in character and courage to his own

hireling troops, and met with signal defeat. Utterly routed, and with serious loss, the royalist troops fled, and their leaders narrowly escaped death or captivity.

Bacon followed up his success with great vigor, and planting cannon in a position to command the river, he opened fire upon the fleet lying there at anchor. Berkeley placed his chief dependence upon his naval force, and finding it thus exposed to destruction, and having no land force capable of resisting Bacon's men, he was compelled to embark with his followers and sail down the river beyond the reach of the hostile cannon. Bacon immediately took possession of Jamestown, and found it utterly deserted. But what to do with it was a serious question. He had no sufficient force to hold it against a formidable attack, and to abandon it, for the royalists again to take possession, would be dangerous to the cause in which he was now enlisted. He therefore proposed that the town should be destroyed, and the proposition was approved without hesitation. Two of his friends with their own hands set fire to their respective houses, and soon the torch was applied to all. In a short time the little town was in flames, and the insurgent commander retired with his victorious army.

Berkeley had called into the field a considerable force which, under the command of Colonel Brent, was advancing from the upper counties towards Jamestown. Bacon, on learning this, addressed his followers with his usual eloquence, and, informing them of the threatening danger, appealed to them to stand by him and renew the contest. This appeal was responded to with the greatest enthusiasm. His men were ready to follow him to the death. Leaving all superfluous baggage, the whole force hastened forward to meet the enemy. But Brent's force was composed in part of colonists who were infected with the spirit of freedom, and had no sympathy with the royalist cause they had been summoned to defend. They heard with joy of Bacon's success at Jamestown, and recognizing him as their defender against a savage foe, as well as a patriot leader against the oppression of the royalist government, they refused to march against him, and returned to their homes, leaving Brent with such a meagre following that he was forced to fly for safety.

Bacon had accomplished his purpose. Under his patriotic and vigorous lead the people had asserted their rights, and their oppressors

had sought safety in flight. A new assembly had been chosen under a free election, and would fairly represent the popular will. The armed force was disbanded, though ready to reassemble at a moment's warning to resist the oppressions of the royal government. The new order of things seemed to be firmly established, and the only fear was that the royalists would receive aid from England, and that the king would restore his supporters and all the grievances from which the colony had been freed.

At this quiet yet critical period Bacon died. He had contracted a fatal disease in camp, and he gradually failed till October, when death saved him from witnessing the ruin of all his work and the overthrow of the liberties of the people, for which he had so zealously and successfully contended. He had been the soul of the rebellion; around him the people had rallied with enthusiasm, attracted by his chivalrous bearing, and his native qualifications for leadership. They had implicit confidence in his patriotism and abilities, and that confidence was justified by his actions and success. But when he was gone, there was no one capable of filling his place. Already Berkeley and his adherents were gaining courage and strength, and feeling the want of a bold and sagacious leader, the patriot party became discouraged and weak. The royalist governor had sent to England for aid to subdue the rebels, and had organized some forces from the colonists who from prudence or genuine loyalty adhered to the royalist cause. Beverly, a zealous member of his council, sailed up the rivers, and scoured the country in pursuit of the insurgents, who were again taking up arms to resist the return of the oppressor. With no competent leader to command them, the patriots made but a feeble resistance, and becoming discouraged, many retired to their homes. Ingram and Walklate were now in command, but were little qualified to lead the patriot forces, which were soon entirely dispersed.

Recovering his lost power, Berkeley indulged his arbitrary and vindictive spirit. As soon as any of the men who had been prominent in the insurrection were captured, they were tried by court-martial, condemned, and hurried to the gallows. Nor did the governor hesitate to insult his victims, nor to pursue with implacable hostility the wives of some of the unfortunate sufferers. When William Drummond, one of

the most prominent men in the colony, and a firm friend of Bacon, was captured, the governor came on shore from his ship, and saluting the prisoner with mock politeness, said, "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome! I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour!" A court-martial, organized on the spot, speedily condemned the unfortunate patriot, and he was executed as soon as a gibbet could be prepared. Not satisfied with this gratification of his vengeance, he afterwards subjected the widow of his victim to fines and confiscation, and would gladly have hanged her too.

Berkeley would have indulged his desire for vengeance to a still greater extent than he did, had he not been prevented by the interposition of royal commissioners, sent out to inquire into the state of the colony. These commissioners were accompanied by a regiment of regular troops, sent in response to the governor's demand, to suppress the rebellion. They were authorized to prosecute the war against the insurgents, if necessary, but were instructed to use all means to restore peace, and they brought a royal proclamation of pardon to all the insurgents, excepting only Bacon, who was fortunately beyond the governor's vengeance or the king's clemency. With some difficulty the commissioners induced Berkeley to discontinue trials by court-martial and return to trial by jury. He had used martial law, he said, in order to insure conviction; for he feared juries would acquit the prisoners. For a time, however, even juries proved pliant tools, and served his purpose, convicting ten persons in one day. Eleven prisoners had been executed under martial law; nine were convicted by jury without appeal and successively hanged; a number were banished from the colony, never to return, and their estates forfeited "to the use of the king," which was virtually to the use of the rapacious governor; others were crushed by enormous fines, levied for the use of the king's troops; and five men were sentenced to appear at their respective county courts, with ropes around their necks, and humbly ask pardon for their "rebellion and treason."

Angry that the patriot leader should have escaped his vengeance, Berkeley eagerly sought to find Bacon's remains, that he might insult his memory by exposing them on a gibbet. But in this dastardly attempt

he failed; the body of the beloved hero was interred by friends in a retired spot, and covered with massive stones, as if they had a presentiment of the hyena-like purpose of the governor.

At last there was a reaction, even among his friends, against the governor's vindictive proceedings. Even Charles II. was astonished at the extent of the retribution visited upon the insurgents, and exclaimed, "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than I have done for the murder of my father!" The patriot cause had long since been crushed and the old regime restored; there was no longer need for exemplary punishment to deter men from insurrection, for all were quiet and submissive, and vengeance had had enough victims. The assembly convened by Berkeley, and which had proved its devotion to him by its stern and cruel acts against the insurgents, implored him to shed no more blood. He could not longer resist the demand, which had become universal, and feeling that he had lost the respect and excited the disgust and hatred of the colony, he returned to England, hoping to receive his reward in the approval of the king. But in this he was disappointed; the king refused to receive him at court, and, mortified at this indignity from the master whom he had so zealously served, he sank under the infirmities of age, and soon died.

The spirit of freedom shown by the people of Virginia when in Bacon's rebellion they asserted their rights, though a long time repressed, was never crushed, and a century later manifested itself still more gloriously, and with more permanent results. The hero of that revolution was worthy to be ranked with those later patriots who did so much to achieve not only the freedom of the people of Virginia, but the independence of the American colonies.

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.



IN the autumn of 1620, the Mayflower, a small ship of one hundred and eighty tons' burden, and of the short and clumsy model of that time, was buffeting the rough waves of the stormy Atlantic. She bore a precious freight,—one hundred and one men, women, and children, dissenters from the Church of England, flying from religious persecution in their native land to seek a home in the wilderness of the New World, where they could worship God as conscience dictated, and plant the seeds of civil liberty. The billows ran high, and threatening clouds hung darkly over the trackless waste of waters. The imagination might easily see in those clouds the spirits of persecution, with threatening gestures, driving the fugitives on their stormy way, and faith could picture the angels of peace before them beckoning them on to the promised land.

Weeks and months passed,—sometimes with sunshine to cheer the voyagers, but oftener with clouds and storms to try the steadfastness of their purpose,—and the lonely ship still sailed slowly on where sea met sky on every side. The days grew short and cold, and head winds seemed striving to drive them back from the shores they sought. But, trusting in God, they faltered not, and bore the ills of their long and close confinement with steadfast fortitude. Sickness was there, and death compelled them to commit the remains of one of their number to the deep. But despair and discontent never came to disturb the peace or waste the strength of the leaders, though it is not strange that, with



THE MAYFLOWER AT SEA

all the discomforts of their long and perilous voyage, a few should be "not well affected to unity and concord."

At length, in November, the expanse of troubled waters was broken by a range of low sand hills, and, barren and cheerless as it appeared, the sight of land was hailed with joy and thanksgiving by the tempest-tossed Pilgrims. They had purposed settling near the mouth of the Hudson, but the ignorant self-will of their captain brought them to the inhospitable shores of Cape Cod. After sailing along the cheerless coast for two days, they rounded the extremity of the cape, and anchored in the harbor on its inner side, where the low sand hills protected them from the stormy winds. Cheerless as seemed the shores to which they had been brought, the leading men of the little company landed to examine the place, the gentle slope of the beach compelling them to wade from their boats through the icy waters, and thus to contract the seeds of disease as their first experience in the new world. Desolate and uninviting sands offered them no place for a settlement, and it was determined to explore the coast in the shallop for a more hospitable region. But the shallop needed repairs, and sixteen weary days were occupied with this work, while the cold increased and winter came on apace. Meanwhile, Bradford, one of the most energetic of the leading men of the company, and Standish, the soldier, who was in himself the chief defence of the projected colony, with a few others, set out to explore the country by land. They toiled through the sands with difficulty, and suffered from the piercing winds, but they found only the same barren country; and weary and disappointed they returned to the ship. Winter was already upon them when the shallop was prepared for an expedition. The sand hills were white with snow, and the shallow inlets were everywhere edged with ice, while the spray dashed into the open boat and chilled the explorers through. Landing, they marched through sands and snow, with a stormy sky overhead, finding no vegetation but low bushes and stunted pines, and nowhere a spot which invited them to stop. A heap of maize and many Indian graves were all that was discovered. Again the explorers returned, disappointed, to the ship, some of them suffering from colds which resulted in consumption and death.

It was already the middle of December when Carver, who had been chosen governor before the *Mayflower* anchored, Bradford, Winslow,

Standish, and others, with a number of sailors, again set sail in the shallop, in further search for a safe haven and a suitable place for a settlement. It was of the utmost importance that such a place should be found. Winter was already upon them with a severity to which they were unused, and the women and children were exposed to great suffering on board the ship, which might become a prey to the fierce storms. The spray froze on their clothing as it dashed into the little bark, and the cold wind cut them to the marrow. The second day, a portion of the company landed on the shore at the bottom of Cape Cod Bay to explore the interior, while the shallop sailed along the shore. The party on land discovered several deserted wigwams and some Indian graves, but saw no inhabitants, nor found a spot that invited them to stay. At night the whole party encamped on the land, and the next morning, ere they had finished their morning prayers, they were startled by the war-whoop of savages and a flight of arrows from a neighboring thicket. Fortunately no one was hurt, and hastily embarking in their boat, they gave thanks to God for their escape, and sailed away.

The pilot, who professed to have visited these waters on some previous expedition, declared that he knew a good harbor which they might reach before night, and he directed the shallop towards the promised haven. But a fierce storm of snow and rain overtook them, and in the midst of the swollen sea the rudder broke, and they were obliged to steer with an oar. As night approached, the storm increased; but in order to reach the harbor before dark they spread as much sail as they dared. Too much, indeed; for the mast of the little bark broke, and the sails fell overboard. Drifting with the tide, they were approaching the shore, and would have been wrecked in the breakers had not a sailor, more watchful than the frightened pilot, cried out, "About with her, or we are lost!" With desperate energy they succeeded in putting the boat about, and soon entered more quiet waters, under the lee of some land. It was already night, and, shivering with cold and wet, the whole company landed, and with what little wood they could collect built a fire, around which they gathered in wretched plight, and passed a dreary night, fearful lest savages might be guided by the light and make an attack.

When at last morning came, they found that they were on a small island at the entrance of a harbor. It was a safe place; and, worn out by the fatigue and exposure to storm and cold, they determined to remain there to rest and refit their disabled boat. The following day was Sunday, and was observed with scrupulous fidelity to their religious principles. No work could be performed on the Sabbath, and no exploration made, although time was so precious to them, and to their friends and families waiting anxiously in the *Mayflower*. With devout thanksgiving for their escape from the perils of the sea, and such religious services as circumstances permitted, they passed another day of rest.

With the dawn of Monday (December 11, old style), they again embarked, and sailed into the harbor, which seemed to them at last, notwithstanding the wintry aspect of the land around it, to be the haven of rest. Reaching the shore, they stepped upon the rock which has ever since been held in reverent memory, and the name of which has become inseparably connected with the principles and institutions which those devout pilgrims brought to New England, and thence spread throughout the continent. With fervent thanks to God, they trod the soil which offered them at last a favorable spot for a settlement. After a brief examination of the place they hastened back to the *Mayflower*, and in a few days the little ship was moored safely in the harbor, and the whole company prepared to debark. In honor of the port from which they last sailed in England they named the place Plymouth, and piously invoked the blessing of Heaven upon their new home.

The Pilgrims came to America under no royal charter. With much difficulty they obtained a patent from the Virginia Company,* but they sought in vain the favor of the king, and all they could obtain was an informal promise of neglect. They were few in numbers, and most of them obscure men, of little account to the commercial or political interests of the kingdom; they were therefore considered as unworthy of royal notice, except that as non-conformists they could not be tolerated in England. But, already accustomed to persecution, they were content with a concession that implied that they should not be disturbed in their right to worship God according to their conscience, and no emigrants

* Under one royal patent two companies had been incorporated, the London Company to colonize South Virginia, and the Plymouth Company to colonize North Virginia.

could be better prepared to endure the hardships and encounter the perils of a settlement in the wilderness. "We are well weaned," they said, "from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage."

They had come with no code prepared by others to govern their conduct and impose duties and obligations upon them, and they recognized none except such as religion imposed, or the public will, guided by the Bible, might establish. They knew, however, the necessity of government and order, and even had the strictest notions in regard to them; but they were equal in rank and in rights, and the regulation of their common interests must be by common consent, or the expressed will of the people. Before they landed, therefore, they considered the manner in which their affairs should be regulated, and by a solemn compact formed themselves into "a civil body politic." The people of Virginia, after a time, asserted the right to regulate their own affairs, to a certain extent; but the Pilgrims established a popular constitution, under which they were to govern themselves by just and equal laws. This germ of popular constitutional liberty, from which sprang the more complete growth of a later period, was as follows:—

"In the name of God, Amen: We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This instrument was signed by all the men of the company, forty-one in number, and John Carver was unanimously chosen governor for a year; the principle of frequently recurring elections being thus recognized at the outset. When the colony landed at Plymouth it was thus under a recognized government established by itself for the regulation of its affairs,—a democracy planted on soil destined to be the home of democratic institutions.

They soon commenced cutting timber, of which there was an abundance of excellent quality, the pine predominating, and with tedious labor prepared to build first a common house, and then they divided themselves into nineteen families, and assigned to each a lot of land on which to erect a separate dwelling. Many of the company were suffering from lung-fever and consumption, and unable to work, while the cold and the frequent storms were great hinderances to those who could. Hewing plank from the logs was no easy task, and the work of building progressed but slowly. The common house being enclosed and thatched, it was agreed that each family should construct their own house; but the winter had passed before all of them were provided with shelter. Their first house did not last long, for it had been occupied but a few days when it took fire from a spark falling upon the thatch, and was entirely consumed. Governor Carver and Bradford were in the house, sick in their beds at the time, but escaped without harm. Those on board the ship, when they saw the flames, thought that the Indians had made an attack and set fire to the house, but they were prevented by a high wind and low tide from rendering any assistance. The common house being destroyed, the settlers made haste as best they could to build those for the several families.

In the mean time sickness was wasting their strength, and death was diminishing their numbers. The cold, exposure, and hardship they suffered had sown the seeds of fatal disease. In the month of December six of the little company died, in January eight, in February seventeen, in March thirteen, and in April one,—forty-five out of the hundred and one who had crossed the ocean perished within five months. At times it seemed as if there were not enough well ones to take care of the sick and bury the dead. In their greatest strait there were but seven able to render assistance. Among those who died during this period

was Governor Carver, who sank under a sudden attack and did not long survive. He had lost a son since landing at Plymouth, and his wife, broken-hearted under this double affliction, soon followed him to the grave.

William Bradford was chosen governor soon after Carver's death, and the choice could not have fallen upon any one in the little company better qualified to fill the place. At this period it would seem that it mattered little who was governor; for the survivors numbered but a few more than fifty, and there were not more than a score of men to make the choice. But the election was made with all proper formality, and under a solemn sense of their duty and privilege.

The milder weather of spring brought relief to the sick, and returning verdure revived the spirits of all. "The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." Children venturing to the borders of the forest discovered, peering through the dry leaves on sunny slopes, the sweet blossoms of the trailing arbutus, more commonly known as the Mayflower,—a name which seems to identify it with the Pilgrims and the good ship which brought them to their new home, where this little plant loves best to bloom. The men, who had been accustomed to till the fields before they were driven from England and compelled to learn other employments in Holland, rejoiced when they could turn the light soil, and prepared with hopeful toil their limited gardens. The land on whose shores they had set foot amid the desolation of winter with devout thanksgiving, now wore a more pleasing aspect, and called forth new gratitude. Still they were mourning their dead, and enduring privations, and observing their religious duties with cold austerity, and there was nothing like joy for them. The summer gave them a few vegetables from their scanty garden, but their supplies were limited and their comforts few. Whatever they had, however, was shared in common, and none were favored above others.

The colonists at first had a natural fear of the Indians, who were supposed to be numerous throughout the wilderness of the new world. But for some time they scarcely saw a savage. They had found many graves, some hidden stores of corn, and a few deserted wigwams, but, fortunately for their weak condition, living savages were very few. Smoke curling from their cabins in the remote distance was the only

indication of the present existence of the natives. Along the coast the Indians were indeed few. Some years previous to the arrival of the Pilgrims a pestilence had swept them away at a fearful rate, and nearly the whole seaboard of New England had been left desolate. Whole tribes had disappeared, those who escaped the pestilence having retired to some more remote region, and joined their kindred tribes. Wandering parties of Indians roamed through the woods at intervals, and some had approached the settlement, but when the daring Standish and others attempted to approach them, even with signs of friendship, they fled in apparent alarm.

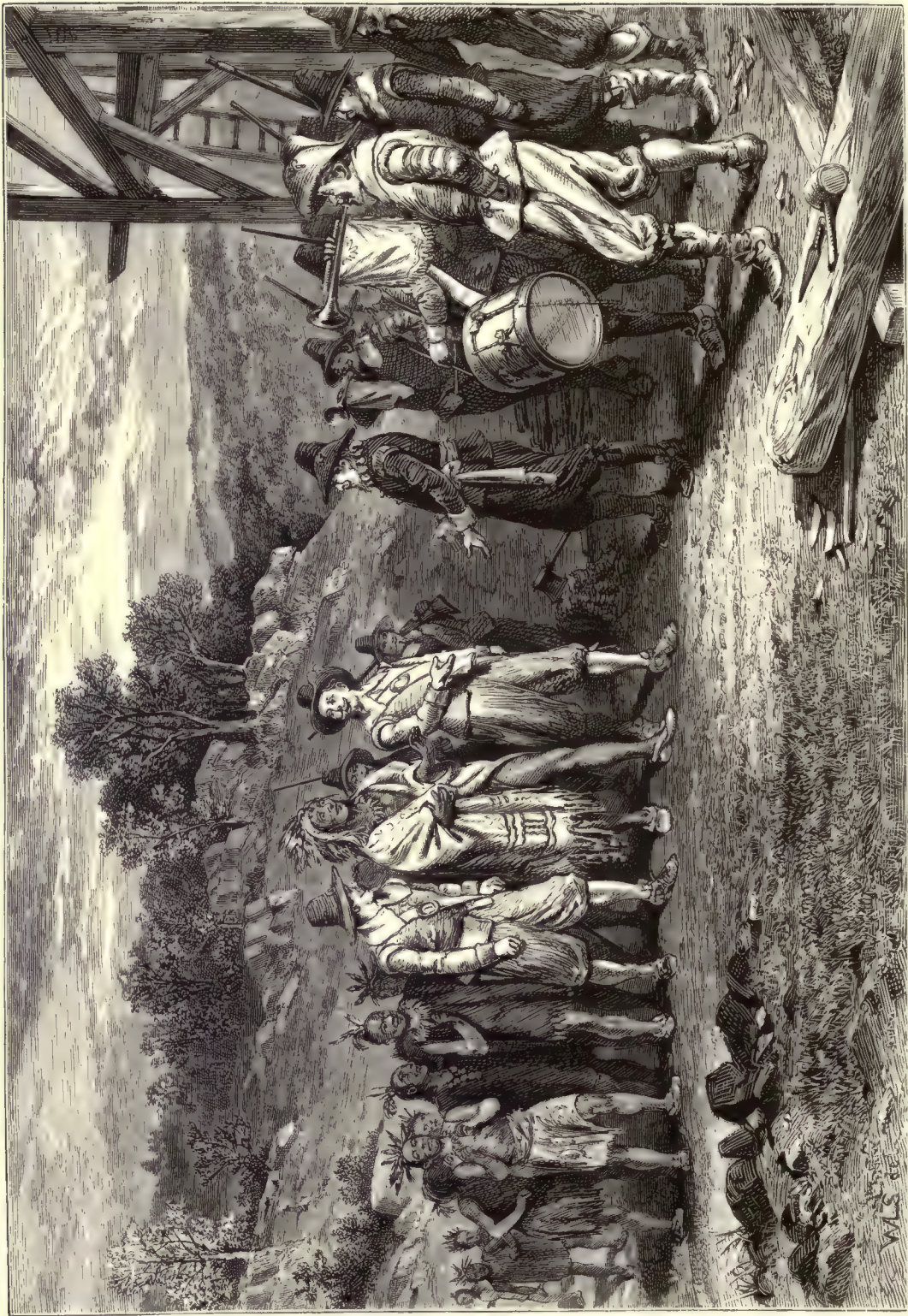
One day, in the spring subsequent to the arrival of the colonists, Samoset, an Indian who had learned a little English from fishermen on the coast of Maine, walked boldly into the little settlement, and with friendly gestures said to the astonished settlers, "Welcome, Englishmen." He belonged to the tribe of Wampanoags, which at a later period waged a desperate war against the whites. In the name of his people he bade the settlers welcome to the land whose former occupants, he said, had all died of the pestilence. This demonstration of friendship greatly relieved the fears of the timid, and cheered the spirits of all. Samoset was treated with great kindness, and left the next day, highly pleased with his entertainment, and the knife, bracelet, and ring which had been given him. He promised to return soon, and to bring some beaver-skins to trade with; and, good as his word, he came on the following Sunday, with five other natives, bringing some tools which the settlers had left in the woods, and a few skins for barter. But, it being the Lord's day, the English refused to trade or hold intercourse with them, and dismissed them with a request that they should come again. Samoset, however, remained two or three days, when he was sent to learn why his friends had not returned. Through the good offices of Samoset, and by the aid, as interpreter, of Squanto, an Indian who had been kidnapped some years previously and carried to England, but afterwards returned, and who had thus acquired some English, the colonists made a treaty with Massasoit, the sachem of the nearest formidable tribe. This tribe inhabited the region between the Providence and Taunton Rivers, while east of the latter there were only wandering bands, or the remnants of almost extinct tribes. Samoset had probably, by his

account of his visit to Plymouth, induced Massasoit to come and see the strangers for himself.

Massasoit appeared, with fifty or sixty followers, on the hill overlooking the settlement. Mutual distrust for some time prevented any advance from either side; but at length Squanto came in with a message from the sachem, and the settlers agreed to send one of their number to parley with him. Mr. Edward Winslow was selected for this service. He accompanied Squanto to the hill, carrying two knives and a copper chain, with a jewel on it, as presents to Massasoit, and a knife and jewel for his brother, together with some biscuit and butter. Mr. Winslow presented these articles with a speech, in which he said that King James saluted him with words of love and peace, and that the governor of the colony desired to see him and establish a firm peace with him as his next neighbor. The sachem accepted the gifts with evident satisfaction, and signified his approval of the friendly sentiments expressed. The provision sent was partaken of by the Indians with apparent relish, and Massasoit then desired to trade with Mr. Winslow for his sword, which was regarded with great admiration by the savage; but the owner was unwilling to part with that useful weapon.

Being assured of a friendly reception by the whites, Massasoit, leaving Winslow as a hostage in charge of his brother, went with twenty unarmed men to the settlement to meet the governor. The attempt made by the little band of colonists to receive the native king with due pomp and ceremony is ludicrous. Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson, with six musketeers, met the visitors at a brook which they were obliged to cross, and escorted them to a partially constructed house, where a rug and three or four cushions were spread upon the floor. When they arrived at the door, the governor, attended by a drummer and trumpeter and a few musketeers, advanced to meet them. The drum was beat and the trumpet sounded, somewhat to the alarm of the natives, and the governor then saluted his guests with due ceremony, and invited the chief to be seated. Refreshments were then brought, and the settlers undoubtedly did their best to provide a proper entertainment out of their scanty stores. But the natives were not fastidious, and did full justice to the feast.

Having secured the good will and confidence of the Indians, the



THE PILGRIMS RECEIVING MASSASOIT.

governor and his associates then commenced a parley with them, and a league of friendship was agreed on, and duly ratified, with proper formalities. Massasoit was impressed with the friendly reception he had received, and was ready to reciprocate the good will of the English. He promised that he and his people should be friends with the colonists, and he faithfully kept his promise during his life. For the colonists, in their weak condition, it was a treaty of great importance, and perhaps saved them from utter destruction before they were able to cope with any formidable number of hostile Indians. With Miles Standish, however, for a leader, they were by no means defenceless.

Some time after the league of friendship with Massasoit, the services of Standish were required to prevent an attack from some discontented, treacherous savages. Corbitant, a petty chief of Massasoit's tribe, was not disposed to observe the treaty, and attempted to alienate some of his tribe from the more peaceful sachem, and to induce them to join in an attack on the settlement. Squanto and Hobomack, two faithful friends of the English, going to Nemasket, where Corbitant was engaged in his treacherous plot, were threatened with death by that savage. He succeeded in seizing Squanto, but Hobomack made his escape, and going to Plymouth, informed the governor of the designs of the discontented chief. Standish was at once sent with fourteen men, and Hobomack for a guide, to Nemasket, to liberate Squanto and counteract the machinations of Corbitant. On their arrival Corbitant and his followers fled, and Standish, explaining to the natives the purpose of his coming, threatened them with dire punishment in case of any insurrection against Massasoit, the Englishman's friend, or of any treacherous movement against the colony. The disaffected natives had gone, and those who remained avowed themselves faithful to Massasoit and the treaty of amity he had made with the English.

This bold expedition inspired all the neighboring Indians with respect for the English, and, combined with the friendship of Massasoit, who had great influence over most of the tribes, induced a number of petty chiefs to come to Plymouth and solicit the friendship of the English. Nine of them came at one time and signified their submission to King James, and their friendship for the colonists. The friendship of Massasoit was indeed a fortunate thing for the colonists, securing them

as it did against the attacks of savages, when their small numbers might soon have wasted before continued hostilities.

In November, 1621, a ship arrived from England bringing thirty-six persons to join the colony. The voyage had been long, and their supply of provisions was nearly exhausted, and the new-comers were therefore dependent upon the scanty stores of the colonists for their subsistence. Winter was approaching, the settlers had been able to raise but little in their garden, and the natives, unlike those of Virginia, had no considerable stores of corn from which to supply them. The outlook was dreary enough, and it became necessary at once to put the whole company upon half allowance. And thus they passed through the long winter with insufficient food. Men staggered from sheer weakness, and children cried for more food, while the patient matrons often deprived themselves of a portion of their own scanty allowance to answer the cry. For six months and more they were on short allowance, and the effect upon health and strength may be imagined. But they were to suffer severer privation than this at a little later period.

In the third year of the settlement the colonists were reduced to the greatest straits. Their supplies were nearly exhausted, and "they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning." From the common store a pint of corn was doled out daily to each family, and often this was their only food. Distributed impartially to the members of the household, it gave sometimes but five kernels to each. Five kernels of parched corn to satisfy the long-continued cravings of hunger! Think of it, descendants of the Pilgrims, as ye sit at your bountifully supplied tables, and see the land teeming with plenty,—the vast granaries of the West, the countless herds, the fruit-laden orchards, the productive fields, and the white sails of commerce bringing to you the luxuries of every clime! Contrast these conditions, and thank God that the Pilgrims amid their privations planted the seed and nurtured the growth of civil liberty under which you enjoy unnumbered blessings. Imagine the sadness that must have clouded the stern visage of the Puritan householder as he counted out to each member of the family the five little kernels that were to preserve them from utter starvation; see the pious resignation of the mother, and the pathetic looks of the uncomplaining children!



DEALING OUT THE FIVE KERNELS OF CORN.

Truly, they who for weary months endured such privations were sustained by an undying faith and for a beneficent purpose.

For a time the destitute settlers had not even five kernels of corn apiece, for the stock was entirely exhausted, and there was no means of replenishing it. Fortunately they had shell-fish, which are still a luxury in that region, and the bay afforded them other fish. They also procured some limited supplies from fishing-vessels, numbers of which, at that time, resorted to the "banks," and occasionally entered the bay. They endured all this want without murmuring, since they were undisturbed in their religious worship.

The system of common property with which the colony began had occasioned some discontent, and had not encouraged industry. It was therefore agreed in 1623 that each family should plant for itself. This plan proved more satisfactory, and men, women, and children went into the field to work. The next year land was assigned in perpetual fee to each head of a family, which led to still more favorable results. In that year they planted sufficient to yield them a fair supply of corn and vegetables, but a severe drought threatened to destroy their crop. From the middle of May to the middle of July not a drop of rain fell, and their corn was so dried up by the scorching rays of the sun on the sandy soil that they began to despair of its being restored, when they were blessed by repeated showers, and the crops revived, and they were favored with a plentiful harvest. The rains had come after a day of fasting and prayer, and the devout Pilgrims saw in this the special interposition of Divine Providence.

The poor condition of the colonists during those early years can hardly be conceived at the present day. They were poorly housed, their furniture was rude and scanty, their comforts none. They pounded their little supply of corn in mortars, having no means to erect either wind-mills or water-mills. It was not till the end of the fourth year that they had any cattle, and then only four were brought. During most of the time up to this period spring water was their only drink, and when this, with a small piece of fish without bread, was the best entertainment they could offer the friends who came to join them, we may well imagine how sad was the welcome.

DISAGREEABLE NEIGHBORS.—MILES STANDISH AND THE INDIANS.



THE Pilgrims commenced their intercourse with the natives in a friendly spirit, and with a purpose to treat them justly, though always without fear. As already related, at the first interview with the natives, after the friendly greeting of Samoset, they had formed the memorable treaty with Massasoit, which was faithfully observed by that chief and his followers for more than fifty years, and the obligations of which were as faithfully kept by the colonists. All the tribes or families with which Massasoit had influence were also induced to enter into like friendly relations with the settlers, and soon began to trade with them. As the natives became accustomed to articles which they could obtain only from the English, they were eager for traffic; and when the settlers raised a surplus of corn, they neglected their own poorly-tilled fields, preferring to trade for corn with furs and game rather than resort to irksome toil. With a natural propensity for thieving, some of them stole the articles they coveted—an offence which the colonists found it necessary to prevent by occasional punishment.

Some of the more remote tribes, however, were less disposed to be friendly. The Narragansetts, inhabiting the region about the bay of that name, were a powerful tribe which had not suffered from the pestilence that had swept away those dwelling near the shores of Massachusetts Bay. They were the enemies of Massasoit, and that sachem was induced to form the alliance with the settlers at Plymouth, in part at least, for

the sake of strengthening himself against those formidable foes. Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansetts, at first desired to establish friendly relations with the white strangers, but because of their alliance with Massasoit, or for some other reason, he changed his mind, and as a token of hostility he sent to Plymouth a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake. The settlers had the spirit of Englishmen, and, whatever alarm they may have felt, were not to be intimidated by any such threat of war. Governor Bradford therefore stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and sent it back to the hostile chief, who knew something of these terrible weapons of the whites, and had such a wholesome fear of them that he again changed his mind. He would not receive the bullets, fearful that they might kill or wound him, and they were moved about from place to place till at last they were returned to the colony.

While the Pilgrims took great pains to be on friendly terms with the natives, another company of trading adventurers, less scrupulous, got into a quarrel with them, which led to the shedding of Indian blood by a party of Plymouth settlers. Thomas Weston, a "merchant adventurer" of London, and a prominent member of the Company by whose aid the Pilgrims had come to America, enlisted in the enterprise solely for the purpose of trade. Before the Pilgrims left England he became disgusted with them because they thought more of their religious principles than they did of the profits of trade, and when the *Mayflower* returned without a cargo, he abandoned that enterprise and started another. Obtaining a grant, he organized a company of reckless adventurers and "roughs," picked up from the streets of London, and, in 1622, sent them to establish a trading-post on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. They came in two vessels and landed at Plymouth, the larger ship proceeding on a further trading-voyage, while the smaller remained for the use of the Company. The Pilgrims received them with hospitality; but when their character became known, and they showed an aptitude for profane swearing and an aversion to all honest labor, while they did not hesitate to take a liberal share of green corn from the common garden, the pious and industrious settlers were scandalized, and were glad to be rid of them. They went shortly to a place already selected as a proper site for establishing a trading-post, in what is now Weymouth, then called Wessagusset.

Without thrift or any other virtue, this reckless company soon found that they had wasted the fair supply of provisions which they had brought, and, with winter before them, they were almost destitute of food. In this strait they applied to the Plymouth colonists to join them in an expedition in their small vessel to traffic with the Indians for corn. Governor Bradford and his associates willingly accepted the proposition, as they also were short of supplies; and accordingly they furnished the active capital for trade in the shape of knives and trinkets, while the Weymouth or Weston's people furnished the vessel, Standish taking command of the expedition. It was intended to go southward towards Virginia, where corn was known to be more plenty, but the boisterous seas outside of Cape Cod deterred them. Standish was taken sick with a fever, and the Indian Squanto, who accompanied them as guide and interpreter, died. They succeeded, however, in obtaining twenty-six hogsheads of unshelled corn and beans, which were equally divided between the two settlements.

This supply was but a temporary relief to either, and especially to Weston's men, who, regardless of the danger of famine, squandered what little they had, and were soon dependent upon what they could obtain from the natives. They bartered everything they had for food, and even stripped their clothes from their backs and the blankets from their beds. Forced at last to work, they made canoes for the Indians in order to obtain a pitiful subsistence. For lack of ammunition they could shoot no game. They dug a few clams and muscles, they searched the woods for nuts and roots, and were glad enough to shelter their shivering bodies in the cabins of the Indians, and to swallow such pittance of parched corn or porridge as might be offered them. And they did not always show gratitude for the favors received, but while they begged for alms from the needy Indian, they did not hesitate to abuse him. Like "tramps" of a later day, they would steal as well as beg, and the little stores of corn which the natives had carefully hidden would sometimes disappear.

Familiarity bred contempt, and outrage excited hostility. Beggarly whites, crouching in their cabins, ceased to be objects of respect or fear to the natives, and thieving adventurers soon found cabin and hand closed against them. In their desperation the settlers resolved to have

recourse to violence. But they did not dare to undertake such a dangerous exploit alone, and therefore sent a message to Plymouth, proposing to Governor Bradford to join them in taking what food they wanted from the Indians by force. The Pilgrims, however, were not the men to approve of such a nefarious piece of business, and though they were suffering, too, for want of sufficient supplies, they replied that the Weymouth settlers could expect no support from them. They advised them to worry through the winter, living on nuts and shell-fish, as they were themselves obliged to do. The hostile demonstration was therefore per force abandoned, but secret depredations were continued.

Meanwhile the Indians, seeing the weakness of the demoralized settlers, grew aggressive. They retaliated for theft by robbery, and if the sufferer remonstrated, they threatened him with their knives. One of the settlers, having committed a theft, was detected, but escaped to the block-house of the settlement. The Indians made bitter complaint and threats, and the settlers, in alarm, offered to deliver up to them the culprit, to be dealt with as they saw fit. But the savages refused to receive him, and demanded that he should be punished by his own people. The unfortunate man was accordingly hanged by his own friends to appease the wrath of the natives, and nominally to satisfy the law of England, which at that time punished like offences with death. The act may have appeased the wrath of the savages, but it doubtless increased their contempt for the settlers.

This execution has got into history in a rather ludicrous, but probably unauthentic form. It was alleged that the settlers did not hang the real malefactor, who was an able-bodied and strong man, whom they did not wish to lose, and whom they could not very well manage, but took an old and sick man, and dressing him in the clothes of the culprit, hanged him instead. This absurd fiction originated apparently with Thomas Morton, of unsavory memory, the graceless hero of "Merry Mount," but was afterwards repeated by sober historians; and those who disliked the Pilgrims did not hesitate to ascribe to them the adoption of this mode of vicarious punishment.

The punishment, though inflicted at their demand, did not satisfy the Indians, who grew more hostile, and began to conspire for the destruction not only of Weston's colony, but that at Plymouth also.

Massasoit, faithful to his treaty, informed the Pilgrim settlers of the threatening danger, and the Weymouth people learned about it from the indiscreet babbling of an Indian woman. Though thus forewarned, the reckless men at Weymouth took no precautions against a surprise, but mingled freely with the savages as before. One man, however, named Pratt, more cautious and sensible than the rest, resolved to escape to Plymouth. This was no easy matter, for the Indians had built their cabins on all sides, and it was difficult to elude their watchfulness, while, if he were caught stealing away, he would soon be despatched.

He started early one morning, and taking a hoe, pretended to be digging clams until he felt sure that he was not specially observed; he then hurried into the woods and made his way towards Plymouth as rapidly as the hard travelling would permit. It was March, and snow still lay in the woods, making it more easy for pursuers to follow his tracks. The sky was overcast, and he lost his way; but he travelled on till nightfall, when, cold and weary, he made a little fire in a secluded hollow, and lay down to rest. He was fearful lest the Indians might see the light of his fire, but he was disturbed by nothing more frightful than the howling of the wolves. During the night the sky cleared, and seeing the north star he got his bearings; but the next day the sun was again obscured, and he was unable to proceed, and passed another night in his hiding-place. A clear sky the following day cheered his drooping spirits; he hurried forward as fast as his failing strength permitted, and evening found him safe in Plymouth, but utterly exhausted by his difficult and perilous journey. And he was none too soon; for the Indians were not far behind him, and the next morning made their appearance near the settlement.

The tidings brought by Pratt confirmed the information previously received by the people of Plymouth. But they had already considered the matter in council, and determined to act promptly and vigorously against the hostile savages. Captain Miles Standish was authorized to take such number of men as he deemed necessary and proceed to Weymouth, where he would act according to his judgment. Standish had already had some experience with the Indians who meditated hostility when he went to counteract the schemes of Corbitant, as already related, and he had no very exalted opinion of their real bravery or ability to

cope with well-armed whites. He did not consider it necessary to make a very heavy draft upon the able-bodied men of the colony, and taking only eight men, he embarked in the shallop and sailed to meet the Indian host.

Reaching Weymouth, Standish found the vessel belonging to Weston's settlers utterly deserted. A musket was fired as a signal, and attracted the attention of a few half-starved men who were searching for nuts, and they hastened to the shore. Learning that the principal men of the settlement were in the stockade, Standish landed and proceeded thither. After a brief conference with them, he found it was necessary for him to assume command and reduce the chaos to some degree of order. He had brought with him a small quantity of corn from the stock which the Pilgrims had reserved for seed, and limited rations were issued to all the half-starved settlers. He then insisted on some sort of discipline, and the demoralized adventurers found that he was of that sort of stuff that they must obey and that they might rely on. Further steps were delayed by stormy weather; but the Indians, observing an unusual state of things at the stockade, began to suspect that their hostile designs had been discovered, and their chief, Pecksuot, came in to learn what were the intentions of the whites. Then was held a memorable interview, the friendly Hobomok acting as interpreter.

The wily chief at first concealed his hostile feelings under pretensions of friendship, —

"Begging for blankets and knives, but mostly for muskets and powder,
Kept by the white man, they said, concealed, with the plague, in his cellars,
Ready to be let loose, and destroy his brother, the red man!"

When these were refused, and he saw by the bearing of Standish that he was regarded as an enemy, he became defiant and boastful, and, as described by the poet Longfellow, —

"Then he unsheathed his knife, and whetting the blade on his left hand,
Held it aloft, and displayed a woman's face on the handle,
Saying, with bitter expression and look of sinister meaning, —
'I have another at home, with the face of a man on the handle;
By and by they shall marry; and there will be plenty of children!'"

This haughty speech, which the poet has rendered in language no more figurative than the original, was understood to mean war. Standish, however, was by no means alarmed, and in fact regarded the boasting savage, spite of his great stature and fierce looks, with feelings akin to contempt. Although Pecksuot was in his power, and might have been detained as a prisoner, he suffered him to depart. The detention of their chief might induce the Indians to keep the peace, but he proposed to strike a blow which should terrify them into lasting submission by getting as many of them as he could into his power, and then to kill them or keep them as prisoners. The savage was therefore encouraged to come again, and the next day he made his appearance with his brother Wattawamat and several other Indians. They could not have come with any hostile purpose, or they would not have ventured to enter the stockade to encounter superior numbers. But to Standish it seemed a fitting time to strike the contemplated blow. Like Smith, in Virginia, he believed in bold action in order to intimidate the Indians; and to take them unawares, according to their own mode of warfare, seemed the most effective way. Pecksuot, Wattawamat, and two others being admitted to the house where Standish and his men were, manifested the unfriendly and boasting spirit which Pecksuot had shown the day before. Suddenly Standish gave a preconcerted signal, and throwing himself upon the savage chief, seized the famous knife which had given point to the speech of the preceding day,

"Plunged it into his heart, and, reeling backward, the savage
Fell with his face to the sky, and a fiend-like fierceness upon it."

At the signal the door was closed, and the Plymouth men, following the example of Standish, fell upon the other Indians. The latter were taken by surprise, but defended themselves bravely, and a hand-to-hand struggle ensued. Wattawamat and another savage were finally killed, and the fourth, a young man, was overpowered and bound, to be afterwards hanged. Four other Indian warriors were within the stockade at the time, and as soon as the struggle within the house was known, Weston's men attacked and killed two of them, and a third was shot by the Plymouth men. One succeeded in escaping, and gave the alarm to his countrymen.

This famous deed seems to have been an act of treachery on the part of Standish, more after the mode of warfare of the savages than of civilized men. But the circumstances were such, so weak were the colonists and so imminent the danger, that prompt, bold, and decisive measures were necessary. Standish understood the treacherous character of the Indians, and knew that only by such a summary and bloody punishment could the execution of their hostile designs be prevented, and that daring, and even treachery, were the most certain means of inspiring respect and fear. At that time, too, the warfare of the civilized soldier was but little better than that of the savage. It is, therefore, no very dark blot on the fair escutcheon of the doughty captain, upon whom was devolved the defence and safety of the colonists.

When the warriors within the stockade were thus disposed of, Standish, leaving some Indian women, who had also come within the enclosure, in charge of two or three of his own men and some of the Weymouth settlers, took the rest of the combined force, and marched out in pursuit of the other natives, who by this time had been thoroughly alarmed. He had not proceeded far when a file of Indians was seen hurrying forward to gain a slight eminence near by. Standish pressed forward to gain the same vantage ground, and succeeded in reaching it first. The Indians, foiled in their attempt to reach this place, sheltered themselves behind the trees, and —

"Straight there arose from the forest the awful sound of the war-whoop,
And, like a flurry of snow on the whistling wind of December,
Swift, and sudden, and keen, came a flight of feathery arrows."

A volley of musketry responded to this greeting of the ruder weapons of the natives, and then, with Hobomok, the friendly Indian, in advance, the whites rushed forward. The fleet-footed Indians fled to a neighboring swamp, into the thickets of which it was impossible to follow them with advantage, and finding the pursuit useless, Standish returned to the stockade. The Indian women were then set at liberty, and the young warrior who had come with Pecksuot was hanged.

Thus ended the first contest of the Plymouth settlers with the Indians. The number of natives enlisted in the plot of Pecksuot was probably not very large, for the influence of Massasoit retained most of

those inhabiting this region in peace, and hostilities were not continued, the occasion which had provoked them soon being removed. The Indians justly regarded Weston's colonists as at once robbers, beggars, and cowards, and they were therefore disposed to avenge their wrongs, and remove what to them was a nuisance. The bearing and action of Standish and his followers soon taught them that the Plymouth men were of a different stamp. When the Pilgrim captain first appeared at Weymouth, his short stature was derided by the insolent and defiant Pecksuot, who was tall and athletic.

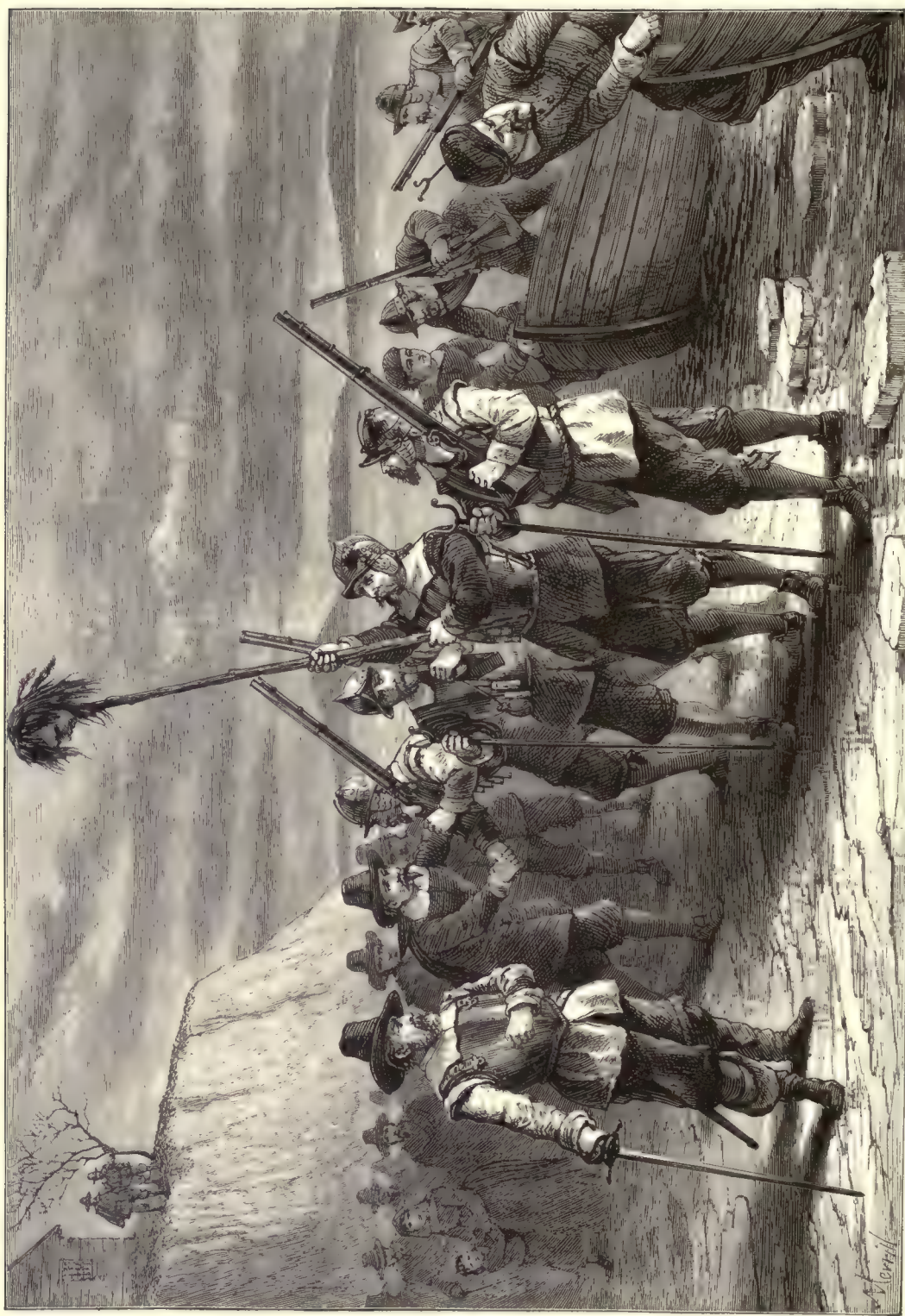
"He is a little man ; let him go and work with the women !"

was the style in which he spoke of Standish. He soon found that the "little man" was more than a match for him, and his followers probably thought with Hobomok, —

"Pecksuot bragged very loud of his courage, his strength, and his stature, —
Mocked the great captain, and called him a little man ; but I see now
Big enough have you been to lay him speechless before you !"

While, therefore, the Plymouth people did not wrong the Indians, and cultivated friendly relations with them, they taught them also that in war they were to be feared, and, by a vigorous blow at the right time, they secured peace.

Though relieved from immediate danger, and able, by a reasonable display of courage and discretion, to hold their position against any hostile force of Indians that was likely to attack them, Weston's adventurers, thoroughly demoralized and intimidated, determined to abandon their settlement. Such a termination of the enterprise of these "heathenish" adventurers, who had boasted their superiority over the Plymouth colony, was by no means displeasing to the Pilgrims, and Standish threw no obstacles in the way of their departure, but aided them from his small stock of corn. The greater part of them embarked in their vessel and sailed away for the coast of Maine, where Weston was engaged in other enterprises ; and the others went with Standish to Plymouth. Three unfortunates remained, being at that time domesticated among the Indians. It was afterwards learned that they were all put to death.



RETURN OF MILES STANDISH FROM WESSAGUSSET.

When Standish returned to Plymouth after this, "his capital exploit," he carried the head of Wattawamat, to be exposed on the block-house as a terror to all evil-disposed Indians. Arriving safely, he landed, and with his victorious army of eight men, one of whom bore aloft on a pole the ghastly trophy of the expedition, followed by the refugees from Weymouth, he marched into the little settlement to the block-house, which was also "meeting-house" and council chamber. Men, women, and children came out to welcome the victors, not with noisy rejoicings, but with silent thanksgiving for their safe return, and fearful gaze at the token of their bloody work. Women shuddered as they beheld the ghastly head, and children clung closer to their mothers, while the magistrates with solemn look followed the little procession to the block-house. Then, after due religious services, the trophy was placed upon a corner of the block-house, where it might be seen by all Indian visitors, and be a warning against any hostile schemes.

Though the pious Pilgrims, knowing the perils to which they were exposed, could not but approve of the stern measures of Standish, their good old minister, John Robinson, who had experienced none of the hardships or dangers of a life in the wilderness, surrounded by treacherous and cruel savages, was greatly disturbed when he received intelligence of the slaughter at Weymouth. He sent a letter from Leyden to his distant flock, gently condemning Standish as one "wanting that tenderness of the life of man which is meet." In his desire to save the souls of the heathen, he wrote, "O, how happy a thing had it been if you had converted some before you had killed any!"

XXIV.

WINSLOW'S VISIT TO MASSASOIT.



IN contrast with the expedition of Standish against the Indians at Weymouth, one undertaken by Mr. Edward Winslow, shortly before, by direction of Governor Bradford, shows another phase of the Pilgrim character. This was a visit to Massasoit at his home in Pokanoket, on which occasion the old sachem, faithful to his league, gave information of the plot which it was the mission of Standish to defeat by the "capital exploit" already related. The peaceful errand can best be narrated in Winslow's own words, which show the spirit of the Plymouth colonists in their intercourse with the Indians.

"News came to Plymouth that Massasoit was dangerously sick, and that there was a Dutch ship driven upon the shore near his house. Now, it being the manner of the Indians when any, especially when persons of note are sick, for all who profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity, either in person or by sending others, therefore it was thought meet that, as we had ever professed friendship, we should manifest it by observing this, their laudable custom, and the rather because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch. The governor laid this service upon me, and having furnished me with some cordials to administer to Massasoit, I, in company with Mr. Hamden and Hobomok, set out, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

"The next day, about one o'clock, we came to a ferry in Corbitant's

country, where, upon discharge of my gun, divers Indians came to us from a house not far distant. They told us that Massasoit was dead, that he was buried that day, and that the Dutch would be gone before we could reach there, they having hove off their ship already. This news greatly damped our spirits, and Hobomok was so disheartened that he desired we might return with all speed. But considering that Massasoit being dead, Corbitant would most likely succeed him, that we were not above three miles from Mattapoiset, his dwelling-place, and that this would be a favorable time to enter into more friendly terms with him, on condition Mr. Hamden and Hobomok would accompany me, I resolved to proceed, though I perceived that it would be attended with danger in respect to our personal safety.

"In the way, Hobomok manifested a troubled spirit, breaking out in the following language: '*Neen womasu sagimus, neen womasu sagimus,*' &c.—'My loving sachem! my loving sachem! many have I known, but never any like thee.' And turning to me, he said, 'Whilst I live, I shall never see his like amongst the Indians; he was no liar; he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and passion he was soon reclaimed, easy to be reconciled towards those who had offended him, ruled by reason, not scorning the advice of mean men; governing his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared the English had not a faithful friend left among the Indians,' &c.,—continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow as would have affected the hardest heart.

"At length, we came to Mattapoiset; but Corbitant was not at home, he having gone to Pokanoket to visit Massasoit. The squaw sachem gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massasoit; they thought him to be dead, but did not certainly know. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Pokanoket, that we might know whether he was living or not. About half an hour before sunset the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this intelligence we were much revived, and set forward with all speed. It was late at night when we arrived.

"When we came to the house, we found it so full of men that we

could scarcely get in, though they used their best endeavors to make way for us. We found them in the midst of their charms for him, making such a noise as greatly affected those of us who were well, and therefore was not likely to benefit him who was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his limbs to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, though his sight was wholly gone, he asked who was come. They told him, Winslow. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, he put forth his hand, and I took it. He then inquired, '*Keen Winslow?*' which is to say, '*Art thou Winslow?*' I answered, '*Ahhe;*' that is, '*Yes.*' Then he said, '*Matta neen wouckanet namen, Winslow;*' that is to say, '*O Winslow, I shall never see thee again.*' I then called Hobomok, and desired him to tell Massasoit that the governor, hearing of his sickness, was sorry; and though, by reason of much business, he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things as he thought most likely to do him good in his extremity, and that, if he would like to partake of it, I would give it to him. He desired that I would. I then took some conserve on the point of my knife, and gave it to him, but could scarce get it through his teeth. When it had dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it. When those who were about him saw this, they rejoiced greatly, saying that he had not swallowed anything for two days before. His mouth was exceedingly furred, and his tongue much swollen. I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, after which I gave him more of the conserve, which he swallowed with more readiness. He then desired to drink. I dissolved some of the conserve in water, and gave it to him. Within half an hour there was a visible change in him. Presently his sight began to come. I gave him more, and told him of an accident we had met with in breaking a bottle of drink the governor had sent him, assuring him that if he would send any of his men to Patuxet (Plymouth), I would send for more. I also told him that I would send for chickens to make him some broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him, and that I would stay till the messenger returned, if he desired. This he received very kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two o'clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a letter.

"He requested that, the day following, I would take my gun and kill him some fowl, and make him some pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth; which I promised to do. His appetite returning before morning, he desired me to make him some broth without fowl before I went out to hunt. I was now quite at a loss what to do. I, however, caused a woman to pound some corn, put it into some water, and place it over the fire. When the day broke, we went out to seek herbs; but it being early in the season, we could find none except strawberry leaves. I gathered a handful of them, with some sassafras root, and put them into the porridge. It being boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he liked very well. After this his sight mended more and more, and he took some rest. We now felt constrained to thank God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means. It now appeared evident that he would recover, and all of them acknowledged us as the instruments of his preservation.

"That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another of those who were sick in town, requesting me to wash their mouths also, and to give to each of them some of the same that I gave him. This pains I willingly took.

"The messengers which had been sent to Plymouth had by this time returned; but Massasoit, finding himself so much better, would not have the chickens killed, but kept them, that they might produce more. Many, whilst we were there, came to see him, some of them, according to their account, came not less than a hundred miles. Upon his recovery, he said, 'Now I see that the English are my friends, and love me, and whilst I live I will never forget this kindness which they have shown me.' While we were there, we were better entertained than any other strangers.

"As we were about to come away, he called Hobomok to him, and revealed to him a plot the Massachusetts had formed to destroy the English. He told him that several other tribes were confederate with them; that he, in his sickness, had been earnestly solicited to join them, but had refused, and that he had not suffered any of his people to unite with them. He advised us to kill the men of Massachusetts, who were the authors of this intended mischief. When we took leave of him, he

returned many thanks to the governor, and expressed much gratitude to us for our labor of love. So did all who were about him."

As related in preceding pages, the Plymouth colonists acted upon Massasoit's advice, though not to the extent which the old savage suggested. The Massachusetts tribe, decimated by the pestilence a few years before, was weak in numbers, and a show of fearlessness on the part of the whites, and the killing of their leaders, were sufficient to prevent further hostile schemes.

Though the Plymouth colonists had the greatest confidence in Standish as their sure defence in time of danger, their policy was, while showing the savages that they were not afraid, to avert danger by conciliating them, so long as they did not manifest a hostile disposition. In the intercourse with the Indians, Winslow, who was as fearless as Standish, though of a gentler disposition, was of great service. As in his visit to Massasoit, he was ever ready to do them a kindness, and in this, as well as in his more important and public services to the colony, he was one of the most useful of its leading men. The amicable policy commenced under such auspices made it easier for Massasoit to observe his treaty, and Plymouth was undisturbed by Indian hostilities till Philip, the restless son of the old sachem, at last precipitated his terrible war.

XXV.

MERRY MOUNT.—STANDISH SUPPRESSES
A NUISANCE.



CAPTAIN MILES STANDISH was a most important and serviceable person in the Plymouth Colony. He had been trained as a soldier in Flanders, was brave, discreet, and ready for any honorable service. Joining the little company of Pilgrims, he was chosen their military officer, or captain, to take charge of all measures for defence, and in hostile movements to have command of the fighting men. That he possessed all the requisites for such a post is shown by the incidents already related. As, in Mr. Longfellow's beautiful poem, his friend John Alden describes him to Priscilla,—

"He was a gentleman born, could trace his pedigree plainly
Back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall, in Lancashire, England,
Who was the son of Ralph, and the grandson of Thurston de Standish;
Heir unto vast estates, of which he was basely defrauded. —

.
He was a man of honor, of noble and generous nature;
Though he was rough, he was kindly; she knew how during the winter
He had attended the sick, with a hand as gentle as woman's;
Somewhat hasty and hot, he could not deny it, and headstrong,
Stern as a soldier might be, but hearty, and placable always,
Not to be laughed at and scorned, because he was little of stature;
For he was great of heart, magnanimous, courtly, courageous."

In 1628, Captain Standish was called upon to render the colony a service somewhat different from that performed at Weymouth, but one which seemed to the rigid and exemplary Pilgrims quite as important as to fight the Indians. To the mere soldier it might not have seemed so honorable a service; but Standish was a magistrate, and shared the feelings of his associates, while he was ready for any duty which he might be called upon to perform.

In 1625, a Captain Wollaston, with several associates and a company of hired men, arrived in Massachusetts Bay with the intention of establishing a trading-post, and he selected for that purpose a moderate elevation in what is now Quincy, and which was duly named, in his honor, Mount Wollaston. After a short stay, however, Wollaston and one of his partners, with a part of the company, departed for Virginia, leaving a Mr. Fitcher in command. One of the company who remained was Thomas Morton, a man of good education, but of a reckless character and vicious habits. He had been a barrister, but the inns of court probably had less attraction for him than some other inns. In what capacity he had come to America does not appear, but the capacity in which he chose to appear was manifested soon after Captain Wollaston left. The rest of the company were wild and dissolute adventurers, most or all of whom had come out for hire. They were just the men to follow such a mischief-maker as Morton, and he was just the sort of demagogue to court and pander to such a set of vagabonds. He soon conspired with them against Fitcher, deposed him from command, and drove him away from the post to live with the savages, or make the best of his way to Plymouth or elsewhere.

Morton now became, not the commander of the company, but simply chief of the vagabonds, and master of carousals, which seemed to be the chief purpose of the existence of the establishment. The name of Mount Wollaston was changed to Mare Mount, or Merry Mount, and Morton's efforts were directed to make the life of the company befitting the name of the place. They continued to trade with the Indians for beaver-skins, but, not content with trading, they induced the natives, men and women, to join in their revelry. The Indians, obtaining a taste of "fire-water," soon became as drunken a set as their entertainers, and the scenes of debauchery and vice which sometimes followed may

be imagined. Near the house Morton erected a May-pole, eighty feet high, and crowned with the antlers of a deer. To this he would fasten copies of ribald verses, of which he was the author, and bringing out a cask of wine or stronger drink, he would conduct the unseemly revels of the company.

To some staid and pious settlers at Weymouth, who had succeeded Weston's idle crew, and a few others scattered about on the shores of Boston Bay, these proceedings were scandalous, and the Pilgrims at Plymouth heard of the ungodly revelry with disgust and indignation. But soon they had more manifest cause of complaint; for this reckless company, when they traded, were by no means scrupulous in the manner of conducting their business, and in exchange for beaver-skins did not hesitate to give liquor, fire-arms, and ammunition. The Indians, having become familiar with these dangerous articles by their association with the revellers, soon had a special desire for them, and were unwilling to trade for anything else. The consequence was that savages were prowling about the woods with guns, and coming near the exposed dwellings of solitary settlers, created no little alarm. With liquor inflaming their brains, and fire-arms in their hands, these savages were dangerous visitors. The settlers thus exposed sent remonstrances to the dwellers on Merry Mount, but these were received by Morton and his confederates with derision and insult. He found, indeed, that with these articles of traffic he could drive a brisker business than with the ordinary trifles used for barter with the Indians, and he proposed to carry it on upon a larger scale.

The settlers, thus exposed to the dangers created by the reckless adventurers of Merry Mount, and scandalized by their wicked practices, applied to the Plymouth colonists for aid. The Pilgrims, who had carefully provided against furnishing the natives with fire-arms, and who were shocked at the rumors of the vicious life led by Morton and his followers, determined to abate the nuisance, and accordingly sent Miles Standish, with a small party of men, to perform that service. His mission was to be fulfilled in a less bloody manner than that to subdue the truculent Pecksuot, but it was none the less sternly to be performed. Morton at this time was at Weymouth, whither he sometimes went, perhaps to enjoy better company than that of the ignorant knaves who

shared his revels, and perhaps to annoy the more pious settlers by his humorous and profane talk and shameless conduct; but he seems to have withdrawn to Merry Mount, either before or after Standish arrived at Weymouth. Thither Standish and his men proceeded, and found the offender against peace and decency shut up with his followers in his house, and the whole company appear to have been laying in a good supply of "Dutch courage." The Pilgrim account thus relates what followed:—

"So they resolved to take Morton by force. The which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stiffly in his defence, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder and bullets ready on y^e table; and if they had not been over-armed with drinke, more hurt might have been done. They somaned him to yeeld, but he kept his house, and they could get nothing but scofes and scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would doe some violence to y^e house, he and some of his crue came out, but not to yeeld but to shoote; but they were so steeld with drinke as their peeces were too heavie for them; him selfe with a carbine (overcharged and allmost half fild with powder and shote, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captaine Standish; but he stept to him, and put by his peece, and took him. Neither was there any hurt done to any of either side save y^t one was so drunke y^t he rane his own nose upon y^e point of a sword y^t was held before him as he entred y^e house; but he lost but a little of his hott blood."

Morton himself—not a very veracious chronicler—gave a quite different account of the affair, and after his usual humorous manner. In his book called the "New English Canaan," he wrote that the Plymouth men "set upon" him at Weymouth, and made him prisoner, "that they might send him for England (as they said) there to suffer according to the merit of the fact, which they intended to father upon him." The captors, according to Morton, "feasted their bodies and fell to tippeling," while he abstained from eating and drinking that he might be more watchful. Six persons were set to watch him, one lying on the same bed with him; but in the dead of night he arose and got through the second door notwithstanding the lock, and shut it with such violence that it awoke the sentinels.



REVELS AT MERRY MOUNT.

"The word which was given with an alarm," continues the humorous Morton, "was, 'O, he's gon, he's gon; what shall we doe? He's gon.' The rest (halfe asleep) start up in a maze, and like rames, ran their heads one at another full butt in the darke."

Captain Standish is said to have torn his clothes for anger "to see the empty nest." "The rest were eager to have torne their haire from their heads, but it was so short that it would give them no hold." Morton having reached Merry Mount, tells how Standish and his eight men appeared "before the denne of this suppozed monster," and that "to save the effusion of so much worthy bloud as would have issued out of the vaynes of these nine worthies of New Canaan," if he had fired upon them through his port-holes, he "was content to yeeld upon quarter, and did capitulate with them." But he had no sooner opened the door than Standish and the rest laid hold of his arms and "fell upon him as if they would have eaten him." By this "outrageous riot" these fierce assailants made themselves masters of Merry Mount.

Such is the substance of the humorous Morton's account of his capture. As he was the originator of the story of the vicarious hanging mentioned in a preceding page, his report of his own exploits and sufferings will hardly outweigh the sober chronicles of the Pilgrims.

Morton was taken to Plymouth, where he was held for some time, till an opportunity offered of sending him to England. The establishment at Merry Mount was broken up, and the dangerous trade in liquor and fire-arms with the Indians was stopped. Standish had rendered another service to the settlers, bloodless indeed, but perhaps not less important than the foiling of the schemes of Pecksuot and his confederates; for a general distribution of fire-arms among the Indians would have made them more formidable and more disposed to hostilities. Morton, however, returned to Massachusetts, and gave the settlers some further trouble and anxiety, but he was again summarily disposed of.

Miles Standish, as the defender of the rights of the Plymouth colony, was engaged in another adventure, in which he came near shedding the blood of some of his countrymen, but which fortunately resulted in nothing but hard words, with no laurels for the doughty

captain. The Pilgrims, in 1624, sent a party to Cape Ann to catch and salt fish, and this party then constructed a fishing stage on which to cure their fares. The next year, when a like party went, under Standish, who commanded all such expeditions, they found the fishing stage in possession of some strange adventurers. Standish, with the spirit of a soldier, peremptorily demanded possession of the stage, and the adventurers as peremptorily refused to surrender it, and barricading it with hogsheads, avowed their intention to hold it at any cost. Words waxed hot and profane, and there was a prospect of blows, and perhaps bloodshed, when, through the good offices of Roger Conant, who had previously been with the Pilgrims, the dispute was settled by the trespassers agreeing to build another fishing stage. Says an historian not friendly to the Plymouth colony, in this instance at least: "A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion soon kindled, and, blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched."*

This is a harsh and unjust judgment of Standish, and, as said by the friends of the Plymouth colony, "it does not appear that his conduct was reprehensible. He acted under authority, and was sent to enforce a manifest right." "The best apology for Captain Standish is, that as a soldier he had been accustomed to discipline and obedience; that he considered himself as the military servant of the colony, and received his orders from the governor and people."

The Plymouth colonists had occasion to rid themselves of two other men more obnoxious than even Morton, though in a different way. Lyford, a clergyman of the established Church, came to Plymouth to be their pastor, though his religious opinions were adverse to those of the Pilgrims. He found, however, one hearty sympathizer in John Oldham, who considered the Pilgrims altogether too strict in their notions to suit his taste. He was a daring, sensual, and passionate man, who loved his dinner better than his spiritual good, and by no means enjoyed the long prayers and sermons of the pious elders of Plymouth. He preferred the reading of the Prayer Book, and the jolly life which was not incon-

* Hubbard.

sistent with its use, as in Old England, and he joined with Lyford in insisting upon its use.

When the Plymouth elders gave Lyford the cold shoulder, he found in Oldham a staunch supporter, and the two soon began to stir up dissensions among the settlers who were not members of the Plymouth church. They also wrote letters to England ridiculing and defaming the colonists. Governor Bradford, hearing of this, boarded a ship about to sail and examined the letters, deeming himself justified in this arbitrary proceeding by his duty to the colony. Finding what the character of the letters was, he reserved them for future use. Lyford and Oldham were called to account, and the letters were produced against them. This seditious conduct was not to be tolerated, and the Plymouth fathers promptly sent them away. Oldham, however, having been pardoned on account of professed penitence, returned more outspoken and malignant than ever. He called the leading men of the colony rebels and traitors, and fiercely denounced the magistrates and elders to their face. Being arrested and brought before the council, he defied the grave assembly in the most violent terms, and appealed to those whom he supposed to be disaffected to show their courage by action. "Now is the time," he cried; "if you will do anything, I will stand by you." No one responded to this appeal, and the furious disturber of the peace of Plymouth was placed in confinement till his wrath should have time to cool. The magistrates meanwhile considered what they should do with the offender, and at the suggestion perhaps of Standish, they soon determined that he should be ignominiously banished again. Accordingly two files of soldiers were formed, and Oldham was compelled to pass between them, each soldier being ordered to give him a thump on the back with the butt end of his musket. The soldiers obeyed the order with alacrity, and the culprit received many an ignominious "thump," administered with a will, as he passed along towards the shore, where he was placed in a boat, with a warning of severer punishment if he ventured into Plymouth again.

CHARTER AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PLYMOUTH COLONY.



THE colonists of Plymouth had established themselves in the new world, and exercised self-government, without any charter or royal patent. But the year after their arrival, through the influence of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who took a deep interest in colonizing America, a patent was granted by the Council of Plymouth to John Pierce, in trust for the colonists. Pierce, however, looked after his own interests rather than those of the settlers, and being ambitious to become lord proprietary, and to hold the settlers as tenants, he obtained a new patent without the knowledge of the colonists, and with much larger powers. To avail himself of his anticipated profits, in the autumn of 1622 and the beginning of 1623, he made repeated attempts to send a ship to New England, but it was forced back by storms. In the last attempt, when Pierce himself embarked with one hundred and nine persons, the vessel was nearly wrecked; and, discouraged by his failures and his losses, he was glad to assign his patent to the company. It had cost him fifty pounds, and he transferred it for five hundred. Another ship was hired to transport the passengers, and it arrived at Plymouth in July, 1623. A small vessel was also soon after built to remain with the colony, and sent over with about fifty passengers who were anxious to join their brethren.

All efforts to obtain a charter from the king failed, but, under the grants from the Council of Plymouth, the colonists, though they had no

right to assume a separate jurisdiction, did not hesitate to exercise, for the public weal, the rights of self-government. They made laws for the punishment of offences, and for minor crimes executed them without hesitation, though it was not without many scruples that they ventured to inflict capital punishment. Offences, however, were not frequent, for among their small numbers there were but few lawless adventurers.

They desired that none should come who were not in sympathy with their religious views. At one time the Council of Plymouth, under the influence of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who was a bigoted supporter of the Church of England, sent over with Robert Gorges a clergyman of that church with somewhat extraordinary powers to supervise religious matters in the colony. That clergyman, however, was a man of discretion, and, though he remained a year with the Pilgrims, he did not seek to exercise his authority or to make any trouble. He was delighted with the country, and occupied himself in writing poor verses in its praise. Another clergyman, who, by his open hostility to the Pilgrim fathers, his pernicious teaching, and immoral conduct, became exceedingly obnoxious, was driven without ceremony from the colony.

John Robinson, the pious and excellent pastor who had led his flock from persecution in England to the more tolerant atmosphere of Holland, earnestly desired to follow the early settlers to Plymouth, but a faction in the Council of Plymouth had persistently opposed his going; and, disappointed in his most ardent hopes, he died at Leyden in 1625. The intelligence of his death was received with the deepest sorrow, for though the settlers had the good Elder Brewster with them, they had looked forward to the time when their beloved minister should join them. Robinson's wife and children, however, subsequently, with others of the original flock, joined their friends at Plymouth.

The growth of the colony was exceedingly slow. The lands were not fertile, and neither the country nor the Pilgrims encouraged the coming of adventurers and fortune-hunters. As already seen, those of that class planted themselves outside the immediate jurisdiction of the Pilgrims. At the end of ten years there were not more than three hundred persons in the colony. But though few in numbers, they were strong in purpose and in their devotion to the principles of civil and religious liberty. Accustomed to toil and hardship, they endured what emigrants

of more luxurious antecedents never could have survived. Amid adversity they trusted in God, and toiled on patiently and hopefully. Cold, famine, sickness, death, seemed to pursue them; withered crops and houses destroyed by fire* brought discouragement; but, rejoicing in the liberty of conscience, they took deep root in the soil, and planted there the principles of self-government under which a nation has grown up.

The frame of government adopted by the Pilgrims, in the absence of charter provisions, was very simple. A governor was chosen by general suffrage, but his power was always subordinate to the will of the majority; and, by Governor Bradford's desire, a council of five was chosen, and, at a later date, seven assistants, to share the responsibilities of government,—the governor having a double vote. For more than eighteen years the colony was a pure democracy, the whole body of male inhabitants meeting together to pass laws and to decide executive and judicial questions. When, however, the population materially increased, and the settlements were scattered over a wider territory, the representative system was introduced, and each settlement sent its delegates to the "general court." In this way the affairs of the colony were for a long time quietly and successfully administered, little disturbed by some of the serious questions which excited the people of the larger colony of Massachusetts.

* When Captain Robert Gorges was at Plymouth, some of the sailors from his ship were on shore celebrating Guy Fawkes' day, November 5, before a large fire in one of the houses. The thatch took fire, and, rapidly consuming that house, extended to several others, which were also destroyed. The common storehouse narrowly escaped, and the colonists were thus saved from still greater suffering, if not utter ruin.

XXVII.

THE PILGRIM LEADERS.



THE most prominent men among the Plymouth colonists were Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Brewster, Standish, Allerton, and Hopkins. The Rev. John Robinson, who led the Pilgrims out of England to Holland, remained behind with the larger part of his people when the little company of emigrants left Leyden. He never came to Plymouth, much to the regret of the settlers. Those members of the London Company who supported the established church opposed his coming; and in the place of this beloved pastor they sent Lyford, who, with the Book of Common Prayer, stirred up dissension and got himself banished.

John Carver, who was chosen governor in the cabin of the Mayflower, was a man possessed of good estate in England, which he had freely devoted to the cause of a purified religion, and in aid of those who were persecuted for espousing it. He was quiet and dignified in bearing, though he made himself a co-laborer with his people and a sharer of their hardships and privations. While he lived he was a father to the colonists, for whose safety and welfare he faithfully labored. He did not live long to serve them, for in the April following the landing he was stricken with sudden illness and died. He was buried with such honors as the poor settlers could bestow, and "the discharge of some volleys of shot by all that bore arms."

William Bradford, who succeeded Carver as governor, was a younger man, being at that time thirty-two years of age. He had been bred a farmer in Yorkshire, and had few advantages of early education; but he

educated himself, mastering several languages, and becoming fairly versed in history. At an early age he fell in with Robinson and his friends, and adopted their religious views. He joined them when they fled from persecution and effected their escape to Holland, and he freely used his limited means for their advantage. He was a man of energy and sagacity, and from the inception of the enterprise of coming to America did good service by his advice and activity. At Plymouth he was brave, prompt, and firm. He showed a bold front to the Indians, and he suppressed any turbulent or unruly spirit which manifested itself in the colony. Serving many years as governor, he proved himself worthy of the confidence of the colonists, for whose interests he at all times labored. That he had that confidence is shown by their action in electing him governor annually as long as he lived, with the exception of five years, when he declined an election.

Edward Winslow belonged to the class of "gentlemen" in England, and while on his travels over Europe he first met Robinson and his Pilgrim church at Leyden. He was a young man, being but twenty-four or twenty-five years of age at that time, but he found in the teachings of Robinson that which appealed to his heart and conscience, and he joined the church. He was more accomplished as a scholar than his associates, and by nature he possessed an address which adapted him to various services of great importance to the infant colony. He made nearly all the negotiations with the Indians, in whom he inspired good will, and with the Company and government in England. He was active, too, and made frequent journeys into the wilderness, visiting Massasoit in his illness, and cheering Roger Williams by his kindly words. He also went to see for himself the fertile valley which the Indians said lay at the west, and he thus became the "discoverer" of Connecticut. He visited England a number of times on business for the colony, and while there in 1635 he was imprisoned by Archbishop Laud because he had presumed to "teach" in the church, and as a magistrate had performed the ceremony of marriage, which the archbishop claimed was not a civil contract, but a sacrament, which no layman could perform.

William Brewster, known as Elder Brewster, having been ruling elder in the church at Leyden, was well advanced in years when he came over in the Mayflower. He was educated at Cambridge, and was

afterwards in the public service at the court of Queen Elizabeth, and he was a man of larger experience in worldly affairs than most of his associates. But he was also a staunch supporter of the religion which was growing up in opposition to the English hierarchy, and when he left his public employment he returned to his home in Lincolnshire, where he organized a church in his own house. Flying from persecution to Holland, he devoted himself to the cause of religion and the welfare of his fellow-exiles. When he came to New England as elder he was, in the absence of the pastor, the regular preacher of the Pilgrims, but never having been ordained as a minister, he could not administer the sacrament, and for years the Plymouth people, much to their sorrow, were compelled to forego that service. After a long and faithful service, in which his tender and charitable nature was never rendered harsh by bigotry nor sullen by injustice and adversity, he died at a green old age.

Miles Standish was of an aristocratic family in Lancashire, but for some reason had been deprived of his estates. He had been a soldier in the Netherlands, and had all the qualities acquired by such a service. He connected himself with Robinson's people at Leyden, but did not join the church, and when the little band of Pilgrims started for the new world, he was ready to go with them as their friend and servant. His impetuous courage, somewhat hasty temper, but sterling character, have been shown in events narrated in preceding pages. He was of the utmost service to the colonists, who relied greatly on his skill and daring. His boldness was the safety of the settlement, and he promptly performed whatever duty was expected of him. He had a farm at Duxbury, near Plymouth, where he lived quietly when not serving the colony as its military leader, and where he died "well in years."

Allerton and Hopkins were substantial men, who were prominent in the management of the affairs of the colony. Hopkins was a magistrate, and a staunch supporter of the Pilgrim Church. Allerton was a man of some means, and was disposed to look sharply after his own affairs. He went to England on various errands for the colony, and at first rendered good service in these missions, but at last it was found that he was more faithful to his own interests than to those of the colony.

EARLY SETTLERS AROUND MASSACHUSETTS
BAY.—THE PURITANS.

FEW years after the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, hardy adventurers, coming over in trading or fishing vessels, settled at various points about Massachusetts or Boston Bay. Some of them were men of little character, while others were reputable persons; but having little sympathy with the Plymouth people, they preferred to establish themselves apart from that colony, though they were quite willing to receive the aid of the Pilgrims in time of need. Two men, Lyford and Oldham, who had been forced to leave Plymouth by vote of the people, for a while took up their residence at Nantasket. Lyford was the clergyman already mentioned as being driven out because of his opposition to the Plymouth elders and his immorality, and Oldham was a disturber of the peace by opposing the civil government which the Pilgrims had established. They afterwards complained of persecution, and persuaded some persons to believe that the Pilgrims were intolerant, arbitrary, and harsh. They had, however, received only their deserts at the hands of those whom they opposed and annoyed. After remaining a short time at Nantasket, they and some others, who had settled near, went over to Cape Ann, in the employment of an English company, to engage in fishing. Among this number was Roger Conant, a man who had left Plymouth voluntarily because he did not entirely agree with the Pilgrims. The fishing enterprise, not proving successful, was abandoned, and Conant was then made

the agent of a company of non-conformists and Puritans who were preparing to emigrate. In 1626, he and three others, who were engaged to hold some suitable place till settlers arrived, selected Naumkeag, the Indian name of Salem, as a proper site for a settlement. Here they were joined by other individual adventurers, who came without patent or charter, and claimed lands by right of possession; and when, in 1628, Endicot came over with the first party of colonists, he was welcomed by a number of these pioneers as well as by the agent of his company.

When a few of Endicot's colonists, not altogether satisfied with a settlement at Naumkeag without further exploration, at once plunged into the forest, and travelled till they came to the neck of land between the Charles and Mystic Rivers, they found here, too, a pioneer before them. An adventurous Englishman had taken up his abode here and built a hut; he was a blacksmith by trade, but he had not yet found occasion to set up a forge. If he had not come thither to escape from fellowship with his countrymen, he probably welcomed the advent of these new adventurers and the larger party who followed the next year.

Upon the peninsula known to the Indians as Shawmut, now Boston, some years before the English arrived at Charlestown, a solitary settler had established himself. This was Mr. William Blackstone, whose name is borne in respectful memory in Boston. It is supposed that he came over with Robert Gorges, when that individual came with the intent of planting episcopacy in the territory occupied by the Pilgrims. He was a man of education, and had been ordained as a clergyman of the Church of England; but he was a non-conformist, very independent, and withal somewhat eccentric, and not finding ecclesiastical matters to suit him either in England or among the Pilgrims, he retired to the pleasant region on the northern side of the peninsula of Shawmut, opposite Charlestown, and constructed a house where he might live undisturbed by the religious views or practices of any one else. He led the life of a recluse, though not of a hermit, and he laid claim to the whole of the peninsula by right of being the first English occupant. When the colonists who came with Winthrop established themselves at Charlestown, Blackstone, whether from motives of generosity or a desire to dispose of his "estate" and retire before this new flood of civilization and Puritanism, invited the strangers to Shawmut, where there were "sweet

and pleasant springs," and good land "affording rich corn-fields and fruitful gardens." The invitation was accepted, and the new settlers soon established themselves on the site selected by Blackstone. The new colony, which had a higher claim to the territory by virtue of their patent than Blackstone by virtue of "squatter sovereignty," liberally granted him fifty acres, and admitted him as a freeman. He, however, did not long remain with them, but, when the settlers became too numerous, sold his possessions, and sought another home in the wilderness, beyond the limits of the patent of Massachusetts. He would not join the Puritan church, saying, "I left England because I did not like the lord bishops; but I can't join with you because I would not be under the lord brethren."

On Noddle's Island (now East Boston) Samuel Maverick had established himself, and not feeling safe in a frail house, he built a fort, and mounted guns to defend himself against the Indians. How long he had been there when the colonists arrived is not known. He was a very hospitable man, "giving entertainment to all comers gratis." Maverick's hospitality seemed to trouble the Puritan fathers, as he was "an enemy to the reformation in hand, being strong for the lordly prelatical power," and in 1635 the General Court ordered that he should remove with his family to Boston, and in the meantime should not give entertainment to any strangers for longer times than one night, without leave from some assistant. This order, however, was subsequently revoked.

At other points about the shores of the bay solitary pioneers or small parties had established themselves in like manner before the arrival of the Massachusetts colony. They were not of the stamp of Morton of "Merry Mount," but some were the men who first suffered from that nuisance, and sought the good services of Captain Miles Standish in abating it. If not in entire sympathy with the Puritans, they did not object to "casting in their lot" with them.

Though these scattered adventurers had established habitations, more or less permanent, on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, the first colonization of this region was by the company led by Endicot. The company of merchants who had employed men to maintain a fishing station at Cape Ann, having abandoned an enterprise which, after a

few years' trial, had proved unremunerative, some members of the company, with other parties, notably the Rev. Mr. White, agitated the project of planting a colony there for a different and higher purpose. The project found friends among the Puritans, who desired, like the Pilgrims, to seek a home in New England, where they might be free from religious persecution. Among those who early enlisted in this movement was John Endicot, and by his influence and that of Mr. White and a few others, a grant was obtained from the council for New England. As already stated, Conant, holding what little property the fishing colony left, remained, with three associates, when the establishment at Cape Ann was broken up, acting as agent of the proposed emigrants, and selected Naumkeag as a better place for a settlement.

The company in England being organized, and having secured the grant, which extended from the Charles River to the Merrimack, sent Endicot with about a hundred settlers, including women and children, as the pioneers of the colony. They arrived at Naumkeag in September, 1628, and finding but scanty preparation for their reception, immediately set themselves at work to build houses. A few of the colonists, however, not satisfied with the appearance of the place, proceeded southwest through the wilderness till they came to the neck of land between the Mystic and Charles Rivers, the home of the solitary blacksmith, and determined to settle there. Others subsequently followed, and Charlestown divided the honor with Salem of being the first place of settlement for the new colony.

As with other colonies, the settlers suffered not a little from hardship and want of provisions. Many were taken sick and died, while scurvy had reduced others to a miserable condition. So great was the want of the company that the servants were released from their obligations of service, that they might provide for themselves, and they were afterwards made freemen. The next year, however, stores, some cattle, and more settlers were brought over, and the colonists were relieved. But the second winter was also one of suffering, and eighty—or nearly one half—of the colonists died.

Endicot received instructions in detail for the management of the colony until the principal part of the company should emigrate. The purport of all was that he should secure good order, punish offences,

exclude persons of bad character who might by any chance be found among the settlers, take good care that religious exercises should be observed, suppress disputes and secure harmony in religious matters, see that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives, and that, if they claimed land wanted by the colonists, they should be paid for it. In 1629, Endicot, who had hitherto acted simply as agent of the company, with authority to do certain acts, was appointed governor of the plantation, with more extensive powers.

The company organized for the colonization of Massachusetts was composed mostly of rigid Calvinists. Landed on the shores of New England, under the ministrations of Higginson and others, they considered themselves "the chosen emissaries of God; outcasts from England, yet favorites with Heaven; destitute of security, of convenient food and shelter, and yet blessed beyond all mankind, for they were the depositaries of the purest truth, and the selected instruments to kindle in the wilderness the beacon of pure religion, of which the undying light should not only penetrate the wigwams of the heathen, but spread its benignant beams across the darkness of the whole civilized world. The emigrants were not so much a body politic as a church in the wilderness, with no benefactor around them but nature, no present sovereign but God." "The church was self-constituted. It did not ask the assent of the king, or recognize him as its head; its officers were set apart and ordained among themselves; it used no liturgy; it rejected unnecessary ceremonies, and reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a still plainer standard."*

Among the company were a few who were not prepared to assent to the new and independent system which the leading Puritan clergy, emancipated from the restraint imposed and persecutions inflicted upon them in England, now proclaimed. They had joined the company without any condition, and without any purpose of abandoning the Church of England, and they were not disposed to relinquish the use of the Book of Common Prayer, or the ordinances of religion to which they had been accustomed. Prominent among these adherents to the established church were John and Samuel Browne, men of influence in the company in England, the interests of which they had greatly pro-

* Bancroft.

moted, being among the original patentees. They were sufficiently independent to resist the new system, which they believed to be wrong, and gathered a company of those who agreed with them "in a place distinct from the public assembly," and there made use of the Book of Common Prayer. These proceedings caused some disturbance among the settlers, a few joining the Brownes in upholding the established church, but the majority condemning them. Endicot summoned the brothers before him, and a wordy conflict ensued between them and the Puritan ministers. The governor and council, and most of the people, sided with the ministers, and finding the two brothers "to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction," Endicot told them that New England was no place for such as they, and sent them both back to old England. Thus at the outset the colonists determined that theirs should be a Puritan commonwealth, and the spirit of this action was long continued in the administration of its affairs.

On their arrival in England, the Brownes united with others in denouncing the Puritan colonists, and endeavored to obtain a revocation of their charter, but were unsuccessful. The company in England gave the Brownes an impartial hearing, and endeavored to smooth the troubled waters. But the danger that the Brownes, aided by the Church, might succeed in their efforts, induced the company to address a letter of caution to the ministers at Salem, and one of like tenor to Endicot.

Endicot was a genuine Puritan, somewhat in advance of most of the leading men of the colony in his extreme aversion to the English Church, and to anything that savored in a remote degree of Popery. Being a soldier, accustomed to command and to act in emergencies, he was ever ready to assume responsibility and to strike at any act or any person against whom his rigid Calvinism found cause for complaint. His quick temper, coupled with his military habits, sometimes led him into hasty action, as when he cut the red cross out of the king's colors because he could not endure that "Popish and idolatrous emblem." But he was altogether "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work, of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable, and of a cheerful spirit, loving and austere, applying himself to either as occasion served."

The safe arrival of Endicot's party in New England, and the accounts of the country which were carried back to the mother country, gave a

new impulse to the purpose of emigration among those who felt the pressure of the English hierarchy. "The concession of the Massachusetts charter seemed to the Puritans like a summons from Heaven, inviting them to America. There the gospel might be taught in its purity; and the works of nature would alone be the safe witnesses of their devotions." A large number from Boston and other parts of Lincolnshire, from Dorchester and from London, signified their desire to emigrate, and preparations were made to send out several ships with these emigrants, and ample supplies for their subsistence. Many of them were men of means, and the greater part had more or less of this world's goods, as well as the religious spirit, which was yet more potent to sustain them in their undertaking.

The government of the company under the charter was organized in England, and at first it appears to have been the purpose to manage the affairs of the colony by this government at home. But, with a more liberal spirit than had actuated those who had hitherto obtained patents and charters for the colonization of America, the governor, Matthew Cradock, and other leading men of the company, proposed that the charter should be transferred to those of the freemen who should themselves inhabit the colony. After some discussion this wise course was adopted, and it was declared, by general consent, that the government and charter should be settled in New England. An agreement had already been formed between men of fortune and education that they would themselves embark for America if the government should be legally transferred to them and the other freemen of the company who should inhabit the plantation. The charter was accordingly transferred, and what was originally a commercial corporation only was thus changed into an independent provincial government.

John Winthrop, one of the most influential of those agreeing to emigrate, a man "approved for piety, liberality, and conduct," was chosen governor, and the board of assistants and other officers were selected from the company preparing to live in the colony. Winthrop was a firm royalist, and had hitherto been a conformist, but he loved "gospel purity" even to independency, and he was strong in his regard for popular liberties, as then existing in England. He was in all respects admirably adapted for the position to which he was called. Humphrey,

who was chosen deputy governor, at the last moment had not the courage to undertake the voyage, and Thomas Dudley was chosen in his place; for the government was in good faith transferred to those who should emigrate.

The destitute colonists at Charlestown who had survived the winter watched anxiously, as the summer came with its unaccustomed heat, for the coming of succor from their friends in England. Weak from sickness, and their provisions nearly exhausted, a gloomy prospect was before them should that succor not come. At last, in June, they were gladdened by the sight of sails coming up between the green islands of the harbor. Winthrop, with eight hundred emigrants, had come; and they were eagerly welcomed, not to the hospitalities of the needy colonists, but as their deliverers. The new-comers were obliged to furnish food to their hosts.

The few poor houses of the settlers gave little hope of comfort to those who had left pleasant homes in England, and some of them looked with dismay upon the cheerless prospect before them. But no time could be wasted in regrets, and their religious zeal and faith in the destiny of the colony under the guidance of Providence did not suffer them to despair. Places for settlement were at once sought, and the large company dividing, selected various localities for their future habitations. One party went to Mystic, or Medford; another crossed the river to share with Blackstone his domain of Shawmut, and in honor of the old English town from which most of them came, named it Boston; others went up the Charles River to a place they named Watertown, and still others to the territory lying south of Shawmut, where they founded the towns of Dorchester and Roxbury.

With the selection of sites for their plantations, the hardships of the settlers commenced. They must build their houses in the wilderness, and until these were provided they were obliged to live in tents and poor huts, suffering from heats which to them were excessive, and sometimes for want of good water. Many of them had been accustomed to plenty and the comforts and luxuries of competence and cultivated life, and the struggle with the unlooked-for hardships of a life in the wilderness was to them fearful. Women who had never before known exposure, discomfort, and want, had come, with an earnest devotion to

their religion and a firm faith in their husbands or fathers, but they were dismayed by the hardships they experienced, or had not physical strength to endure the privations, discomforts, and suffering to which they were exposed. Many of them died, and sorrow for the dead and anxiety for the living caused men to despond. Sickness was everywhere, and before December more than two hundred had died, while another hundred, among whom were some of the leading men of the colony and members of the board of assistants, were so disheartened that they returned to England. The desertion of these men, who were looked to as the steadfast friends of the enterprise, had a discouraging effect on some of the settlers. But there were others who never faltered, and whose fortitude and faith in the cause which brought them hither increased with the troubles that encompassed them.

Among the women who had left the comforts of a home of wealth and refinement was Lady Arabella Johnson, the wife of Isaac Johnson, the largest subscriber to the stock of the company, and "the greatest furtherer of the plantation." She was the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, but sharing the religious opinions of her husband, she willingly came "from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoyed in the family of a noble earldom, into a wilderness of wants." Her faith, however, was unable to sustain her through the trials she encountered, and before the summer had passed she died, greatly lamented. Mr. Johnson, broken down by disease and sorrow for his loss, lived but a month longer.

Another young female, whose pious resignation in her sickness was an example to others, and an exalted type of the spirit of the colonists, was the daughter of Thomas Sharp. She is mentioned as a maiden of "unequalled virtues," whose death "was too serene for sorrow and too beautiful for fear." Even the children manifested a similar spirit of resignation in their trials and sickness, and among those whose deaths are recorded as pre-eminently worthy of pious remembrance, was a daughter of one John Ruggles, a child of eleven years, "who, in the time of her sickness, expressed to her minister, and to those about her, so much faith and assurance of salvation as is rarely found in any of that age."

Governor Winthrop lost a son by drowning, but, under this affliction,

and the sorrow for the loss of so many of those who had come over with him, he wrote to his wife, who had remained in England, "I thank God I like so well to be here, as I do not repent of my coming. I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind." And such was the spirit of all who remained. They were fortunate indeed in having the example of so excellent a governor to follow.

The first winter passed drearily. To maintain a supply of provisions, it was necessary to send a small vessel to obtain corn from the Indians on the southern shore of Cape Cod, where a hundred bushels of corn were purchased. A vessel also opportunely arrived from England, bringing provisions. But though their supplies were limited, they were by no means reduced to such straits as were the Pilgrims at Plymouth or the early settlers at Jamestown.

The colonists had come to New England for the purpose of maintaining purity of religion and civil liberty, and they early took measures to establish a government under the charter. A general court was assembled in October, when more than a hundred persons, many of them old planters, but members of no church, were admitted to the franchises of the corporation. Though anxious to preserve the liberties of the people, and jealous of the encroachments of ambitious rulers, the assembly at first elected the magistrates for an unlimited term, with power to choose a governor and deputy from their own number, the people only reserving the right to fill vacancies. But early the next year, the almost unlimited power conferred upon the magistrates was revoked, and the right to make such changes annually as they saw fit was reserved to the people. At the same time, the right to vote, or otherwise participate in civil affairs, being limited to freemen, "to the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." Thus church and state were not merely united, but were in effect one. The government was an aristocracy, not of wealth, but of religion; the elect, who were the objects of divine love, were the only members of this aristocracy, but the humblest servant, if a member of a church, was entitled to admission to its privileges,

while the wealthiest and most learned and experienced in civil affairs, if not a church-member, was excluded from any share even in the choice of magistrates. Nor was this inconsistent with the love of civil liberty which the colonists professed, for the maintenance of a religious commonwealth was their primary object, and to secure this such a limitation of privileges was necessary. This body of freemen took another step in advance the second year, and claimed the right to elect the governor and assistants annually. The magistrates yielded, and the elective government being thus fully established, the freemen, intent only on securing their rights, and not merely seeking a change, re-elected the magistrates, in whom they had all confidence.

The first terrible year of hardship, sickness, and death was passed, the government under the charter was established, more comfortable habitations were constructed, and the several plantations were permanently fixed. Fifteen hundred emigrants had come over during the first year, besides those who had come with Endicot. But death, and the departure of those who were discouraged, had reduced the number by more than three hundred, and the reports of those who had returned to England combined with other causes to deter others from emigrating; so that in the two following years the number of new-comers did not equal the diminution. But the new commonwealth had been founded, and a hopeful future was before it.

The Massachusetts colony was watched with intense interest by a large number of persons of the middling class who were attached to the Puritan faith, and desired to enjoy civil and religious liberty. As soon as the colony was fairly established, and the hardships of the first emigrants were no longer dwelt upon by themselves in their letters to friends, nor magnified by the enemies of the Puritan system of government, these people began to come over, and a steady stream of emigration continued for some years; in one year not less than three thousand emigrants arrived. New settlements were formed at various points along the coast, and the emigrants began to penetrate into the interior.

One of the first parties who ventured into the wilderness back from the coast was a little band who established themselves at Concord. It was but a short journey, scarcely twenty miles from Boston, but it was accomplished with great difficulty by the emigrants, who were all unused

to forest life. The difficulties of this, and all such journeys into the interior, and the founding of a new settlement, are told by a writer of the olden time, as follows:—

“Upon some inquiry of the Indians who lived to the north-west of the bay, one Captaine Simon Willard, being acquainted with them, by reason of his trade, became a chiefe instrument in erecting this towne. The land they purchase of the Indians, and with much difficulties traveling through unknowne woods, and through watery swamps, they discover the fitnessse of the place, sometimes passing through the Thickets, where their hands are forced to make way for their bodies’ passage, and their feete clambering over the crossed Trees, which when they missed they sunke into an uncertaine bottome in water, and wade up to the knees, tumbling sometimes higher and sometimes lower; wearied with this toile they at end of this, meete with a scorching plaine, yet not so plaine but that the ragged Bushes scratch their legs fouly even to wearing their stockings to their bare skin in two or three houres; if they be not otherwise well defended with Bootes or Buskings their flesh will be torne so that some being forced to passe on without further provision have had the blood trickle downe at every step; and in the time of Summer the Sun casts such a reflecting heate from the sweet Ferne, whose scent is very strong, so that some herewith have beene very nere fainting, although very able bodies to undergoe much travell; and this not to be indured for one day, but for many, and verily did not the Lord incourage their naturall parts with hopes of some new and strange discovery, expecting every houre to see some new and rare sight never seene before, they were never able to hold out, and breake through.

“Yet farther to tell of the hard labours this people found in Planting this Wildernesse, after some dayes spent in search, toyling in the day time as formerly is said, like true Jacobites, they rest them on the rocks where the night takes them; their short repast is some small pittance of Bread, if it hold out, but as for Drinke they have plenty, the Countrey being well watered in all places that yet are found out; their farther hardship is to travell sometimes they know not whether, bewildered indeed without sight of Sun, their compasse miscarrying in crowding through the Bushes, they sadly search up and down for a known way, the Indians’ paths being not above one foot broad so that a

man may travell many days and never find one. This intricate worke no whit daunted these resolved servants of Christ to goe on with the worke in hand, but lying in the open aire, while the watery clouds poure down all the night season, and sometimes the driving snow dissolving on their backs, they keep their wet clothes warme with a continued fire, till the renewed morning give fresh opportunity of further travell; after they have thus found out a place of aboad, they burrow themselves in the Earth for their first shelter under some Hill-side, casting the earth aloft upon Timber; they make a smoaky fire against the earth at the highest side, and thus these poore servants of Christ provide shelter for themselves their Wives and little ones, keeping off the short showers from their Lodgings, but the long raines penetrate through, to their great disturbance in the night season; yet in these poore Wigwams they sing Psalmes, pray and praise their God till they can provide them houses, which ordinarily was not wont to be with many of them, till the Earth, by the Lord's blessing brought forth bread to feed them, their Wives and little ones, which with sore labors they attaine, every one that can lift a howe to strike it into the earth standing stoutly to their labors and teare up the Rootes and Bushes, which the first yeare beares them a very thin crop till the soard of the earth be rotten, and therefore they have been forced to cut their bread very thin a long season."

The favorable accounts from the colony soon attracted the interest of men of rank who had some sympathy with the civil and religious liberties of the people, and some of them prepared to emigrate. One of the first of this class to come was Henry Vane, a man of great ability, noble purposes, and spotless integrity, who had served his king in positions of trust and honor, and, though young, was already distinguished as a statesman. A friend of religious liberty and the rights of the people, he came to witness and enjoy the privileges which the colonists had secured. A Puritan, though no bigot, "he forsook the preferments of the court of Charles for the ordinances of religion in their purity in New England."

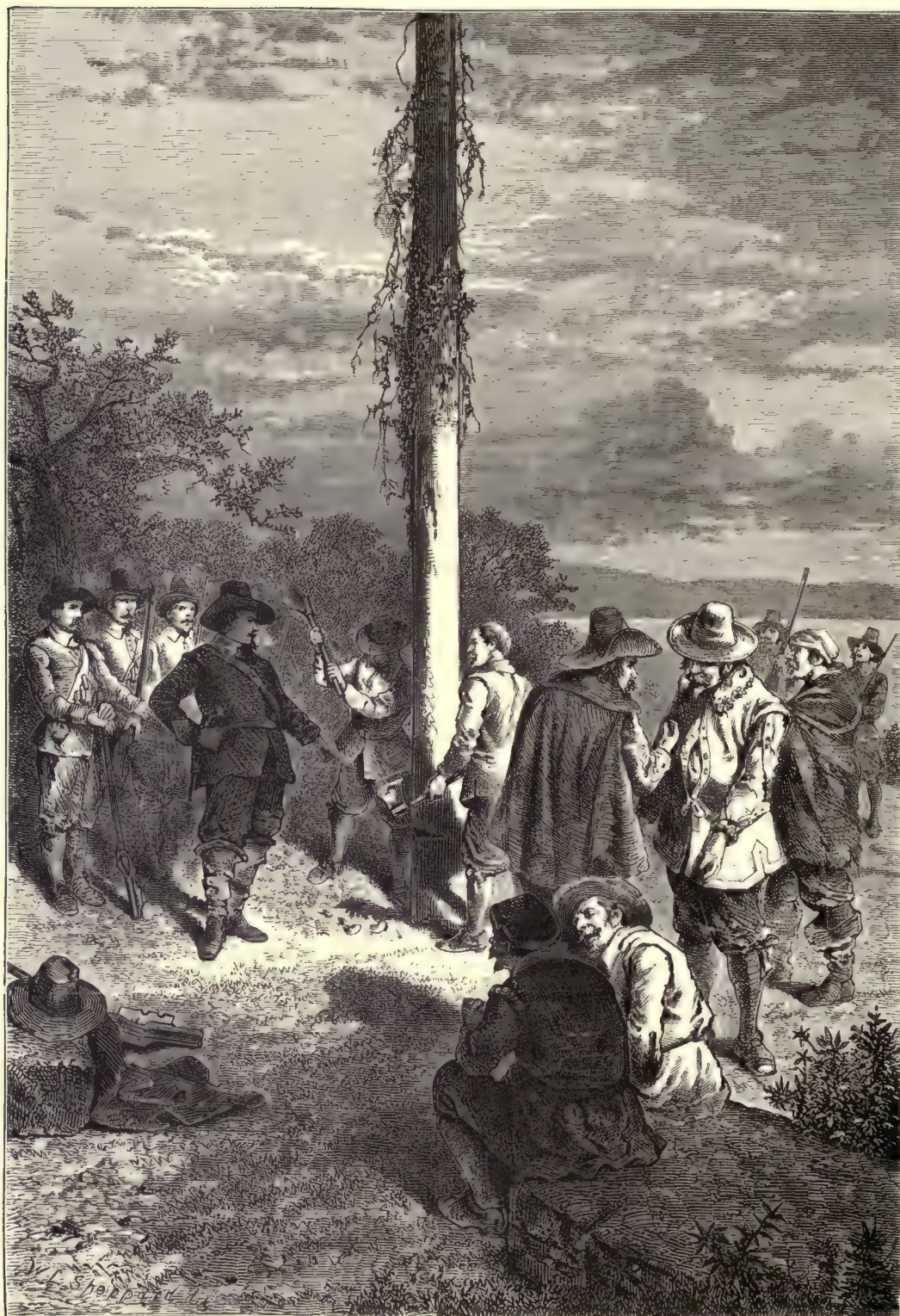
Vane did not come with the purpose of remaining permanently and identifying himself with the colony, but his coming was hailed with great satisfaction by the Puritan colonists; and with the true English regard for rank, as well as admiration for his ability and adoption of

their religious creed, when the next annual election occurred they chose him governor. This election of a man of high rank to the chief place in the colony encouraged the members of the nobility who had been looking towards New England to emigrate. Among these were Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brooke, who desired, however, before coming, that certain changes should be made in the form of government, by which hereditary privileges might be secured to them. The freemen of the colony desired to conciliate these noble and influential friends, and offered to make them magistrates for life, but they declined to establish any hereditary magistracy or nobility. Even the tenure of office for life was soon regarded with disfavor, and, as such appointments had been made in a few instances, at last a law was passed providing that those who were appointed magistrates for life "shall yet not be magistrates except in those years in which they may be regularly chosen at the annual election." One change desired by these noblemen was ultimately adopted, and the general court was divided into two branches,—the one assistants or council, and the other the deputies or representatives.

The early settlers of Virginia amused themselves with games at bowls and other physical sports; but in Massachusetts, while people of "the baser sort" were restrained from indulgence in profane amusements, the active minds among the leaders were excited by the discussion of abstruse questions of religion. Such discussions led to the division of the people into parties, and controversies somewhat violent were carried on concerning the profoundest, and yet the most impractical, questions which speculative religion could raise. Such discussion led to more serious dissensions. On the one side were the original settlers, who had founded their government on the basis of the church. Church-members were the only freemen under that frame of government, and church-membership could only be obtained by an exemplary life and the consent of the clergy. On the other side were the more recent comers, who had no special regard for the institutions of the Puritan fathers, but were advocates of the freedom of religious opinion. They charged the government and its supporters with being priest-ridden, and the clergy as being "the ushers of persecution."

These dissensions were brought to a crisis by Anne Hutchinson, a woman of remarkable ability, who had imbibed the doctrines of religious

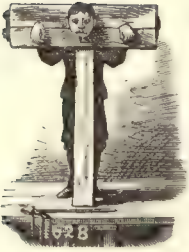
liberty in Europe, and proclaimed them with great eloquence. Governor Vane, who had also come to New England with liberal views, and could not wholly identify himself with the Puritan system which he found established, supported Mrs. Hutchinson; and then the differences were carried into the politics of the colony. The clergy united in defence of their prerogatives and in opposition to Vane, and at the next election, after a heated contest, Governor Winthrop and others, who were the founders of the colony, were re-elected, and the Puritan commonwealth was maintained. Vane, no longer acceptable to the ruling colonists, returned to England, where he was distinguished for his exertions in the cause of civil liberty,—a cause in which he was at last a noble martyr. The Puritan fathers, re-established in authority, did not long delay to rid themselves of the most obnoxious of their opponents, as narrated on a subsequent page. They were determined first of all to maintain their religion in its purity, the chief purpose for which they had emigrated, and with an intolerance characteristic of the age, rather than peculiar to them, they excluded all who did not agree with them.



ENDICOT CUTTING DOWN MORTON'S MAY-POLE.

XXIX.

EARLY PUNISHMENTS OF OBNOXIOUS PERSONS.



HE arrest of Thomas Morton of "Merry Mount," and his transportation to England by the Plymouth colonists, has already been related. The first Puritan settlers also dealt a blow at him. When Endicot arrived he was promptly informed of Morton's May-pole and his wicked revels about it. The existence of such an abomination as a May-pole within the limits of the Massachusetts patent was not to be tolerated. Endicot, who was as passionate as he was pious, was especially angry that such a wicked device of Satan should be found within the domain placed under his charge, and he determined to destroy it. Taking a few men with him, he proceeded to Merry Mount, while Morton was absent, and cut down the offensive tree. Two or three of Morton's men, and a few natives, lounging idly near, looked on in amazement at this demonstration; but though in the opinion of the Puritans they were serving Satan, they did not attempt to defend their altar, and the stern Puritan leader, after administering a sharp rebuke, departed with a comfortable sense of having done God service. With Endicot on one side and Standish on the other, Merry Mount was not a comfortable abode for evil-doers.

But the irrepressible Morton, escaping from his deserts in England, returned again to Merry Mount soon after his May-pole fell before the wrath of Endicot, and commenced again his reckless intercourse with the Indians, and his occasional revels. He was "a proud, insolent man,"

and he did not hesitate to trespass upon the rights and property of the settlers who came over with Winthrop, nor to abuse the Indians upon the slightest provocation. On one occasion, when a party of Indians refused or neglected to bring him a canoe to cross a river, he fired "hail shot" at them, wounding some, and provoking the hostility of all. The Indians made loud complaint to the magistrates of the colony, and those settlers who had suffered at his hands joined in demanding his punishment. A party of men were accordingly sent to arrest him; and to satisfy the complainants, and the Indians especially, and to prove to them that the magistrates "meant to do justice impartially," he was bound and put in the stocks, and his house at Merry Mount was burned to the ground. Having received thus much of punishment, to the great delight of the Indians, and somewhat to the terror of the Puritan children who gazed with awe upon the culprit, he was detained as a prisoner till he could be sent again to England, that the lord chief justice "might punish him capitally for fouler misdemeanors there perpetrated."

Although sent a second time to England with serious charges against him, Morton seems to have escaped punishment, and joined with the enemies of the colony in their efforts to injure it. He then wrote his somewhat famous and scurrilous book, the "*New English Canaan*," in which he misrepresented and defamed the colonists of both Plymouth and Massachusetts, and invented the story of the vicarious hanging, which has been referred to in a previous chapter, and other equally absurd statements. Returning to New England in 1643, after an absence of thirteen years, he was called to account for his hostility to the colony. His "*New English Canaan*," and an abusive letter which he had written, were produced as evidence against him, and he was found guilty of defaming and injuring the colony, and was imprisoned for a year, and fined one hundred pounds. Being unable to pay the fine, he was released, or permitted to escape, and went to Maine, where he died.

Among those with whom Morton had joined in abusing the colonists in England was another reckless adventurer, one Christopher Gardiner. This individual had come to New England shortly before Winthrop's arrival, under the title of Sir Christopher Gardiner, and made great pretensions to wealth and importance. It turned out, however, that he was no knight, but was a mere adventurer, who had left one wife in Paris

and another in London, and had come to New England with still another woman. The two unfortunate wives met in London, and, condoling with each other, sent to Governor Winthrop, praying that the false-hearted bigamist might be sent back to England, "his first wife desiring his return and conversion, his second his destruction for his foul abuse, and for robbing her of her estate, comprising therein many rich jewels, much plate, and costly linen." The governor sent some officers to Gardiner's house to arrest him, but, having heard some rumors of the letters which had been received, the wary rogue fled to the woods when he saw the officers approaching, leaving his companion to be taken. She was examined by the magistrates, but was "impenitent and close, confessing no more than was wrested from her by her own contradictions," and she was sent over to the two wives in England, to be disposed of as they might see fit. Gardiner wandered about among the Indians for a month, when some of them took him to Plymouth, from which place he was carried to Boston, and thence sent to England. How his two wives disposed of him does not appear, but he was not prevented from venting his spite against the Puritans by joining in the abuse of the colonists which was then prevalent among a class of malcontents in England.

Among the fifteen hundred emigrants who came with Winthrop and immediately after, there were many who were not imbued with the Puritan faith. Some of them came in the employ of the company, or as servants or agents of parties who had a pecuniary interest in the enterprise, and of course there were some "black sheep" among the number. But, as the evil propensities of such were developed, they were promptly brought to punishment, and suffered such penalties as were then in vogue in England. One Philip Ratcliff, an agent of Governor Cradock, the first governor of the company in England, made himself obnoxious by speaking "boldly and wickedly against the government and governors here, using such words as some judged deserved death." His seditious conduct soon got him into trouble; he was arrested, tried, and found guilty, and for his offence was publicly whipped, and had both his ears cut off. Bearing the marks of his disgrace, he found his way to England, where he also joined the malcontents in denouncing and maligning the colonists. Other adventurers, of vicious character, who had come

over with the colonists, perhaps to escape punishment at home, as soon as they became known were sent back to England to receive their deserts.

The whipping-post, stocks, and pillory were promptly set up in Boston, as a terror to evil-doers; an executioner, expert in the use of the whip on the back of culprits and the knife on their ears, was early appointed; and the magistrates exercised the power of inflicting such penalties as they saw fit, and resorted to banishment in order to rid themselves of "pestilent fellows" whose offences were too great for the pillory and not quite enough for the gallows.

The first occupant of the stocks in Boston was the unfortunate carpenter who made the wood-work. He doubtless thought that for such labor he ought to receive unusual pay, since all who were to be placed in the stocks would probably curse the maker; but he overshot the mark, and, for his extortion in taking two pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence for his work, he was fined five pounds, and ordered to sit one hour in the stocks which he had himself constructed. After him, the stocks were never for a very long period out of use, and the whip was not infrequently in requisition; at an early period, too, the gallows had its victims.

Severe laws were passed, and penalties were attached to offences which seem trivial now; but the character of the laws, and the nature of the punishments were not peculiar to the Puritans, but were common to the age, and were derived from the laws and customs of the mother country. But, anxious to maintain an orderly and pious commonwealth, they extended the law to new subjects, and punished moral delinquencies, as well as crimes and misdemeanors. For the minor offences fines were the most common punishment, but the discretion or ingenuity of the magistrates sometimes applied a new penalty. Daniel Clarke, for being an immoderate drinker, was fined forty shillings; and Sergeant Perkins, for being drunk, was ordered to carry forty turfs to the fort; while John Wedgewood, for being in company with drunkards, was set in the stocks. The early records show that numerous punishments were inflicted for a great variety of offences and delinquencies, chiefly among those who were not freemen nor church-members, though occasionally some erring church-member was subjected to like penalties. Nor did

the women escape the punishment incurred by their misdeeds, and more than one found guilty of slander or being a common scold — and even more serious offences were not unknown among them — were placed in the stocks.

The Pilgrims at Plymouth inflicted punishment in a similar manner, and for like offences. One of the first offences they were called upon to punish was a duel between Edward Doty and Edward Leister, servants of Steven Hopkins. These worthies, having quarrelled, undertook to settle their difficulty after the manner of the gentry in the old country, and fought with sword and dagger till both were wounded. The fathers of the colony, thinking their wounds were not sufficient punishment, held a council to consider what should be done to deter other belligerent parties from indulging in this amusement. They had no law establishing a penalty for this offence, but they very quickly invented one for the occasion, and ordered the parties to be tied together, hand and foot, and to remain so for twenty-four hours, without food or drink. The culprits pleaded hard to be released, and made excellent promises, and, at the intercession of their master, they were set at liberty after an hour's endurance of the punishment.

Persons "who behaved themselves profanely" by remaining out of the meeting-house on the Lord's day during service, and then "misde-meaning themselves by jesting, sleeping, or the like," were first admonished, and if they did not refrain were set in the stocks. For disturbing the church at Duxbury, two worthies were fined twenty shillings, and were ordered to be bound to a post for two hours, at the next town meeting or training day, with a paper on their heads reciting their offence. One unfortunate, who found it convenient to carry a grist of corn from mill on Sunday, was sentenced to pay a fine of twenty shillings or to be whipped.

Swearing was said to be punished by boring the tongue with a hot iron, but it is doubtful if such punishment was inflicted; and lying, by a fine in proportion to the magnitude of the lie. One of the Smith family, "for lying concerning seeing a whale and other things," was fined twenty shillings; while one Randall, for simply "telling a lie," was mulcted in half that sum.

Scolds fared ill, if, as alleged, they were indeed gagged and set at

their doors for certain hours "for all comers and goers by to gaze at;" and slanderers received a severer punishment, for Miss J. Boulton, having committed that offence, was sentenced to sit in the stocks during the pleasure of the court, "and a paper written in capital letters to be made fast unto her all the time of her sitting there."

There were laws for the punishment of offences which are now seldom heard of, and looking back to the old records, one must admit that, considering their numbers, offences against morals and laws were as frequent among the people of the Massachusetts colony in those days as in more recent times, or came to light as frequently. And such offences were not confined to the poorer and more reckless classes, but persons of good repute and social standing, who were church-members, were sometimes the sinners, and were punished for their sins.

It is sometimes said that the laws of the Puritans were excessively severe, but they were milder than those of England at that day, and the offences punished by death were not so many as in the mother country. The capital offences in the Massachusetts colony did not exceed ten or twelve, while in Virginia there were seventeen. It was the age, and not the peculiar people either of New England or Virginia, that was responsible for the severe and sometimes brutal punishments that prevailed. Similar and even more barbarous penalties were in vogue in the most civilized nations of Europe.

XXX.

INTOLERANCE.—ROGER WILLIAMS.—ANNE HUTCHINSON.



THE summary way in which the Puritans began at the very commencement of their settlement to rid themselves of persons of questionable character, was subsequently carried to extremes by driving out those who did not agree with their religious or political doctrines, though no charge could be brought against their moral character or conduct. Viewed from their standpoint, however, and in the light of that period, this policy was justifiable. They had come to found a Puritan colony, and felt it to be a religious duty, as well as a necessity for self-protection, to exclude those whose evil life or seditious teachings were dangerous to their religious polity or the morals of their people. "They could not tolerate the scoffer, the infidel, or the dissenter."

Before the arrival of Winthrop, Endicot had sent back to England the Brownes because they adhered to the forms of the established church and used the Book of Common Prayer. With Roger Williams a more serious conflict arose, which greatly disturbed the colony, and resulted in the exile of its cause.

Williams arrived in New England early in 1631, a young Puritan minister of great piety and "precious gifts." Persecution in England had caused him to consider deeply the nature of intolerance, and while condemning the bigotry which denied him the right to worship God as his conscience dictated, he followed his reasonings to their logical conclusions and protested against all persecution for conscience' sake. He

maintained that the civil law should not undertake to dictate forms of faith, nor to enforce conformity of opinion. The office of the magistrate was to restrain crime, but not to control opinion or interfere with the dictates of a man's conscience. He conceived and boldly announced religious liberty in its largest sense,—a liberty with which human laws had no right to interfere. "The sanctity of conscience was the great tenet which, with all its consequences, he defended."

Such a doctrine seemed monstrous to the stern Puritans who, though fleeing from the persecution of the English hierarchy, had not renounced the use of force in matters of religion. It was in direct opposition to the system on which the colony was founded, and Williams found himself in sympathy with none of the churches on this point, though agreeing with them in the more vital matters of faith. Ministers and magistrates vehemently controverted his doctrine; but he maintained his belief with the keenest reasoning and unyielding firmness, yet always with a gentle and forgiving temper. While the leading clergy and their austere followers were thus opposing a doctrine which they considered dangerous to the maintenance of religion, they were astounded when the people of Salem desired to have Williams for their teacher. The magistrates marvelled at the hasty decision of the Salem people, and they were required to relinquish the idea of receiving a minister who held to such heresy in ecclesiastical matters. The Salem people submitted, and Williams went to Plymouth, where he remained nearly two years, finding among the Pilgrims a more tolerant reception than among the less liberal Puritans.

The people of Salem still regarded Williams with affection, and again invited him to come among them. He yielded to their wishes, but he was regarded with jealousy by the other ministers and magistrates, and his principles continually brought him into collision with them. He would hold no communion with intolerance, whether of the Church of England or of the churches in New England. He denounced the law which required every man to attend public worship, declaring that the worst statute in the English code was that which enforced attendance upon the parish church, and that no one should be bound to worship or to maintain a worship against his own consent. Such doctrines amazed the Puritan fathers, who believed that the cause of religion would

thereby be utterly lost. He also argued that it was as absurd to select the magistrates exclusively from the members of the church, as it would be to choose a doctor of physic, or a pilot, according to his skill in theology and his standing in the church. Such views, the Puritans declared, would subvert all good government; and when he asserted that magistrates were but the agents of the people for civil purposes only, on whom no spiritual power in matters of worship can ever be conferred, and that "the civil magistrate may not intermeddle, even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy," he aimed a blow at the system on which the government of the colony was based, and excited the gravest apprehensions of the magistrates and ministers. The former were still further disturbed when he opposed the imposition of the "freeman's oath," by which every freeman was obliged to swear allegiance to the government of Massachusetts, and they looked upon him as an ally of a dangerous faction.

Williams was summoned before the court to answer for his avowal of such dangerous doctrines, but his temper was so mild, notwithstanding his firmness, and his ability in argument was so great, that the magistrates found it difficult to deal with his case. The ministers, however, were more ready to condemn him, and declared that any one who asserted that "the civil magistrate may not intermeddle, even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy," was worthy of banishment. A committee of the clergy was appointed to deal with the offending minister and his church in a church way. The court censured the people of Salem for their choice of a teacher, and, to punish them for their obstinacy in adhering to him, a tract of land which had been allotted them was withheld.

Matters were thus brought to a crisis. Williams joined with his church in addressing letters to all the churches of which any of the magistrates were members, desiring them to admonish the magistrates of their injustice. This was looked upon as little less than treason, and Salem was disfranchised by the general court till an apology should be made for the offensive letters. The good people of Salem, however much they admired Williams, were not actuated by settled convictions like him; they wavered and yielded. To a man they retracted the language which had given offence, and abandoned the principle of the

sanctity of conscience which their minister had proclaimed. Williams was thus left alone; even his wife reproached him for his course. But, though deserted by his friends, and with the whole colony apparently opposed to him, the champion of religious liberty remained firm, and before the general court he boldly avowed his convictions, and declared himself ready to be bound and banished, and even to die, rather than renounce the doctrines which he felt to be true. The influence of the ministers was exerted to secure his punishment, and the general court was induced to pronounce against him the sentence of exile.

Winter was approaching when this sentence was pronounced, and Williams obtained permission to remain till spring. The people of Salem now regretted their ungenerous desertion of a teacher so faithful to his principles. He was a martyr for conscience' sake; and with even more reverent regard for him than ever before, they flocked to his house to testify their affection, and to listen while they might to his words. Ministers and magistrates again became alarmed lest his opinions should become contagious, and a new state should be founded on the principles he proclaimed. It was therefore determined to send him at once to England in a ship just ready to sail. He was summoned to Boston to embark, but he declined to obey the summons for such a purpose; and when officers were sent to arrest him, he was not to be found. Although it was in the middle of a severe winter, and the snow lay deep upon the ground, he went forth into the wilderness alone, an exile from home and friends, not knowing whither he should go, or what fate awaited him, but with the spirit of a martyr, and the faith of a saint.

For fourteen weeks he wandered through the dreary forest, sleeping sometimes under a projecting rock or in a hollow tree, living for days together on nuts and dried berries, and sometimes sheltered from the pitiless blast in the smoky cabins of hospitable Indians, and sharing their meagre fare. He had always shown himself friendly to the natives, and had acquired a sufficient knowledge of their language to make known his wants and to converse with them on the great truths of religion. During his residence at Plymouth he had become well known to the neighboring sachems, and had inspired them with respect. As he now made his way southward he met some of these old acquaintances, and was received with hearty friendship and guided on his way. Governor

Winthrop, who felt a sympathy for him, had privately written to him, advising him to go to the Narragansett Bay, beyond the limits of the patents of Massachusetts and Plymouth. This kindly advice he followed, and thither he went, bound to found a settlement where the sanctity of conscience should be recognized.

The colony was rid of Roger Williams; but doctrines similar to his were soon proclaimed with a fanaticism to which he was a stranger, and caused a serious division among the people. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of remarkable ability and eloquence, made her appearance in the colony, proclaiming freedom for religious opinion, opposing every despotism over the mind, and maintaining the paramount authority of private judgment. She soon had many followers. Sir Henry Vane, who was then governor of the colony, a man of enlightened and liberal views, at once gave her his support; "scholars and men of learning, members of the magistracy and the general court, adopted her opinions;" and in her opposition to the tyranny of the Puritan clergy a majority of the people of Boston sustained her. Her brother, the Rev. John Wheelwright, shared her opinions, and for a fast-day sermon, in which he strenuously maintained the truth of those opinions, was censured by the general court for sedition, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Governor Vane. The Rev. John Cotton, with whom the governor resided, was influenced by Vane so far as not to oppose the doctrines which the latter approved. All the other ministers united in opposition to the principles so dangerous to their influence, and, in their view, fatal to the safety alike of religion and good government. The friends of Wheelwright threatened an appeal to the king, but this was considered by the colonists as little better than treason against their liberties, and the religious dissensions were thus carried into the election. A heated contest ensued; the friends of the old order of things rallied to maintain, as they believed, the rights of the colony against the power of the English government, and Winthrop and his friends, "the fathers and founders of the colony," succeeded in regaining the control of the government.

The dispute, however, continued, and entered into all the affairs of the colony, until the existence of a party violently opposed to the government was considered inconsistent with the public peace. To prevent the increase of this party, which was chiefly recruited from abroad, a

law was passed providing that no person should be received within the jurisdiction of the colony but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates. Vane opposed this and similar measures without success, and warning the colonists against such legislation, this wise and firm friend of liberty soon after embarked for England.

Mrs. Hutchinson continued to proclaim the doctrines she so heartily believed in, and Wheelwright strenuously supported them, while some of their followers, indignant at the censure passed upon the latter, became somewhat extravagant in their declarations, and avowed their purpose, in spite of ministers and magistrates, to follow the dictates of conscience. Fearing the spread of such a dangerous heresy, a synod of the ministers of New England was assembled by the government for the purpose of settling the true faith, and condemning those false doctrines which were to be rejected. There was little difference among the clergy. Besides Wheelwright, Cotton was the only minister who had given any countenance to the opinions and teachings of Mrs. Hutchinson, and when he no longer felt the influence of Vane, there was little difficulty in his agreeing with his brethren. So with entire unanimity the heresy was condemned, and the true faith being declared, the magistrates were called upon to maintain it. This they did by again resorting to the sentence of banishment against the more prominent offenders. Mrs. Hutchinson, Wheelwright, and Aspinwall were pronounced unfit for the society of the pious colonists, and were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts. Their followers, who had threatened an appeal from the authority of the colonial government, and were regarded as a dangerous faction, were required to deliver up their arms lest they might "upon some revelation make a sudden insurrection."

Wheelwright and his friends went to the banks of the Piscataqua, and founded the settlement of Exeter. Mrs. Hutchinson and the larger number of her faithful followers travelled southward, and being welcomed by Roger Williams, through his influence obtained from the chief of the Narragansetts a gift of the island of Rhode Island. Here they established themselves under a perfectly democratic form of government, in which the liberty of conscience was expressly recognized. Here Mrs. Hutchinson continued to proclaim her opinions, and found many converts among the young men, who left the other colonies,



CODDINGTON AND GORTON.

attracted by her teachings and the freedom of Rhode Island. The Puritans of Massachusetts were greatly disturbed by these things. One of her sons and a son-in-law ventured to expostulate with them on account of the wrongs their mother had suffered, and they were imprisoned for several months, as a punishment for their audacity. The power of Massachusetts, directed by some of the more intolerant of the clergy, seemed likely to be extended beyond its legitimate limits, and even Rhode Island seemed no longer a safe place of refuge for the eloquent teacher of such offensive doctrines. Mrs. Hutchinson and her family accordingly removed to the Dutch territory of New Netherlands, where all but one child were killed by the Indians.

Another individual who was obnoxious to the Puritans was Samuel Gorton, who came to Boston in 1636. He entertained the same views as Roger Williams with regard to the province of the magistrates and freedom of conscience, but he had also many extravagant and fanciful ideas in his religious opinions. As he was bold and outspoken, expressing his views with great ability and freedom, he soon found all the ministers combined against him, and he was engaged in heated conflict of argument; but as the ministers ruled the magistrates, Gorton found it expedient to leave Boston and go to Plymouth. There his views were no more acceptable than among the Puritans, and he went to the settlement on Rhode Island, where he quarrelled with Coddington, the founder of the settlement, about some swine. The dispute was carried into court, of which Coddington was the principal magistrate, and a scene of violence ensued. Coddington cried out, "You that are for the king, lay hold on Gorton!" and the bold reformer retorted, "You that are for the king, lay hold on Coddington!" But Coddington was too powerful in the settlement, and Gorton was whipped and banished.

Gorton then sought the tolerant colony of Roger Williams at Providence, where he remained for a time, until, purchasing of the sachem Miantonomoh some land on Narragansett Bay, he established himself there, with "such as chose to enjoy his way of thinking." But some of his associates found that they did *not* enjoy his way of thinking, and sought the protection of the Massachusetts colony. Gorton had also exercised a bad influence on the Narragansett Indians, and encouraged their hostility towards Massachusetts. The Puritans were ready enough

to suppress Gorton's heresy, and to punish him for his dangerous course with the Indians, as well as for the insulting language he used towards the general court. They therefore assumed the protection of the complainants and their lands, considering further that "the place might be of use to us; and it was the part of wisdom not to let it slip." Some commissioners, with a military force, were sent to settle the difficulties. Gorton and his adherents were taken before the court in Boston, where he made an extravagant and mystical speech, which only confirmed the court against him. All the magistrates but three were of opinion that he ought to die; but the deputies, like the people they represented, were more tolerant than ministers and magistrates, and would not agree to such a sentence. Attempts were made to induce him to abandon his "hellish blasphemy," but he preferred martyrdom to apostasy, and it being necessary to inflict some punishment upon so persistent an offender, he and six of his followers were distributed among seven towns, to be kept at work, and to wear irons on one leg, and not to maintain their blasphemous errors by writing; if they did, they were to be punished by death. The court also sent to Gorton's settlement and took his cattle, to pay the expense of this invasion of the territory and rights of parties over whom they had no jurisdiction! The punishment, however, was a two-edged sword, for it excited pity, especially among women, for the unfortunate Gorton and his friends, and the obnoxious doctrines were listened to and found converts among the sympathizing people. Not knowing what else to do under such circumstances, it was decided to set them at liberty, and give them fourteen days to get out of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts colony, — a privilege of which they were glad to avail themselves.

Puritan intolerance towards the Quakers, at a later date in the history of the colony, was attended with more sad and fatal results, and will be narrated in a subsequent chapter.



QUARREL OF WINTHPOP AND DUDLEY.

XXXI.

PILGRIMS AND PURITANS.—INCIDENTS, EPI- SODES, AND CHARACTERISTICS.



WE are accustomed to look upon the sombre side of the Puritan character, and to see them only as stern and morose religionists, strict moralists, industrious in their temporal affairs, but opponents of all recreations and pleasure; whose affections even were under the restraint of a severe creed, and could find no natural expression. But they were human, and however much their religion tinged their character and conduct with its sober hues, their family attachments, their love and friendship, though not demonstrative, found characteristic expression in words and kindly acts. Though the elders and church-members did not indulge in much merriment, they were not devoid of humor, and did not abstain from laughter. The young and the large number who were not church-members, though under the watchful restraint of parents, guardians, and masters, as well as the rigid rules of conduct prescribed by the magistrates, were pretty much like the young everywhere in their feelings. They could not express their sentiments with the freedom of modern times, but there were stolen occasions of frolic, sly bits of love-making, and secret passages of romance.

In his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, written amid the sorrows of the first terrible winter, and when he was rather disposed to despond under the hardships encountered, Dudley tells of a false alarm which evidently provoked the laughter of the grave elders. "Upon the

25th of this March," he wrote, "one of Watertown having lost a calf, and about ten of the clock at night hearing the howling of some wolves not far off, raised many of his neighbors out of their beds, that, by discharging their muskets near about the place where he heard the wolves, he might so put the wolves to flight and save his calf. The wind serving fit to carry the report of the muskets to Roxbury, three miles off, at such a time, the inhabitants there took an alarm, beat up their drum, armed themselves, and sent in post to us to Boston to raise us also. So in the morning, the calf being found safe, the wolves affrighted, and our danger past, we went merrily to breakfast." The fear of an attack by the Indians undoubtedly created a genuine alarm, and the relief experienced when the harmless cause of the disturbance was known evidently found expression in fun and laughter.

Governor Winthrop, who was an "example of piety" to the colonists, and whose benevolence was constantly shown in kindly service to the poor, sometimes had a humorous way of manifesting it. He was in the habit of sending some of his family or servants upon errands to the houses of the poor about their meal-time, "on purpose to spy whether they wanted," and if it was found that they were needy, he quietly sent them supplies. On one occasion a neighbor gave him private information that a certain needy person stole wood from his pile. The governor, in apparent anger, exclaimed, "Does he so! I'll take a course with him. Go call that man to me; I'll warrant you I'll cure him of stealing." Ascertaining that the offender had stolen rather from necessity than evil disposition, when the poor fellow appeared trembling before him, the governor said to him, "Friend, it is a severe winter, and I doubt you are but meanly provided with wood; wherefore I would have you supply yourself at my wood-pile till this cold season be over." And then, we are told, "he merrily asked his friends whether he had not effectually cured this man of stealing his wood."

Governor Winthrop was a man of a mild and generous nature, disinclined to harsh and severe measures, and sometimes far from giving satisfaction to the sterner Puritans. But he was human, and could take offence, and there were times when anger got the better of his dignity. The deputy-governor, Dudley, an older man, of a very positive nature, and disposed to adopt the most rigorous measures to enforce uniformity,



A LORD-MAYOR'S PROCESSION AT AGAMENTICUS

looked with impatience upon the lenient policy of Winthrop, and early commenced finding fault with him. The governor resented the manner rather than the matter of Dudley's animadversions; and a serious difference existed between them for a long time. At last it broke out into an angry dispute before the ministers who were convened to hear the complaints of Dudley against Winthrop. The governor standing upon his rights under the charter, Dudley got into a violent passion, "and told the Governor if he were so round he would be round too. The Governor bade him be round if he would. So the Deputy rose up in great fury and passion, and the Governor grew very hot also, as they both fell into bitterness; but by mediation of the mediators they were soon pacified." Doubtless these grave Puritan fathers came near to blows in their passion. That the explosion did not more seriously disturb the Puritan mind indicates that anger and high words were not altogether strangers in Puritan society. Indeed, among less distinguished parties disputes were not uncommon, and being Englishmen, they had a pertinacious way of maintaining their opinions.

With the Puritans, though not really of them, were some wild young men, possibly the sons of some of the most pious of the church-members, who, like all such graceless youths, were fond of pranks. One day, as the Rev. John Cotton, the much respected minister of Boston, was walking quietly down the street, absorbed in his own thoughts, a group of these young scapegraces stood by the wayside, and, as he approached, one of them said to his fellows,—

"There comes old Cotton; I'll go and put a trick upon him." So saying, he went and said in the minister's ear, "Cotton, thou art an old fool!"

The youth was proud of his impudent exploit, and the worthy minister was so astounded that for a moment he was silent. But recovering his composure, he replied, with characteristic humility,—

"I confess I am so; the Lord make both thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation." The gentleness of the answer, and the mild look which accompanied it, made the youth slink away discomfited, though he and his fellows probably indulged in much merriment when out of the minister's sight at the good joke of calling the Rev. Mr. Cotton an old fool to his face.

There are episodes of love and romance, even in the lives of the sober elders. Tradition has preserved what History has ignored, and Poetry has embalmed the tradition, handed down faithfully from generation to generation, of the courtship of Miles Standish. The brave and fiery little captain was not so devoted to his sword but he could have an eye for beauty, and among the few maidens in Plymouth, Priscilla Mullins attracted him to such a degree, that he desired to end his lonely life by marrying her. How deeply he was in love may be a matter of conjecture, but from his temperament we may suppose the flame burned fiercely, even if briefly. But the bluff soldier who could throw himself upon the stalwart Pecksuot and kill him with his own dagger, did not dare to tell his love and pop the important question.

"I can march up to a fortress, and summon the place to surrender,
But march up to a woman with such a proposal, I dare not.
I'm not afraid of bullets, nor shot from the mouth of a cannon,
But of a thundering 'No!' point blank from the mouth of a woman,
That I confess I'm afraid of, nor am I ashamed to confess it!"

Since his shyness compelled him to court by proxy, Standish was unfortunate in selecting John Alden for that service,—John Alden, who was himself in love with the fair Priscilla, and whose youth and comeliness were in strong contrast with the grim looks of the "stocky" soldier. Alden doubtless performed his unwelcome task with true loyalty to the friend whose request he could not refuse, or whom he dared not offend; but while he told of the captain's love, and the captain's worth, Priscilla saw only the proxy wooer, and detecting under his pleading for his friend—if she did not know before—the state of his heart, the counterpart of her own, it is not strange that, utterly ignoring the rough Miles Standish,—

"Archly the maiden smiled, and with eyes overrunning with laughter,
Said, in a tremulous voice, 'Why don't you speak for yourself, John?'"

The wrath of the hot-tempered Standish, when the result of his courtship by proxy was made known to him, may be imagined. Of course he must have felt that he was betrayed, and it is a wonder that he did not commit some violence on the friend who proved his more

fortunate rival; but perhaps his disappointment added force to the blow with which he drove the dagger into the bosom of the savage Pecksuot, and thus found relief.

There are those who discredit the story of Miles Standish's courtship by proxy, and who would brush away from barren facts everything that savors of romance; as if the story of the Pilgrims and Puritans were not cold, hard, and sombre enough, without destroying the meagre bits of interesting lore that here and there adorn it. But tradition is often quite as trustworthy as an old chronicle, and supplies what that omits. And the tradition of this courtship, which no chronicle disproves, has come down to us through the successive generations of the Alden family.

A little romance is connected with another prominent name among the Pilgrims, the bald facts of which are mentioned by the old chroniclers. Governor Bradford, when a young man in England, became strongly attached to Alice Carpenter, the daughter of a neighboring landed proprietor. His love was returned by the young lady, and in their meetings, which were probably, under the circumstances, by stealth, they plighted their vows. Bradford was a dissenter, and belonged to a body of worshippers who were suffering the persecution of the English hierarchy, and were preparing to fly from England and seek a refuge in Holland. The young man determined to go with his religious brethren; but, before going, he sought from Alice's father the hand which she had already promised him. But the father was obdurate. It did not matter that in birth, social position, and possessions the suitor was an eligible party; he was a dissenter; and the rigid supporter of church and king would not permit his daughter to wed a pestilent dissenter. The lovers separated with heavy hearts, and Bradford soon went to Leyden. It was a hopeless case for them, and though their attachment was no transitory fancy, they wisely determined to make the best of it. Bradford married another excellent woman, and Alice Carpenter became Mistress Alice Southworth.

Some years passed, and Bradford came over with the little band of Pilgrims in the *Mayflower*. While the ship was at anchor in Cape Cod harbor, and Bradford, with Standish and others, was absent exploring the coast in the pinnace, Mrs. Bradford fell overboard and was drowned. It was a sad loss to him, just as he had found a place where he was to

establish a home, and enjoy the right to worship God according to his conscience without molestation; but he soon saw others more severely afflicted, as, under their exposure and want, one half the colony died. Elected to succeed the excellent Carver as governor, he devoted himself to the welfare of the colony, but, with a temperament calculated for the enjoyment of domestic life, he felt lonely without a helpmate. He had heard that Mrs. Southworth was a widow, and the memory of his first and strongest love induced him to write to her and renew the suit of his youth. He was indeed governor of this little colony, but he could offer little inducement for her to leave the comforts of an English home, and share with him the inconveniences and hardships of a life in the wilderness, — nothing, indeed, but a renewed pledge of his early love.

At that time it took long and weary months for a letter to cross the Atlantic, and required patience to await a reply. Unable to leave the colony and renew his suit in person, he wrote, asking her, if her heart responded to his, to come to him by the next ship bound to Plymouth. With anxiety and doubt he waited through the long period before the expected ship could arrive. In the mean time the condition of the colony was not prosperous, and those who were to come could receive only a sad welcome from the needy settlers. At last the looked-for ship arrived, and while hastening to discharge his duties as governor by providing for the reception of all who came, Bradford could not but feel anxious, uncertain whether he should meet her for whom he had sent, or receive a letter which should again crush his hopes. But he was not doomed to disappointment. Among the passengers was Alice Southworth, no longer, indeed, the fair young girl whom he had known as Alice Carpenter, but a comely matron, who met him with the reserve due to their age and position, but with a rekindling of youthful love. That love had been put to the test, and she had left home, and friends, and luxury, to redeem the pledge given in her youth. Notwithstanding the poor hospitalities he could offer, that was a happy day for the governor, and in a fortnight he was married to his first choice. And it was a happy marriage, as well as a romantic one, for Mrs. Bradford was long remembered as a devoted wife, and a woman of exemplary and beautiful character.

Governor Bellingham, of Massachusetts, figured in a romance of a somewhat more scandalous character. Before he was elected governor,

he was one of the most strenuous advocates of a law passed in 1639, requiring the publication of intentions of marriage by proclamation in the church on lecture day, for three successive weeks. Little did he then think that he would be the first to violate the law. In 1641 he was elected governor. At that time, a young lady of great personal attractions was a member of his family, and was the object of serious attentions on the part of a young kinsman of the governor, it being supposed that they were in fact betrothed. Bellingham was then a widower, and he also conceived a strong attachment to the young lady, though he was fifty years of age, and she but twenty. By nature imperious, and not very considerate of the rights or feelings of others when opposed to his own wishes, he disregarded propriety and hospitality, and vigorously made love to his guest.

The young kinsman, shocked at this bold invasion of his rights, remonstrated with the fair one for tolerating the attentions of his rival. But the lady was high-spirited, and indignant that her conduct should be restrained by any one but a husband, she slighted her younger suitor, and encouraged the elder. The young kinsman was poor and dependent, and the governor's comparative wealth and high position were too powerful temptations for the ambitious girl to resist. She discarded the young lover, and accepted the governor. The gossips, of course, enjoyed this unusual bit of scandal in the Puritan town, and Bellingham, with all his assurance, was not bold enough to face the nods and headshakings which would attend the publication of the banns, or he was too eager to make sure of his prize to wait the prescribed time. He accordingly disregarded the law requiring the publication, which he had himself so earnestly advocated. With the Puritans, marriage was a civil contract, entered into before a magistrate. But as no magistrate would be equally guilty of violating the law by performing the marriage ceremony without the publication, he performed it himself! In the presence of his household for witnesses the pair made their promises, and then and there the governor pronounced himself and the lady man and wife.

For this violation of law, and scandalous disregard of propriety and the custom of the colony, he was prosecuted. The case came before the court of which, as governor, he was a member. To add to the scan-

dal, he had the assurance to take his seat on the bench, to assist in trying his own cause. Winthrop, who was then deputy-governor, refused to proceed unless the culprit governor retired. But this he declined to do, and the case was thus suspended and never brought to trial. And so the governor escaped punishment, and excused his offences by pleading his very great love for the lady he had married. How this plea was received by the ill-treated kinsman, and how Madame Bellingham excused her perfidy to the youthful suitor, history does not record.

The early settlers brought with them a little of the pomp to which the old world was then accustomed. On all public occasions the governor and magistrates appeared with no little ceremony, and the order of precedence was strictly observed. In their formal intercourse with the Indians, they endeavored to impress the natives by such display as their limited means afforded, and by such formalities as indicated their superiority, though never in an offensive manner. When Massasoit visited Plymouth, the musketeers were paraded,—partly, perhaps, for safety,—and drums were beat and trumpets were sounded, somewhat to the astonishment and alarm of the Indians. Other formalities followed, such as became the interview between the governor and magistrates of an English colony and the sagamore of the native tribes. Afterwards, a measure of precaution was made to appear as a mark of honor; for, whenever the Indians came into the settlement the gunners stood to their cannon on the top of their block-house, and some of the settlers were always armed with their muskets; and when this excited the alarm and distrust of the natives, they were told it was an act of courtesy always observed by the English.

Pomp and parade were not reserved for the savages alone. When Isaac de Rasieres came on an embassy from the Dutch at New Amsterdam to negotiate for the opening of trade between the colonies, he was attended by trumpeters, and was received with equal noise and pomp on the part of the Plymouth people. The importance of the two colonies was thus displayed, and the negotiations were entered upon with all due formality.

When Governor Winthrop, with Rev. Mr. Wilson and others, visited Plymouth in 1631, the Pilgrims dispensed with the noise of drums and trumpets, and the parade of musketeers, but they received their visitors

with greater and more appropriate marks of respect. Winthrop and his companions went by water to Wessagusset, or Weymouth, and thence travelled on foot to Plymouth. Governor Bradford, Elder Brewster, and other leading men among the Pilgrims went out to meet them some distance from the settlement, and "conducted them to the governor's house, where they were kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses." The proceedings on Sunday illustrate the customary religious exercises of the Pilgrims of that day. "On the Lord's day was a sacrament, in which they partook; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams propounded a question, according to their custom; to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly, then Mr. Williams, and after him the governor of Plymouth spoke to the question; after him, the elder and some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired Governor Winthrop and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; upon which the governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the bag, and then returned."

Governor Winthrop and his party left Plymouth at a very early hour in the morning, and Governor Bradford, with the pastor, elder, and other prominent men of the colony accompanied them half a mile out of town in the dark, while two or three went with them about ten miles. It must have been a tedious and fatiguing journey on foot, through forest and swamp, to Weymouth. When they came to a river where the stream was "very strong and up to the hips," they were carried over by their guide; not a very dignified mode of transportation for the grave governor of the Puritan colony and the reverend minister of Boston, but the passage was made safely, and, in honor of their stalwart guide, Winthrop named the place Luddham's Ford. The governor re-named another place, then known as Hue's Cross; as this name savored too much of popery, he bestowed upon it the name of Hue's Folly. The toilsome journey was completed before night, and the party was "bountifully entertained" by the good people of Weymouth, who were now of a different sort from Weston's unruly adventurers.

The Indians about Massachusetts Bay were so few, — being only the remnants of a tribe decimated by the pestilence which visited the region

a few years before the settlement of Plymouth,—that the Puritans had little occasion to make any display of pomp and ceremony for their benefit. They visited the settlements only in small numbers, and were generally kindly received and well treated, though the settlers warily had their arms at hand, in case any treachery should be attempted. Though not called upon to receive any large Indian deputation on a formal visit, like that of Massasoit and his followers at Plymouth, Governor Winthrop, in his intercourse with such as did come, did not forget the dignity of his office. On one occasion, Chickatabot, the sagamore of Neponset, came to the governor with some beaver skins, with which he proposed to trade for some English clothes. The governor told him that English sagamores were not accustomed to barter, but he summoned his tailor, and ordered him to make a suit of clothes for the chief. The savage, not to be outdone in generosity, presented to the governor some fine beaver skins, and the undignified method of barter was avoided by this exchange of presents. On the day appointed, Chickatabot appeared for his promised clothes, and “the governor put him into a very good new suit, from head to foot,” to the great delight of the savage.

At a later period, when the issue of peace or war was pending, the emissaries of more distant and powerful tribes were received with the dignified formality which should at once satisfy the Englishman’s sense of propriety, and impress the savage visitors with the power and dignity of the Massachusetts colony.

RELIGION.—MILITARY ORGANIZATION.—
EDUCATION.

RELIGION was the first and most important matter which demanded the attention of the Puritans. For that they had come to the new world, and measures to maintain the true faith, as they considered it, were the first essential in their institutions. One of the first buildings to be erected was a "meeting-house," where they could gather for religious worship, or to discuss the interests of the community. Each settlement had its minister, and the whole community was required to attend the Sabbath services. The church organization was founded on democratic principles. At the outset it was agreed that the authority for ordination rested not with the ministers, but in the congregations, each of which could call and ordain its own minister, and make its own rules. This was the origin of the Congregational churches in New England. But such an independent mode was soon found to be too democratic, and tending somewhat to schism. The General Court, therefore, ordered that no church should call a minister without the approbation of some of the magistrates as well as of some neighboring churches; and this, with the exception of the approval of the magistrates, has been substantially the rule ever since.

The ministers, though thus called and ordained by the people, were by no means their servants. They were the most influential men in the colony, and took an active part in all civil as well as religious matters.

They were men of education, and some of them men of great ability. They were "the steady encouragers of education, the friends of goodness, and the advocates of piety." But they were human, and they made mistakes. They undertook to make the institutions of New England conform to the laws of Moses, and they had a mighty influence over the magistrates, so that they could shape the laws of the colony, in a great measure, to suit their purposes. Many of them were bigots and ascetics; but some were kindly and genial men, whose love of pleasantry and the good things of this world would sometimes break down the cold formalism and sanctity which custom and public opinion compelled them to assume. That some were base, the "black sheep" of the flock, there is good reason to suppose.

Teaching and preaching were not confined to the clergy, but laymen were often expected to speak in the church. Subjects for discussion were proposed, and the leading church-members took part, being generally well versed in the Bible, and accustomed to the phrases in which religious matters were then discussed. In such discussions worldly matters were often subjected to the test of religious doctrine.

The Puritans were exceedingly strict in the observance of the Lord's day, or Sabbath;—the heathen name of Sunday they discarded as wicked. The time of rest commenced on the afternoon of Saturday. All work was suspended at an early hour, and all worldly cares and anxieties given over in preparation to devote the coming day to the service of the Lord. Sunday began with family prayers in most of the houses, and no more work was done than was necessary to prepare their frugal meals and feed their cattle. Few steps were taken, and the little talking that was done was in a subdued voice. Perfect stillness reigned without, and as near it as possible within the houses. All were clad in their best garments, often enough well-worn and scanty, but clean and decent. When the drum beat in lieu of bell-ringing, all the inhabitants, young and old, came forth to go to church. In the early days there was always a dread of the Indians, and the men carried their guns on their shoulders as if going to a "training." Women and children followed, prim and demure, and soon an irregular procession was formed, headed by the minister, elders, and magistrates; and thus, with solemn faces and devout hearts, they marched to the primitive meeting-house,

which was sometimes, as in Plymouth, a strong block-house constructed for defence. Here sentinels were posted, and all the rest went in and listened reverently to prayers sometimes an hour long, and to sermons of twice that length, and joined in the psalm of praise sung to some simple tune. In the afternoon the services were continued in a similar manner, varied, perhaps, by the discussions which have been mentioned.

A recent writer* describes for his young readers a New England church and religious service in the olden time as follows:—

"If we could carry ourselves back to those days, and were to approach a New England village about nine o'clock on Sunday morning, we should hear some one beating a drum, or sounding a horn, or blowing a conch-shell, or possibly ringing a bell, to call people to worship. As we came nearer still, we should see a flag waving from a log-built church, or 'meeting-house.' Entering the village, we should see a strong fence of stakes around this meeting-house, and a sentinel in armor standing near it; and we should see some of the men, as they went in, leaving their muskets in his care. We should, perhaps, see a cannon or two planted near the meeting-house; and we should also see some strange wooden frames not far off, these being the stocks and the pillory put there to punish offenders. Looking at this church, we should see that it had very few glass windows, and that these had very thick and small panes, diamond-shaped, and set in leaden frames. We should observe that the other windows had oiled paper instead of glass, and we should see between the windows the heads of wolves that had been killed and displayed there during the past year.

"If we were to look inside the little church, we should not see families sitting together as now, but they would be distributed according to age, sex, or rank. In those days, the old men sat together in one place in the church, the young men in another. The boys all sat on the pulpit stairs and gallery, with constables to guard them. Each of these constables had a wand, with a hare's foot on one end and a hare's tail on the other. These were to keep the people awake. If any woman went to sleep, the constable touched her on the forehead with the hare's tail; but if a small boy nodded, he was rapped with the other end, not

* T. W. Higginson.

quite so gently. No doubt the wand was often used, for the services were sometimes three or four hours long, the sexton turning the hour-glass before the minister at the end of every hour. The only music consisted of singing by the congregation from a metrical version of the psalms, called the 'Bay Psalm Book.' The whole number of tunes known to the congregation did not exceed ten, and few congregations could go beyond five. This was the Puritan form of religious service, and people were not allowed to stay at home from it; for men called tithing-men were sent about the town to look for those that were absent. Men were fined for every unnecessary absence, and if they staid away a month together they might be put in the stocks or into a wooden cage."

The following account of the Sunday services in Boston in the early days of the colony was written at the time, and published in London:—

"Every Sabbath, or Lord's day, they came together at Boston by ringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The pastor begins with solemn prayer, continuing about a quarter of an hour. The teacher then readeth and expoundeth a chapter; then a psalm is sung, whichever one of the ruling elders dictates. After that the pastor preacheth a sermon, and sometimes extempore exhorts. Then the teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing. Once a month is a sacrament of the Lord's Supper, whereof notice is usually given a fortnight before, and then all others departing except the church (which is a great deal less in number than those that go away), they receive the sacrament, the minister and ruling elders sitting at the table, the rest in their seats or upon forms. About two in the afternoon, they repair to the meeting-house again, when the services are much the same as in the morning. After that ensues baptism; one of the parents being of the church, no sureties are required; which ended, follows the contribution, one of the deacons saying, 'Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution; wherefore, as God has prospered you, so freely offer.' The magistrate and chief gentlemen first, and then the elders, and all the congregation of them, and most of them that are not of the church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another, one way, and bring their offerings to the deacon at his seat, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose,

if it be money or papers; if it be any other chattel, they set or lay it down before the deacons, and so pass another way to their seats again, which money and goods the deacons dispose toward the maintenance of the minister and the poor of the church, and the church's occasions, without making account ordinarily."

Such was the simple form of service in the Puritan meeting-houses, and such was the voluntary system of maintaining the church. To many, especially among the young, Sunday must have seemed a weary day, with its long sermons discussing abstruse theological questions, the repression of all the natural spirits of youth, the prohibition of all talking and mirth, and the restraint of limbs accustomed through all the week to activity. But with the sunset the Sabbath ended, and the holy day was succeeded by a holiday evening. Promptly with the going down of the sun, children burst forth from their confinement, and ran joyfully to the spring for water, or to the pasture for the cows, or wildly about the fields, exulting in the use of limbs and voices. Young men and maidens rejoiced in the liberty to laugh and joke, and in the approach of those few blessed hours free from employment and devoted to social intercourse and courtship.

Next to religion and good order, military affairs were considered of the most importance by the early colonists. They had come to the wilderness with a distrust and dread of its savage inhabitants. The massacres in Virginia, and the hostility sometimes manifested against the traders who had visited the shores of New England, had warned them of the treacherous and vindictive character of the Indians, and while determined to treat them justly, they saw the necessity of being prepared for any hostile attack. At an early day they built fortifications, on which cannon were mounted, and every man was provided with a gun and ammunition, and expected to act as a soldier in the common defence. As towns were organized, each had its "train-band," or military company, which was duly officered, and exercised in the use of arms. The leading men of the Massachusetts colony, at least, probably had in view not only protection against hostile savages, but the possible necessity of defence against enemies from abroad, and even the resistance of oppression by their own countrymen. After the Pequot war, the provisions for defence by the organization of military companies were especially

strict. In 1639, there were two regiments in the Massachusetts colony which mustered a thousand able-bodied and well-armed men; and in 1641, Winthrop says that at one training there were twelve hundred men on duty at Boston, and he adds, "yet not one drunk, though there was plenty of wine and strong beer in the town."

In 1643, the Commissioners of the United Colonies advised "that every man may keep by him a good gun and sword, one pound of powder, with four pounds of shot, with match or flints suitable to be ready on all occasions." This advice was probably necessary, for though most of the early settlers were armed, some of those who had come afterwards were not, and the peaceable conduct of most of the Indians after the destruction of the Pequot tribe had given a sense of security. But the colonists were of a race that were always ready to defend their homes, and the military spirit did not slumber long.

In most of the towns, at the first division of lands a field was set apart for a "training-field," and some of them are still preserved as commons or public squares.

The "Ancient and Honorable Artillery," of Boston, which still exists in a flourishing condition, dates its organization back in these early colonial days, having been formed in 1637. The court refused at that time to incorporate the company, considering "how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily in time overthrow the civil power." The militia or entire body of men, armed as required, was deemed an ample and safer protection to the lives and the liberties of the colonists. At a later date, however, the company was chartered.

The soldiers of that day wore armor consisting of a breastplate and back-piece of steel or iron, and pieces to protect the thighs. Not all those who were required to bear arms were supplied with this armor, but those who were called into service were thus protected, so far as the armor could be furnished.

Among the colonists were men who had been in the military service in Europe, who brought with them the martial spirit of a period when war was chronic, and whose experience was invaluable as advisers and officers. Standish was not the only, though the most experienced and daring soldier who came with the Pilgrims; and among the

Puritans, Dudley, the deputy governor, Endicot, Leverett, and other prominent men, with some of less distinction, had seen service in war. Under such leaders there was ample material to render good service when required, and what the colonial soldiers did in the Indian wars will appear in subsequent pages.

Education received the attention of the colonists from the earliest times. Before schools were established, parents were required to instruct their children in reading, and to catechise them once a week. Schools, however, were early commenced, and supported by rates on the householders, or by voluntary contributions. Some of the schools thus established were supported in this manner for many years, and were then endowed by wise and liberal men, whose beneficence is experienced even at the present day. Several free schools founded in those early days of small things, and subsequently chartered, are still in existence, the gift of lands having in the lapse of time become an ample endowment.

In 1636 the General Court of Massachusetts gave four hundred pounds towards the maintenance of a public school of a higher order at Newtown. Two years after, John Harvard, a gentleman educated at Cambridge in England, who had been but a year in the colony, bequeathed this institution eight hundred pounds and his library. In recognition of this liberal endowment the institution was called Harvard College, and Newtown received the name of Cambridge. Provision was made for ample instruction, with a view especially to prepare young men for the ministry, and the college was authorized to confer degrees.

The bequest of Harvard was "the earliest, the noblest, and the purest tribute to religion and science this western world had yet witnessed. It was equally timely and unexampled. Wisely and justly did our ancestors inscribe his name upon the seminary, and acknowledge him as its founder, who had, at a moment so seasonable and critical, afforded that efficient aid which alone enabled them at once to give it existence. The example of Harvard was like an electric spark falling upon materials of a sympathetic nature, exciting immediate action and consentaneous energy. The magistrates caught the spirit, and led the way, by a subscription among themselves of two hundred pounds, in books, for the library. The comparatively wealthy followed with gifts of twenty

and thirty pounds. The needy multitude succeeded, like the widow of old, 'casting their mites into the treasury.'” *

From this time forth Harvard College was cherished with love and pride by the colonial government and the people. Differences of opinion and conflicts of authority arose, and critical times were experienced, but through all there was a love and veneration for the institution which sustained it in every difficulty and carried it through every crisis. Endowment followed endowment, and its usefulness was extended, till it has become the wealthiest university in the country, and, to say the least, one of the foremost in the educational advantages it offers.

Not trusting to the voluntary maintenance of schools by each community, the General Court at an early day required that a school should be kept and maintained a part of the year in every town, and, as population and prosperity increased, towns having one hundred families were required to maintain a grammar school. Such was the origin of the common-school system of New England,—a system which is the pride of its people and the safeguard of free institutions,—and which from New England extended through nearly all portions of the country.

Not much like the public school of to-day, especially in the cities and larger towns, was the school of the olden time. Instead of the large concourse of children assembling in graded classes in a spacious, elegant, and well-furnished school-house, amply supplied with books and apparatus and conveniences for the comfort of teacher and pupil, a limited number of boys and girls of various ages—children of eight or ten years, and well-grown young men and women—gathered in a small, ill-fashioned, one-story building, where, sitting on rough benches or extemporized seats, with no apparatus but the master's birch and ferule, they received instruction from the alphabet to the four simple rules of arithmetic.

The teachers of the earlier days were men, for though women could generally read, very few of them could write, and still fewer had other acquirements necessary even for the rudimentary teaching of the time. There were a few professional pedagogues, who had come over from England as such; and there were young men preparing for the ministry, or too slender for the rough work of the farm, and inclined to books,

* Quincy's Hist. of Harvard College.

who became teachers for longer or shorter periods. Seated on a high stool, from which he overlooked his little flock of students and idlers, the schoolmaster maintained his authority by dint of a display and not infrequent use of the rod and ruler, and with much diligence and hard work instructed his charge in reading, writing, arithmetic, and good morals. Sometimes a comely maiden among the older girls would capture the heart of the impressible but shy master; and woe to him should he by any absence of mind or partiality betray his feelings in school. If he did not conceal his love forever, he must at least reserve any manifestation of it till that time when, in "boarding round," good fortune should bring him to the house where the fair scholar dwelt; and well would it be for him if that were the last week of the school, for young men and women in those days were not free from a disposition to banter and ridicule, and if they saw the learned pedagogue caught in the toils of love, it may well be imagined that the discovery would not conduce to discipline or study, nor to the comfort of the demure maiden who was so fortunate or unfortunate as to be the object of his partiality.

ROGER WILLIAMS AT PROVIDENCE.



ROGER WILLIAMS, banished from the Massachusetts colony, after weary weeks of wandering through the forest, stopped at Seekonk, and there built a hut and planted corn, intending to settle there. But he was informed by the Plymouth colonists that he was within their patent, and being determined to follow Winthrop's advice, and go where no white man had any claim to land or authority, he abandoned all his spring-time labor, and again moved southward. The Indians were more friendly than the Puritans. Massasoit had welcomed him to the region occupied by his tribe, and Canonicus and Miantonomoh, sachems of the powerful Narragansetts, were equally well disposed towards one who was universally respected by the natives. He bargained with them for a tract of land at the head of Narragansett Bay, and with three or four friends who had followed him into exile he floated down the Pawtucket River, and landing on the site of the present city of Providence, he was welcomed by his Indian friends with shouts of—

"What cheer, friend,—what cheer?"

Grateful that he had at last found a spot where he could no longer be persecuted, he gave it the name of Providence, and dedicated it to religious liberty. He built himself a house, but the year's planting had been wasted at Seekonk, and he and his companions were dependent upon the Indians. Hither soon came some twenty of his Salem friends, who had proved steadfast in their friendship, together with his wife and

children. Nor was he without sympathy in the colony of Plymouth, for Winslow visited him during the time of privation, and, as he wrote, "put a piece of gold in the hands of my wife for our supply."

The grant of lands by the Narragansett chiefs was large and valuable, and the property was vested in Williams alone. But he had no desire for extensive possessions or power, and he soon conveyed to twelve of his associates equal rights to the lands. A constitution or basis of government for the colony was adopted, which was remarkable for its brevity, its liberality, and its democratic spirit. It was as follows:—

"We, whose names are hereunder written, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for the public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit into the same—only in civil things."

This instrument was signed by all the masters of families, and for several years was all that was necessary to regulate the management of affairs in the little community. Until 1640, the vote of a majority in town meeting regulated all matters pertaining to the common interest, and previous to that time no power was delegated. The covenant given above confined the action of the town meeting to civil affairs; in all matters of religious opinion there was to be no restraint. It was the purpose of Williams and his associates to guarantee entire freedom to all men in opinion and worship, whether Hindoos, Jews, Turks, or Christians, Papists, Quakers, or Atheists.

So jealous were they of their religious rights, that they insisted that a husband should not control his wife in religious opinions or practice; and when one Joshua Verin refused to let his wife go to church as often as she wished, he was called to account. Verin argued that the Scriptures gave him the right to prevent his wife from going to church, but it was voted that "for breach of covenant, in restraining liberty of conscience, he shall be withheld the liberty of voting until he declare the contrary."

To this land of religious freedom came all sorts of people flying from persecution,—free-thinkers, Anabaptists, Antinomians, visionaries,

and fanatics. But the apparent difficulty of harmonizing these discordant elements, and making them live together under one tolerant government, did not dismay Williams. He declared that time would prove the truth of his doctrine, proclaimed by him in Massachusetts and established at Providence, that the civil power has no jurisdiction over the conscience.

To the Puritans of Massachusetts, the founding of a settlement where such freedom of religious opinion was tolerated was a scandal, and, determined to hold themselves aloof from the heresies that found protection there, they forbade all dealings with the Providence people. The court also passed an order to apprehend any of the Providence folk found in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and to send them out of the bounds unless they would disclaim such opinions. The new colony was therefore cut off from trade with Boston, and at times suffered severely for want of supplies that could only be obtained there.

When, at a later day, the Puritans whipped and hanged the Quakers, Williams and his followers remained true to his principles, and afforded an asylum to the persecuted but really obnoxious fanatics who took that name. The Providence people were urgently requested to banish the Quakers, as the other colonies did, but they declined. Three times the United Colonies required the Rhode Island people to join in the persecution of the obnoxious sect, and three times they firmly refused.

The settlement at Providence was but fairly established when the followers of Anne Hutchinson, driven from Massachusetts, sought a refuge with Roger Williams. Through the good offices of Williams, a grant of land on Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, was obtained from the Narragansett sachems, and here, under the lead of William Coddington, a new settlement was established.

Coddington had been a magistrate in Massachusetts, and was a man of substance and influence in that colony; but he believed in the Antinomian doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, and when she and her followers were banished, though efforts were made to induce him to remain in Massachusetts, he chose to sacrifice his property, and join his fortunes with the exiles. Taking the Bible as their constitution and code, the settlers on Rhode Island appointed Coddington judge. But after a trial of two years, this form of government was found not to work well,

and Coddington was then elected governor, with a deputy governor and magistrates, after the manner of the older colonies.

The settlers at Providence and Aquidneck had established themselves without any charter or patent from the king, and held their lands by purchase from the Indians only, which would seem to give them the best title to them, but which in practice, under the English law, was of little account. When Gorton's associates quarrelled with him, and transferred their lands to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts colony, and that government undertook to get a foothold on Narragansett Bay, Williams and his friends saw that their only security would be in obtaining a charter from England. Williams was accordingly deputed to go to England, where, through the influence of his firm friend, Sir Henry Vane, he might secure a patent. As there were no English vessels trading in Narragansett Bay, and he was an outlaw at Boston, he was obliged to go to the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands, and sail thence for England.

When he arrived in England, the country was in the midst of a revolution and civil war. The king had fled from London, and Parliament was supreme. Through the great influence of Vane, he obtained a liberal charter, which preserved the principles for which he had so long contended. He returned by way of Boston, bringing with him a letter which secured him a landing there. The Puritans, however, now that these heretics had a charter, were only the more jealous of them. It would almost seem that there was a combination among the neighboring colonies to divide the Providence and Rhode Island Plantations between them; for Plymouth laid claim to Aquidneck, Massachusetts to lands on Narragansett Bay, and Connecticut to territory on the west. But Williams and his friends firmly maintained their rights, and under the charter the several settlements around Narragansett Bay were united under the name of the Providence Plantations.

The return of Williams was hailed with joy by the people of Providence, who entertained for him the greatest love and veneration. Numbers of them met him at Seekonk, and welcomed him with unostentatious but heartfelt demonstrations of respect. Well might he feel rewarded for his labors in behalf of this grateful people.

A government was organized under the charter, liberty of conscience

was still recognized as a cardinal principle, and the affairs of the colony were carried on with some friction, but without serious trouble, till Coddington, going to England in 1651, obtained a separate charter for Rhode Island, and was appointed governor for life. But the people of the Island, like most of the other colonists, were jealous of their rights, and with reason feared that the appointment of a governor for life would endanger their liberties. Public opinion was so strong against him and his charter that he was forced to resign. Meanwhile Williams and Clarke, another excellent man of the Providence colony, went again to England and procured the revocation of Coddington's charter, and a renewal of the original one, under which a union of the plantations was again formed. For a long time, however, there were constant disputes and antagonism between them, and affairs were conducted in anything but an orderly manner.

Roger Williams always remained true to the principles which he promulgated in his early life, for which he suffered persecution, and which he established as the corner-stone of the government of his colony. Clear in his perception of principles, he was not afraid to follow them to their logical results. By nature a controversialist, he was capable of great bitterness and severity, as shown in his difficulties with Gorton and with Harris. But he was also of a kind and forgiving temper, which did not treasure up enmity or ill-will. Notwithstanding the severity with which Massachusetts had treated him, and the jealousy of his institutions which that colony always manifested, he was ever ready to be of service to it by his influence with the Indians. Dealing peacefully and justly with the natives, he secured their good-will, and labored through life for their welfare. His principles and his works entitle him to the gratitude of the generations who have reaped the benefit of them.

But if Williams was worthy of praise, many of the Providence and Rhode Island colonists were far from deserving it. Fanatics and agitators in Massachusetts, they became violent radicals in Rhode Island, and some would have been worthy members of the "Commune" of recent times, except that they recognized God as a ruler, which can hardly be said of the Communists. William Harris wrote against "all earthly powers, parliaments, laws, charters, magistrates, prisons, punish-

ments, rates, yea, against all kings and princes, under the notion that the people should shortly cry out, 'No lords, no masters!' and in open court protested, before the whole colony assembly, that he would maintain his writings with his blood." Another reformer declared "that it was blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the Gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors against the private or public weal." They were, moreover, a restless and quarrelsome set, and, not content with conflicts of words, they often came to blows. Nor did they have much regard for the place where such encounters took place, and disputants before the court resorted to this forcible kind of argument to such an extent that it became necessary to provide that "in case any man should strike another person in the court he should either be fined ten pounds or be whipped." Notwithstanding their limited numbers, they could muster a mob; and in Providence some reckless disturbers of the peace got up a riot under pretence of a voluntary training.

The belligerent proclivities which the Rhode Island people manifested among themselves they also undertook to exercise towards a "common enemy," and when the English Commonwealth went to war with the Dutch, they thought they must take a hand in it. They went into the business of privateering, issued commissions to three officers for service against New Netherlands, and established an admiralty court for the trial of prizes. These proceedings were disapproved by the rulers of the Providence Plantations, but were carried through in spite of their protest. Two privateers sailed, and, being once on the high seas, the commander of one, considering all nations as enemies and all ships as lawful prize, or being unable to distinguish between a Frenchman and a Dutchman, captured a French ship. Another enterprising captain seized a vessel belonging to Plymouth, with which colony Rhode Island was supposed to be at peace. This commander afterwards captured a Dutch vessel, and took it into Fairfield. The inhabitants of that place, belonging to the colony of New Haven, which entertained a chronic animosity against the Dutch, were doubtless delighted to see the prize; but when two Dutch armed vessels appeared off their shore, and blockading the harbor, threatened something worse, they wished the meddling Rhode Islanders at the bottom of the Sound.

In various ways, the turbulent portion of the Rhode Island people

contrived to render themselves troublesome to their neighbors, and the Plantations were regarded by Massachusetts and Plymouth as little better than a nuisance. Sir Henry Vane, who had always manifested an interest in the colony, and had used his great influence to obtain for it the charter which Roger Williams brought over, was disgusted, and wrote a sharp letter condemning the disorders which prevailed. Roger Williams, returning from a second visit to England, was greatly distressed to find the condition of affairs, which had gone from bad to worse during his absence. He bitterly reproached the people for their misconduct, and urged them "with the eloquence almost of despair," to find some way to establish peace and good order. The better portion of the settlers were also disgusted, and thus appealed to by the revered founder of the colony, they exerted themselves to bring about a better state of affairs, and under Williams' charter divisions were gradually healed, and a change was made in the rulers by which a wiser and more efficient government was established, which could suppress disorders and secure justice.

XXXIV.

PIONEERS AND SETTLERS IN CONNECTICUT.



THE settlers about Massachusetts Bay found generally a rocky country and a light soil, which was hard to cultivate, and not very productive. The Indians coming from the interior told them of the fertile valley of the "Quonehtacut," or Connecticut, the most beautiful of rivers, and promised them great crops of corn and beans if they would come and settle in that more attractive region, where fields were fruitful, and where game abounded, and furs were plentiful. Before the Puritan colonists were fairly settled in their new home and had lost all thought of returning to England, the report of this more fertile country awakened in some of them a desire to emigrate. But though the idea of emigration was ever present, for some years there was little chance to put it in execution, on account of their poverty and the difficulties and dangers of the journey into the land of the savages. The same story was told at Plymouth, and Winslow went to see this wonderful country, and claimed to be its discoverer.

About this time, the thrifty and enterprising Dutch traders of New Amsterdam established a trading-post on the Connecticut, near the site of the city of Hartford, where the numerous Indians of the valley and the adjacent country could bring down to them large quantities of furs. The people of Plymouth, too, having passed through the stages of weakness and want, and becoming more prosperous, were not disposed to neglect the advantages of trade, and in 1633 prepared a house, and sent a party to establish a trading-post on the same river, where they had purchased a tract from the Indians. National jealousy was in those days

perhaps greater than in more recent times. The early settlers and traders were not disposed to tolerate the settlers or traders of any other nation on the soil which was claimed alike by Spanish, French, and English sovereigns, but which in fact belonged to neither. Even the pious Pilgrims were not without this feeling, and, while profiting by a promising trade, they aimed also at checking the progress of the Dutch.

The Plymouth enterprise was of course a small affair, for Plymouth itself was but a hamlet, and the Pilgrims could not hope then to drive out their Dutch rivals by force. But their relations with the Indians were such that they hoped to get the best of the trade, while they possessed ample spirit to maintain their own rights, if assailed. In a small vessel they sailed up the river, and when the Dutch threatened to oppose their passage, they threatened to shoot back, and passed the fort unmolested. Proceeding some miles above the Dutch post, the Plymouth traders established themselves near the site of Windsor, where they quickly erected their house, surrounded it with palisades, and mounted some small cannon.

The amicable relations of the Plymouth men with the Indians in this case did not avail them much. Several petty chiefs of river tribes, who had been driven off by the Pequots, had sought refuge with the English, and were now brought back to their former homes and possessions. The mass of the Indians did not relish this return of their old rulers, for whom they had lost respect, and the result was that they became unfriendly to Plymouth men, and, without any violent demonstration, annoyed and obstructed them in various ways, by which the Dutch traders were rather benefited than injured.

The Dutch made a more hostile demonstration. Though they had refrained from firing upon the little Plymouth vessel as it passed their fort, they speedily sent information of this intolerable encroachment on their assumed rights to the governor of New Amsterdam. That functionary immediately despatched a force to the Connecticut to drive out the intruders. This force, with that at the trading-post, numbered about seventy men, and, having landed, marched boldly towards the Plymouth post. Captain Holmes, who commanded the little band of Englishmen, and who had defied the Dutch when he passed their fort, was not at all dismayed by this martial display, and when summoned to surrender he



A PLYMOUTH VESSEL PASSING THE DUTCH FORT AT GOOD HOPE.

plumply refused, and intimated that he was prepared to fight. The Dutch, afraid to attack the little fortification, or unwilling to commence actual hostilities, finding that their show of force would not drive the English away, concluded to abandon the attempt, and retired.

These pioneer traders were soon to be followed by settlers, who came to plant a permanent colony. In 1633, the Rev. Mr. Hooker, a clergyman of the established church, who had been obliged to fly from England for non-conformity, with a number of his old parishioners, who were greatly attached to him, arrived at Boston and settled at Newtown. Some of them were men of substance, and they were disposed to go where they could find more room, especially where there were "meadowlands" on which to pasture their cattle. It was proposed that they should emigrate to the Connecticut valley, so highly praised by the Indians; but the Puritan magistrates were opposed to the departure of these valuable citizens. The matter was brought before the court, and discussed pro and con. Mr. Hooker advocated it, on the ground that the settlements about Boston were too crowded; that it would be wiser to have them more widely separated; that there was a want of good land, and especially of meadow land. Mr. Cotton opposed it on the ground that it would greatly weaken the colony by taking away so valuable a part of it; that their greatest poverty was a poverty of men; and that the emigrants would be exposed to the attacks of savages. The court voted that they ought not to go, and the consequence was a dissension, which continued till the following year, when permission was given for those who desired to go whither they would, provided they continued under the Massachusetts government.

In the mean time, some of the settlers at Watertown had emigrated without waiting for leave to go. They started in the autumn, and the difficulties of the journey were such that winter had already come when they reached the Connecticut valley and selected for their settlement the present site of Wethersfield.

The first emigration under the permission of the court was composed of some sixty men, women, and children from Dorchester, near Boston, with cows, horses, swine, and household goods. The journey of such a company through the forest, where they were often obliged to cut a path over rocky hills and through spongy swamps, across brooks and rivers,

was a long and difficult one. But the men were bold and energetic; with their axes they cut a pathway, and with their muskets in hand they were prepared for any hostile attack; and the women and children cheerfully bore the hardships of the journey.

It was the 15th of October when they started on their journey, and the winter, coming unusually early, was already upon them when they reached the valley of the Connecticut. On the 15th of November, the river was frozen over, and the snow was deep upon the ground. They selected for their settlement the site of the present town of Windsor, near the trading-post of the Plymouth colony, but they had not time to even build huts for themselves and sheds for their cattle, before the cold and tempestuous weather subjected them to great suffering. Their principal supplies and furniture had been sent by vessels, which had been so delayed, or wrecked, by the severe storms, that they had not arrived in the river before it was frozen, and they were soon short of provisions. Famine and death looked them in the face, and some, in despair, started back through the wilderness for Boston, one of whom was drowned on the way, and the others would have perished but for the hospitality of Indians. A majority of the company went down the valley, hoping to meet some of the small vessels laden with their provisions. They were disappointed in that hope, but finding another small trading vessel frozen in some twenty miles from the mouth of the river, they all took refuge on board. Those who remained at the settlement suffered great privation, obtaining a little game by hunting and a small quantity of corn from the Indians, but forced at last to live on acorns and roots.

A more important emigration took place the next year. This was composed principally of the Newtown people who had before sought permission to remove, and were led by the earnest and eloquent Hooker, and John Haynes, who, the previous year, had been governor of Massachusetts. There were also parties from Roxbury and Dorchester, led by Mr. Pyncheon and Mr. Ludlow. More fortunate than their predecessors on this long and tedious journey, they started the last of May. The season was favorable; the forest was putting on its summer dress, wild flowers had begun to blossom, and the birds greeted them with song. They numbered about one hundred men, women, and children, all of whom travelled on foot except Mrs. Hooker, who, being sick, was car-



HOOKEE AND HIS FRIENDS REACH THE CONNECTICUT.

ried on a litter. They drove a herd of a hundred and sixty cattle, and the milk of the cows supplied them with grateful food.

It was indeed a weary journey for such a company through the wilderness hitherto trodden only by files of moccasoned Indians, save where the party which preceded them had left a narrow trail. The presence of women and children rendered short stages necessary, and the axe was often in requisition to open a pathway through the thickets, and to bridge some treacherous swamp or swollen stream, while it was no easy task to keep the cattle from straying into the woods. At night, boughs of evergreen were spread for the couches of the weary travellers, and arranged in bowers to shelter the less hardy from the dampness and cold. But it was an uncomplaining company, sustained by hope and a pious trust in Providence. Morning and evening they gathered around the devout Hooker while he lifted up his voice in prayer where prayer was never heard before, and cheered them with the promises once given to the wandering Israelites. At last they looked down upon the valley of the Connecticut, spreading out its broad green meadows, through which flowed the beautiful river, and they knelt in thanksgiving that their Canaan was at last reached.

Though they made the journey to the Connecticut valley together, the parties from the several towns intended to make separate settlements. The Roxbury people, under William Pynchon, stopped at Agawam, where they founded the town of Springfield; those from Dorchester went farther down the river to join their friends who remained at Windsor; and the Newtown or Cambridge people, with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Haynes, went to Suckiang, still farther down, and commenced the settlement of Hartford.

The year previous to the emigration of this party, John Winthrop the younger, a son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, arrived at Boston with a commission from Lords Say and Brook, who held the first grant of Connecticut, to take possession of the country in their behalf, and establish a colony there. He sent from Boston a small vessel with twenty men and munitions to erect a fort at the mouth of the river, and thus make good the claim of his principals. This party landed and erected a small fort, which was the commencement of the town of Saybrook. The Dutch of New Amsterdam, as already mentioned, had

erected a fortified trading-post farther up the river, and learning that the New England colonists were disposed to settle in the valley, determined to erect another fort at the mouth of the river, where they could prevent any rival trading vessels from entering the waters whose wealth they claimed as their own. An expedition was accordingly sent for that purpose, but when they saw the fort which had been erected by Winthrop's order, and over which floated the English colors, they acted with the same discretion they had shown when they marched up to the fort of the Plymouth people at Windsor, and sailed away again.

The early settlers of Connecticut brought with them the Bible and the principles of democratic government, and though they mixed them together in a somewhat peculiar manner, it does not appear that either Bible or free institutions were the sufferers. The first steps taken were for the management of each settlement by its own people. When it became desirable for them to unite for the purposes of mutual defence and convenience, the union was entirely voluntary, for they were acting under no charter or commission. The form of government established was more liberal than that of Massachusetts. Church-membership was not made a prerequisite to the exercise of the rights of freemen, and there was rather more religious toleration. The colony managed its affairs for a long time without any charter, and quite successfully. Exposed at the outset to the hostility of a fierce and numerous tribe of Indians, with the aid of Massachusetts the settlers were delivered from the dangers of a long and terrible savage warfare. Occupying a fruitful soil, after the first year they did not experience want, and the advantages they enjoyed soon attracted many other emigrants to their several settlements.

Among the pioneers in these earliest settlements in Connecticut the most prominent are Haynes, Ludlow, and Winthrop, though the latter, while identified with the early settlement at Saybrook, was not an actual settler until a later day.

John Haynes, the foremost man among the settlers of the Connecticut valley, was a man of wealth, and of sterling character and ability. In Massachusetts, he was made assistant upon his first arrival, and in 1635 he was chosen governor, and served without any charge to the colony. He was a man of liberal views, and he had not sympathized with those

who drove Roger Williams into exile. Joining Mr. Hooker's church, he went with them to Connecticut, where he was influential in shaping the affairs of the new colony. He became governor, and his wise management, integrity, and liberality won the confidence of the people, so that he was elected governor every alternate year, the constitution or form of government adopted providing against a re-election of an incumbent.

Ludlow, the next most prominent man among the early settlers, was no less able, but a more impetuous and ambitious man. He had aspired to be governor of Massachusetts, and, failing in that, he manifested his disappointment in some ill-natured talk about the assistants, so that he was left out of the magistracy also. Dissatisfied with Massachusetts, he went with the Dorchester people to Connecticut, where his ambition finally was gratified by being made deputy governor, and by his talents he rendered the colony good service.

When the younger Winthrop came, his education, talents, and character soon made him prominent. While not lax in his religious opinions or conduct, he devoted himself especially to the material welfare of the colony, and opposed persecution for conscience' sake. He was chosen governor in 1659, and was re-elected till 1676. During the first years of his service, he secured a charter which included in its limits the colony of New Haven, and that colony, after some opposition, was united with that of the Connecticut valley.

INDIAN MURDERS AND ENGLISH VENGEANCE.



THE settlers of Connecticut had come to a region inhabited by a numerous and warlike tribe of Indians, who from the first appearance of the whites manifested their hostility and their treacherous character. The first serious act of treachery and hostility was the murder of Captain Stone and all his crew in 1634, before the settlers came to the valley. Stone was a daring adventurer who brought himself into disrepute at Boston by some of his actions, and escaping punishment for some offence there, he went with his vessel to the Connecticut River for the purposes of trade. Mooring his vessel near the mouth of the river, he engaged some Indians to pilot two of his men up to the Dutch trading-house already established near the site of Hartford. At night these men fell asleep and were both murdered by their guides. In the mean time there were a number of Indians on board the vessel who had been trading with the captain, and appeared to be friendly. Stone was not very cautious, and permitted some of his men to go on shore, while he went to sleep in his cabin. The temptation was too great for the savage nature of the Indians, and they murdered him. When the crew returned, the savages attacked them also, and killed all except Captain Norton, an associate of Stone's, who, taking to the cook's galley, defended himself bravely with his gun. In order to load and fire as rapidly as possible, he placed his powder in an open vessel, and by some means it exploded, and so injured and blinded him that he could make no further resistance, and he soon shared the fate of his companions.

The Indians declared that this massacre was an act of retaliation for the murder of one of their sachems. They said that he had been enticed on board the vessel, and was held a prisoner until he should be ransomed; and when they had collected the wampum which was demanded, and sent it on board, their sachem was sent back to them dead. For this, they averred, the sachem's son, finding Captain Stone drunk in his cabin, had killed him.

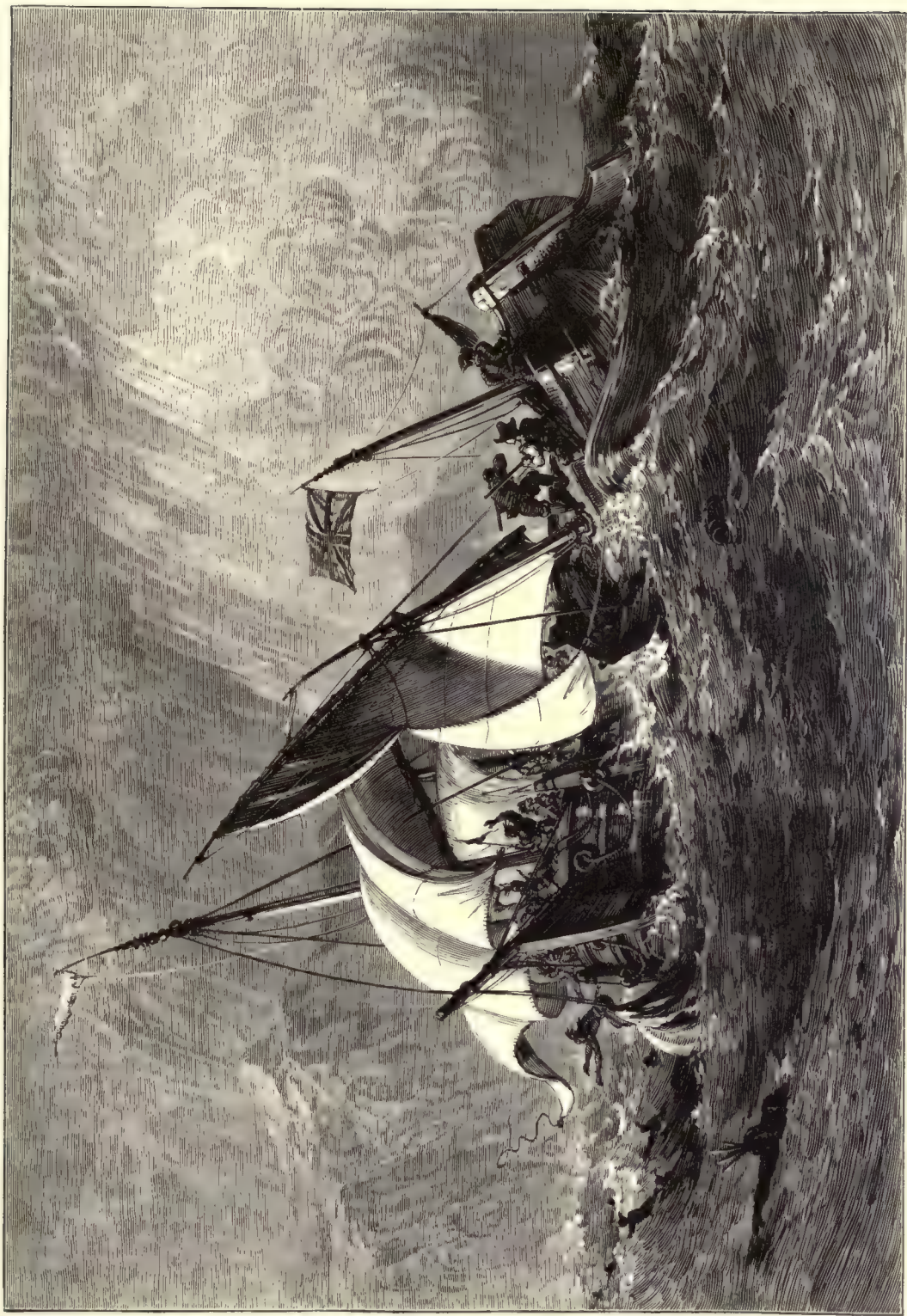
Whether there was really such provocation or not, the act caused some ill feeling in Massachusetts, and, with other hostile acts, led ultimately to the Pequot war. The Pequots were a formidable tribe, embracing a number of small tribes or clans, and inhabiting the southern and eastern portions of the present state of Connecticut. Sassacus, the principal sachem, dwelt near the mouth of the River Thames, where he had two considerable towns or villages surrounded with palisades. He was a warlike savage, and was exceedingly hostile towards the English, and it was supposed that, if he did not instigate the murder of Captain Stone, he shared in the plunder of his vessel.

There was a standing feud between the Pequots and the Narragansetts, the other most powerful of the Indian tribes of southern New England; and at one time Sassacus sent messengers to Boston to seek an alliance with the colonists, in order to strengthen himself against his old enemies. The governor, however, refused to treat with them because they did not come with proper "credentials," and he doubted their good faith. Other messengers were then sent, who bore some tokens of their authority to treat, and they were received, and a treaty of friendship was entered into. But there was apparently, on the part of the English, some distrust of the good faith of the Indians, and perhaps a purpose of treachery on the part of the latter, and the treaty was really of no account.

John Oldham was not a favorite with the Puritans, who had heard of his undignified exit from Plymouth for an offence as grievous to them as it was to the Pilgrims, but his murder by the Indians led to the first warlike expedition of the Massachusetts colony. After his banishment from Plymouth, Oldham engaged in trading and fishing. In 1636 he went in a small vessel to Connecticut, and on his return, when off Block Island, his vessel was captured by the Indians, he was killed, and two boys, and two of the Narragansett tribe who were with him, were carried off.

One fair day in July, John Gallup, coming from Connecticut in another small vessel, manned by himself, his two boys, and one other sailor, saw a pinnace near Block Island, and steering towards it, discovered that the deck was filled with Indians, and that a canoe laden with goods was making for the shore. As Gallup's vessel approached, the Indians hoisted sail and attempted to get away; but Gallup, satisfied that there had been mischief, and being a bold man, got out his two guns and two pistols, and bearing down on the pinnace, fired duck-shot at them with such effect that he drove them all below deck. He then stood off for the purpose of trying the game of the ancient galley, or the more modern "ram." Under a stiff breeze he bore down upon the pinnace, and, striking her amidships with the bow of his own vessel, he nearly upset her, and so frightened the Indians that six of them jumped overboard and were drowned. There were still too many Indians for him to encounter, and he repeated the manœuvre and bored the pinnace with his anchor, remaining fast long enough to give the savages another taste of the duck-shot through the hatchway. Getting free again, he bore down upon the little vessel a third time, and gave her such a shock that five more of the Indians leaped overboard and were drowned.

The number of Indians was now so reduced that the intrepid Gallup ventured to board his prize. Two Indians surrendered, and were immediately bound; but two or three others remained below with their weapons, and would not yield. It now appeared that the pinnace was Oldham's vessel, and the remains of the owner, his head split with a hatchet and his body shockingly mangled, were found on board. What to do with his prize and his captives was a problem with Gallup. With only one man and two boys, he could not well take care of his two prisoners and manage the two vessels, while there was danger that the Indians below might come on deck at any moment, should they see a chance to take him or his companions unawares. The prisoners, too, though bound, might contrive to release each other. He promptly prevented the latter contingency by throwing them overboard, and, not being able to get at the other Indians in the hold, he took what goods and sails were left, and then sailed away, with the pinnace in tow. But when night came on, the wind rose, and he was obliged to cast her adrift, and she was wrecked on the Narragansett shore.



JOHN GALLUP'S EXPLOIT.

The Indians at Block Island, if not a branch of the Narragansetts, were as closely associated with them as with the Pequots, and there was reason to suppose that some of the Narragansett sachems had been privy to the attack on Oldham's vessel. But Canonicus and Miantonomoh, through the influence of Roger Williams, were friendly to the whites, and the latter went with a force of his warriors to punish the offenders. Canonicus sent to Governor Vane, of Massachusetts, a letter written by Williams, in which he deplored the affair, and gave assurances of his friendship. The Massachusetts magistrates were not admirers of the Narragansetts because of their friendly conduct towards Williams and others obnoxious to the Puritans, and though Vane probably did not share this feeling, he was disposed to believe that some of that tribe were responsible for the outrage. He therefore sent word to Canonicus that Oldham's two boys must be returned, and that the perpetrators of the offence must be punished. The boys were soon sent back, and one of the suspected Indians was also delivered up. Messengers were also sent to treat with Canonicus for future friendly relations. The sachem received them with great pomp, and feasted them on "boiled chestnuts and blackberry pudding," but he was too wary to bind himself with conditions.

The Massachusetts magistrates were not satisfied. There was an uneasiness among the Indians, and the hostility of the Pequots especially was becoming manifest. The government of the Massachusetts colony, as the largest and strongest, felt that it must by decisive measures put a stop to savage treachery and hostilities. Accordingly John Endicot was sent with a force of ninety men, with instructions to land at Block Island and put to death all the men, but to spare the women and children. This was to avenge the death of Oldham; and after accomplishing this, he was directed to proceed to Connecticut, and demand from the Pequots the murderers of Captain Stone and his crew, together with an indemnity in the shape of a large quantity of wampum, and some Pequot children, to be held as hostages.

With some difficulty, on account of the surf, Endicot landed at Block Island. The Indians made some show of resistance, but after sending a flight of arrows at the invaders, they betook themselves to the thicket of dwarf oaks and bushes. They had on the island two

large plantations, with a good supply of corn, and about sixty wigwams. Endicot destroyed the corn, and burned every wigwam he could find, and in the course of two days hunted out and killed fourteen Indians. He then re-embarked, and sailed to carry out his instructions with regard to the Pequots.

Stopping at Saybrook, where Winthrop's fort was erected, he sought the assistance of Lieutenant Gardiner, who was in command with a small force. Gardiner was opposed to the expedition of Endicot, saying, "You come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away;" but, against his judgment, he sent some of his men with it. Sailing to the Mystic River, where Sassacus, the principal sachem of the Pequots, dwelt, he landed with his force, to the great consternation of the Indians. He at once demanded the heads of the murderers of Captain Stone, and also an interview with Sassacus. Being told that Sassacus was absent, he asked for the next sachem in authority; but the Indians, pretending that he could not be found, secured a delay of some hours, and in the mean time removed their women and children.

Finding he had been duped, Endicot marched to one of their villages, burned the deserted wigwams, destroyed the growing corn, and broke the canoes. The next day, he landed on the west shore and desolated the neighborhood in the same way, the Indians viewing from a distance the work of destruction, but not venturing to resist. Having accomplished so much to intimidate, as he supposed, the hostile savages, he again embarked, and leaving the Saybrook men to return to the fort in their shallop, he sailed away for Boston.

Gardiner's declaration that Endicot would "raise these wasps" proved true. When the expedition left Saybrook, he had expressed the hope that, if they did not bring back their barks laden with Pequots, they might bring them laden with corn. After Endicot's departure, his men, in obedience to his instructions, went on shore again to take some of the corn not wholly destroyed. While doing this they were fiercely attacked by the Indians, but by a brave resistance they were able to reach their vessel, and escaped with several wounded.

THE PEQUOT WAR.



ENDICOT'S attack, instead of intimidating the Indians, served to exasperate them. The Pequots were the most warlike of the Indian tribes of New England; they were feared by all the other tribes on account of their numbers and their bravery, and, proud of their superiority over their neighbors, they were by no means ready to yield to a few whites. Treacherous and cruel, they commenced a warfare which, if continued, would soon have destroyed the little settlements of Connecticut.

Not long after Endicot's expedition, as five of the Saybrook garrison were carrying hay from a meadow at some distance from the fort, they were surprised by a party of Indians. One of them was captured, and was afterwards tortured to death; the others escaped to the fort, though one was pierced with five arrows. A few days after this, Joseph Tilly, master of a small vessel, with one of his men, went on shore to shoot fowls. Upon the discharge of his gun he was surrounded by a band of Pequots, who killed his companion and took him prisoner. Upon him the savages practised their cruelty, hacking off first his hands and then his feet, and otherwise torturing him, as if for the purpose of making him cry out in pain. But Tilly was a man of great nerve, and he understood the Indian character. Not all his suffering could extort from him a groan; and when the Indians told of their exploit, they did him the justice of pronouncing him a "stout man."

The Indians now kept close watch upon the river and about the

fort at Saybrook for the purpose of attacking any unwary parties of the English, or cutting off such as went too far from the fort. In several instances they were successful, and before winter the garrison was so annoyed by this stealthy and barbarous warfare that they were obliged to keep under the cover of their guns. Their houses outside the fort were torn down, their haystacks burned, their cattle killed or wounded. The fort itself seemed in danger, for the little garrison was reduced in numbers, and Captain Mason, with twenty men, was sent from Hartford to re-enforce it.

While Mason was at Saybrook, a party of Pequots waylaid some of the people of Wethersfield as they were going to their fields with their cattle. Falling suddenly upon them when they were entirely unprepared, the Indians killed six men and three women, and slaughtered twenty cattle. They also carried off two young girls as captives, who were long sought in vain, and were mourned with a deeper sorrow than if they had fallen victims to the savage tomahawk. Fortunately they found a friend in the squaw of a petty sachem, who protected them with such care as the rude life of the Indians allowed.

The Pequots, having thus whetted their appetites for English blood, determined to destroy all the settlements in Connecticut. The haughty and bold Sassacus, indeed, aimed at the destruction of all the whites in New England. For this purpose he sought an alliance with his old enemies, the Narragansetts, urging them to join in a war of extermination against these invaders of the Indian hunting-grounds. Some of the minor sachems of the Narragansetts were not unwilling listeners to his plans to regain what the white man had artfully deprived them of, and to rid themselves of these strangers who sought to be their masters. But Canonicus and Miantonomoh, the grand sachems, who had thus far been friendly to the English, must be gained over to the plot, and join in the war with all the warriors of the tribe. To them Sassacus sent his ablest and most artful sachems, to persuade them to unite with him in delivering the Indian race from the invaders.

Rumors of the hostile movements of the Pequots had already reached the Massachusetts government, and Captain Underhill was sent with twenty men to re-enforce the garrison at Saybrook. In this time of danger the Puritan magistrates also sought the good offices of Roger



ROGER WILLIAMS OPPOSING THE PEQUOT EMISSARIES

Williams, whom they had driven into exile; and he, cherishing no resentment towards his persecutors, and anxious to protect the homes of the settlers from the horrors of savage warfare, promptly responded to the request. Alone he paddled his canoe across the bay, in spite of storm, and threaded the dismal forest to the home of Canonicus and Miantonomoh. The Pequot emissaries were already there, and the young men of the Narragansetts were but too ready to listen to their appeals, while they were using all their eloquence and art to gain over the more cautious sachems.

Arrayed in their war-paint, these wily ambassadors artfully narrated all the encroachments of the whites, and the injustice and cruelty which had been practised, and enumerated the lives of red men which had been sacrificed by the invaders; and they appealed to the pride of the Narragansetts to maintain their possessions inviolate, and to join hands with their kindred and exterminate these white enemies of their race, who would otherwise exterminate them. Against the cunning artifices of these emissaries, who knew so well how to arouse the Indian spirit, Williams opposed the gentler words of peace and good-will. He was himself an example of justice and friendship towards the natives, and by Canonicus and his nephew he was held in great respect. He appealed to them to continue the friendship they had hitherto manifested towards him and his people, and not to join with their old enemies to sacrifice their friends. Understanding well the Indian character, he boldly combated the cunning arguments and fierce appeals of the Pequot sachems, and for three days and nights he remained in the wigwam of Canonicus, speaking in the council, or privately urging his mission of peace.

The mission was not without danger. The savage messengers of Sassacus would willingly have buried their tomahawks in the brain of their bold but peaceful opponent had they dared thus to violate the hospitality of the Narragansett sachems, and there were some young warriors who were restrained only by fear of their chiefs from secretly putting him out of the way. But with the principal sachems his words prevailed. They could not forget that the Pequots were their old and most dangerous enemies, who, having disposed of the whites, might wage a war of extermination upon their tribe; while with the powerful whites as their allies they might revenge their own wrongs and losses.

The proposed league was rejected, and the Pequot messengers returned unsuccessful in their efforts; but the fierce Sassacus was not deterred from his purpose.

Williams, at the risk of his life, had thus secured the friendship or the neutrality of the Narragansetts, and saved the settlements, not only of Rhode Island, but of Massachusetts, from the terrors of a savage war, and he returned well satisfied to Providence, and notified the Massachusetts government of his success. For this generous and invaluable service, while Winthrop and others were disposed to pass a vote of thanks, there were some among the Puritans who could not forget his heretical doctrines, and refused to allow him any merit.

The settlements in Connecticut, numbering not much more than three hundred men, women, and children, were now exposed to the avowed hostility of a savage tribe that could muster a thousand warriors. They must at once prepare for resistance; and the court, having assembled at Hartford, boldly declared war against the Pequots, and levied on the several settlements for a force of ninety men—a small army, truly, to contend with so numerous an enemy. But they had an ally in Uncas, the chief of the Mohegans, a tribe inhabiting a region west of the Connecticut River, who were even more bitter enemies of the Pequots than the Narragansetts had been. He was ready enough to join the whites with a hundred warriors.

The little army of Connecticut assembled at Hartford in the latter part of May, and to Captain John Mason was given the command. Mason had been a soldier in the Netherlands, long the school of war for Englishmen, and he was so good a soldier that, at a later period, his old commander desired that he should return to England and engage in the civil war. It was a day of great anxiety in the settlement, for all felt that upon this small force of brave men depended the safety of homes and the lives of women and children, and if a decisive blow was not struck quickly, the wily and treacherous savages might elude the armed force, and desolate the unprotected hamlets. The Rev. Mr. Hooker offered prayer, and besought the blessing of Heaven on the expedition; and then the company embarked in small vessels, and sailed down the river to meet their ally, Uncas, who awaited them near Saybrook. At that place Captain Underhill, with his twenty Massachusetts men, who

had come to re-enforce the fort, joined Mason, and then the whole force of whites and Indians sailed eastward to the Mystic River.

The Pequots, in their palisaded stronghold on one of the neighboring heights, saw the vessels pass the river and disappear, and fancied that their enemies had vanished through fear. In their exultation they spent the early hours of the night in revelry, with no forebodings of the evils which were to come. The English, however, went to meet the Narragansett sachem, Miantonomoh, who had engaged to join in the war against their old enemies. With a military escort, the captains of the little force of whites repaired to the camp of the Narragansetts, where a grand council was held. Miantonomoh was brave, but he held the fierce Pequots in fear. "Your numbers are too weak," he said, "to brave the Pequots, who have mighty chieftains, and are powerful in battle." He did not know that civilized men, with fire-arms, were more than a match for threefold their numbers of savages, with their rude weapons and undisciplined bravery. He was unwilling to risk defeat, and refused to join in what he considered the desperate enterprise.

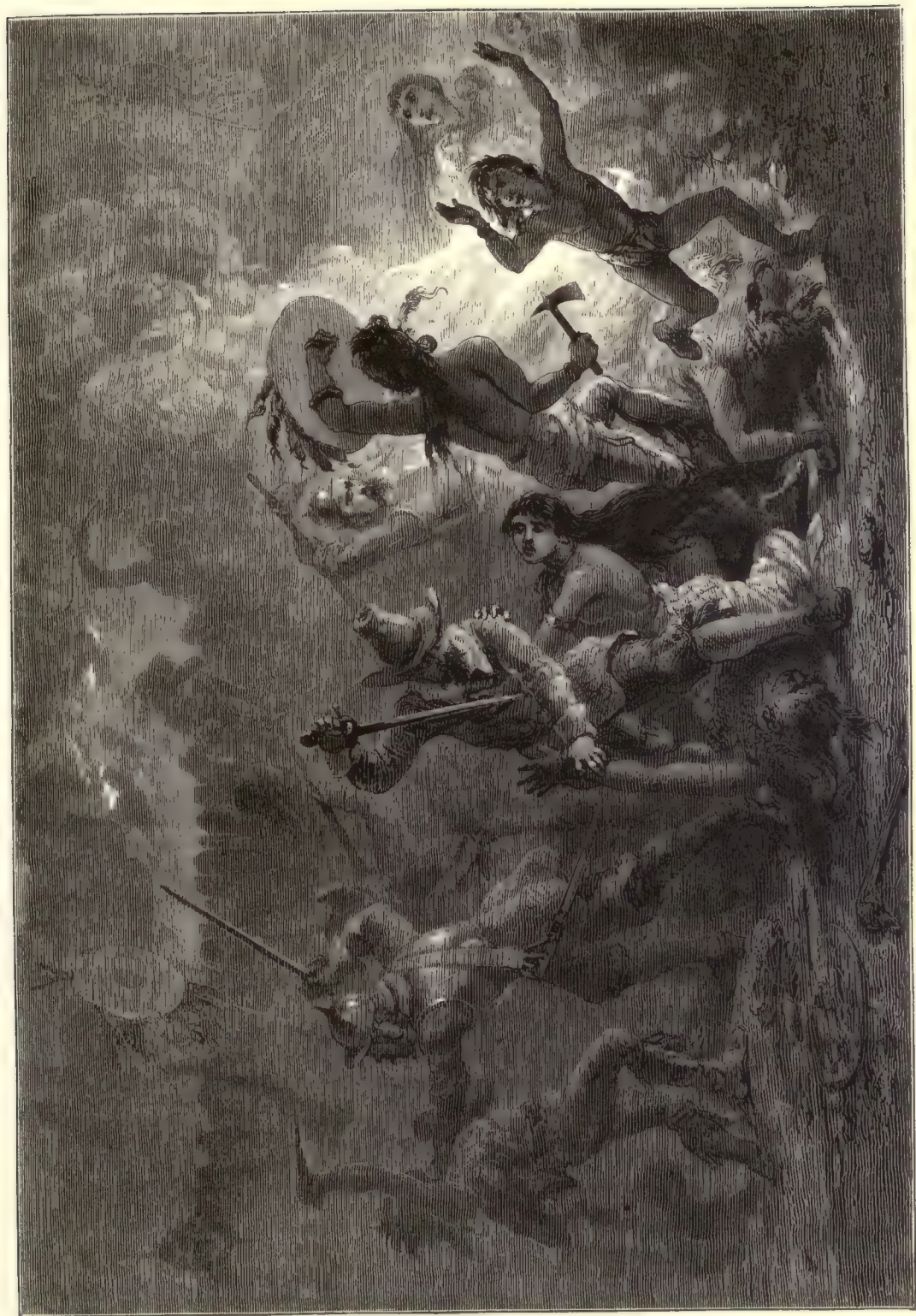
Mason resolved, in spite of this defection, to carry out his design of a sudden and secret assault on the enemy, and with his Mohegan allies he returned by night to a position about two miles from the Pequot fort. Two hours before day he was ready for the attack, but before making the final advance, the English knelt and devoutly commended themselves to the God of battles. The moon shone brightly, enabling the assailants to move without difficulty, and they pressed forward eagerly, though in silence.

When he had reached a point from which the assault could be made, Mason waited for his Indian allies to come up. For some time not an Indian appeared; but at last Uncas, with a renegade Pequot, who acted as guide, appeared. "Where are the rest of the Indians?" inquired Mason. "Behind, very much afraid," was the reply. Vexed at their cowardice, Mason said, "Tell them not to fly, but to stand off as far as they please, and see whether Englishmen will fight."

The Indian fort was an area of about twenty acres, surrounded by a strong palisade. In it there were sixty or seventy wigwams, built along some irregular streets or lanes. There were two entrances, one on the east and the other on the west side, and it was arranged that Mason

should force open one, while Underhill moved to the other side and forced the other. Mason had approached within a rod of the palisade when a dog barked, and immediately after, some of the Indians, seeing the English, raised an alarm. No time was to be lost, and calling up his troops, the intrepid leader advanced to the entrance. It was blocked with bushes about breast-high, but Mason leaped over them, sword in hand, and entered the enclosure, followed by his lieutenant with sixteen men. Seeing no Indians, he entered one of the cabins, when he found himself confronted by a number of warriors, who were astounded at the sudden apparition. They quickly recovered sufficiently to attack the solitary Englishman, but with his sword he killed his first assailant, and was stoutly defending himself, when one of his men came to his assistance. The savages then gave way and escaped.

It was Mason's purpose to kill the Indians, but to save their property. Leaving the wigwam, he passed through the lane between the cabins with his men, driving the Indians before him, and cutting down such as came within reach. At the farther extremity he met Underhill and his men, who had forced an entrance at the western gate, and had killed a number of the natives who were endeavoring to escape that way. While Underhill prevented escape by the western gateway, Mason and his men returned through the lane, the Indians swarming from the cabins with mingled war-whoops and screams of fear. Some of them discharged their arrows, but with little effect, and none seemed cool enough to make any determined attack on the handful of Englishmen who marched so boldly through their fortress. It was evidently a hopeless task for the latter to kill this horde of savages in the way Mason had proposed. But a victory must now be achieved, or the women and children of the unprotected settlements would speedily fall victims to the tomahawk and scalping-knife, or the more terrible tortures of captivity. There seemed but one way, and Mason exclaimed, "We must burn them!" Snatching a fire-brand from the floor of one of the cabins, he applied it to the dry mats of the roof. The flames spread rapidly, carried by the wind from cabin to cabin, till the whole village was on fire. The tumult increased, and the screams of Pequots were answered by the yells of Mohegans without the palisade, who had at last come near the fort. Men, women, and children rushed from the burning wigwams, and



DESTRUCTION OF THE PEQUOTS

meeting death by the sword, or the fearful fire-arms, fled wildly back to perish in the flames. If they attempted to pass over the palisades, the light of the conflagration exposed them plainly to the marksmen, while the Mohegans were ready to brain them if they escaped. The resistance of the warriors with their bows and arrows, or their clubs and tomahawks, was unavailing. Fear palsied their hands, and they shot wildly and without effect, while the English sword was more than a match for the rude weapons of the savage. The carnage was fearful, and soon the tumult within was drowned by the yells of the Mohegans without the palisade. The hissing and crackling of the flames subsided; the frail cabins were destroyed, and six hundred Pequots—men, women, and children—perished, the greater part of them in the flames of their dwellings.

The victory and the carnage were complete; not one of the Pequots survived. Nor had the English escaped without loss; two of them were killed, and twenty were wounded. The surgeon had not come from the boats; provisions and ammunition were nearly exhausted; the situation was critical, for the enemy was yet strong in another fort. Mason prepared to return to his vessels, a considerable portion of his force being required to carry the wounded. While making preparations to move, a body of Pequot warriors was seen approaching. They numbered three hundred or more, and were the flower of the tribe, sent by Sassacus from his other stronghold, a few miles away, when he heard the sound of the English guns. They came on boldly, as if confident of success; but Mason's marksmen soon checked their advance, and then his forces took up their march for the vessels, the Mohegans taking good care to lead the way.

When the English had retired, the Indians advanced, and then saw for the first time the work of destruction, and the piles of their dead kindred. Their sorrow and rage were expressed in fearful yells, and, burning for revenge, they rushed madly down the hill as if they would annihilate the little force of English. Captain Underhill with his men protected the rear, and checked the fierce onset of the enraged savages. But concealing themselves behind trees and rocks, they discharged their arrows from their hiding-places, and sometimes rushed out for a closer conflict. Underhill's muskets, however, dealt death and wounds to all

who exposed themselves, and at last, wearied out and discouraged, they abandoned the pursuit, and retired to indulge in lamentations over their lost kindred, and to upbraid their haughty sachem.

Reaching Pequot Harbor, where their vessels lay, the larger part of the English embarked. Lest, thirsting for revenge, some prowling bands of Pequots should make a sudden attack on the settlements, they hastened home. The anxiety of those remaining in the towns during the absence of the little army may well be imagined. Only a few men and fewer arms remained for their protection. With fear and trembling the mother put her babes to rest, dreading lest the night might not pass without the sound of the terrible war-whoop or the blow of the tomahawk. Prayers for the safety of those who had gone to fight a wily and savage foe ascended constantly from each cottage. Spring, just ripening into summer, had clothed woods and meadows with beauty, but the season of joy and promise was made gloomy by fear and anxiety. When, after three weeks of absence, the little vessels came sailing up the river, great was the relief and the joy of the settlers, and fervent were the thanksgivings for the victory which Providence had granted.

Underhill, with the smaller portion of the troops, marched across the land to Saybrook fort, where they were welcomed by Gardiner with all the honors due to victors, and were "nobly entertained with many great guns."

Intelligence of Mason's achievement was immediately sent to Boston, with a request for aid to finish the war. Massachusetts, whose ill-advised expedition under Endicot was the chief cause of the Pequot hostility, promptly responded to the call for help, and one hundred and twenty men were sent, under the command of Stoughton, to aid in exterminating the enemy. The Massachusetts troops, landing on the banks of the Mystic, discovered a body of Pequots, and attacking them, killed thirty men, but spared the women and children. They then proceeded to Saybrook fort, where they were joined by Mason and forty men raised by the Connecticut settlements.

The power of the Pequots was already broken, their pride was humbled, and they were completely demoralized. The survivors charged Sassacus, the sachem, whom they had hitherto regarded with fear and reverence, with being the cause of all their woes, and some of them

threatened his life. They could no longer hold the land they had conquered, and from which they had hurled defiance at all the neighboring tribes; and, dividing into several bands, they moved westward to find new homes, which were never reached.

The colonial troops started in pursuit, being especially anxious to capture Sassacus, whose savage ambition and conceit had induced his people to commence hostilities. Two sachems who had been captured were asked to point out the trail made by the party of their chief, but, loyal to their master, they persistently refused, and were forthwith killed. Their heads were set up on poles, as a terror to all Indians who might behold them, and the place where they were exposed is still known as "Sachems' Head."

At last a trail of the retreating Pequots was found, and followed with all possible speed. It led to a swamp, within which it was discovered that the Indians had encamped. Eighty Pequot warriors, with their families, were here seeking a temporary refuge with some two hundred Indians of a tribe which inhabited this region. With difficulty the soldiers penetrated the swamp, and being unacquainted with the ground, some of them sank in the morass so that they could scarcely extricate themselves. In this condition they were attacked by the Indians and forced to retire. Encouraged by their success, the savages bade defiance to their pursuers. The English then surrounded the swamp, their limited numbers compelling them to place their men some distance apart; but the lines were gradually contracted, so that the Indians were really closely besieged. At this stage, the tribe with whom the Pequots had taken refuge begged for quarter, saying that they had taken no part in the war, and they were allowed to go out. The Pequots, however, were still defiant, and responded with flights of arrows to the deadly fire of the soldiers. At last, taking advantage of a fog, they made a desperate sally at one point of the besiegers' line. There was a brief hand-to-hand conflict, and then fifty warriors escaped. Twenty had already been killed, and the few men who remained could no longer resist. One hundred and eighty, mostly women and children, were taken prisoners, with all their little stock of utensils and provisions that they were taking to a new home. Among them were found the two girls who had been taken captive at Wethersfield. They were restored

to their parents in safety, and the squaw who had befriended them, for her kindness, was spared the fate which awaited the others.

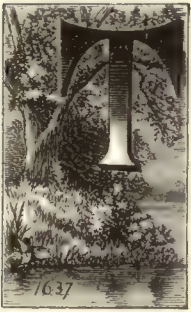
Sassacus, with a few followers, made his way to the Mohawks and besought their friendship. That tribe, however, were old enemies of the Pequots, and the fugitive sachem found no sympathy in his misfortunes. They treacherously killed him and his men, and sent his scalp to the whites; and the rulers of Connecticut, rejoicing in the destruction of so formidable an enemy, sent a lock of hair cut from the trophy to their brethren in Massachusetts.

The captives and booty were divided between Massachusetts and Connecticut. Some of those apportioned to Massachusetts were sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves,—an act of cruelty which can be palliated only by the spirit of the age. Most of the others were distributed among the friendly tribes of Indians, for it was determined that the Pequot tribe should no longer exist, even in name.

The most warlike and powerful of the New England tribes was thus wiped out of existence by a mere handful of English settlers. It was a fearful destruction, and a terribly cruel one. But on the part of the whites, the war was waged in self-defence. The terrible massacres in Virginia told them to what fate they were exposed, so long as hostile and treacherous savages around them were not intimidated; and war, always barbarous, in those days was more cruel than among civilized nations in recent times.

XXXVII.

COLONIES OF NEW HAVEN AND SAYBROOK.



THE settlement at New Haven was commenced by more rigid and zealous Puritans than those who first came to the Connecticut valley. The Rev. John Davenport, with Theophilus Eaton and other substantial London merchants, arrived in Boston in 1637, and others of their friends were then preparing to follow them. The Massachusetts rulers gave them a hearty welcome, and offered inducements for such substantial emigrants to settle within the limits of the colony. They, however, were not disposed to stop there, for two reasons: there seemed to be "no good lands" to be taken up, and there were rumors that a governor-general of the existing colonies was to be appointed by the king, and they desired to get beyond the reach of a royal ruler. The pursuit of the Pequots beyond the Connecticut River had brought to notice some excellent lands and good situations for settlements, and the new emigrants at once sent parties to purchase some of these lands of the Indians.

In March, 1638, Davenport and Eaton, with a considerable company of those who had come over to join them, went by water from Boston to the region they had purchased, and on a pleasant bay called by the Indians Quinnipiac, they established their settlement, and subsequently called it New Haven. The next year, another party of emigrants from the south of England came over and settled at Menunkatuck, where they founded the town of Guilford. From this time forward new parties came from England and the older settlements, and settling in the vicinity

of New Haven, came shortly under the jurisdiction of the government there set up.

The leading men among the settlers of New Haven were merchants from London. While they were Puritans, and had come to New England to escape persecution, they were also men of trade, and hoped to thrive by commerce. Although they wanted plenty of room and good lands, the cultivation of the soil was only a secondary matter with them, and they proposed to found a trading town, to barter with the Indians, and to export furs, and timber, and corn, or whatever else the country might produce. Trade and commerce, however, did not prove so successful as they anticipated, and they suffered many losses, which they piously ascribed to "the Lord being against them."

The settlers of Guilford were gentlemen and yeomen, and almost all of them planters, and finding "good lands," they led a quiet and contented life, without the anxieties of the New Haven merchants. Among them were William Leete, who was afterwards governor of the united colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, and others who were prominent in the early affairs of the colony.

The settlers at Milford came chiefly from Wethersfield. The pioneers of that settlement had come from Massachusetts without the permission of the General Court, and in opposition to its decision. They were a high-spirited and excitable people, and apparently were somewhat adventurous as well as wilful. They were not by any means intimidated when the Indians murdered some of their number and carried off two children into captivity, but were eager to fight the Pequots and to exterminate them. Their spirit of independence led them into controversies among themselves, and sometimes they carried discord into the new settlements which they joined by renewing their controversies there.

The first year there was no civil government organized by these various settlements, but the settlers entered into a covenant to be governed "by the rules which the Scripture held forth to them." This seemed sufficient while they were few and all of one mind, and interpreted the Scriptures literally. In 1639, however, there was a meeting of the free-men of New Haven to organize some sort of civil government, and, as they had no town-house nor meeting-house, it was held in "Mr. Newman's barn." A simple constitution was adopted, which provided that only

church-members should be free burgesses or voters; and as no church then existed by uniting with which men might become free burgesses, a church was organized with "seven pillars," as a foundation for the civil government. The seven pillars of the church, who regulated its affairs and the admission of church-members, subsequently convened the "free burgesses," and they chose Mr. Eaton governor, with seven assistants, or magistrates. The colonists, at that time, did not require much law, and experience had not taught them what they did need; but they meant to be a religious community, and, believing that the Bible was the only safe guide, they adopted the laws of Moses as their only code, and the governor and magistrates were expected to administer them. For some years the Mosaic law was duly observed, and its penalties enforced, when necessary. But when new towns were founded, and population increased, and interests multiplied, it was found that Moses had not prescribed rules exactly adapted to their condition or state of society, and the ancient code was gradually modified. Minister Davenport shaped the laws, however, and they were still based on the Bible, but in some respects the Mosaic code was considerably softened.*

The settlers at Guilford, Milford, and other places about New Haven, adopted the same method of regulating church and civil affairs, and for several years maintained separate organizations. They afterwards found it for their advantage to unite under one government, and attached themselves to that of New Haven.

Neither the colony of Connecticut nor that of New Haven had any charter or grant from the king, directly or indirectly. They had purchased their lands of the Indians, and set up their governments by the will of the people. But there was another settlement—that at Saybrook—which, according to English ideas, had a superior right to exist, and to organize a government. The fort at Saybrook had been built, and the territory adjacent to the Connecticut claimed, under the patent granted to Lords Say and Brook. Those noblemen had contemplated coming to America themselves, but finally abandoned the purpose. George Fenwick came over as their agent, and established an independent government at Saybrook, though there was little besides the fort

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over which to exercise jurisdiction. By virtue of his employers' patent he laid claim to some of the settlements on the river, but his pretensions were not kindly received nor persistently maintained; and when the grantees abandoned the purpose of coming to America (in 1644), he conveyed the grant to Connecticut.*

Fenwick's colony gave place to settlers from other places, and when he returned to England he left nothing more memorable than a monument to his wife, the Lady Anne Boteler, who died at Saybrook. This moss-grown monument, of rough and singular form, is still in existence. Fenwick, after his return to England, was a prominent man among the Puritans, and was one of the "regicide judges."

* Not only did Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke propose coming to New England, but it is asserted by some authorities that, while Charles I. was indulging his despotic temper, and before his struggle with parliament commenced, Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and other distinguished champions of popular rights, also contemplated emigrating, and that they were only prevented from embarking by an express order of the king. This assertion is not well supported by evidence, but to the dreamer of possibilities it suggests a wide field for conjecture as to the effect of such an emigration on New England; how different would have been the career of those men if circumscribed by the narrow limits of those scattered settlements; how changed would be the pages of English history.

XXXVIII.

UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.



THE Pequot war first suggested the confederation of the New England colonies. Such a union was proposed and discussed immediately after the war as a measure of mutual protection, but it was not carried into effect till several years afterwards. Then the fears, not only of Indian hostilities, but of the encroachments of the French on the one side, and especially of the Dutch on the other, led to a more urgent renewal of the scheme. The civil war in England,

which had already broken out between the king and parliament, was an additional motive for a union at this time. Commissioners from the four colonies of Saybrook, Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth went to Boston and met a like representation of the Massachusetts colony, for the purpose of forming a confederation. The colonies at Providence and Rhode Island were not invited to join, the others not being willing to have any dealings with such dangerous heretics.

With due deliberation, and a careful reservation of the rights of the several colonies, a union was formed, the prototype of that later union of all the colonies by which their independence was achieved, and that still later and more perfect union of the states under which a powerful nation has grown up to take a foremost place among the nations of the world. The affairs of the confederacy were intrusted to commissioners, consisting of two from each colony, who were to assemble annually, or oftener if exigencies required, and might deliberate on all things which were "the proper concomitants or consequents of a confederation." The affairs of peace and war, especially as relating to the Indians, were to

be conducted by these commissioners; they were authorized in certain cases to make internal improvements for the common benefit at the common charge; and they were to see that each of the confederates rendered prompt justice to the others. While such were their powers and duties, they had no executive power to enforce their decrees, and it remained for the colonies to carry their votes into effect. Their decision, however, made it incumbent on each of the confederates to act.

The articles of confederation provided for the admission of new members by consent of the rest; but there were no colonies which the confederates were willing to admit. The settlers in New Hampshire and Maine had no independent civil government, and in religion were by no means agreeable to the Puritans. Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations desired to participate in the benefits of the union, but Massachusetts could not yet tolerate the heresies of Roger Williams, and Plymouth claimed that Rhode Island was a rebel against her jurisdiction.

Each of the colonies had two commissioners, the smaller having the same representation as the larger. When the commissioners assembled, those from Massachusetts claimed precedence and the right to preside, as representing much the largest population and most important interests. The other commissioners, however, were not disposed to yield the rights of their colonies, and would not admit the claim; but in view of the larger population of that colony they consented that its commissioners should have precedence in some respects, and should sign all papers first.

The colonists, from the first, had been left to take care of themselves, without any interference or aid from the mother country. When, at last, the attention of the government was turned towards the colonies, and measures were taken to assert the royal authority over them, the troubles at home prevented a consummation of the purpose, and they were still left to themselves. The confederation was therefore a wise measure for their mutual protection and the promotion of their common interests; it proved of even greater benefit than was anticipated, and continued for fifty years.

XXXIX.

UNCAS AND MIANTONOMOH.



NE of the first subjects of importance to come before the commissioners of the United Colonies was an alleged hostile movement of the Narragansett Indians. After the destruction of the Pequots this tribe was the most powerful in New England. Next in importance to the Narragansetts was the tribe of Mohegans, occupying the territory between the Narragansetts and the Connecticut River. Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans, had early established friendly relations with the settlers on the Connecticut River, seeking their alliance as a protection against the Pequots. He had more of the qualities of the statesman than most of the native chieftains, and was quite as shrewd as he was brave. While always faithful to his white allies, he was jealous and treacherous towards rival Indians. The Mohegans and Narragansetts were old enemies, and, when the fiercer and more powerful Pequots were out of the way, they were disposed to try their strength against each other.

The Narragansetts were on very friendly terms with Roger Williams and his people, and Williams had great influence with their sachems, Canonicus and Miantonomoh, as was shown when he induced them not to join the Pequots in their hostilities against the Connecticut settlers. The Massachusetts rulers, however, regarded the Narragansetts with distrust, partly because they had shown so great friendship towards Williams and others who had been banished for heresy, and partly because they had, at an early period, sent a threatening message to Plymouth. There were now, too, on the borders of Narragansett Bay

some settlers who had been driven from Massachusetts for their heresies and obnoxious conduct, and who were malevolent enough to stir up an ill feeling in the Indians towards the Massachusetts colony. Among these were Gorton, of whom mention has been made on a preceding page. Knowing this, the Massachusetts people naturally felt some uneasiness at any suspicious movement of the Narragansetts.

Uncas had made war upon Sequasson, a Connecticut sachem, a kinsman of Miantonomoh, and thus provoked the anger of the Narragansett chief, and he longed for revenge. The Mohegan sachem was no less fierce against Miantonomoh, but he feared the more powerful tribe of his enemy, should he make war alone. With the alliance of the whites, however, who had so quickly destroyed the mighty Pequots, he could conquer the Narragansetts, and thus gratify his long-cherished purpose of revenge and his ambition. He persuaded the colonists of Hartford and New Haven that Miantonomoh was planning a general massacre of the English. The Connecticut colonies prepared to go to war, and solicited the aid of Massachusetts. But that colony was farther away from the hostile Indians, and was not inclined to act hastily. The magistrates determined to inquire into the matter before taking so critical a step as making war upon this formidable tribe, and they summoned Miantonomoh to Boston.

The Narragansett sachem was not a crafty and intriguing character, but a haughty, impetuous, and outspoken savage, and it speaks well for his innocence of any hostile purpose that he answered the summons of the Massachusetts magistrates. He indignantly denied the alleged conspiracy, and, declaring that it was a calumny of Uncas, demanded to meet the accuser face to face. Finding no evidence to support the charge, the magistrates were forced to take his word, and he was dismissed. But he had been treated as a culprit, and not with the consideration which he felt was due to a powerful sachem. He had not been permitted to sit at the magistrates' table, and was otherwise, as he conceived, treated with indignity. He therefore returned to his tribe in no very happy mood, and, while he had given his hand to Governor Winthrop in token of peace, he doubtless considered that he was absolved from all obligation not to make war upon his malignant accuser, Uncas. When the captive Pequots, and the booty taken with them, were divided, a promise was exacted from the Mohegans and Narragansetts to maintain

peace with each other, as well as towards the whites. Miantonomoh was an ignorant savage, but he was not far wrong if he construed the accusation of Uncas as a design to precipitate war, and in reality the first hostile act.

The Narragansett chief had hardly left Boston when letters were again received from Connecticut urging immediate measures to defeat the plot. But the Massachusetts magistrates were not satisfied that the alleged plot existed, or that there was a necessity for any preparations for war. The Connecticut colonies were not prepared to commence hostilities without the aid of Massachusetts, and the winter passed without any warlike movement on the part of the Indians. The next spring, Miantonomoh was again summoned to Boston to answer a complaint made by two petty sachems, who claimed to be independent, that he had conveyed their lands to Gorton and his associates. "Being demanded, in open court, before divers of his own men and other Indians, whether he had any interest in the said two sachems as his subjects, he could prove none." He could prove none to the satisfaction of the magistrates, but in his own mind his claim to the allegiance of these rebellious sachems was perfect, and his temper was by no means mollified by the action of the magistrates.

Miantonomoh returned to the shores of Narragansett Bay with the desire for revenge burning in his heart. He doubtless believed that the unfriendliness of the Massachusetts people was inspired by his old enemy, Uncas, and, disregarding all former pledges of peace, he resolved on war with the Mohegans. It is said that he sent a message to Governor Winthrop, announcing his purpose, but there was then no time to prevent or dissuade him from putting it in execution. Within a month from the time he left Boston he was on the war-path, with five hundred followers, and invaded the territory of the Mohegans.

Uncas led out all the warriors he could muster, who numbered, however, not more than half as many as the Narragansetts. But the crafty sachem of the Mohegans was more than a match for his enemy. As the two forces drew near each other, and before they commenced fighting, Uncas advanced in front of his warriors, and demanded an interview with Miantonomoh. The Narragansett chief went out to meet him, while his followers disposed themselves to observe this unusual proceeding. The rival chiefs, always and with reason suspicious of

enemies, did not approach each other very closely, and Uncas addressed Miantonomoh in a loud voice, to which the Narragansetts listened with close attention. He proposed that the warriors of the two tribes should not fall to killing each other, but that they two should fight it out in single combat. Miantonomoh, knowing his superiority of numbers, refused the challenge. Uncas then threw himself flat upon the ground, which was a preconcerted signal to his followers. With a fierce yell, they immediately let fly a flight of arrows at the Narragansetts, who were wholly unprepared for such a termination of the interview between the sachems. With that lack of real courage which characterized the undisciplined savages, they fled in dismay. The Mohegans, elated by their sudden success, fiercely pursued. Miantonomoh retreated with his tribe; but there were traitors among his followers, who, in order to obtain favor with Uncas, prevented his escape, and delivered him into the hands of his enemy. Their treachery, however, was rewarded by a death-blow from the Mohegan chief.

Uncas, for some reason, forbore to dispose of his prisoner by torture and death, after the custom of the Indians, and taking him to Hartford, delivered him, at his own request, into the custody of the colonists. The wily savage doubtless thought he should secure still more firmly the friendship of the whites by delivering to them the enemy they so much feared. What disposition should be made of the prisoner was a troublesome question with the colonists. They were afraid to release him, for fear of giving offence to Uncas, and they had no just cause for punishing him with death. The matter was therefore referred to the commissioners of the United Colonies, who were then holding their first session at Boston.

The views of the Connecticut colonists were probably urged with some force, and whatever evidence they had of a purpose among the Indians to massacre the whites was presented with such effect as to satisfy even the Massachusetts men, who had hitherto been inclined to doubt. The commissioners therefore found that it was "clearly discovered that there was a general conspiracy among the Indians to cut off all the English, and that Miantonomoh was the head and contriver of it." They further found it "sufficiently evidenced that Miantonomoh and his confederates had in sundry ways manifested their enmity against the life of Uncas." Having established these premises to their satisfaction, they

were not so clear as to the disposition to be made of the offender, and they asked the advice of five of "the most judicious" of the fifty ministers then assembled at Boston. The ministers had less difficulty than the laymen; they found in the Bible precedents for their predetermination. Miantonomoh must die. By the laws of Indian warfare, the captive's life was forfeit to his captor, and the Bible sanctioned the putting to death of enemies. With the advice of the ministers, therefore, the commissioners came to the conclusion "that Uncas cannot be safe while Miantonomoh lives, but either by secret treachery or open force his life will still be in danger. Wherefore they think he may justly put such a false and bloodthirsty enemy to death." It was further decided, however, that the condemned chief should not be tortured or otherwise outraged by his savage executioner.

The decision of the commissioners was satisfactory to the people of Connecticut. Miantonomoh was delivered to his triumphant enemy, with instructions to take him beyond the limits of the settlement and put him to death. At the same time, a number of soldiers were sent with him to see that the condemned chief was not tortured, and that no indignity should be inflicted on his lifeless body. No word of his doom was whispered to Miantonomoh, and he went forth with a firm and elastic step, as if he anticipated his liberty and a return to his kindred. If such were his anticipations they were speedily ended, for a brother of Uncas, walking behind him, suddenly buried his hatchet in the proud sachem's brain. Miantonomoh was dead; the savage's thirst for vengeance was appeased, and the fears of the whites were allayed.

Though some white soldiers were present to see that no indignity should be offered to the body of the murdered sachem, Uncas hastened to cut a piece of flesh from his shoulder and eat it with savage delight, saying it was the sweetest morsel he ever tasted, and made his heart strong.

Such was the treacherous, cruel, and unnecessary taking off of the Narragansett sachem, who had shown more of friendship than of enmity to the English, and it was counselled and approved by the ministers whose advice was sought! At this distance of time, it appears as if the friendship of the Narragansett sachems towards Williams and the other settlers in Rhode Island, who were so obnoxious to the Puritans of Massachusetts and Connecticut, had created a prejudice in the minds of the latter which made them ready to believe any evil of those chiefs,

and anxious to inflict on them the punishment which some would willingly have visited on the white heretics. The condemnation of Miantonomoh, and giving him into the hands of his bloodthirsty enemy to be murdered, is a blot on the character of the magistrates and ministers which their fears of an Indian war may palliate, but cannot excuse.

Miantonomoh was buried where he fell, and the place received the name of "Sachem's Plain." The members of his tribe each laid a stone upon his grave whenever they passed that way, and it is said that some of them made annual pilgrimages to the spot, to pay this simple tribute to the memory of their lamented sachem.

As might be expected, the killing of Miantonomoh did not make the Narragansetts more peaceful. Pessacus, Miantonomoh's brother and successor, threatened to revenge on Uncas the death of the unfortunate sachem. The mischievous border settlers on Narragansett Bay did all they could to stir up discontent and hostility among the Indians towards the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The wise and conciliatory course of the commissioners, however, prevented any actual warfare between the rival tribes of Indians, and any attack upon the whites. But the hostile spirit of the savages, though quieted for a time, was not quenched. It was nursed in secret by the memory of those days when the colonies protected and aided their enemy, and it was not infrequently aroused by wrongs and outrages committed by individual settlers, and the stern authority which the colonies asserted over them. At last, when the Indians had learned some of the arts of civilized life, and had obtained fire-arms and learned how to use them, that hostile spirit broke forth in "King Philip's war."

Uncas always remained a faithful friend to the Connecticut colonies, but he was treacherous towards his own race. Whenever he thought he could profit by it, he did not hesitate to stir up the colonists against the neighboring tribes, and the Connecticut people were only too ready to believe his untrustworthy representations. More politic than most Indians, he made his savage propensities subordinate to his interest, and he was shrewd enough to see that his interest lay in a firm alliance with the more powerful whites. The Connecticut settlers were equally faithful to their ally, and bestowed many tokens of favor on him and his descendants.

THE CONNECTICUT COLONISTS AND THE DUTCH AND INDIANS.



THE colonies of Connecticut and New Haven were composed of men of enterprise and spirit, and while they had come to New England avowedly to escape persecution and to enjoy their manner of worship undisturbed, they manifested no little zeal in promoting their temporal interests and the extension of their trade and their territory. For exemplary Christians, too, they were a good deal inclined to war. They had destroyed the Pequots, and, influenced by Uncas, they would have had the united colonies in a like manner exterminate the Narragansetts but for the more cautious action of Massachusetts. Their next trouble was with the Dutch of New Netherlands. They tolerated the trading-fort at Good Hope, near Hartford, though not with a very good grace; but they did not tolerate the efforts of the New Netherlands people to establish themselves at points west of New Haven. They looked upon New Amsterdam itself as an unwarrantable intrusion upon lands which belonged to England.

The people of the Connecticut and New Haven colonies soon planted settlements at Greenwich and other points west of New Haven, and disputed the right of the Dutch to trade with the Indians, or to establish trading-posts there. The veracious Diedrich Knickerbocker says that the Connecticut people planted their onions nearer and nearer each year to the Hudson, and compelled the Dutch to retire with tears in their eyes. An equally veracious and impartial chronicler of Connecticut

might have said that the Dutch crept through the onion beds to set their beaver traps under the noses of the English. Such was substantially the conflict between the two sets of pioneers on the soil of Western Connecticut.

Complaints and counter complaints were frequent between the settlers at Hartford and the Dutch at the trading-post of "Good Hope," near by, and there were frequent collisions between them, in which it would seem that the Dutch, on the whole, got the worst of it. Among the wrongs complained of by the English settlers were the following:—

An Indian woman, who was a captive, and servant of one of the settlers, and who had committed some offence, and was liable to public punishment, fled to the Dutch fort and was there entertained and protected, and the commander refused to surrender her.

Some Dutch horses having been impounded for doing damage to the corn of the English, were forcibly seized by the Dutch, who assaulted and beat an Englishman for interfering.

One notorious offender, imprisoned for a capital offence, was aided to escape by a negro belonging to the Dutch, who was not called to account for so doing.

The Dutch received stolen goods, and married English couples whose marriage was refused by the Connecticut magistrates. They put cattle in the English cornfields, opposed the erection of fences, and cut them down, and committed divers other acts to prevent the English from planting, and enjoying the fruits of their labor.

On the other hand, the Dutch complained of a still longer catalogue of injuries which they suffered at the hands of the English settlers, and among them were the following:—

The English prevented the Dutch from planting lands which the latter had purchased, and then proceeded to plant them themselves.

They beat the Dutch servants who were at work for their masters, and "struck Ever Duckings a hole in his head with a stick, so that the blood ran down very strongly down on his body."

The constable of Hartford, with ten armed men, came upon the lands of the Dutch when they were ploughing, and "smote the horses with sticks," so that they broke the gear and ran away.



ENGLISH AND DUTCH QUARRELS IN CONNECTICUT.

The English continued to hinder them in the possession of their land, "with blows and strokes even to the shedding of blood."

They took a Dutch horse, and a cow and calf, and impounded them for trespassing when they had not trespassed.

An English minister took hay which the Dutch had cut and made on their own land, and appropriated it to his own use.

These complaints show a very unpleasant condition of affairs, and anything but a peaceful state in the little colony of Hartford. There was an irrepressible conflict between the representatives of the two nations, and, as the English were the most numerous, and withal the most aggressive, the Dutch, in this border warfare, undoubtedly got the worst of it. We can imagine with what sober earnestness the English maintained their "rights," and how vigorously they fell upon the offending Dutchmen with "sticks and staves," and what a volley of Dutch oaths was discharged from the fort of Good Hope.

While the English settlers and the Dutch traders were disputing, the relations between the two mother countries became unfriendly, and the Dutch West India Company, by whom the settlement of New Amsterdam was made, instructed their governor, Stuyvesant, to "live with his neighbors on as good terms as possible." Under these instructions, the governor attempted to negotiate with the English colonies for the settlement of their rival claims. But he did not meet with much success. The commissioners of the United Colonies, who had jurisdiction in such matters, ignored the claims of the Dutch, and forbade "all persons but such as were inhabitants within the English jurisdictions, and subject to their laws and government," to trade with the Indians within those jurisdictions. These jurisdictions were not definitely settled, but the colonies and the commissioners were disposed to consider them as extending over a great part, at least, of the territory where the Dutch were then trading.

Anxious to bring about more amicable relations with the English colonies, which he began to fear, Stuyvesant resolved to meet the commissioners in person, and he accordingly went to Hartford while they were in session there. He was not received with much cordiality by the people and magistrates of that colony, nor with much respect for the dignity which he thought belonged to his office. After being there

two days he addressed a letter to the commissioners, and inadvertently, or thinking perhaps that where he was his jurisdiction extended, especially where the Dutch claimed rights, he dated his letter at New Netherlands. The commissioners, suspicious that he was setting a trap to catch from them some admission of the Dutch claim of jurisdiction, refused to treat with him till he disclaimed any such pretension. The Dutch governor was not inclined to have his long journey prove fruitless on account of mere words, and dated his subsequent letters at Connecticut, and the commissioners then agreed to confer with him.

Stuyvesant commenced by complaining of the "unjust usurpation and possessing the land lying upon the river commonly called Connecticut or the Fresh River," and of the injuries above named which had been inflicted on his countrymen, and he proposed an arrangement for the restoration of fugitives, and a repeal of the law forbidding Dutchmen to trade with Indians within the colonies. The colonial commissioners, however, maintained their title to the lands as derived from "patent, purchase, and possession," and ignored all other matters till the question of territory should be settled. The Dutch governor, finding the commissioners firm, proposed to submit the matter in dispute to arbitration, and after some discussion the proposition was accepted. Simon Bradstreet of Massachusetts and Thomas Prince of Plymouth were appointed arbitrators on the part of the colonies, and Thomas Millett and George Baxter, English residents at New Amsterdam, on the part of the Dutch. Stuyvesant was liberal, and by appointing two Englishmen as arbitrators on his part showed that he was prepared to make concessions. The arbitrators were not long in arriving at a settlement, which, as might be expected, was altogether favorable to the English claims. The boundary line was to begin on the west side of Greenwich Bay, and thence to run northerly, but not to come within ten miles of the Hudson; and it was agreed that the Dutch should not build any house or habitation within six miles of the said line. The planters at Greenwich, however, were to remain for the present under the government of the Dutch, and the Dutch were to hold and enjoy all the lands in Hartford that they were actually possessed of, and all the remainder of the lands on the Connecticut River were to belong to the English. The award also assigned to the English the greater part of Long Island.

When the result of the arbitration became known at New Amsterdam the wrath of the Dutch was great, and loud complaints were made against Stuyvesant. But the governor was wiser than the complainants. He had seen how the English settlers at Hartford outnumbered the Dutch, and he had learned something of the strength of the United Colonies, while he could have no doubt as to their temper. He had adopted a discreet course, and postponed the day when the English should overthrow Dutch rule even in New Amsterdam itself.

But the New Haven and Connecticut colonies were not altogether satisfied with the award so favorable to them. The people did not like the Dutch, and they took no pains to conceal their dislike, but on the contrary took pleasure in manifesting it, especially when at last war broke out between the mother countries. They made preparations for "defence" against the Dutch, but really wished to commence an offensive war against New Amsterdam.

At this stage of affairs a report got abroad that the Dutch were plotting with the Mohawks and Nyantics to make war upon the English. Whether the report originated with the crafty Uncas or not, he took pains to confirm it by some plausible representations which were readily believed by the government and people of the Connecticut colonies. Ninigret, sachem of the Nyantics, had been to New Amsterdam, and this was believed to be certain evidence of the existence of the plot. The commissioners were convened to take measures to defeat it. The sachems of the Narragansetts and Nyantics were called upon to give their testimony concerning the plot; but they denied all knowledge of it, and Ninigret declared that his visit to New Amsterdam was made for the purpose of being "cured and healed" of some disease.

The commissioners, however, were not convinced, but believed that a hostile feeling towards the English had been aroused among the Indians "for divers hundreds of miles' circuit," and that the Dutch were responsible for it. The government and elders of Massachusetts, being called into council, were not so ready to put faith in the representations of Uncas, and "did not understand they were called to make a present war with the Dutch." New Haven and Hartford were indignant, and dissensions arose between the colonies which threatened to end the

confederacy. The Connecticut colonies proposed to go to war alone if they could obtain volunteers and vessels in Massachusetts; but Massachusetts could not assent to that. The firmness of this colony prevented the war, and the others were compelled at last to acquiesce in her decision or recede from a confederation which was of more importance to them than to her.

Not succeeding in inaugurating a war against the Dutch, the Connecticut colonies directed their animosity against the Nyantics. An assault was reported to have been committed on some Long Island Indians who were friendly to the English, and the commissioners, who had a sharp look-out in Indian affairs, summoned the Narragansett and Nyantic sachems to come to Boston and "clear themselves, or render a reason for their hostile invasion." Ninigret, the Nyantic chief, was haughty and independent. He did not treat the messengers sent to summon him with much courtesy, and told them "his heart was not willing to come to the Bay." The commissioners thereupon voted that they "conceived themselves called by God to make a present war against Ninigret, the Nyantic sachem."

The Massachusetts commissioners did not assent to this vote, and the calmer judgment of the Massachusetts magistrates again opposed the warlike spirit of the Connecticut colonies. This action rekindled the flame of dissension in the confederacy. The commissioners of the three smaller colonies, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven, united in resentment towards their cooler and more peaceful confederate. Their voice was "still for war," and they passed a resolve that Massachusetts had actually broken her covenant. A long controversy followed between the Massachusetts colony and the others. In the mean time peace was maintained with both the Dutch and the Indians, and no further evidence appeared that there was ever any such plot as the Connecticut people had conjured up to scare themselves with.

Ninigret, however, apparently taking advantage of the colonial dissension, had committed some depredations, and refused to pay tribute on account of some Pequot captives who had been assigned to him. He was summoned to answer for his offences, but he refused to come to Hartford, or to send his representatives, or to give any satisfaction. Here was cause for warlike preparation, and though the Massachusetts

authorities regarded his action as indicating ill temper rather than any hostile design, they united with the other colonies in a vote to send twenty horsemen and forty foot-soldiers to compel his better behavior. Simon Willard, of Massachusetts, was made commander-in-chief of this army, and he marched the quota of his colony to the western shore of Narragansett Bay, where Ninigret usually resided. That sachem, however, did not await his coming, but retired into a great swamp, some fifteen miles away, and Willard deferred a pursuit until the troops from Connecticut and New Haven should arrive. When those troops did arrive an advance was made towards Ninigret's retreat, and two captains were sent to confer with him. They found the sachem apparently in great alarm, but for all his fears he would not agree to the demands which had been made upon him. He promised to surrender the Pequot captives, and was glad to be rid of them, but he would not agree to pay any tribute. Ninigret was in a place where cavalry was of no use, and foot-soldiers could accomplish little, and it was found that the season was unsuitable for further operations. So the "army" marched away again, with the sachem's promise to surrender the Pequots rather than pay for them, as the grand result of the campaign. After an absence of fifteen days Willard was back in Boston. The belligerent Connecticut colonists were sorely indignant, but the Massachusetts government believed that intimidation was better than battle, and thanked the troops for their cheerful and ready service.

The New Haven colony was resolved on war with the Dutch of New Netherlands. The thrifty merchants were not slow to see the advantages for trade which Manhadoes, or Manhattan, possessed, and they did not consider that the tenth commandment applied to this case. As Englishmen, they believed that all the country—at least from the French settlements in Acadie to the Spanish in Florida—belonged to England. The Dutch were simply interlopers and trespassers, who ought to be driven out, that the rightful owners might come in; they were, moreover, a set of heretics, whose only god was trade, and they ought to give place to the saints. Failing, through the opposition of Massachusetts, to secure active hostilities by the United Colonies against New Netherlands, the New Haven people determined to seek aid elsewhere. The Connecticut colony had but little less aversion to the

Dutch than its sister colony, and the two joined in soliciting the influence of leading men in England in favor of an expedition against the Dutch settlements in America, and even made application to the Protector himself. After a time their efforts were crowned with success, and the belligerent colonists were thrown into a state of joyous excitement by the intelligence of the arrival of an expedition at Boston intended to operate against New Netherlands.

This expedition was to co-operate with the colonies in the proposed attack, and the question of furnishing their respective quotas was speedily brought before the colonial governments. New Haven at once sent messengers to Boston to congratulate the commander, and to assure him that the colony would "afford their best assistance, both in men and provisions." The messengers were further instructed to declare that if Massachusetts should refuse or delay to join the expedition, or even if all the other colonies declined, the people of New Haven alone "would improve the utmost of their ability to manifest their due submission to the authority of England, and readiness to a service wherein all New England—at least the western colonies—were so much concerned." Massachusetts did delay, and refused to raise any auxiliary force for the expedition, but gave consent for the English officers to enroll five hundred volunteers, if they could find so many. New Haven, however, was all astir with preparations for the war. Frequent trainings were ordered; an embargo was laid on provisions; shoemakers, armorers, and bakers were set at work; relays of horses were provided for the conveyance of orders or the reports of victory; and finally the court raised a force of one hundred and thirty-three men, and seized vessels for transports.

The Connecticut colony manifested a like readiness to join in the expedition, and promptly offered to furnish its proportion of a force of fifteen hundred men. In case Massachusetts refused to take part in the enterprise, and it should be determined to prosecute it, the messengers of Connecticut were authorized to pledge the colony for the supply of four or five hundred men. Hartford, however, was not quite so busy as New Haven with the preparations for war, and waited to learn exactly what was expected of her before raising her forces and preparing their rations. The latter colony, having raised its little army, and provided

supplies, appointed a day of "fasting and prayer for a blessing upon the enterprise abroad, and for the safety of the plantations at home."

But the belligerent colonists were doomed to disappointment, and anxious wives and mothers were relieved from their forebodings. Before the day appointed for the fast arrived, a messenger came dashing into town bearing a proclamation announcing that peace had been concluded between the parent countries. Great was the disgust of the colonial magnates when they thus learned that all their patriotic preparations were for nought, and that their animosity towards the Dutch could not be gratified. The officers and young men, who had anticipated a brilliant campaign and a large share of glory, were indignant that the news should have crossed the ocean before they had won their victory over the Dutch trespassers. But the hearts of the women were filled with joy, in the assurance that their husbands and sons were not going to seek "the bubble reputation even in the cannon's mouth."

When the rumor of peace reached New Amsterdam, the Dutch governor, who had been greatly alarmed at the warlike preparations of his neighbors, sent a messenger with all haste to New Haven to inquire whether it was true. The disappointed governor of New Haven had no choice but to admit the fact, and despatched a copy of the proclamation to his Dutch excellency, to his great joy and relief.

ELIOT, THE APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS.— MAYHEW.



NOTWITHSTANDING the warlike attitude of the Connecticut colonists towards certain tribes of Indians, the relations of the New England settlers with the natives about them were not altogether hostile. When they came to America they were very solicitous for the conversion of the savages, but they soon became convinced that it would be no easy matter to make Christians out of the stupid and sensual barbarians with whom they came in contact. At first they were so engrossed in providing for their own welfare, that they could make no systematic effort to convert the Indians, and in the mean time they learned of what unpromising materials they must make their converts. But they did not become indifferent to the religious condition of the Indians about them, and used such opportunities as offered for their instruction.

The Plymouth people undertook to teach such of the natives as visited them, and were highly pleased with the impression they made on Squanto and Hobomok. It was a great satisfaction to them that Squanto, when about to die, asked Governor Bradford to pray that he might go to the Englishman's heaven. The Puritans of Massachusetts also instructed such Indians as were disposed to receive instruction in religious matters, and some of the younger and more docile natives, who were taken into English families as servants, showed no little interest in religious services. But not a few of them, from their propensities

for mischief and deviltry, were regarded as "children of Satan." The older Indians were not generally disposed to forsake their okies, or to abandon the incantations of their powows, medicine-men, or priests, for the less noisy and exciting performance of a minister's sermon. The colonists, however, met with sufficient success to encourage them in the belief that the natives had some capacity for the reception of the Christian religion. The General Court of Massachusetts, therefore, ordered that two ministers should be chosen annually by the elders to go and preach to the Indians by means of interpreters.

But there was one man in Massachusetts who had already determined upon a more direct and effective way of reaching the understandings of these heathen, and who sought with no less zeal than that displayed by the French Jesuits in Canada, but with more simple forms and a purer faith, to save their souls. John Eliot, the teacher of the church in Roxbury, a man eminent for his piety and his acquirements, early determined to master the uncouth Indian language, in order that he might teach the natives. Finding a bright young Indian, who had been a servant in the house of one of the settlers, "who pretty well understood his own language, and had a clear pronunciation," he took him into his family, and, with the aid of this young teacher, he applied himself to learning the limited vocabulary of the natives. This accomplished, he constructed a grammar, and studied a method of expressing abstract ideas with a language that contained little more than the names of natural objects known to savages, and words signifying acts common in savage life. He first translated the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue, and then, by long and laborious application, accomplished the wonderful work of translating the Bible, and having it printed at Cambridge, where the first printing-press was set up in America.

While engaged on this great labor he was already earning his title of "Apostle" to the Indians. He preached to them for the first time at Nonantum, whither he went, with three others, at the request of some of the Indians, to teach them. The visitors were met by five or six natives, and conducted to a large wigwam, where they found "many more Indians, men, women, children, gathered together from all quarters round about." In this primitive "meeting-house," and before such a novel congregation, religious services were conducted by the ministers,

one of whom made a prayer in English, and Eliot then preached a sermon in the Indian language. For an hour and a quarter the preacher held the attention of his barbarous hearers, and Eliot's companions were delighted with the apparent success of his effort. He had already so mastered the language that all the Indians declared they understood him. The natives manifested much curiosity about some of the things told them, and proposed not a few childish questions for the grave ministers to answer. After a stay of three hours, Eliot and his friends, "having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco, and what else they then had at hand," took leave of the little congregation, and returned to Boston. This was near the end of October; and before winter three more visits were made to the same place, and Eliot preached to increased numbers of the Indians, who received his instruction with respectful attention and apparent interest.

These "hopeful beginnings" increased the interest in the conversion of the natives, and, as soon as the severe weather of winter was past, the missionary labors were resumed with great zeal. Many of the clergy and magistrates from time to time went out to Nonantum to hear Eliot hold forth to his Indian congregation, and, seeing the interest manifested by them, they were ready to believe that "these poor natives, the dregs of mankind, and the saddest spectacles of misery of mere men upon earth," were not wholly incapable of receiving instruction, but were only a "degenerate" race, and might yet be taught to know the sublime truths of Christianity.

When summer came, Eliot no longer preached in the crowded cabin, but under the spreading branches of an ancient oak assembled his tawny hearers; and there he taught them, as they sat upon the ground about him, explaining in their own language, and by illustrations from nature after their own manner, the difficulties which their ignorance could not master. Nor did he now confine himself to preaching and catechising them at stated times, but he devoted himself exclusively to their spiritual welfare. He travelled among them far and near, entering their cabins and sharing their meagre fare, ministering to the sick, and imparting instruction, as occasion offered.

While most of the Indians received him with kindness, he was violently opposed by the sachems and powows, or priests, who were appre-

hensive of losing their authority by the introduction of a new religion. When alone in the wilderness, they threatened him with captivity, torture, and death, if he did not desist from his efforts to convert their people. But no danger alarmed him, and he boldly defied his opponents. With a body inured to hardship and fatigue, and a mind not to be turned from its purpose, he went from place to place, carrying "light to the children of darkness." His zeal prompted him to brave all dangers and endure all hardships. "I have not been dry," he wrote, "night or day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth; but so travel, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue." He made a missionary tour every fortnight, and visited all the Indians in the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, extending his journey to Cape Cod.

Eliot was no visionary, and did not trust to a supernatural power to give success to his preaching. He was early convinced that, to insure success, it was necessary to introduce with Christianity the arts of civilized life. He labored, therefore, to induce the Indians to abandon a nomadic life and hunting excursions, and to establish permanent settlements, and adopt agricultural pursuits and simple mechanical arts. By collecting them in villages, he could give some "schooling" to the children, with whom were his best chances of success in his work. It was no easy task to induce the savages to change their habits; but Eliot's indefatigable exertions persuaded some to adopt his plans, and by the aid of the government he at last established an Indian town at Natick. There he collected a number of Indian families, to each of which land was assigned for cultivation; a meeting-house was built, a school established, and a form of government, founded on a Bible precedent, was organized. At Natick, Eliot devoted himself with unflagging zeal and no little success to civilize and Christianize the people whom he considered as his special charge. He still continued, however, his missionary labors in other directions, and through life visited, and counselled, and taught the natives in various parts of the colony, earning, by his self-denying devotion to his work, the title of "Apostle." Meanwhile he labored with unflagging zeal on his translation of the Bible into the Indian tongue, and in supervising its printing. He had the satisfaction of seeing this great work accomplished and placed in the hands of

the Indian youth, who by his labors and that of others were taught to read.

On the island of Martha's Vineyard there was another earnest laborer for the conversion of the Indians. Thomas Mayhew, and his son of the same name, were among the people of Watertown who had a desire to leave the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and having obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, with some others settled on the island. The benighted condition of the natives there excited their pity, and they endeavored to instruct them in religion, and lead them into the habits of civilized life. The younger Mayhew, who was a minister, soon devoted himself wholly to this missionary work, and with great success. He learned the language of the natives, conciliated them by kindness, and persuaded them to receive the religious truths he taught. In a few years he induced nearly three hundred of the Indians formally to embrace Christianity, and among them were some who were really converted. One of their number was especially interested in religion from the first, and, under the instruction of Mayhew, after some years became a preacher to his people.

Mayhew's labors were brought to an end by his premature death. He embarked for England, with some of his converts, to obtain aid for his missionary work, but the vessel in which he sailed was never heard of afterwards. His father, though an old man, did not suffer the enterprise to languish, but continued the work "with his best strength and skill until more than fourscore years of age."

In Connecticut, efforts were also made to convert the Indians, but with indifferent success. No one there undertook the work with such zeal, devotion, and special qualifications for the task as Eliot, and the more numerous and warlike tribes of that region proved less tractable than the poor and scattered natives of Massachusetts and Plymouth. In Rhode Island, where much might have been expected of Roger Williams, from his friendly relations with the Indians and his knowledge of their language, still less was accomplished. The Narragansetts and Nyantics were a proud and warlike race, and little disposed to receive instruction from the whites; and the conduct of many of the turbulent settlers there was neither exemplary nor such as to inspire the natives with respect. Instead of converting them to Christianity, they rather

encouraged their barbarous propensities, and instigated them to acts of treachery and war, which were virtues, according to their savage creed.

The results of Puritan efforts to convert the Indians appear meagre beside the wholesale baptism with which the French priests swept families and tribes into the Roman Catholic church. The sensuous ceremonies and symbols of the Roman church appealed forcibly to the simple and superstitious minds of the savages; and when, impressed by these ceremonies, they transferred their blind faith from their rude *okies* to the cross and images, the sacramental act of the priest was all that was necessary in order to count them as converts. The Puritans labored only with the abstract truths of religion and the simplest forms of worship, and aimed at a real conversion of the savage nature to civilized and Christian life. If such conversions were comparatively few, they had the merit of being genuine and practical, and, so far at least, of more value than thousands of merely formal professions, or symbolical rites which were symbolical only to him who performed them.

The converted natives were known as "praying Indians," and were treated with rather more respect and confidence by the whites than were their unconverted brethren. But not all those who were known as praying Indians continued very saintly, and during King Philip's war, while most of them were friendly, and faithful to their promises, with some their savage nature was too strong for the newly-received gospel of peace, and with acts of treachery they joined the hostile tribes.

PERSECUTION OF QUAKERS.



IN 1656, Governor Endicott and the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts were thrown into a state of alarm and resentment. A new sect, called by themselves "Friends," and by their opponents "Quakers," had appeared in England, under the lead of George Fox. While promulgating some excellent principles, they were fanatical and extravagant. They were opposed alike to the established church and to Independents. They denounced "steeple-houses" and ministers, courts and judges. They created discord and provoked riots. They brought upon themselves persecution and punishment, and by their martyrdom multiplied their proselytes. They so increased in numbers and in their fanatical efforts at proselytism, and caused so much disturbance, that they became a serious source of trouble to the government. They had carried their new doctrines all over Europe, even to the Vatican itself, and now, at last, some of the preachers of this strange creed had come to New England as "seducers and false prophets."

The Puritans regarded the country which they had settled as their own special domain, from which they had a right to drive all obnoxious persons; their religion, which they had crossed the sea to enjoy undisturbed, they considered it their duty to protect against all heretical assaults. They had hitherto acted on these principles, and decreed banishment and death to those who opposed their religious doctrines and their system of government. The reports from England, and some of

the Quaker books which had been brought over, satisfied them that here was a heresy more dangerous and deadly than any they had before encountered, and they were determined, if it should appear within their jurisdiction, that it should be crushed out.

Endicot, the sternest of Puritans, and a man of vehement character, was governor, and Bellingham, a man of greater capacity but scarcely less severe, and more imperious in temper, was deputy governor. They were the recognized leaders of the colony, and the guardians of its civil and religious interests, and from the Puritan point of view they were the men for the times. When it was announced that a vessel had arrived at Boston, from Barbadoes, bringing two women of this new and dangerous sect, Endicot speedily summoned Bellingham and the Rev. John Norton, teacher of the church in Boston and the leading minister of Massachusetts, to consult upon what should be done. Norton was a man of great ability, but of a melancholy temperament, which made his religion more rigid and gloomy than that of his most austere brethren. His mind dwelt upon the denunciations of the Prophets and the terrors of the Apocalypse. With him all heresy was accursed, and its teachers worthy of the severest punishment; and the Quakers were the most blasphemous of heretics.

The three stern Puritans were not long in determining what ought to be done with these two women of the hated sect. Norton set forth in gloomiest colors the evils that would result if they were allowed to promulgate their pestilent heresies, and called upon the civil government to exercise its authority for the protection of religion. Endicot and Bellingham needed no urging; they were as ready to act as Norton was to advise. Several of the magistrates were summoned, that measures might be adopted with due authority, and these assented to the necessity of prompt action. An order was forthwith issued to arrest the two women, and confine them in jail until they could be carried back to the place whence they came; and the master of the vessel was ordered to give bonds to carry them back. Scarcely had the presumed offenders stepped on shore when they were met by the constable, who led them away to jail, and the indignant sea-captain was bound, in spite of his protests, to carry his dangerous passengers out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Nor was this all that was done to save the good people from the evils threatened by these two disciples of George Fox. They had some books and tracts, supposed to contain the heresies and blasphemies of the Quakers. These were seized and ordered to be burned. In the open space before the "meeting-house," where stood the stocks and pillory, the public functionary who performed the service of whipping culprits, putting them in the stocks, and hanging, with due solemnity made a small pile of fagots, while the people of all ages gathered around at a respectful distance, wondering what might be the meaning of this unusual proceeding. The fagots were lighted, and the constable delivered to the executioner a few books and papers which were condemned to be ignominiously destroyed. Proclaiming the doom of these wicked books, as ordered by the worthy magistrates, the executioner threw them into the flames, and made sure that they were reduced to ashes. Norton and the more austere Puritans doubtless indulged in devout thanksgiving that these pestilent seeds had been utterly destroyed. Were there none in the crowd of spectators of that solemn farce who felt how vain was the destruction of these inanimate objects, whose living spirit had already taken possession of the hearts of multitudes?

The two unfortunate Quaker women remained in jail a month, unable to preach their heresies, or to indulge in vituperation within hearing of anybody but the jailer. The vessel in which they came being then ready to sail, they were released from their confinement and placed on board, and the magistrates and ministers breathed more freely. But these obnoxious visitors were scarcely out of sight of land when another vessel arrived bringing from England eight others of the same dreaded sect, four men and four women. What would be the result if this band of fanatics were let loose in the colony! The magistrates had no idea of trying the experiment, and as soon as it was known that such dangerous persons were on board the newly-arrived ship, officers promptly arrested them before they landed, and led them away to jail.

These new-comers were missionaries of the true fanatical type, who had preached and been persecuted in England, and were proficient in the extravagant and opprobrious language which had provoked riot and bloodshed there. They were brought before the magistrates for examination, and when they let loose their tongues the examiners were over-

whelmed with a torrent of abuse in which the language of Billingsgate was translated into words and phrases from scripture. The magistrates were of course provoked to anger, as well as aroused still more to the dangers from these blasphemers, and the offenders were promptly ordered to be sent back to England, and meantime to lie in jail till the vessel which brought them was ready to sail; and the master was required to give bonds to carry them away.

But though their anticipated career in Boston was thus summarily suppressed, one at least of the Quakers, Mary Prince, was determined that her voice should be heard, and when Governor Endicot was walking home from the church on Sunday, in state, accompanied by minister Norton, as he passed near the jail he was addressed in a shrill voice by this woman from one of the windows. She denounced him and the magistrates in the vituperative language in which most of the sect indulged towards rulers and clergy. The people walking quietly homeward behind the governor were scandalized, and the stern Endicot gave orders to have her silenced, and went his way. But Norton had a desire to meet this fanatical heretic, and with his magazine of religious weapons, in the shape of scriptural quotations and arguments, to silence if not to convince her. He advised the governor to have her brought to his house, where, with one of his brother teachers, he might labor for her conversion. Endicot, always ready to comply with the advice of the devout minister, accordingly gave the necessary orders.

In the governor's comfortable and well-furnished house we can imagine that Endicot and Bellingham, with two or three of the magistrates, and Norton with another minister, awaited the appointed interview with the Quaker woman. The melancholy and austere Norton was filled with forebodings,—

"A vision of sin more awful and appalling
Than any phantasm, ghost, or apparition,
As arguing and portending some enlargement
Of the mysterious Power of Darkness!"

While the minister indulged such gloomy thoughts the constable ushered in the prisoner. She was by no means abashed by the dignified and solemn company, and when the governor bade her be seated, and told

her that she had been summoned to meet and converse with two of the most excellent ministers of the gospel, her tongue was immediately loosed, and she stigmatized those worthies as "hirelings, Baals, and seed of the serpent." Norton and his brother minister in vain put questions and quoted scripture in reply to her denunciations; she was proof against all their inquisition and all their arguments. To them her language was blasphemous, and they were only the more impressed with the wickedness of this heretical sect. She was sent back to the jail feeling she had got the best of the controversy, and rejoicing that she had had the opportunity to assail these "priests." Norton, magnifying the evils which would result if such "blaspheming heretics" were let loose in the colony, reminded the governor and magistrates of their duty to protect religion from these assaults of the enemy, bidding them—

"Not neglect
The holy tactics of the civil sword."

The Puritan magnates were by no means disposed to disregard his injunctions. They had seen the discomfiture of their clergy in this contest with one of the fanatics, and they were convinced that—

"All blasphemies immediate
And heresies turbulent must be suppressed
By civil power,"—

and they then determined that to that end the civil power should be fully exercised as occasion required.

This party of Quakers remained in jail eleven weeks before the vessel that was to carry them back to England was ready to sail. Meanwhile the irrepressible Gorton, who, though not a Quaker, was ready to do anything to annoy the magistrates of Massachusetts, secretly offered to intercept the ship and take them to Narragansett Bay. But this scheme was frustrated by the magistrates.

While the Quakers were yet in the Boston jail, the commissioners of the United Colonies met and proposed to the several General Courts "that all Quakers, Ranters, and other notorious heretics should be prohibited coming into the United Colonies, and if any should hereafter come or arise, that they should be forthwith secured or removed out of

all the jurisdictions." The several colonies did not fail to act on this recommendation. Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth imposed heavy fines on every town that should entertain such heretics, ordered them to be confined till they could be sent away, and compelled the masters of vessels who brought the intruders to carry them away again. The General Court of Massachusetts took hold of the matter more seriously, and under the lead of Endicot and Bellingham, who were prompted by Norton, passed laws which were gradually increased in severity till the public sense of justice was outraged.

One fine October morning, the roll of the drum called all the good people within hearing to the front of the meeting-house in Boston, where a herald or crier proclaimed the laws which the General Court had enacted against the "cursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers." The laws provided that shipmasters who should bring Quakers into the jurisdiction should pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and give security for the transportation of such passengers back to the port from which they came; that Quakers coming into the colony should be forthwith committed to the house of correction, and at their entrance should be severely whipped, and thereafter kept constantly at work, and no one should be suffered to converse with them during the time of their imprisonment; that whoever imported, circulated, or concealed Quaker books should incur a fine of five pounds; that persons presuming to defend the heretical opinions of the Quakers should be punished, for the first offence, by a fine of two pounds, for a second by a fine of four pounds, and for a third by imprisonment in the house of correction till they could be sent out of the colony; and finally that "what person or persons soever should revile the office or person of magistrates or ministers, as was usual with the Quakers, such person or persons should be severely whipped, or pay the sum of five pounds."

This unusual manner of promulgating laws, as was intended, brought them to the notice of all the people, and created no little stir, and a variety of sentiment, if not of expression. The devout church-member rejoiced that the court had taken this dangerous heresy in hand; the merchant calculated his chances of being required to become bondsman for some shipmaster who might bring with his merchandise an unwel-

come passenger; and people of more liberal tendencies than the Puritan leaders saw the dangers which might threaten their indiscreet benevolence or utterances. Old Nicholas Upsall, a worthy citizen, who was no Quaker, but was in the habit of thinking for himself, could not restrain his disapproval of the laws, and openly condemned the magistrates for the spirit of persecution which they manifested. There were not wanting those who, from malice or excess of respect for the laws, reported Upsall's language to the magistrates, and he was brought before the court and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds, and to depart the jurisdiction within a month, not to return under penalty of imprisonment. This punishment seems to have been at the discretion of the court, for it exceeded that provided by the law which Upsall had denounced. Upsall left the colony, but after two or three years' absence returned, and was imprisoned.

The Quakers evidently courted martyrdom. When the attitude of New England towards them was known in England, they began to come over, "to warn these persecutors to desist from their iniquity." First came two women of the sect, one of them the wife of the secretary of Rhode Island. The latter was delivered to her husband to be conducted home, and the other was sent back to London. Mary Clarke, who came soon after with a more vituperative tongue, was whipped and sent away. Two of the party who had been sent back to England again made their appearance, and shocked the good people of Salem by interrupting the services at church. They were arrested, whipped, and imprisoned; and an unfortunate couple, for harboring them, were also put in jail. Another soon appeared, to cry out against persecution, and he, too, was whipped and imprisoned.

It now appeared that a number of this "accursed and pernicious sect of heretics" had come from London to New Amsterdam, and were finding their way into New England. Such men as Norton demanded that the laws be made more stringent, and the General Court complied. The fine for harboring Quakers was increased to forty shillings for every hour, and it was provided that every Quaker coming into the jurisdiction after having been once punished should, for the first offence, have one ear cut off; for the second offence, should have the other cut off; and for the third, should have the tongue bored through with a hot iron.

These punishments, it may be observed, were no inventions of the Puritans, but were at that period well known and too often inflicted in the mother country. Three of the fanatics who persisted in martyrdom were each punished by the loss of one ear.

The persistence of these people was alarming, and Endicot, Bellingham, Norton, and others took counsel together for further measures against them. The Federal Commissioners being in session at Boston, the matter was again brought before them. Endicot was one of the commissioners, and their president; and the influence of Norton and Bellingham, by reason of their position and ability, was very great. With a preamble reciting the wicked actions of the Quakers, and the evils which must result from the spread of their "pernicious and devilish opinions," the commissioners recommended to the several colonial governments "to make a law that all such Quakers formerly convicted and punished as such shall, if they return again, be imprisoned and forthwith banished or expelled out of the said jurisdiction under pain of death; and if afterwards they presume to come again into that jurisdiction, then to be put to death as presumptuously incorrigible, unless they shall plainly and publicly renounce their cursed opinions;" and that those coming for the first time, upon conviction, be banished, under pain of severe corporal punishment; "and if they return again, then to be punished accordingly and banished under pain of death; and if afterwards they shall yet presume to come again, then to be put to death as aforesaid, except they do then and there plainly and publicly renounce their said cursed opinions and devilish tenets."

Massachusetts alone complied with the letter of this recommendation. It originated with men of that colony, and doubtless with Norton and Bellingham. Under the influence of such men, a number of the leading citizens of Boston petitioned for more stringent measures of protection against the Quakers. Banishment upon pain of death had been resorted to in a number of previous instances, and those against whom such sentence had been passed had in each case remained beyond the jurisdiction of the colony. It was, without doubt, supposed that the penalty would be equally effectual in keeping the Quakers away. The magistrates without hesitation passed a law such as the Federal Commissioners proposed, but the deputies were not so ready to adopt such

extreme measures. The law was warmly contested, and at last passed by a majority of only one vote. It provided that thereafter persons convicted by a jury as being Quakers should be sentenced to banishment under pain of death. But there was such a strong public sentiment against so extreme a penalty, that Norton, who was the ablest as well as the most vehement advocate of the law, was requested to draw up a declaration to show "the evil of the tenets of the Quakers, and danger of their practices."

It was not long before there was occasion to put the severe law in force. At first six Quakers were banished, with the threat of death if they returned, and, not being of the stuff of which martyrs are made, they did not see fit to return and run so great a risk. But such was not the character of many of the sect, and when the law became known abroad, some of the fanatics made haste to come to Boston, to lay down their lives. Four of these—among them Mary Dyer, the wife of the secretary of Rhode Island, who had before been carried away by her husband—made their appearance about the same time in Boston, and commenced their offensive practices. They were arrested and tried, and sentenced to be banished; and the court seems to have construed the law to suit the case by adding, that the offenders should suffer death unless they withdrew from the jurisdiction. Mary Dyer and one other concluded to depart; but the other two—Stevenson and Robinson—were bold enough to remain, and "try the bloody law unto death." They wandered northward for a short time, and then made their appearance in Salem, where they were joined by some friends and proceeded to Boston, one of the Salem women carrying with her some linen, as she said, "for the winding-sheets of those who were to suffer." Mary Dyer, too, repenting her weakness, returned about the same time. They were all brought again before the court, and fearlessly avowing themselves to be the persons recently banished, they were sentenced to be hanged.

When this sentence was announced, there was not a little excitement among the staid people of Boston. While some, upholding the majesty of the law, approved the firmness of the court, there were many who more strongly condemned the severity of the punishment as unnecessary and cruel. So deeply were the people moved that the magistrates feared

an outbreak and the liberation of the prisoners. The selectmen of Boston were required "to press ten or twelve able and faithful persons every night," to guard the prison; and a strong body of military, provided "with powder and bullet," were ordered to be in readiness on the day of execution, which followed eight days after the condemnation.

On the appointed day, the inhabitants of Boston and the neighboring towns, young and old, left their usual occupations, and thronged about the jail and along the roadway leading to the place of execution. On Boston Common the fatal gallows had been erected, and there, too, the people gathered, looking with awe, or indignation, or shame, upon the preparations for the final act in this unhappy drama. A company of soldiers was distributed at various points to preserve order, and check any disposition towards a popular outbreak, while around the jail stood a hundred more, with pike and musket, to guard the prisoners and lead them to their fate.

At last the three condemned Quakers are led forth from the prison, and the solemn procession takes its way to the Common. A strong body of soldiers leads the column and guards them on either side and in the rear, while they walk hand in hand, Mary Dyer between the other two, with firm step and the exalted spirit of martyrs. While there are not wanting those who hoot and jeer the victims, a murmur runs through the crowd of spectators as they pass: a murmur which means, with some, abhorrence of heresy, with others pity for the condemned, and with still others indignation at the cruel law. The people follow closely, and when the procession reaches the gallows, few are left in the town for the sentinels to watch. Without quailing, the victims behold the instrument of death, and without a tremor submit their necks to the hangman's busy hands. They stand each with a halter about their necks, and presently the two men are launched into eternity, but Mary Dyer still stands unharmed. A shudder of horror is quickly followed by an exclamation of astonishment among the spectators, and happily that is succeeded by a sense of relief that one of the intended victims is spared.

The magistrates of Massachusetts had indulged in a bit of melodramatic artifice. Mary Dyer's son had come from Rhode Island to intercede for his mother, and while they had listened to his application,

they gave no sign to the victim, if indeed they did to the applicant, that the prayer would be granted. They thought that by taking the offender to the verge of death, placing her upon the scaffold with a halter round her neck, and executing the extreme penalty upon her companions at her side, she might be so terrified by her position, and so thankful for her narrow escape, that she would abjure her heresy, or certainly never more trouble the people of Massachusetts.

Not exactly satisfied with herself for so doing, Mary Dyer accepted her chance of escape, and consented to depart with her son. But she regretted that her martyrdom was not complete, and in the following spring, in a more exalted state of mind, she returned to Boston, and again braved the terrors of the law by denouncing it and its framers. She was again brought before the court, and once more condemned to death. Again the people thronged to the Common, some jeering and some murmuring as before. When the halter was placed around her neck, the offer was made to release her yet once more if she would promise henceforth to keep out of Massachusetts. But she now had the full courage of a martyr, and refused the offer, saying, "In obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death." The hangman performed his office, and the people withdrew from the sad scene with increasing dissatisfaction with the persecution which the government had inaugurated.

But in spite of the manifestations of popular disapproval, the gallows soon found another victim among the Quakers. William Leddra had been imprisoned for creating a disturbance in Salem, and had been repeatedly whipped for his obstinate refusal to work while in confinement. At last he was banished, under penalty of death if he returned. The threat did not deter him, and he again found himself in prison. At his trial the popular sentiment influenced the magistrates so far as to induce them to offer him his liberty if he would go to England and not return. He would not accept the conditions, and was condemned and executed.

Meanwhile there had been many Quakers on their first visit to the country, and some sympathizers among the people, who were imprisoned and whipped. Some of these offenders made themselves extremely obnoxious, and committed offences against decency as well as the reli-

gious opinions of the Puritans. Two women, in their zeal to give a sign of the spiritual nakedness of the people, went naked through the streets and into public assemblies. Another, with her face blackened, appeared in church as a sign of the blackness of the sins of the congregation. One man went into the meeting-house in Boston with two bottles which he dashed upon the floor before the people, crying, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces!" They denounced the magistrates as guilty of bloodshed, and proclaimed through the streets that the Lord was coming with fire and sword to plead with them. Such maniacs and disturbers of the peace might well be confined, but the penalties inflicted beyond confinement were cruel and useless, and among the people who were not over-zealous Puritans were more and more disapproved.

In spite of the murmurings of the people, however, those in authority seemed determined to execute the law they had framed, and to stamp out the heresy which they deemed so dangerous. If Governor Endicot, moved by pity, had any misgivings as to his course, his stern sense of duty to the colony, to the magistracy, and to religion overruled them. At his elbow, too, stood an outward conscience in the shape of Minister Norton, who would not permit him to falter, but with stern arguments and potent texts, bade him go on:—

"The hand that cut
The Red Cross from the colors of the king
Can cut the red heart from this heresy.
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The Book of Deuteronomy declares
That if thy son, thy daughter, or thy wife,
Ay, or the friend which is as thine own soul,
Entice thee secretly, and say to thee,
Let us serve other gods, then shall thine eye
Not pity him, but thou shalt surely kill him,
And thine own hand shall be the first upon him
To slay him."

The governor's zeal was manifested with no little violence at the trial, which resulted in condemnation to death for the last time against

the Quakers. Wenlock Christison, who had been banished, suddenly appeared in court at Leddra's trial, saying, "I come here to warn you that ye shed no more innocent blood!" He was arrested and brought to trial under the law which imposed the penalty of death. But the magistrates had begun to waver; they feared the murmuring of the people, or they began to share the popular disapproval of such extreme punishment. For two weeks they deliberated on their verdict, and a majority were yet unwilling to condemn the accused to death. The governor was vexed at the delay, and what he considered their cowardice. "Flinging something furiously on the table, he said, 'I could find it in my heart to go home,' " meaning to England. Putting the question once more, he cried, in angry voice, "You that will not consent, record it! I thank God I am not afraid to give judgment!" The stern old governor's violence had its effect: a majority of the magistrates were subdued to his will, and Christison was condemned to be hanged. But the dread sentence was never executed. Public sentiment had grown so strong against it that Christison was respited, and finally was released, upon his offer to "depart this jurisdiction."

When next the General Court assembled, the question of punishing the Quakers again came before it, and there was a strong opposition to inflicting the death penalty. But there was also a decided unwillingness to repeal the law, and thus acknowledge that the proceedings against the obnoxious sect had been unjustifiable. While the old law was suffered to remain nominally in force, another was passed inflicting other severe punishments, such as whipping "to the borders of the jurisdiction;" should they return after being three times driven out in this manner, they were to be branded, again severely whipped, and sent away. If they returned after this, they were then to be liable to execution under the previous law. Happily, the branding and the hanging were never incurred, even by the most persistent Quakers.

"Whipping at the cart's tail" was one of the punishments of that time, brought by the colonists from England, where it was frequently resorted to. A number of the Quakers were punished in this manner, being "stripped from the girdle upwards." Peter Peirson and Judah Brown were thus whipped, "with twenty cruel stripes, through the streets of Boston." In obedience to the sentence of the court, they



WHIPPING OF QUAKERS AT THE CART'S TAIL IN BOSTON.

were tied to the cart's tail, and whipped with twenty stripes through Boston, then delivered to the constable in Roxbury, and there whipped with ten stripes, and then carried to Dedham, where, with ten more stripes, they were driven out "into the wilderness." John Chamberlain and George Wilson, inhabitants of Boston, suffered in a like manner, and the punishment "was cruelly executed, especially at the last of the three towns, where the executioner had provided a cruel instrument, with which he miserably tore their flesh." Nor was this punishment administered to men only; women also were condemned to suffer the same penalty. Sarah Gibbens and Dorothy Waugh, coming back to Boston after being once sent away, "were imprisoned three days without food, and then whipped with a threefold knotted whip tearing off their flesh." Others suffered in a similar manner in various parts of the colony. Thirty-one, in all, "received six hundred and fifty stripes."

The contest between the Puritan rulers and the Quakers continued for some time; but though, after the discontinuance of capital punishment, the actions of the Quakers for a time were more absurd and offensive than ever, they at last became more rational, and, as a consequence, the zeal of the rulers became less violent. Massachusetts enjoyed the unenviable distinction of persecuting the Quakers most severely, but in Plymouth and New Haven many of the "heretical sect" were imprisoned, whipped, and banished. "The holy tactics of the civil sword" were, in all the New England colonies except Rhode Island, resorted to for the protection of religion.

XLIII.

THE REGICIDES, WHALLEY AND GOFFE.



THE vessel which in 1660 brought to Boston intelligence of the restoration of the monarchy in England, brought also, as passengers, two men who had performed prominent parts in the eventful drama of civil war in the mother country. They had been distinguished officers in Cromwell's army, had proved themselves zealous in the cause of Independency and the Commonwealth, had rendered brilliant service in the war, and had sat in Parliament. They had, moreover, been members of the High Court of Justice which had tried and condemned Charles I., and had signed the death-warrant of that monarch, receiving therefor the name of "regicides." These men were Edward Whalley and William Goffe, the former a cousin of Cromwell and of John Hampden, and the latter the son-in-law of Whalley.

When Whalley and Goffe left England, it was uncertain what would be the fate of the regicides, but there were whisperings in the air that the promised amnesty would surely not be extended to them, and they prudently sought safety while there was yet a chance to escape. The New England colonies had taken no decided stand in the contest between king and parliament, but had wisely sought only to manage their own affairs independently, as far as possible, of the mother country. They had been loyal to the monarchy if they did not love the king, and they had recognized the Protector as the head of the Commonwealth, with which, probably, a majority of the people heartily sympathized;

but they had made no demonstration which could make them offensive to either party. When the monarchy was re-established, they were in a position to renew their allegiance to it as the *de facto* government, without any violent change of opinion. Massachusetts early sought to secure herself against any unfriendly action on the part of Charles II., and sent an address avowing allegiance to the new king. Connecticut soon followed the example of the older and more important colony; but Plymouth and New Haven were more tardy, their conduct being less politic, if their sympathy with the Commonwealth was not more hearty. When the regicides arrived in Boston, they did not come as fugitives from justice, or from the new king's vengeance; and, as distinguished leaders under Cromwell, and intimate with the best friends of the colony, they were cordially welcomed by Governor Endicot and the leading men of Massachusetts. They took up their abode at Cambridge, and for some months appeared freely in public, attending church and private religious meetings, and they were everywhere received with respect, and regarded as persons of honorable distinction, being known by old and young as the "colonels."

But at length news came that all the regicides, or members of the High Court of Justice, were excluded from the act of indemnity, and were to be pursued by royal vengeance. It also became known that ardent royalists had reported to the government that Whalley and Goffe were in Boston and had been received with a cordial welcome; that Governor Endicot had "embraced them, and wished more such good men as they would come over." Governor Endicot's friendly feelings towards the regicides probably were not changed by this intelligence, but prudence dictated a change of conduct, and he treated them with coldness, and his example was generally followed by the magistrates. But the "colonels" had many friends among the leading colonists, who were ready to protect them, and they still remained in safety. Governor Endicot at length called the magistrates together, and asked their advice as to his duty to arrest the refugees. The magistrates refused to approve of arrest. Meanwhile friends were making arrangements for their departure, and, doubtless with the secret approval of the governor, they set out for New Haven.

After a weary journey through the wilderness, they arrived at New

Haven and received a cordial welcome from Mr. Davenport, the minister of that place, who was a hearty sympathizer with them. Here for a short time they moved about without concealment, and were received with every token of respect. But they had been in New Haven scarcely three weeks when news came from Boston that a royal proclamation for their arrest had arrived. Lest their kind host should be involved in trouble if they publicly remained under his roof, they went to Milford, as if on their way to the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam. At that place they took care to be known; but the next night they returned secretly to New Haven, where their staunch friend, Mr. Davenport, again received them into his house, and concealed them in an apartment in his cellar.

Meanwhile the king, apprised that the two regicides had repeatedly been seen in Boston, sent a peremptory order to the colonial governments for their apprehension. This order came first to Governor Endicot, and, knowing that the refugees were beyond his jurisdiction, he made a show of earnestness in endeavoring to obey the order. Two young men, Kellond and Kirk, prompted as much by the hope of a liberal reward as by their ardent loyalty, sought and obtained a commission to prosecute the search for the fugitives in Massachusetts, and letters to the governors of the other colonies commending their undertaking. This step of the governor was strongly condemned by some of the magistrates and deputies, who complained that he had assumed too much authority in issuing such a commission without the assent of the magistrates. But the governor doubtless thought that these strangers to the country and the habits of the people would be able to accomplish precious little.

After searching a while about Boston and other towns in Massachusetts, Kellond and Kirk came to the conclusion, or were informed, that the colonels had gone to Connecticut; and thither they hastened. At Hartford they delivered Endicot's letter to the younger Winthrop, who was then governor of the Connecticut colony. Whatever may have been Winthrop's feelings towards the regicides, he informed the messengers that the colonels had some time before passed through Hartford on their way to New Haven. The pursuers, encouraged by this information that they had struck the trail of the fugitives, hastened on to the

other colony. They went first to Guilford, the residence of Deputy-Governor Leete, who was the acting governor of the colony. When they presented their letters to the deputy-governor, there were several other persons present, and after seeing the import of the papers, he commenced reading them aloud, with the intent, doubtless, that the character of his visitors should be known. This was by no means agreeable to the messengers, who rightly conceived that secrecy was necessary to success, and they told the governor that "it was convenient to be more private in such concernments." While Leete was little disposed to aid these zealous pursuers, there were those, even in the New Haven colony, who were more loyal to the new king, and, as they left the deputy-governor's house, they were told that the regicides were secreted at Minister Davenport's house in New Haven, and that "Deputy Leete knew as much."

More surely on the scent now, the messengers demanded of the deputy-governor power to search for and apprehend the fugitives; but he refused to give any such power, or to allow them to call upon others to apprehend, which would be giving them the authority of magistrates. In short, he would do nothing without consulting the magistrates at New Haven. It was Saturday afternoon, the time of preparation for the Sabbath, and it was not to be expected that the chief magistrate should set so wicked an example as setting out on a journey at that time. The messengers then asked for horses, but he would not in that way abet the violation of civil law and Mosaic commandment. So the impatient pursuers were obliged to stay at Guilford over Sunday, chafing under their forced delay. But while it was wicked for a Christian to violate the Sabbath, it was not, perhaps, so serious an offence in an Indian; and it so happened that an Indian left Guilford that Saturday night, and sped to New Haven.

Early Monday morning, the disgusted royalists sought to make an early start, but while their horses were prepared with many vexatious delays, they had the mortification to hear another horseman gallop out of the little village in the direction of New Haven. When they arrived at New Haven, they were obliged to wait for the more deliberate movements of the deputy-governor, whose dignity did not admit of precipitate haste on his journey. They at last were able to meet that dignity at

the state or court house, and represented to him that they had cause to believe that the regicides were concealed in the town, and they required his aid for their apprehension. The deputy-governor replied that he did not believe they were so concealed, and to their request that he would empower them to arrest the fugitives, he replied that he could not make them magistrates. Leete was evidently determined to afford them no aid in their errand, and the pursuers began to remonstrate with him, and charged him with being willing the fugitives should escape. Thereupon Leete agreed to consult the magistrates, which he did so thoroughly that "they were together five or six hours," and then they declared they could not do anything until they had called the General Court together.

Completely balked in their attempts to obtain the assistance they required, the pursuers became indignant, and asked the deputy-governor "whether he would honor and obey the king or no in this affair." To which Leete replied humbly, "We honor his majesty, but we have tender consciences." The deputy-governor indeed disguised his purpose of aiding the fugitives rather than their pursuers under a semblance of simplicity or stolidity. Calling in the evening after these conferences at the little inn where Kellond and Kirk lodged, he said to the disappointed royalists that "he wished he had been a plowman, and never been in office, since he found it so weighty." Disgusted with the New Haven rulers, the messengers attempted to bribe the people by the offer of large rewards, and were at a loss what next to do, when they received some false information, which induced them to set off in haste for the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands. They did not find the fugitives, but the Dutch governor promised, if the colonels came within his jurisdiction, they should not escape. Disappointed at the failure of their enterprise, from which they had anticipated a great reward, Kellond and Kirk returned to Boston by water.

While the zealous royalists were making their fruitless efforts to discover the regicides, the latter were shielded with equal zeal by their friends. They were apprised of their danger before Kellond and Kirk left Boston, and secretly removed from Mr. Davenport's house, where it was probable they would first be sought, to that of William Jones, whose father had been executed as a regicide. While Deputy-Governor Leete

and the magistrates were foiling the pursuers by their long debate, the fugitives were removed to a mill two miles from New Haven, where they remained concealed two days and nights. Their movements were conducted with the greatest secrecy, for there was danger that the large reward offered might tempt some among the colonists to betray them, should their hiding-places be known. Nor was it safe, on this account, to remain long in one spot. From the mill they withdrew three miles farther from the town, to a place called "Hatchet Harbor," where they lay hid two nights more.

Their friends now felt that they must have a more secure place of refuge, and one was found, somewhat nearer to New Haven than their last hiding-place, but more retired and secure against the intrusion of strangers. This was on the summit of West Rock, about half a mile from its southern extremity. Nature had here provided a retreat for them in the shape of a cave, or enclosure formed by rough columns of trap rock piled to a considerable height around a small space, within which two or three persons could find shelter and room for their beds. It was surrounded by trees, and when the apertures between the stones were closed with branches, the interior was completely hidden from the sight of any adventurous wanderer who might pass that way. While thus hidden, the inmates of this retreat could easily see any persons approaching, some distance away, and could escape by flight without being seen. Hither Whalley and Goffe came with great secrecy, and took up their abode in this comfortless but safe retreat, which has since been known as "The Judges' Cave." They were provided with bedding, and their food was furnished by Mr. Sperry, who lived about a mile away. Sperry himself generally carried the food to them, but sometimes it was sent by his son, with directions to leave it on a certain stump. The youth was naturally inquisitive as to the purpose of leaving food in this mysterious manner in the woods, and his father, who alone of the family knew the secret, told him it was for some woodcutters at work in the forest.

While hiding in the cave on West Rock, Deputy-Governor Leete, who was informed of their retreat, in order to make a show of obedience to the royal proclamation, issued his warrant for a search for them in Milford. Whatever apparent cause there may have been for seeking the

fugitives there, it served the purpose of directing attention away from their real place of concealment.

Though the New Haven rulers, and probably a large part of the people, under the influence of Mr. Davenport, were ready to protect the regicides, there were some whose loyalty to the king was too great to allow them to "aid and abet the traitors," or countenance the aid afforded by others. Minister Davenport, who had so earnestly befriended the regicides, who had preached a sermon which was supposed to be intended to instruct the people to harbor and defend them, and who was believed by some to still have them concealed in his house, was in danger of being called to account for these offences. To relieve a friend who had served them so devotedly, from the charge of still harboring them, Whalley and Goffe left their hiding-place for a time, and appeared at New Haven and elsewhere. They then returned to their cave, and for two months more remained in concealment.

Among the traditions concerning the regicides is one, that in order to relieve their friend, Mr. Davenport, from danger, they entered into negotiations with Deputy-Governor Leete, with a view to surrender themselves; and that pending the negotiations they were concealed in a cellar in Guilford, and received their food from the deputy-governor's own table. If this be true, their friends, including Leete, were more careful of their safety than they were themselves.

West Rock, in those early days, was the "haunt of wild beasts;" and one night, as the judges lay at rest in their cave, they saw the blazing eyes of a panther peering in at one of the openings to their retreat. Although they had faced danger on the battle-field without trepidation, they were so alarmed by this nocturnal visitor, to resist which they had no weapons, that they fled down the mountain to Sperry's house. They then sought a less dangerous refuge, and went to Milford, where for two years they lived in complete secrecy in the house of a Mr. Tompkins. Their presence during this period was unknown to the nearest neighbors, and they were never seen even by the inmates of the house, except Tompkins. While secreted here, it is said, they heard a girl, who was one of the family, sing a famous cavalier ballad which ridiculed and railed at the regicides. It so amused the concealed listeners that they often requested Mr. Tompkins to have

it sung, the singer being entirely ignorant of the interested parties for whose benefit she repeated the ludicrous but spiteful story.

The lapse of two years, during which they were not seen and their existence was known only to a few faithful friends, gave time for all excitement concerning the fugitive judges to subside, and they then ventured out of their retirement, and to meet a few friends upon whose fidelity they could rely. But soon they were threatened with a new danger. Some royal commissioners had arrived at Boston, vested with extraordinary powers for various purposes, and it was supposed that among other duties they would be charged to make a new and more thorough search for the regicides. Leaving Milford, they again withdrew to the cave on West Rock; but the Indians had discovered that it had been occupied, and it was no longer a safe retreat. To remain in Connecticut, where it was known they had been so long harbored, was to run the risk of capture, and to endanger the safety of the friends who had served them so faithfully. Far up the Connecticut valley a settlement had been made at Hadley, in Massachusetts, the most remote frontier of the colony. Thither it was deemed prudent for the outlawed men to go, and, bidding their friends farewell, they started on their journey. Venturing no longer to show themselves to any one on the way, lest the direction of their flight might be known, they travelled only at night till they were beyond the settlements. Arriving at Hadley, they were received into the house of Mr. Russell, where a secret apartment had been prepared for them, and entering that, they were never seen except by their faithful host: never, unless, years afterwards, a strange apparition at a moment of imminent danger was no ghostly visitor, but one of the regicide judges still in the flesh.

Whalley lived ten years in this remote hiding-place, growing infirm in body and declining into "second childhood." Goffe lived there at least five years later, but how much longer, and what ultimately became of him, is a mystery. An officious loyalist, in 1678, proposed a plan for capturing him and carrying him to New York to Sir Edmund Andros. He stated under oath that Joseph Bull, of Hartford, had for several years privately kept Colonel Goffe at his house under the name of Cooke. This man also swore that his plan for seizing Goffe was frustrated by two magistrates to whom it was divulged by a confederate. Whether this be

true or not, it is probable that Goffe left Hadley; but where he concealed himself, and where he died, is not known.

During the long period of the refugees' residence in New England, Goffe was able occasionally to correspond with his wife, who remained in England. They assumed the name of Goldsmith, and wrote as mother and son. The letters of Mrs. Goffe exhibit the most devoted attachment to her husband, as well as religious faith and patience amid the dangers that surrounded her and her children.

There have been many traditions concerning the narrow escape of the regicides from their pursuers, some of which, however, are inconsistent with well-authenticated facts, while others are only possible and not very probable. Among others is one that the day Kellond and Kirk were expected, the judges walked out on the road by which the pursuers must come; that when some distance from the settlement they were overtaken by the sheriff, who had a warrant for their apprehension, but that the judges resisted his attempt to take them, and, planting themselves behind a tree, defended themselves with their cudgels, and compelled the officer to retire to seek assistance. As Deputy-Governor Leete had not arrived at New Haven, and both he and the magistrates were disposed to obstruct the pursuers rather than assist them, there was no one to issue a warrant, and under the circumstances the sheriff would probably have been little disposed to act without one.

Akin to this is another tradition, which is only a little less improbable, that they concealed themselves under a bridge over which the pursuers passed on their way into the town. But it is said that the events given in these traditions were only the carrying out of a pre-concerted plan to show that the magistrates of New Haven had used their endeavors to apprehend the fugitives before the arrival of the pursuers. This may be true, but is hardly characteristic.

It is also said that when the pursuers were searching the town, the judges, in changing their hiding-places, happened, by accident or design, at the house of Mrs. Evers, a respectable lady, who, seeing the pursuers coming, ushered her guests out at the back door; and that after walking a few steps they returned, and were concealed in one of the good lady's apartments, when the pursuers entered the house. When the latter inquired whether the regicides were at her house, she replied that they

had been there, but were just gone away, and pointed out the course they took into the woods. "By her polite and artful address, she diverted their attention from the house, and putting them upon a false scent, thereby secured her friends." As Kellond and Kirk had no authority to make a search for the regicides, and were most of the time engaged in the attempt to obtain such authority or aid from the magistrates, they could hardly have scoured the town very thoroughly in pursuit of the fugitives. If they went about without a warrant making inquiries, the regicides would hardly have been as safe flying from one hiding-place to another as if they remained under Minister Davenport's hospitable roof, with that worthy man at hand to defend his castle against unauthorized intruders.

Tradition tells of one other escape,—that while the judges were at the house of Mr. Richard Sperry, they were surprised by an unexpected visit from their pursuers, who were seen approaching over a causeway across a morass. The judges saw their enemies when several rods distant, and hurrying from the house, made their escape to the mountain. It is quite possible that the disappointed pursuers may have gone about to find some trace of the fugitives, and in this way wandered out to Sperry's retired house, when the regicides were on the way to West Rock; but many a fiction is preserved by tradition.

One other of the judges who had condemned Charles I.—Colonel John Dixwell—escaped to America, and made his home in New Haven. At the Restoration, he fled from England, but whither was not known. He came to New England some years after Whalley and Goffe, when several of the judges had already been executed, and when a price was set upon his head. It was therefore necessary for him to observe the greatest secrecy as to his real character. He visited his old associates, Whalley and Goffe, at Hadley, and spent some time in that place. He then took up his residence in New Haven, under the assumed name of James Davids, and was known only to a very few friends, whose fidelity was unimpeachable. Among these were Governor Jones, and the Rev. James Pierpont, the successor of Davenport. With the latter, Dixwell became very intimate. The lot on which stood his house adjoined that of the minister, and the two were in the habit of meeting at the fence to hold long confidential interviews, and in time a pathway was worn

on either side between the house and the place of frequent meeting. Mrs. Pierpont's attention was attracted to this path which her husband so often trod, and seeing that he went to meet this neighbor, with pardonable curiosity she asked him what he saw in that old man that was so attractive. "He is a very wise and learned man," was the answer she received. Not to his wife would the minister reveal the secret.

Dixwell was tall, erect, and had a military bearing; and when Sir Edmund Andros was in New Haven, he observed at church this man, whose appearance was so distinguished, and inquired who he was, and whence he came. He was told that it was Mr. Davids, a merchant of New Haven. Andros, who had been trained in camp and court, saw that this merchant had some time played a different role, and declared in a positive manner, "I know he is not a merchant." These words were made known to Dixwell, who had reason to fear that the haughty royalist would attempt to penetrate the secret which his appearance had half-betrayed, and he took good care not to be seen again while the governor-general was in New Haven. But he was never identified as one of the regicides; Colonel Dixwell had disappeared from the world, and James Davids lived quietly at New Haven to an advanced age.

In the old burying-ground at New Haven, three stones are said to mark the graves of Whalley, Goffe, and Dixwell, but it is doubtful if their remains rest there. Near the close of the last century, the old house in Hadley in which the regicides passed so many years was torn down, and in the ground under the cellar were found the bones of a large man, which were without doubt those of Whalley.

XLIV.

KING PHILIP AND THE COLONISTS.



FOR nearly forty years after the Pequot war the New England colonies enjoyed peace with the native tribes, disturbed only by occasional petty disputes, which were usually discreetly managed by the colonial authorities, and amicably settled. In the mean time the settlements had extended inland, and pioneers from the seaboard had established themselves on the Connecticut River at Hadley, Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield, and Northfield, besides Springfield, which had been settled when other parties went to Hartford. The towns of Lancaster and Marlborough had been founded, and there were a few settlers at Brookfield, while farther east were the hamlets of Groton and Sudbury, and others nearer to Boston. Within the Plymouth colony, settlements had extended more slowly; but Taunton, Rehoboth, Swansea, and other towns had been founded. All these interior settlements were the frontiers of civilized life, in the midst of a wilderness, and exposed to great danger in case of hostilities on the part of the natives. In Connecticut, the settlements had extended chiefly along the valley of the river and on the seaboard. Between them and the Massachusetts towns was a wilderness inhabited only by wandering bands of Indians and the wild animals they hunted.

During this period of peace there were some political events of importance, and changes in the condition of the colonies and their relations to the mother country, or rather to the king, which, however, it is not the purpose of this work to narrate at length. Royal commis-

sioners had come over to assert the authority of the crown, and had met with a sturdy resistance from Massachusetts, such as might be anticipated from the character of her early settlers and the pertinacity with which, from the outset, they maintained their rights and practical independence. Connecticut more readily accepted a royal charter which incorporated New Haven into her jurisdiction, while the New Haven people very reluctantly suffered themselves thus to be absorbed into a more powerful colony. The confederation which had existed prior to this consolidation of the western colonies was dissolved, but after some fruitless efforts a new confederacy was formed between the three colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut. Rhode Island, which was the refuge of all sorts of schismatics and enthusiasts, was still not admitted to union with the more sober and better-regulated colonies.

Meanwhile the Indians, though they nominally lost something of their hunting-grounds and independence, were really benefited by the advent of the whites. They could barter their surplus of corn and furs for blankets, knives, and tools, as well as trinkets, and they were relieved from the danger of famine, which their wasteful and improvident habits had previously not infrequently caused during the long winters. The colonial governments had cautiously prohibited the sale of fire-arms and ammunition to them, but they were surreptitiously supplied by some of the more reckless or less discreet settlers, and had also procured the prohibited weapons from the Dutch traders. In the use of these arms they soon became expert, finding them far more efficient in hunting game than their rude weapons had been. They in the same degree became more formidable to the whites in case of hostilities. Three or four thousand of the natives had become "praying Indians," or converts to Christianity, chiefly among those who dwelt near Boston or Plymouth. The mass, however, were still unconverted heathen, and the more numerous tribes would not receive any missionaries.

Samoset, the chief of the Pokanokets, who had made a treaty of friendship with the Pilgrims soon after their settlement at Plymouth, faithfully observed it during his life. When the aged sachem died (in 1660), he was succeeded by his sons, Wamsutta and Metacomet, who did not inherit their father's good-will towards the English. Wamsutta desired an English name for himself and his brother, and the court at

Plymouth willingly complied with the request, selecting, however, two celebrated heathen names rather than such as were given to their own children. They ordered that Wamsutta should be called Alexander, and that Metacomet should be called Philip.

Having acquired his famous name, Alexander was restless, and apparently anxious to achieve something worthy of it. It was reported at Plymouth that he was plotting with the Narragansetts, and as it was the policy of the colonial governments to encourage jealousy rather than alliances between the different tribes, these movements were looked upon with disfavor. Alexander was accordingly summoned to Plymouth to give an account of himself. He did not obey the first summons, but he responded to a more urgent one, and, coming to Plymouth, made explanations which were satisfactory. Before returning he was taken sick with a fever, and was conveyed home by water. He died soon after reaching home (1662), and Philip became the sole sachem of the Pokanokets.

Philip was known to be haughty and ambitious, and more restless than his brother, and some apprehension was felt at Plymouth lest he was concerned in the plot with which Alexander had been charged. He too was summoned to Plymouth to answer such interrogations as the court should propose. He appeared, and denied that he had a hand in any plot against the English, or knew of any such conspiracy against them. He acknowledged himself a subject of the king of England, and promised to faithfully observe the treaty of friendship which his father had so long ago made with the colonists.

For five years Philip gave the whites no reason to doubt his fidelity to his promises. Then came the announcement, by one of his own tribe, that he had openly expressed himself as ready to join the French or Dutch against the English. Again the uneasy sachem was summoned to answer for his alleged false conduct. He denied the charge, and declared it was a calumny of Ninigret, chief of the Nyantics. The Indian who had been the informer did not quail before his sachem, but persisted in the charge, naming the time and place of making the hostile declaration and the parties who were present. Philip as boldly persisted in his denial, and in token of his innocence offered to surrender the arms in the possession of his followers—an offer which was promptly accepted.

Philip probably repented of this surrender; for, at the next court at Plymouth, he appeared, and renewing his protestations of innocence of all hostile intent, and of friendship to the English, he lamented the withdrawal of their good will towards himself. The wily sachem had evidently studied English human nature, and knew how to reach their generosity. He succeeded so far in persuading the Plymouth magistrates that he was more sinned against than sinning, that they were rather disposed to sympathize with him. While they "judged it better to keep a watchful eye" on his conduct, they determined "to continue terms of love and amity with him, unless something further did manifestly appear." The result of the conference was, that the arms which had been surrendered were restored to him.

Returning to his home at Mount Hope, Philip remained quiet for four years more, when it was reported that he was again engaged in warlike movements, mustering his followers, and assuming a threatening attitude towards the white settlers nearest to his domain. The Plymouth government sent commissioners, accompanied by a military force, to Taunton, and desired Philip to meet them there. He was tardy in making his appearance, and when he did come it was with a band of armed followers. He was reluctant, too, to come to a conference, as if he feared some treachery, and some of the English were impatient to march out and settle all their troubles with the uneasy sachem by an attack on him. Such counsels did not prevail, but some men from Boston who were present acted as mediators, and a conference was at last held. The result was, Philip again renewed "his covenant with his ancient friends," and engaged to deliver up "to the government of New Plymouth all his English arms, to be kept by them for their security so long as they should see reason." Under this agreement, Philip surrendered about seventy guns, which was a great loss to him; but this was not a fulfilment of his agreement, for it was soon found that a number of guns which should have been delivered up were secretly conveyed away, and doubtless there were others in the hands of his tribe.

The proud sachem was dissatisfied with himself for yielding so readily to the demands of the whites, and when he returned to his home he refused to deliver up any more arms, or to offer any excuse for the neglect. From the first he had probably contemplated hostilities when

he should be prepared, notwithstanding his protestations. Whether he had sent emissaries to other tribes or not, his temper was undoubtedly known to them, and restless Indians, who were anxious to display their prowess, found their way to his part of the country, and were ready to join in any demonstration against the whites. Intelligence was again brought to Plymouth that his conduct and language were threatening, and the council of war which the magistrates had appointed determined that it was necessary to require him to come and clear himself, and if he refused to come, that he should be reduced by force. But before resorting to war, it was deemed prudent to lay the matter before the neighboring colonies.

Philip did not make his appearance at the time appointed, but endeavored, by counter complaints to some of the leading men of Massachusetts, to secure their good offices, and he succeeded in making them believe that his offence was not so serious as the Plymouth government represented. They offered their services to settle the quarrel, and three prominent gentlemen repaired to Plymouth for that purpose. There they were joined by Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, and a council was held, at which Philip was present and had a fair opportunity to defend himself. The council determined that he "had done a great deal of wrong," and endeavored to persuade him to acknowledge his fault and make reparation. He was given to understand that if he did not "humble himself" to the magistrates of Plymouth, and amend his ways, he must expect punishment. The haughty sachem was at first indisposed to agree to the terms dictated; but at last he and five of his subordinate chiefs signed an instrument in which they acknowledged themselves as subject to the king of England, and the government of Plymouth and its laws. In token of their allegiance, they agreed to pay a yearly tribute of five wolves' heads, and an indemnity of a hundred pounds for the expenses they had occasioned. They also made further engagements of submission to the Plymouth government.

For three years Philip observed the obligations of this treaty, and the quiet of the colony was undisturbed. But meanwhile the humiliation he had suffered rankled in his breast. Was he not a sachem? Why should he then acknowledge allegiance to an unknown king across the sea? And who were these arrogant whites, whom his father had

unwisely encouraged, that they should assert authority over him and his people? Intruders and spoilers in the land of his fathers, they ought to be exterminated, and the lost hunting-grounds be restored to their original owners. But Philip was politic as well as revengeful, and he knew he was not prepared to cope with his civilized adversary. Only by a slow process could he replace the arms of which he had been deprived, and without fire-arms and ammunition he could not hope to accomplish anything. At the end of three years (in 1674) he had increased his arms, and began to exhibit again a hostile temper.

Sausaman, an Indian who had been educated at Cambridge, and was a schoolmaster and a preacher, at one time having fled from Natick on account of some misconduct, took refuge with the Pokanokets. He had now come on a visit to his old friends, and, seeing the temper of Philip, and that he was exerting himself "to engage all the sachems round about in a war," he communicated the intelligence to the governor of Plymouth, under a promise that the source of the information should remain a secret. Philip was at this time on the hunting-grounds he frequented near Middleborough, and in some way he learned that the Plymouth authorities had heard of his hostile conduct. Without waiting to be summoned, he went to Plymouth and protested his innocence. The magistrates, while having little faith in his friendly professions, had little evidence to the contrary, and contented themselves by warning him that if they heard anything further of his offensive conduct, they might again require a surrender of his arms.

A few days after this Sausaman disappeared, and his hat and gun were found on the ice of a pond near Middleborough. An investigation proved that he had been murdered and thrust through the ice. The perpetrators of the crime—three Indians—were soon discovered, and brought to trial at Plymouth. A jury, composed in part of Indians, found them guilty, and they were sentenced to death, and executed. Meanwhile Philip, who had probably instigated the murder, and expected to be called to account for it, seemed determined not to obey any summons, but kept his men in arms, ready to resist if an attempt was made to arrest him. Hoping that the ill-natured chief would soon become more quiet if let alone, the Plymouth government took no notice of his conduct, except to order a military watch in the several towns.

Soon, however, more alarming news came from Swansey, which was the nearest town to Philip's domain. He kept his men constantly under arms, and had been joined by many strange Indians. The squaws and children had been sent to Narragansett, and the young men were fierce for war. Drums were beat and guns were fired at night, and preparations for mischief were evidently afoot. The magistrates again tried moderation, and wrote a friendly letter to Philip, "advising him to dismiss his strange Indians, and command his own men to fall quietly to their business." The messenger who carried this letter was conducted to Philip's cabin without the cordial demonstrations of good will which during Massasoit's time usually awaited the visitor from Plymouth. Philip himself, as usual, received him with dignity, and listened quietly to the reading of the letter. When it was finished he did not, as previously, protest his innocence of all evil intentions, but signifying that he heard the message, gave its bearer to understand that he might depart without any reply. In addition to this cool dismissal, the messenger saw enough to confirm the reports which had reached Plymouth; most of the Indians were proudly displaying their guns, and all their actions indicated an unusual condition of affairs. Philip had determined to make no more professions of friendship, but to act as his hostile temper dictated. He had brooded long over his humiliations and wrongs, and he resolved to suffer them no longer.

XLV.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.



NE summer morning in 1675, the good people of Swansea, — the nearest settlement to Philip's territory, — after the Puritan custom, had gone to their little "meeting-house" to attend the Sabbath services. As usual, the men carried their guns, and the recent restless and threatening conduct of the Indians made them more cautious to see that their ammunition was ready. All who were able, young and old, had left their dwellings, and were gathered in the church. The long services were well advanced, when the sentinels, who were posted at the door where they could hear the minister while they kept watch against surprise, saw smoke ascending above the neighboring trees, in the direction of the farthest houses of the settlement. An alarm was given, and the preacher ceased before he was half through his long sermon. The men came out with their arms, and women and children followed in alarm. The smoke of two fires was now seen, and all the people hurried to learn whose dwellings were in flames.

The foremost of the men saw in the distance several Indians hurrying away, and the fact was soon made known that two families had lost their homes at the hands of the savages. Word was speedily sent to Plymouth, and from Plymouth to Boston; but the people of Swansea looked upon the outrage as the work of some of the more insolent of the savages, and not as a preconcerted movement of Philip's tribe, and they desired aid simply to overawe the Indians, and secure

the offenders. A few days afterwards, when all hands were in the fields, a dozen houses were rifled by the marauders, and the occupants returned to their homes to find their scanty goods destroyed or carried away. The next day, one of the settlers was shot while at his work. The people now became more alarmed, and on the following day they realized their danger when several more of their number were shot on the outskirts of the settlement. They learned now how brutal these savages were when they saw their friends beheaded, dismembered, and mangled in the most inhuman manner.

It was evident that Philip's unruly followers were bent on something more than the destruction or plunder of property. A small force now arrived from Plymouth, and soon after a larger body of soldiers, including a troop of horse, came from Boston, from which place they had been despatched by the magistrates at the first alarm, and had come to the rescue of the frontier settlement by a forced march. A party of horsemen were immediately sent out to reconnoitre, and were fired upon from the bushes by the Indians. One man was killed and another wounded; evidently the Indians did not intend to yield to this show of force. The next morning, the colonial troops had an opportunity to retaliate, and shot several of the natives.

Philip, ascertaining the number of troops brought against him, knew that he could not, with his limited number of well-armed followers, maintain his ground; and since he had now commenced war, he determined to conduct it after the Indian fashion of surprises and ambuscades. He accordingly crossed with his men in canoes to the eastern shore of the bay, and the colonial forces, under Major Savage, who had come from Boston with additional troops, marched to Mount Hope. They found the Indian wigwams abandoned, but in token of the ferocity with which their recent occupants had commenced hostilities, they found the heads of eight of their countrymen stuck upon poles. Around these trophies the savages had danced their war-dance, and gone to carry terror to other settlements. Major Savage, however, supposed the enemy was still on the peninsula of Mount Hope, and threw up a slight fortification for protection against attack, or, as Captain Church says, "the army now lay still to cover the people from nobody, while they were building a fort for nothing."

Captain Church, who was well acquainted with Indian habits, opposed stopping at Mount Hope, believing that Philip and his men had left that region. He advised that a force be sent across the bay to Pocasset, on the eastern shore, to secure quiet among the Indians there. After some delay, Captains Fuller and Church were sent across with a small force. Fuller, encountering a band of hostile savages, was compelled to withdraw to a sloop, which took him back to Rhode Island. Church, with fifteen men, marched into the woods and encountered a band of more than one hundred and fifty Indians. He retired to the shore, closely pressed by the enemy, and during a long summer afternoon kept them at bay. On the other side of the water were many spectators, and Church ordered his men to throw off their coats, that their white shirts might be seen, and thus their unequal numbers be observed, and reinforcements or boats be sent to them. As night approached, and their ammunition was nearly exhausted, a sloop fortunately appeared, and they were taken on board.

Philip soon made his whereabouts known by a sudden attack on Dartmouth, where he burned nearly thirty houses and killed a number of the inhabitants, whose bodies were treated with the ferocity common to Indian warfare. Parties of his men went also to Taunton and Middleborough, where they burned some houses and butchered their inmates.

The people of Plymouth and Massachusetts were now thoroughly alarmed. They had never experienced anything like this, and the traditions of the massacres in Virginia were recalled with fear and trembling. The only experience which the colonies had had in an Indian war was when, nearly forty years before, Mason and Underhill had practically destroyed the fierce tribe of Pequots in Connecticut. Nothing like actual hostilities had been known in the eastern colonies since Miles Standish had so summarily nipped in the bud the warlike intentions of Pecksuot at Weymouth. It was with reason feared that Philip's example might arouse the savage nature of other tribes, and encourage them to join in a war upon the whites. The Narragansetts, as the most powerful tribe, were most to be feared, and commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut, attended by a strong military escort, were sent to secure their neutrality. The commissioners effected a

treaty with the sachems of that tribe, by which they agreed to oppose Philip, and to deliver up, alive or dead, any of his men who should come within their country.

But the bad example of Philip had already produced its effect. His proceedings had long ago created an uneasiness in the young men of other tribes, and they were anxious to add to the diversion of hunting that of killing and scalping the English settlers. Immediately after the events at Swansey, Indian runners sped through the woods to carry the news to other tribes; and while the commissioners were negotiating with the Narragansetts, a band of Nipmucks—a tribe of central Massachusetts—made a hostile attack on the town of Mendon. It was not so formidable as to indicate that the tribe was determined on hostilities, and Captain Hutchinson was sent, with a small body of troopers, to attempt an arrangement similar to that made with the Narragansetts.

The principal rendezvous of the Nipmucks at that time was in the neighborhood of Quaboag, or Brookfield, where there was a small settlement of the English,—the only one between Marlborough and the Connecticut River. The people of Brookfield were already alarmed at the conduct of the Indians, and they were greatly relieved by the appearance of Hutchinson and his escort. Arrangements were made for a conference with the Indians, and a place for the interview was appointed. Hutchinson, with some of the Brookfield men, escorted by twenty horsemen, repaired to the appointed place, but the Indians were nowhere to be seen. As the absence of the savages might be due to some misunderstanding, the party proceeded several miles farther in search of them, and as they entered a narrow passage between a steep, rocky hill on the one hand and a swamp on the other, they fell into an ambush. The Indians, concealed among the bushes, fired upon them, and killed eight men, while Hutchinson, Captain Wheeler, the commander, and several others were wounded. Wheeler's horse was shot under him, but his son, who was also wounded, gave him his, and fortunately soon after secured one which had belonged to one of his dead comrades for himself. The survivors of the party hastily retreated, being guided by one of the Brookfield men through the woods by a circuitous path back to the settlement.

All the inhabitants of Brookfield hastily took refuge in a large house, which the men prepared to defend. The retreating party had hardly arrived before the Indians made their appearance in the little hamlet, and speedily set fire to the more exposed buildings, and two messengers who had set out to carry the news to Boston were driven back. It was not long before the Indians commenced firing at the house in which the people were gathered, and one man was mortally wounded. Another, who ventured out, fell into the hands of the savages, who killed him, and cutting off his head, kicked it about as a football. In the night they attempted to set fire to the house by heaping some combustibles against it, and applying a torch, but a party sallied out and extinguished the flames, while the marksmen within kept the savages at bay.

Within the house were all the women and children of the little settlement, exposed to the bullets of the Indians, which often penetrated the walls, and in danger of being obliged to choose between perishing in the flames or being butchered by the cruel savages. All the following day and night the Indians were lavish with their ammunition, and kept up a constant discharge of musketry against the house. Arrows tipped with burning rags were discharged at the roof, through which it was necessary for the inmates to cut holes to extinguish them. Meanwhile the besieged were watchfully keeping the besiegers at a distance by picking off with fatal shots all who exposed themselves. The savages, however, were bent upon setting fire to the house, and on the third day they prepared a sort of long cart, the forward part of which was loaded with combustibles. This they intended to light and push against the house, but an opportune shower of rain so wet their materials that they would not burn.

The second night had come, and the besieged were looking forward to another weary watch to defeat the plans of the cunning and active savages, when the latter suddenly ceased firing their guns, and discontinued their yells. Soon a heavy trampling was heard, and Major Simon Willard, a veteran of seventy years, came galloping into the ruined hamlet with fifty heavily armed troopers, and accompanied by the cattle belonging to the settlers. This accession to Major Willard's force had probably made it seem to the Indians more numerous than it really

was. Willard was on his way from Lancaster to Groton, when a messenger informed him of the Nipmuck attack, and he immediately hurried to the rescue with his command, accomplishing the long march in good time, and with a vigor which would have been creditable to a much younger man.

The Indians withdrew from the immediate neighborhood of Brookfield, having lost about eighty men during the siege. It was afterwards learned that the next day Philip met the Nipmuck chiefs and made them presents, in token of alliance against the whites. He had, indeed, reached the Nipmuck country the day before the fatal ambush, and to him was probably due the treachery of the chiefs, who had promised a friendly conference, and gave a bloody assault. He had been closely pressed, in the vicinity of Taunton River, by the troops returning from the mission to the Narragansetts, and obliged to fly. In the pursuit he lost thirty men, but with the remainder of his tribe, including the women and children, he succeeded in joining the Nipmucks. He had plunged madly into war, and now he determined to stir up all his race to join him.

As soon as the wounded were able to be moved, Brookfield was abandoned, and the inhabitants withdrew to Marlborough, where Hutchinson died of his wounds. The veteran Willard with his troop proceeded to Hadley. The alarm now spread throughout the colonies, and every family in the smaller and more exposed settlements were in constant dread lest they should be roused from their slumbers by the fearful war-whoop to find their homes in flames and cruel savages waiting to butcher them. The hostile spirit was spreading among the Indians, bands of whom were ready to plunder and kill wherever they could surprise an exposed house.

The towns on the Connecticut River were especially in danger, and forces were sent from Massachusetts and Connecticut for their protection. Hadley was selected as the principal military post and depot for supplies, whence expeditions could be sent up or down the river. At Hatfield, a small stockade was erected, and a body of Indians of that vicinity, who professed friendship, was supplied with arms and stationed there. There were soon some indications that these Indians were not so friendly as had been supposed, and a hundred men were sent from Hadley to dis-

arm them. On their arrival at Hatfield, they found the Indians had decamped, and immediately started in pursuit. They came upon the fugitives in a swamp, ten miles from the settlement, and a fight ensued, in which the colonial troops lost ten men and the Indians twenty-six.

It soon became evident that all the Indians along the Connecticut, who had hitherto lived on friendly terms with the settlers, now sympathized with their hostile countrymen, and only waited for opportunity to wage war according to the Indian custom, by surprises and ambuscades. At Deerfield, a number of houses and barns were burned, and two men were killed. At Northfield, a party of men, having ventured out of a block-house where all the settlers were obliged to take refuge, were intercepted by a band of skulking Indians, and nine of them were killed.

The Indians were ever watchful for an opportunity to attack when the settlers were at disadvantage. They knew all the movements of the troops, and observed when the greater part of the forces had left Hadley on some expedition. The inhabitants of this place were keeping a fast, and were attending religious services in their meeting-house, when they were suddenly aroused by the yells of the savages. The men seized their muskets, and rushed out to defend their wives and children from the dreaded enemy. They saw the Indians skulking from shelter to shelter, and advancing on every side, sounding the war-whoop, and discharging their guns from behind trees. Unused to war, surprised and confused by the suddenness of the attack, and having no skilled leader, they were about to give way, when, as tradition has it, a stranger, clad in an ancient garb, tall and erect notwithstanding his advanced age, appeared suddenly among them and assumed command. His bold demeanor and his stern voice rallied the wavering settlers, and they quickly made good use of their muskets. The skulking enemy was checked in his advance, and then, under the lead of the mysterious commander, the settlers rushed forward and drove the assailants headlong out of the town. When the victorious settlers desisted from pursuit, and again gathered at their meeting-house, their leader had disappeared. No one knew whence he came or whither he had gone, and, with awe and thanksgiving, they believed he must have been a supernatural visitant sent by a merciful Providence to be their deliverer. But the unknown leader



GOFFE RALLYING THE MEN OF HADLEY.

was none other than the regicide Goffe, who dwelt so secretly in the house of Mr. Russell that his existence was unknown to the greater part of the people, and the fidelity of those who were in the secret was too true to allow them to betray it, even in this time of excitement. He had seen the stealthy approach of the savages, and realizing the danger, he rushed out to engage once more in the din of battle, and to lead to victory. When he had performed this last service "for God's people," he returned again to his place of concealment, and the awe-struck inhabitants of Hadley saw him no more.

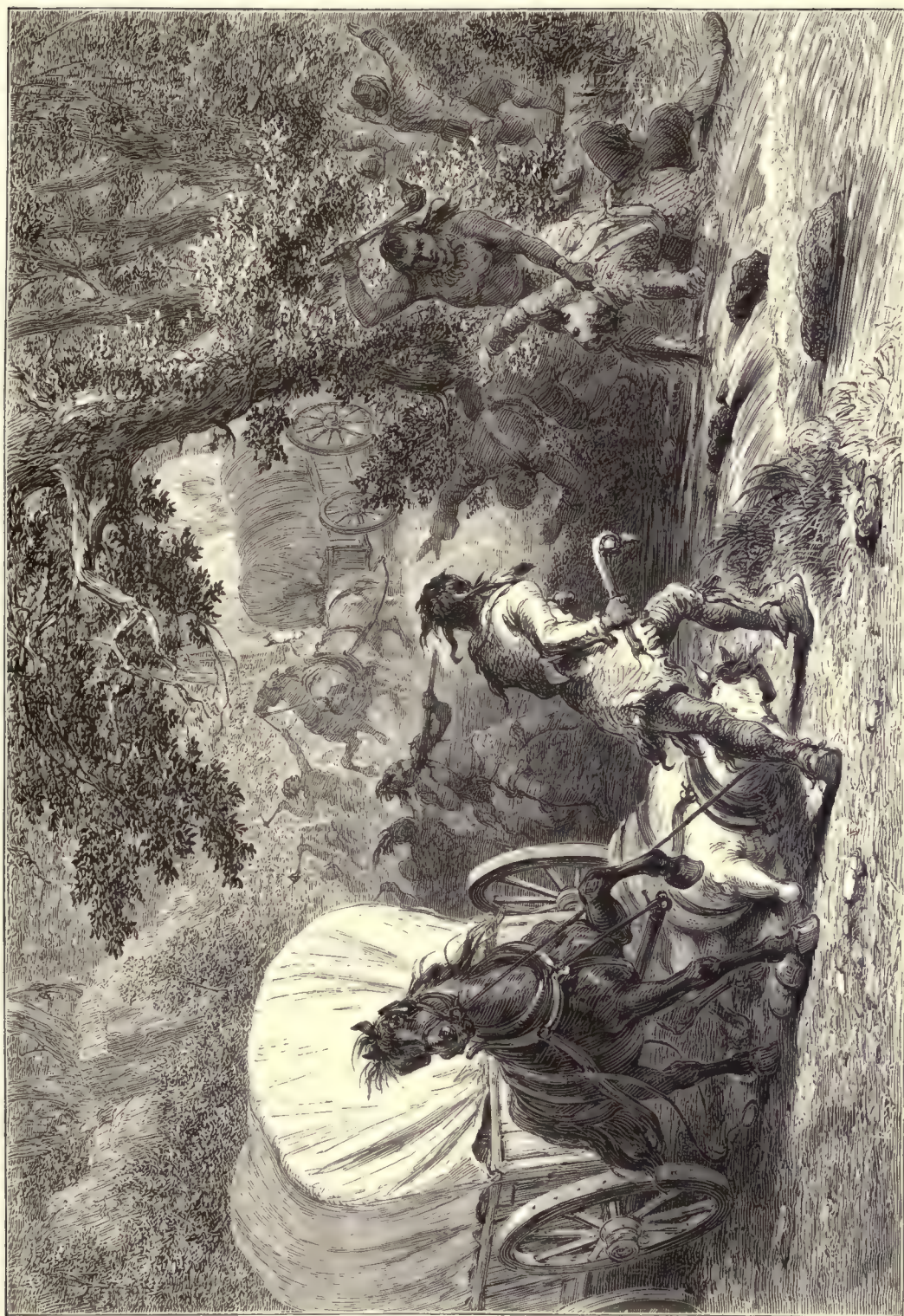
The inhabitants and little garrison at Northfield were in an exposed position, at a distance from the main body of the military and other settlements. After the attack on the party who ventured out from the block-house there, Captain Beers was sent, with thirty-six men and some wagons, to bring away the remainder of the people and the stores. When this party had arrived within three miles of Northfield, they were attacked by a body of Indians lying in ambush. They fought till their ammunition was exhausted, and then were obliged to retreat, with a loss of twenty men, including the commander. They had, however, inflicted a greater loss on their assailants. Most of the survivors succeeded in reaching Hadley the same night, but one wandered in the woods six days, and came in almost famished. A stronger force, under Major Treat, was then sent up to Northfield, and, though the Indians undertook to waylay them, the men fought their way through, and brought off their friends in Northfield, that settlement being abandoned.

At this stage of affairs, the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Boston, and, after due deliberation, decided that the war was defensive in its origin, and should be carried on by the colonies jointly; and they ordered "that there be forthwith raised a thousand soldiers, whereof five hundred should be dragoons, or troopers with long arms." Massachusetts was to raise five hundred and twenty-seven men, Connecticut three hundred and fifteen, and Plymouth one hundred and fifty-eight. The troops were raised from all the towns, and supplies collected for their maintenance. A stringent code of "articles of war" was adopted by the General Court of Massachusetts for the government of the forces of that colony, "to prevent profaneness, that iniquity may be kept out of the camp." Morality and religious duties were especially

enforced by this code, and insubordination and other military offences were punished, some with death, and others "with some grievous punishment." "By grievous punishment is meant disgracing by cashiering, the strappado, or riding the wooden horse to fetch blood."

Meanwhile the Indians continued their hostile movements on the Connecticut. At Deerfield—which after the abandonment of Northfield was the most exposed settlement—the Indians fired upon the inhabitants as they went to public worship. It was then deemed advisable to abandon this settlement also, and the people were removed to the towns further down the river. They had just harvested, and partially threshed, a considerable quantity of wheat, which they left behind, and a party of teamsters and soldiers was sent from Hadley to finish threshing and bring it away. This expedition consisted of eighteen wagons with their teamsters, escorted by a force of ninety picked men, "the flower of Essex," under Captain Lothrop. The party reached Deerfield without opposition, threshed and loaded the grain, and on the 18th of September commenced their homeward march. They had proceeded several miles through a level country, thickly wooded, where they were exposed to an attack on either flank, but no sign of the presence of Indians was seen, and they began to be unsuspicious of danger and careless. Reaching a small stream bordered with thick woods, the teams found some difficulty in crossing, and those of the party who were in advance waited for the others to cross. During the halt the men laid aside their arms and began to gather the wild grapes which hung ripe upon the vines.

It was a fatal imprudence. In the thick bushes lay concealed several hundred Indians, and suddenly a volley from as many muskets was discharged at the unsuspecting English, many of whom were killed. A fearful yell succeeded, and a swarm of savages sprang from their ambush, and fell upon the disconcerted soldiers before they could seize their arms and form. Confusion and dismay followed. The troops fled, pursued by the Indians, who outnumbered them at least five to one. Lothrop, who exerted himself bravely to rally his men, soon fell, and the scattered soldiers could only fight each by himself. There was no hope of mercy from the savage foe, and they resolved to sell their lives dearly. Sheltering themselves behind trees, they fired upon the assailants, but the far more numerous Indians were equal if not superior marksmen,



BLOODY BROOK.

and the number of English rapidly diminished. At length the force was all but annihilated; only seven or eight escaping. One of these was shot and tomahawked, and being stripped was left for dead; but having revived after the Indians disappeared, he succeeded in making his way to Hadley. The little stream on whose banks this carnage took place has well been named "Bloody Brook."

Captain Mosely, with a company of soldiers who had been stationed at Deerfield, and remained behind to protect the rear of the train from any sudden attack, heard the musketry five miles away, and hurried forward to the scene of the battle. He found the Indians scalping and stripping the dead, and opened a vigorous fire upon them. The savages, though greatly superior in numbers, did not dare to face a well-ordered force in the open field, but they kept up the contest from their hiding-places for some time. At last Major Treat arrived with a hundred soldiers and fifty friendly Mohegans (who were still faithful to the pledges of Uncas), and drove the skulking enemy from the ground. The troops encamped for the night near the scene of the battle, and the next day they buried their fallen comrades, over whom a later generation has erected a monument.

The battle of Bloody Brook carried mourning into many a family in Ipswich, Salem, and other towns of Essex County, where the unfortunate company was enlisted, and caused intense excitement throughout Massachusetts. With fire-arms in their hands, the Indians had become far more formidable than they had hitherto been regarded, and their mode of warfare by ambuscades and midnight surprises made them more dreaded than an enemy of far greater numbers would have been in the open field. The treachery of the natives was becoming general, and those who had hitherto lived on friendly terms with the inhabitants of the frontier towns now showed a hostile spirit.

The Indians about Springfield had from the first manifested a disposition to live peaceably with their white neighbors. They were frequently in the town to barter or beg, and were always well treated. When hostilities were commenced elsewhere, the people of Springfield still trusted these Indians, who gave the most positive assurances of friendship, and no considerable force was posted there. But while the treacherous savages were making these professions, Philip, or his em-

issaries, was persuading them to join in the war, and they yielded to his influence. About a mile from the town they had a fort, and in it they gathered all the warriors of the tribe, and were joined by others who had already engaged in the war. A friendly Indian belonging near Windsor, in Connecticut, gave to some of the people of that place information of the hostile gathering, and of the purpose to attack Springfield. Warning was immediately sent to the threatened village, and also to Major Treat, who was stationed at Westfield with the Connecticut troops. But the people of Springfield were so strongly persuaded of the good faith of the neighboring tribe, that they would not credit the report, and took no measures for defence. Lieutenant Cooper, who was the military commander, was so confident that the report was unfounded that he rode out early in the morning with another man, with a design to go to the fort and discover the true state of affairs. They had not gone far from the town before they encountered some Indians, who, without waiting to parley, at once discharged their guns, wounding Cooper and killing his companion. Though severely hurt, Cooper kept his horse, and sped back towards Springfield to give the alarm. The people hurried from their homes as the fearful news was carried along, and gathered in the strongest houses in the midst of the village, still uncertain whether anything more serious would occur.

The Indians soon appeared in large numbers on the outskirts of the town, and as they advanced, plundered and set fire to the unprotected houses and barns. The inhabitants were in the utmost consternation, and there was no commander to rally the men in defence of their homes and families. They could make only an irregular and feeble resistance, and they might ultimately have been all killed or captured, had not Major Treat fortunately come to their relief. Putting more faith in the report than the people of Springfield did, he lost no time in marching towards that place. But when he reached the Connecticut, he was delayed by the want of a sufficient number of boats to cross, and he was not in time to prevent the attack. The savages had already destroyed thirty dwelling-houses, and were closing around those in which the inhabitants had taken refuge, when he arrived. The appearance of the troops caused the Indians to pause in their work and then to retire. They had no disposition to face an organized body of whites

in an open field, and their retreat was soon hastened by Major Treat's prompt attack.

A fortnight after the attack on Springfield, the Indians appeared in force at Hatfield, and commenced a like exploit. But they found the people here better prepared for such a visit, and a small garrison ready to defend the place. A hot fire was opened on them, and after a sharp but short encounter, the assailants were driven off with considerable loss. This was the last appearance for a time of any large number of hostile Indians on the Connecticut. Short campaigns were the rule with them, and they were wont to disappear as suddenly and mysteriously as they came, plunging into the depths of the forest after a fight, whether successful or the reverse. Now they had apparently withdrawn to recuperate; for, considering their numbers, they had suffered heavy losses. As that part of the country seemed to be abandoned by the enemy, many of the colonial troops also returned to their homes, and it was fondly hoped that the war was over.

XLVI.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.—THE NARRAGANSETTS.



HILIP had by no means abandoned the war. He sought now to carry it to another field, and, by his personal appeals, or the efforts of his emissaries, he aroused the war spirit of the Narragansetts, and secured their alliance. That formidable tribe had, at the commencement of hostilities, promised neutrality; and while some of the bloody scenes were occurring on the western frontier, Canonchet, the sachem, with other chiefs, went to Boston, and agreed that the hostile Indians who had taken refuge with them should be surrendered within ten days. But the slaughter at Bloody Brook, and the other achievements of their countrymen at the west, aroused the ferocity of the savages, and they did not keep their engagement.

When the day appointed for the surrender passed, and no Indians appeared, it became evident that the Narragansetts also were infected with the hostile spirit. Taking warning from the treacherous conduct of Philip, the Federal Commissioners determined not to parley with them, but promptly voted to raise an additional force of a thousand men to operate against these new enemies. Six weeks were allowed for collecting this force at the appointed rendezvous, and time was thus given the Narragansetts to reconsider their treacherous conduct. If they still failed to keep their promises, they were to be attacked without further delay. The force was raised and equipped with care, and Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, was appointed commander-in-chief.

It was the middle of December before the quotas of the several colonies assembled at Pettyquamscott. In the mean time the Indians had committed outrages on some small settlements in the region frequented by the Narragansetts, and the colonists were convinced that this tribe, if not the actual perpetrators, were privy to the deeds. From a prisoner Governor Winslow had ascertained that the principal body of the Narragansetts were in a fortified position some eighteen miles distant, and he gave orders for an attack upon them on the following day, although it was Sunday, a day sacredly observed even in war by the Puritans, except in extraordinary cases.

The position of the Indians was a strong one, being on a piece of upland, five or six acres in extent, surrounded by a swamp. It was also defended by several rows of palisades, and the only entrance was by a rude bridge, consisting of a felled tree, laid across the bog, opposite which was a block-house. In this enclosure the Narragansett warriors, to the number, as was then believed, of more than three thousand, were gathered, ready to resist an attack, or to start upon some sudden expedition against the English settlements.

The weather was cold, and the snow lay deep upon the ground. The troops were without shelter, and they suffered much; but before light on the appointed morning they moved towards the position of the savages, and arrived before it an hour after noon. Notwithstanding their long and laborious march, they at once advanced to the attack. It was a difficult and dangerous work to cross the narrow bridge, or wade through the half frozen swamp. Seven or eight captains fell before the guns of the Indians in making this advance; but the men were not daunted by the loss of their officers, and pressed on with great spirit. The fight was desperate, and before the whole force could gain an entrance to the fort, those in advance were once driven out of it. But they soon rallied, and regaining the lost ground, drove the Indians back. The whole of the storming party having gained an entrance, the battle raged fiercely; the Indians fought desperately in defence of their last stronghold, and the English, enclosed in the fort with the savage foe, had no choice but to conquer or die. But the valor and endurance of the civilized soldier exceeded that of the savage, and at last the colonial troops were victorious. The Indians gave way,

and sought safety in flight, while the English applied the torch to the wigwams.

The colonial loss in this conflict was seventy killed and one hundred and fifty wounded, many of whom afterwards died of their wounds. The loss of the Indians was supposed to be several hundred, and was so severe a blow to the Narragansetts that their power as a hostile tribe was completely broken. Though the colonial troops had achieved a victory, they were in a sorry condition. With their many wounded, they had no shelter from the severe cold and falling snow. Had the wigwams been spared, they might have found ample protection, as well as food from the Indian stores. Captain Church, who was a volunteer on this expedition, and from his knowledge of Indian habits proved a useful aid to Governor Winslow, remonstrated against the burning of the wigwams; but Winslow believed that his exhausted troops would be exposed to attack from the savages, who were supposed to swarm in the adjacent woods, and determined to withdraw to the place of rendezvous, where he could obtain food, of which the men were greatly in want.

The troops, weary and cold, retraced their difficult march through the forest at night, the increasing depth of snow rendering it more and more laborious as they proceeded. They carried the wounded with them as carefully as possible, but several of them died on the way. During the retreat, Winslow, with some of his principal officers and the ministers who had been sent with the expedition, while attempting to pass around a swamp, lost their way, and wandered back to the scene of the conflict. Fortunately they were not surprised by the savages, and after "thirty miles' marching up and down," in the morning they reached the main body of the army.

The colonial forces remained at Wickford several weeks, suffering much from cold and hunger. Supplies sent to them by water failed to arrive, and at one time they were forced to kill horses for food. The Connecticut troops at length withdrew to Stonington, but the Massachusetts and Plymouth levies still remained in the field, and were reinforced by troops from Boston. Nothing important, however, was accomplished; the Indians had scattered, and though some roving bands were occasionally encountered, no formidable force appeared or was heard of. After

a campaign of two months, there seeming to be no occasion for their remaining longer, exposed to the cold and storms, the Massachusetts and Plymouth troops also returned home.

The people in the larger settlements now felt that the war was substantially over, and that since the defeat of the Narragansetts there was little danger to be feared. But they did not know the Indian character and mode of warfare. It soon became known, through friendly Indians, that the remnants of the hostile tribes had by no means given over the war. They professed to expect assistance from the French, and it was evident that they intended to transfer the seat of war to the interior of Massachusetts, and attack the exposed settlements there. The Narragansetts, who were reported to number seven hundred warriors, and were anxious to revenge their losses, had joined Philip, and most of the other scattered tribes were ready to unite in the war against the whites, who were regarded as the common enemy of their race. This information caused the Federal Commissioners to call for another levy of six hundred troops, who were ordered to assemble at Brookfield in three weeks. It was a short time for the colonies to raise such a force, but it was not short enough to prevent disaster. As if the Indians were informed of the purpose of the colonists, they at once resumed active hostilities, and fell upon the frontier towns which the troops were designed to protect.

XLVII.

ATTACK ON LANCASTER.—MRS. ROWLANDSON'S CAPTIVITY.



IN 1676 the town of Lancaster contained about fifty houses and nearly three hundred inhabitants. Situated in a beautiful valley, with a rich alluvial soil, it was one of the pleasantest settlements in Massachusetts, and had grown more rapidly than most of the inland towns. The Reverend Joseph Rowlandson had come thither with the first settlers, and was the minister of the town. When it became known through spies that the Indians were likely to attack the inland towns, Mr. Rowlandson went to Boston to represent the exposed condition of Lancaster, and to solicit aid from the authorities for its defence. But no immediate provision was made for the defence of that town, it being supposed that a general levy would be sufficient for the protection of all. Mr. Rowlandson, however, urged his suit so strenuously, and showed such strong reasons for immediate action, that a force of forty men, under Major Wadsworth, was sent to the relief of the endangered settlement.

It was too late. On the 10th of February, about sunrise, a large force of Indians suddenly appeared at Lancaster, and setting fire to the houses on the outskirts, killed such of the inmates as they found. The inhabitants, dreading such a visit, had made such preparation as they could by fortifying some of the stronger houses, and into these the people were gathered as speedily as possible. But all were unable to reach

these places of refuge before the savages were upon them. Five persons were surprised in one house; the father and mother and an infant were killed, and two children were carried away as prisoners. Several were shot as they ran, and their bodies treated with the greatest barbarity in sight of their trembling neighbors. One man, seeing some Indians about his barn, went out to speak to them, and was shot. Burning houses and barns as they advanced, they at last came to the fortified houses. Climbing upon the barn of one of them, they fired down into the low fortification and killed three men before their movements were observed. With fearful yells they appeared in every direction, discharging their guns at the houses in which the women and children were trembling with fear, while the men did their best to defend them.

Mr. Rowlandson's house was one of those which were fortified, and in it were gathered some of the neighboring families, numbering, with his, thirty-seven persons. Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative of the attack and her subsequent captivity, which was written after her ransom, vividly describes the horrors of Indian warfare, and the sufferings of those who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands as captives. It shows also the miserable condition to which the Indians were sometimes reduced, and the Christian fortitude with which she endured her hardships.

After describing the approach of the Indians, and the events mentioned above, Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative continues:—

"At length they came and assaulted our house,—such a doleful day my eyes never beheld before. The house stood upon the edge of a hill; some of the Indians got behind the hill, others into the barn, and others behind whatever would shelter them; from all which places they shot against the house, so that the bullets seemed to fly like hail, and soon they wounded one man among us, then another, and then a third. They had been about the house about two hours (according to my estimation in that amazing time) before they succeeded in setting it on fire, which they did with flax and hemp which they brought out of the barn. They set it on fire once, and one ventured out and quenched it; but they soon fired it again, and that kindled. Now the dreadful hour was come that I had often heard of others being called

to, in time of war, but now mine own eyes saw it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, while others were wallowing in their blood, the house being on fire over our heads, and the bloody savages were standing ready to bury the tomahawk in our heads if we stirred out. Now we could hear mothers and children crying out, 'Lord, what shall we do?' I took my children, and one of my sisters hers, to go out and leave the house; but as soon as we made our appearance at the door, the Indians fired so fast that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had taken a handful of stones and thrown them, so that we were forced to give back. . . . But the fire increasing and roaring behind us, we must of necessity go out, though the Indians were gaping before us with their guns, spears, and hatchets to devour the prey. No sooner were we out of the house than my brother-in-law (having before been wounded, in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead, at which the Indians scornfully shouted and halloed, and were presently upon him stripping off his clothes. The bullets flying thick, one of them went through my side, and the same through the bowels and hand of my poor child in my arms. One of my elder sister's children had his leg broken, which being perceived by the Indians, they knocked him on the head. Thus were we butchered by those merciless savages, the blood running down at our feet. My eldest sister being yet in the house, seeing the Indians hauling mothers one way and children another, and some wallowing in their blood, and being told that her son William was dead and that I was wounded, she exclaimed, 'Lord, let me die with them!' No sooner had she said this than she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. The Indians now laid hold on us, pulling me one way and the children another, saying, 'Come, go along with us.' I told them that they would kill me. They said if I was willing to go along with them they would not hurt me."

The savages had triumphed. Of thirty-seven persons in the house but one escaped; twelve were killed, and the others, mostly women and children, were carried into captivity. The prisoners were divided among their captors, and having destroyed the greater part of the village, and night coming on, the assailants retired with their captives and booty. They withdrew about a mile, and then stopped for the night on a hill overlooking the desolated settlement. It was a terrible night for the



MRS. ROWLANDSON AND HER INDIAN CAPTORS.

captives, in the midst of their triumphant enemies. The rejoicing of the Indians over their exploits is thus described by Mrs. Rowlandson: "O, the roaring, and singing, and dancing, and yelling of those tawny creatures on that night! which made the place a lively resemblance of hell; and there was a sad waste made of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, calves, and fowls, which they had plundered in the town: some lay roasting, some burning, and some boiling, to feed our merciless enemies, who were joyful enough, though we were desolate." This improvident waste of food was characteristic of the savages, who shortly after were nearly starved.

Suffering from the wound in her side, Mrs. Rowlandson was obliged to carry her more severely wounded child, who, being upwards of six years of age, was a heavy burden for her. The Indians permitted her to ride a part of the time, but otherwise they showed no pity for her sufferings or those of her child. Snow fell, and at night the unhappy captive was obliged to sit down in the snow before a little fire, with a few boughs behind her to shelter her from the wintry blast, and hold her poor fevered child through the long weary hours, without sustenance, and with a heavy heart. The moaning of the child annoyed the Indians, and one after another came to her and told her that her master would soon come and knock the little sufferer on the head, thus adding to the grief and terror of the wretched mother. The threat, however, was not carried into execution, and for nine days the poor child lingered, carried constantly in her mother's arms, and receiving no sustenance but a little water, while she daily grew weaker, till at last death put an end to her sufferings. The Indians buried the corpse, and had the grace to show the mourning mother the little grave.

Anxiety for her children, who were also in the hands of the savages, added to the sorrows of her captivity, but several times her fears for their safety were relieved by brief interviews when they were in some neighboring village. The Indians, however, were always jealous of such interviews, and if any tears were shed were especially provoked, and separated the captives in a summary manner.

Not long after Mrs. Rowlandson's capture a party of the Indians went to make an attack on Medfield, and their return from the successful expedition was celebrated with savage rejoicings. "They began

their din," says the narrative, "when about a mile distant. O, the outrageous roaring and whooping that there was! They signified by their noise and whooping how many were destroyed, which was twenty-three. Those who were with us at home were gathered together as soon as they heard the whooping, and every time the others went over with their number, those at home gave a shout that made the very earth ring again. And thus they continued to do until those who had been upon the expedition arrived at the sagamore's wigwam; then, O, the hideous insulting and triumphing there was over some Englishmen's scalps they had taken!" But though this triumph of the savages over her countrymen added to the misery of the captive, it brought to her a source of consolation which sustained her through all her trials. One of the Indians gave her a Bible which was among his plunder; and cherishing that as the choicest of treasures, with pious trust in its counsels and promises, though she dared to read it only in secret, she found comfort and strength.

The party of Indians with whom Mrs. Rowlandson was, soon after divided, and she was separated from her fellow-captives, among whom were her daughter, several children of her sisters, and one of her neighbors, a Mrs. Joslin. Upon this poor woman the savages afterwards indulged their cruelty in the most atrocious manner. She had with her a child two years old, and was soon to give birth to another. In her anxiety and distress she begged the Indians to let her go home, though she was many weary miles from the nearest settlement. Tired of her importunities, they gathered a large company, and setting her unclothed in the midst, they danced about her "in their hellish manner" for a long time, and then "knocked her and the child in her arms on the head." They then made a fire and put both the victims in it, threatening the other children, who with trembling witnessed the terrible scene, to serve them in like manner if they attempted to go home.

One or two other vindictive murders of unfortunate prisoners were perpetrated, with only a little less atrocity, during Mrs. Rowlandson's captivity; but most of the captives, though they suffered terrible hardships, and were often treated with great cruelty, were spared so long as they did not murmur or sink in helpless sickness. There were some, however, whose fate was never known; and whether death came by

the hatchet or the slower attacks of disease was only a matter of conjecture.

The severest suffering endured by the captives was the want of food. The Indians themselves were often reduced to the greatest straits, and the prisoners fared even worse than their captors. The food of the savages was at first revolting to those who had been accustomed to the dishes of civilized life, but hunger soon made the small quantities allowed them more than palatable. But even these unsavory messes were often denied them, and Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative recounts many occasions when a few kernels of corn, or four or five ground-nuts, were her only food for days together. A piece of horse-liver, which was secreted in her pocket until it became loathsomely offensive, in order that it might not be taken from her, was devoured with avidity, and a few spoonfuls of weak broth made from horses' feet, which was grudgingly given her, was thankfully received as a slight relief to the pangs of hunger. Oftentimes she carried a small quantity of corn or peas for her mistress, but did not dare to partake of even the least quantity, lest she should provoke the wrath of the squaw and be treated to blows. Occasionally Mrs. Rowlandson was able to obtain a better supply of food by working for the savages, now and then making a shirt for some young Indian, or knitting or repairing stockings, for which she was paid by a gift from the limited stores of her employers. More often, however, she was refused even the meanest allowance from the food prepared by her mistress, though her master was more generously disposed. Sometimes, driven with threats of violence from the cabin, she was obliged to seek shelter and food elsewhere; and though she was refused admittance to most of the neighboring wigwams, she found that not all the Indians were devoid of humanity, and she was sometimes given a lodging by their fire, and favored with a pittance of food by those who had little to give. Whenever she chanced to do anything that offended her captors, she was treated to blows or other punishment, especially at the hands of her mistress, who was much less tolerant than her master.

Meanwhile the hopes which had sustained her that she would be rescued by the colonial troops, released on the payment of a ransom, or carried to Albany, were successively disappointed, and she began to despair of ever being restored to civilized life. At such times she

had recourse to her Bible, which she cherished with the greatest care, concealing it from the jealous eyes of the Indians.

On the banks of the Connecticut she met King Philip, who treated her kindly and with the dignity becoming a sachem. At his request she made his boy a shirt, for which he gave her a shilling. She also made him a cap, and for payment received an invitation to dine with the sachem. But the dinner was no very generous feast, and Philip apparently fared scarcely better than his half-famished followers. "I went," says Mrs. Rowlandson, "and he gave me a pancake, made of parched wheat fried in bears'-grease, about as large as my two fingers. I thought I never tasted of more pleasant food in my life." Philip's example induced other Indians to employ the captive in needlework or knitting, and she was thus able sometimes to obtain a better, though still meagre supply of food.

At last the Indians moved eastward towards Wachusett, and soon the captives were encouraged with the hope of being ransomed. But the journey was a long and difficult one, with frequent halts and long delays, and a constant dearth of food. The Indians often had recourse to the refuse portions of dead horses, and Mrs. Rowlandson was only too glad to partake of a morsel of food that at other times would have been nauseating. The hope of final release, however, was a stronger sustenance than food. On one occasion her heart was gladdened by King Philip, who, as they approached Mount Wachusett, came to her, and taking her hand, said, "Two weeks more and you shall be mistress again." At Wachusett her master, who had been absent a long time, also appeared, and Mrs. Rowlandson relates an incident which illustrates the miserable life she must have led among her filthy captors. "He inquired how long it was since I had washed me. I answered, not for months. He brought some water and told me to wash, and ordered his squaw to give me something to eat. She gave me some meat and some beans, and a small ground-nut cake. I was greatly refreshed by this kindness."

Negotiations for the release of the captives were initiated by the Indians, who sent runners to Boston with proposals to that end. The messengers passed to and fro several times, and at last Mr. Hoar was sent as agent of the colonial authorities to pay the ransom demanded.

In reply to inquiries by the sagamores, Mrs. Rowlandson, with some misgivings lest she should name too little for their acceptance, or too much for her friends to raise, named twenty pounds as the sum which her husband would be able to pay for her release, and that sum was accepted. After some delay the ransom was paid, and Mrs. Rowlandson, with some others, was restored to her friends. But a number of the captives were still retained, among whom were Mrs. Rowlandson's children, the prolonged separation from whom, with a knowledge of what they must continue to suffer, clouded the joy for her own release. Happily her son was afterwards redeemed at Portsmouth, and her daughter at Providence.

XLVIII.

CONTINUATION AND END OF THE WAR.— DEATH OF KING PHILIP.



AT Lancaster, the Indians would doubtless have killed or taken captive more of the inhabitants but for the arrival of Wadsworth, who had marched in all haste from Marlborough. With his small force he compelled the savages to retire. Soon after the town was abandoned, and the Indians then burned the remaining houses. The threat to attack other inland settlements was soon carried out. Before February had passed, Sudbury and Chelmsford were attacked, some of the houses burned, and several persons killed. At Medfield, before daybreak, the inhabitants were roused from their slumbers by the war-whoop of the savages, who burned half the town and killed twenty persons. Mendon had been deserted by its inhabitants, but their vacant houses were given to the flames by the enemy. Nor were the operations of the Indians confined to these inland towns: a hostile band came suddenly upon Weymouth, and burned seven or eight houses; and on the outskirts of Plymouth eleven whites were massacred.

The Indians now appeared in various other quarters. Groton was attacked, and all its houses burned, though only one of its inhabitants was killed. At the same time an attack was made on Northampton, but was repulsed with some loss on both sides. Immediately after the savages appeared at Warwick, in Rhode Island, and destroyed all the houses but one, and the destruction of all the outlying houses in that region followed. While the good people of Marlborough were at

church, the Indians came suddenly from their hiding-places and burned the town, so that it was also abandoned. At the same time a force of fifty whites and twenty friendly natives, who were sent by the Plymouth government to protect their frontier, were lured into an ambush by Canonchet, the Narragansett sachem, and his followers, and all the English save one, and half the friendly Indians, were killed. Immediately afterwards forty houses were burned at Rehoboth, and nearly as many more in Providence.

All through the spring the Indians continued their work of destruction. Appearing in various quarters, watching the habits of the people, and falling suddenly upon the villages, they plundered and burned the houses, and killed or captured such of the inhabitants as they could surprise. Seekonk, Wrentham, Middleborough, and even Plymouth suffered in this way, while in the interior, Andover, Sudbury, and Chelmsford met with like misfortune. But the colonial governments were not idle, and in Massachusetts especially great efforts were made to raise forces to stop the ravages of the Indians. Men were impressed into the military service under the most stringent laws, and all possible means were adopted to put an adequate army into the field.

Resuming the offensive, the colonial forces soon obtained some important advantages over the Indians. A Connecticut force, under Captain Denison, moving into the Narragansett country, fell in with the party who had returned from the massacre of the Plymouth force above mentioned, and killed and captured a considerable number. Among the prisoners was the sachem, Canonchet, whose treachery was deemed worthy of death, and he was accordingly delivered over to the tender mercies of the Mohegans. Denison achieved other successes, and materially weakened the Narragansetts, several of whose chiefs were killed or captured.

Though Marlborough was abandoned by its inhabitants, a force of seventy men, under Captain Wadsworth, was stationed there to keep the Indians back from settlements nearer Boston. Receiving information that the savages had appeared near Sudbury, Wadsworth hastened in the night to the relief of that place. In the morning he met a band of about a hundred Indians, who fled before his attack. He pursued them into the woods, where he encountered several hundred more, who

attacked him fiercely. Retiring to a hill, he kept up the contest through the day, killing many of the enemy. But the Indians were too numerous for his small force, which grew weaker from the loss of many men. They set fire to the dry grass, and the flames spread rapidly through the woods, so that with the smoke and heat the English were nearly blinded and suffocated. The Indians, taking advantage of this, redoubled the fury of their attack, and at last the little force was obliged to seek safety in flight. Only twenty of them escaped; more than forty were slain, among whom were Wadsworth and his lieutenant; while five or six were taken prisoners, to be tortured to death in the most cruel manner.

A month later, after a number of unimportant skirmishes at the outposts of the troops stationed along the Connecticut River, another severe conflict, with varied success, took place near the falls above Greenfield. An escaped prisoner brought intelligence that a large number of Indians were planting and fishing in that vicinity; and Captain Turner, who commanded the colonial forces in the upper towns, determined to attack them. Taking a hundred and eighty mounted men, after a night march of twenty miles, he came upon an Indian camp just at daylight. The camp was so situated that it was necessary to dismount and make the attack on foot. Leaving their horses where they could not be seen by the unsuspecting savages, the party advanced in silence to the edge of the camp, and then poured into the wigwams a volley of musketry. The surprise was complete, and the Indians, unprepared to resist, sought safety in flight, but many of them were killed as they rushed pell-mell from their cabins. They crowded to the river, and some escaped in canoes, while others, attempting to swim across, were carried over the falls and drowned. Meanwhile the troops kept up a constant fire upon them, and many were shot on the banks of the river and in the water. Three hundred Indians perished in this successful attack; and the soldiers completed their victory by setting fire to the cabins and destroying the stores which the savages had collected in preparation of another raid. The colonial troops lost but one man in the conflict. From that day the place has been known as "Turner's Falls," in honor of the commander.

But this victory was too soon followed by a reverse. The firing

was heard by another body of Indians not far away, and they hastened to the scene of the conflict. The troops soon found themselves attacked by a large number of the savages, and they were obliged to retreat, fortunately reaching their horses before they were discovered by the enemy. They hastened back towards the settlements, but the Indians followed, and swarmed along the line of their march. An Indian prisoner told them that Philip was in pursuit with a thousand men, and this intelligence created a panic. Captain Holyoke, the second in command, protected the rear of the flying column, and achieved distinction by the skill with which he held the enemy in check. But the savages pressed so closely that the troops broke up into small parties, one of which was cut to pieces in a swamp, and another was captured and reserved for a more cruel fate. Turner was killed on the way, and the command devolved upon Holyoke, who succeeded in bringing the force back to Hatfield with a loss of forty men.

Encouraged by their success, the Indians soon after made an attack on Hatfield, and burned several buildings; but a small force coming to the relief of the town, the assailants were driven off. A little later, seven hundred Indians made a similar attempt on Hadley. Their attack was planned with some skill: while one party made an open assault on one side of the settlement, another lay in ambush on the opposite side, ready to fall upon the flying inhabitants. But there was a considerable force in the place, and as the Indians gained an entrance within the palisades with which some of the houses were surrounded, a cannon quickly put them to flight.

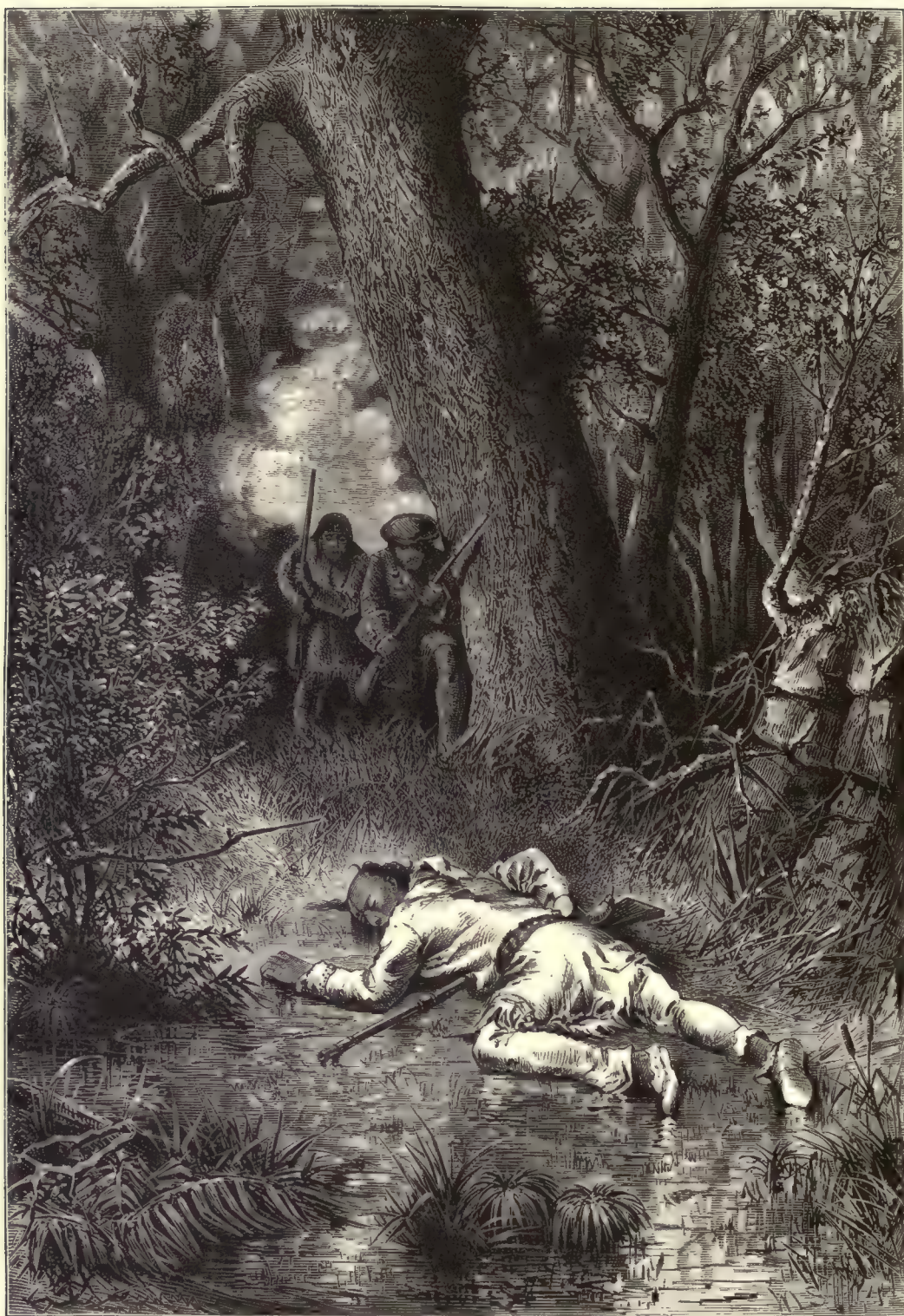
Suffering for want of any considerable supply of food, the Indians were unable to continue a campaign in which they had suffered heavy losses, and they broke up into small parties. Their loss at Turner's Falls was a severe blow, and previous to the attack on Hadley they had met with reverses near Brookfield, where the colonial forces took a considerable number of prisoners, while in several minor conflicts many of them had been killed or severely wounded. With their limited numbers these losses had seriously reduced their strength, and they began to tire of a war carried on by the whites in a manner so contrary to Indian habits. Philip and his followers made their way back to the region where they had long dwelt. The proud sachem,

though discouraged by his want of success where he had promised so much, was not yet disposed to make peace. The fate of Canonchet told him that he had nothing to hope from the English if he surrendered, and, full of bitterness, he resolved to attack and burn yet a few more towns.

A negro who had been taken prisoner by Philip's men, and who understood their language, heard them planning an attack on Taunton. Making his escape, he communicated the intelligence to the people of that town. A force was promptly sent to its defence; and when the savages came, they succeeded in firing only two houses before they were put to flight.

It was Philip's last campaign. His men were pursued and defeated on all sides, and in despair he retired to the woods of Mount Hope. Chafing under the restraint imposed by the colonists, he had persuaded the most formidable tribes of his countrymen to join him in an attempt to throw off a yoke which was becoming irksome. Ignorant how much the colonists exceeded his race in numbers, and the strength which civilization gives, with the aid of fire-arms he had counted on success. But the Nipmucks had been decimated, the strength of the Narragansetts had been completely broken, and the tribes of the Connecticut had suffered heavy losses. And now these allies had deserted him, some to surrender to the English, and others to seek refuge and food in remote quarters. Even among his own followers there were traitors; and when with the remnant of his tribe he returned to the home of his fathers, there were some who were ready to make peace for themselves by betraying him.

Captain Church, with a force from Plymouth, had pursued Philip's men, taking many prisoners, among whom were the sachem's wife and son. With his few remaining followers the defeated chief was shut up at Mount Hope, the English holding the isthmus, which afforded the only escape by land. One of his tribe at this time, to avenge the murder of a brother by Philip, offered to lead the colonial troops to the sachem's hiding-place. Under the guidance of this Indian, Church marched a party of soldiers by night to the vicinity of Philip's camp, and concealed them in the bushes at such points as the Indians would be likely to pass. When morning disclosed the presence of this force,



DEATH OF KING PHILIP.

the panic-stricken natives rushed in disorder from their camp to escape through the surrounding line, and many of them fell under the heavy fire of the English. Near one of the paths, Church had posted one of his soldiers and a friendly Indian. As the surprised Indians sought safety in flight, Philip, half dressed, came running at full speed along this path. Both men levelled their pieces at him. The Englishman's gun missed fire, but the Indian's took effect. Philip fell dead with a bullet through his heart. His hands were cut off and sent to Boston, and his head, exposed on a pole, cheered a public thanksgiving in Plymouth.

With Philip's death the war was well-nigh ended. Of the remnants of his tribe who had escaped, some were pursued and killed, captured, or driven to seek refuge with the Mohawks, while others voluntarily surrendered. Peace was once more established in Massachusetts and Plymouth, though the eastern tribes, prompted by Philip's bad example, still waged a cruel war in Maine. During the war ten or twelve towns in these two colonies had been wholly destroyed, and forty others had been more or less damaged by fire. Five or six hundred men, besides many women and children, had been massacred, or fallen in battle, or carried into captivity from which few escaped. Every town was filled with mourners; and though Philip had failed in his purpose, he had inflicted a terrible blow upon the colonists. He had called into action the bloodthirstiness, the treachery, the cruelty, all the evil passions of the savages, and let them loose upon the defenceless homes of the settlers. Thus inflamed to madness, the barbarians had shot unsuspecting men, applied the torch to dwellings, torn wives from their husbands and children from their mothers, and doomed them to the most cruel tortures of body and mind. They had dashed out the brains of babes, and with slow fires had burned their wounded captives. They had carried away into a captivity from which they never returned, children whose hard and unknown fate was to their parents worse than death. Every evil that the cruelty and vindictiveness of savages could invent was practised in their warfare. Bereavement, loss of homes, ruin, wounds, were the dire results of such warfare to a large number of the whites. But upon his own race Philip had brought a retribution not less terrible.

XLIX.

MASSACRES AND CAPTIVITIES.



ING PHILIP'S war brought to the New England colonists their first experiences in Indian warfare and cruelty. For a long time afterwards, with intervals of quiet, the frontier settlements were subject to occasional outrages from the savages; and hostilities with the French exposed them to more dangerous and fearful attacks from the Indian allies of the enemy. While these events generally do not come within the proposed limits of this work, a few incidents in the history of one of the frontier towns will illustrate the dangers to which their inhabitants were exposed, and the cruelty they suffered.

Haverhill, or Pentucket, as the locality was called by the Indians, was for a long time a frontier settlement. To the north and west there were no towns between it and the wilderness occupied by native tribes, or traversed at will by the bands of Canadian savages. It was first settled about 1640, and towards the close of the century it was a somewhat thriving settlement, containing a considerable number of houses scattered over a wide tract, on which were some good farms. During King Philip's war the town escaped any general attack, though several of its people were killed, and others were carried into captivity by some of the treacherous "praying Indians" who dwelt near by. For more than ten years afterwards the inhabitants were disturbed by nothing worse than theft and injury to property by the Indians. About 1688, however, the natives again indulged in hostilities, and small parties

hovered around Haverhill, threatening the destruction of the more exposed houses and the massacre of their inmates. For the protection of the people, six of the stronger houses were garrisoned, and four others were designated as places of refuge in case of danger. But though in constant fear of an attack, the people of Haverhill were more fortunate than some of the towns in New Hampshire and Maine.

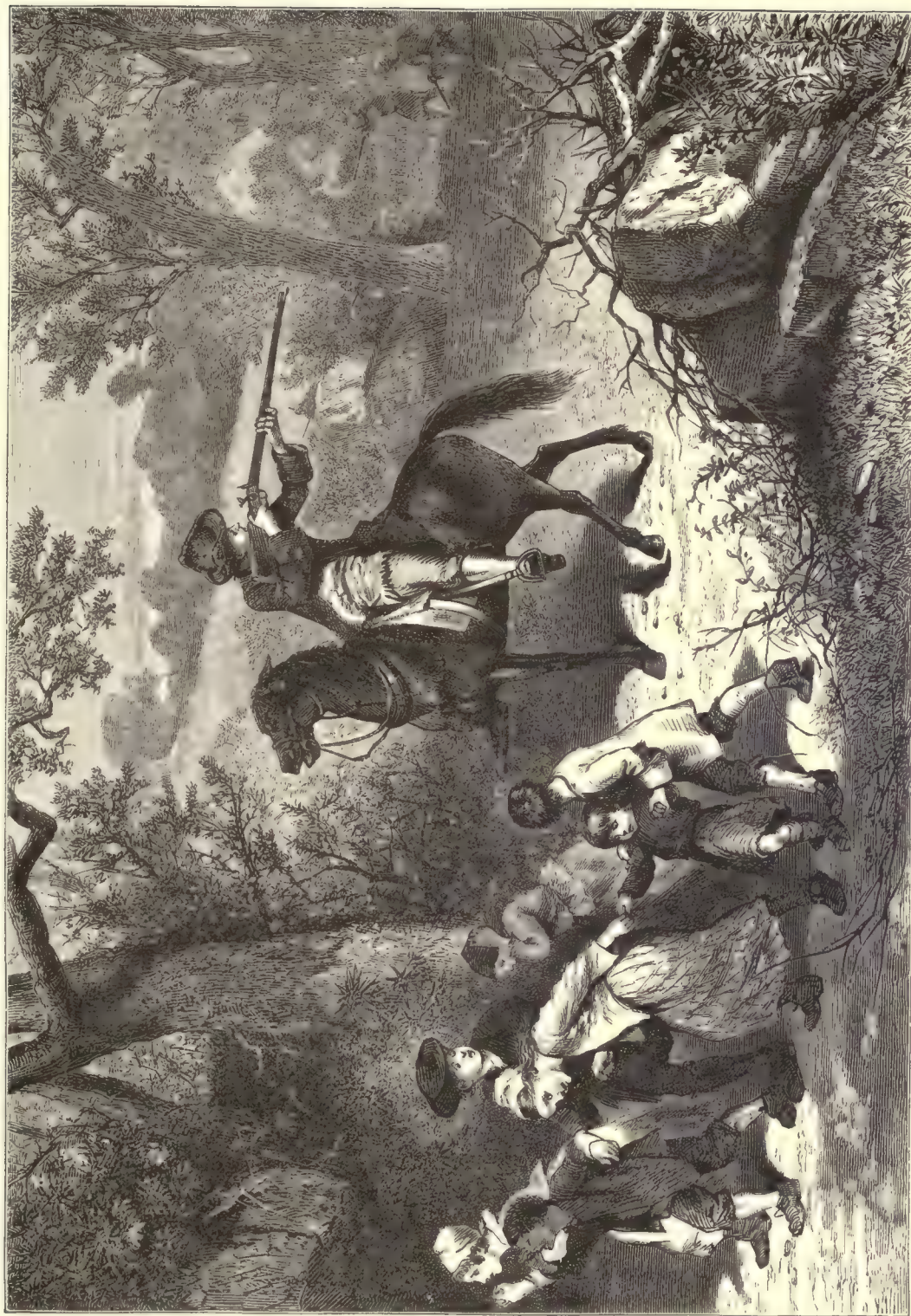
Between 1690 and 1697, during the war between England and France known as King William's war, and during Queen Anne's war which soon followed, many of the frontier towns towards the north were attacked by roving bands of Indians, allies of the French, and Haverhill at last did not escape. This war was waged with characteristic cruelty by the Indians. Infants were dispatched with hasty cruelty, but older children, who were able to travel without becoming an incumbrance, were carried away to be adopted into the tribe and grow up as savages. Some, however, were carried to Canada, where they were ransomed by the French, and placed under the influence of priests or nuns,—a fate which was as deeply deplored by their Puritan friends as captivity among the Indians. Men and women who were fortunate enough to be ransomed by the French generally succeeded in returning to their homes.

In 1694, several towns in New Hampshire were attacked by a formidable force of Indians, among them the settlement of Oyster River, or Durham, where ninety persons were killed or carried away as prisoners. The people of Haverhill expected an attack, and made preparations for defence, but they experienced no more serious alarm than that created by a sentinel in one of the garrisons, who, during his watch, seeing a dark object near the house supposed it was an Indian. He promptly discharged his musket at it, and the rest of the garrison, being aroused, fired a volley at the suspicious object. But no more Indians appeared, and this one must certainly be dead, though he apparently maintained a pretty upright position for a man pierced by bullets. In the morning it was found that what was taken for a prowling Indian was an innocent black petticoat which had been hung out to dry the previous afternoon.

It was not till 1697 that a serious attack was made on the town. Early in March of that year a band of Indians appeared suddenly at

Haverhill and attacked some of the more exposed houses, killing and taking prisoners about forty of the inmates, and burning the buildings. The incidents attending the movements of one of the parties of assailants are especially memorable, and are familiar to the readers of New England history. As this party advanced from one scene of their cruel exploits, they were seen by Mr. Dustan, who was at work in his field. They were moving towards his house, and while they were yet at some distance he hastened thither with the hope of saving his family by hurrying them to a garrisoned house. His family consisted of his wife, who was in bed with an infant only a week old, her nurse, and seven other children. He bade the children fly with all the speed they were capable of in the direction opposite to that from which the Indians were approaching, while he remained to assist his wife. Already the yells of the savages were heard coming nearer and nearer, and before Mrs. Dustan could be dressed they were almost at the door. Alone, the anxious husband could not defend his house, and it was too late to save his wife. But his little children, who were flying for their lives, might yet be protected; and seizing his gun he hurried from the house, mounted his horse, and followed them. The yells of the assailants told him that they saw him and were coming in pursuit. Despairing of saving his little flock, whom he saw not far away on the road to a place of refuge, he resolved to take the one with whom he was most unwilling to part, and hasten on, leaving the rest to their fate.

The youngest was but five years old, and the others, notwithstanding their fright, unwilling to desert their pet, had adapted their speed to the steps of the panting little one, so that they had made scanty progress. When the anxious father came up with them, he found he loved them all too well to choose only one for safety,—that each was too dear for him to leave any to become victims to the merciless savages, while he himself escaped. He determined, therefore, to defend them all, or perish with them. His pursuers had already commenced firing at him. Encouraging the terrified children to keep on at their utmost speed, he returned the fire, and reloading his gun as he retreated, he kept up his fire with such effect that he held the cowardly enemy in check. Alternately firing and retreating, as fast as the weary limbs of the little ones could carry them, he kept the pursuers at bay, and notwithstanding the



MR. DUSTAN PROTECTING HIS CHILDREN.

repeated discharge of their guns, both he and the children fortunately escaped all injury. At last, after a flight of more than a mile, the fugitives reached a fortified house where they happily found safety; and the Indians, never anxious to attack unless they greatly outnumbered their opponents, withdrew to plunder and burn the houses they had already taken.

While one party of the Indians had thus pursued Mr. Dustan and his children, another entered the house, where they found Mrs. Dustan partially dressed, and the nurse preparing to fly with the infant. With fierce threats they compelled the terrified women to quit the house without further preparation, and hurried them away to join a number of other prisoners. The hostile band had now accomplished all they could without resistance, and, Indian fashion, they withdrew as suddenly as they had come. With their captives they began their march into the wilderness. Mrs. Dustan was a woman of strong will, and notwithstanding her feeble condition, her terror, and her anxiety for her children, she bore up with remarkable energy. The terrible position in which she found herself seemed to give her strength rather than weaken her. Partially clad, with one of her feet bare, she travelled on through alternate snow and mud, in the chilly wind of March, enduring hardships under which captives of more robust health and apparent vigor often succumbed.

She was soon compelled to endure a greater cruelty than travelling barefooted through the slush and mud, under the taunts of her insolent captors. The nurse carried the infant, but they had not proceeded far before an Indian, who was annoyed by its cries, seized it, and before its mother's eyes dashed its head against a tree. The terror and anguish of the mother at this sight may be imagined, but her very terror gave her strength to continue the march. And it was well that it did, for the Indians, impatient at delays, summarily tomahawked those who lagged behind. Notwithstanding her feeble condition and the fatiguing march through snow and mud, Mrs. Dustan bore up with remarkable vigor, sleeping on the cold ground with no protection but a few pine boughs, and having little food to sustain her. Her nurse fortunately showed a similar endurance. Fear gave them strength, for they knew that a show of weakness or exhaustion would insure a speedy death.

After travelling several days over rocky hills and through miry swamps, the party reached the wigwam of the Indian who claimed them as his captives. Here in the crowded cabin they remained some time, during which the prisoners recovered from their fatigue. In the month of April the Indians, twelve in number, two athletic men, three women, and seven children of various ages, set out for a more distant settlement of their tribe, carrying their captives with them. The unfortunate women were informed by the Indians, with evident satisfaction, that upon their arrival at this settlement they would be obliged to run the gantlet, naked, between two files of Indians, the entire population of the town forming on either side, and scourging them as they ran. This cruel treatment of captives was customary with some of the native tribes, and often ended in the death of the unfortunate victims. The dread of this ordeal determined the women to attempt to escape before it was too late. But how to do so was a difficult question to decide. Should they steal away and seek safety in flight, the more fleet-footed Indians would soon overtake them and bring them back to suffer tortures all the more cruel. If they sought to conceal themselves, the cunning savages would be sure to track them to their hiding-place. There was no safety so long as there were any savages to pursue; and Mrs. Dustan, in her extreme horror at her impending fate, was nerved with a desperate resolution.

Besides the two women, the Indians had another captive, a boy, who had been their prisoner for a longer time, and had with the facility of youth become familiar with their habits, and somewhat reconciled to his condition. Mrs. Dustan desired this boy to ask his master where was the proper place to strike a person on the head to insure death, and how to take off a scalp. The Indian, who was probably pleased with the boy's apparent desire to become proficient in savage arts, willingly imparted the desired information. It was secretly communicated to Mrs. Dustan, who resolved to profit by it at once.

The savages evidently had no fears, now that they were in the depths of the wilderness, that their captives would attempt to escape, and at night they all slept without leaving any one of their number to watch. Around the fire over which they had cooked their evening meal they stretched themselves to rest. The captives also lay down according to

their custom, but not to sleep. Mrs. Dustan had imparted to them her desperate purpose, and they lay quietly, but anxiously listening for the heavy breathing which should tell that the savages were in a deep sleep, made more heavy by draughts of "fire-water" in which they had indulged. The moment for action had come, and Mrs. Dustan cautiously roused her companions. Taking a hatchet which lay beside the sleeping Indians, she stepped softly among them, and by the faint light of the flickering brands, dealt a fatal blow upon one and then another, so quietly and surely that they made no struggle. The nurse and the boy followed her example, and the three had dispatched nearly all when a groan from one of the victims aroused two of the sleepers, one of whom was a woman, and the other a small boy whom they proposed to spare. The woman was wounded, and both fled in terror into the woods.

Mrs. Dustan in her desperation had imbibed the spirit of a savage, and in order to prove her terrible work, with the aid of her companions she proceeded to take the scalps from her fallen foes. There were ten of them, and with these bloody trophies they started, taking a gun and ammunition belonging to one of the dead Indians, and such small supply of food as they could hastily snatch from the pouches of their victims. With all speed they travelled towards the Merrimac, and thence down its banks till they found a canoe. Fear, lest the woman who escaped should alarm some of the natives and cause pursuit, added to the speed of their flight. They were so fortunate, however, as to escape pursuit, and not to fall in with any wandering party of Indians. They embarked in the canoe, and floating down the river at last reached Haverhill, much to the astonishment of their friends and neighbors, who had supposed them killed. Mrs. Dustan had also feared that her husband and children had been butchered by the Indians, and the joy with which they met again may be imagined. The bloody scalps were exhibited as a proof of the remarkable exploit, which was noised through all the colonies, and brought to Mrs. Dustan many congratulations. The General Court, in acknowledgment of her bravery and the hardships she had endured, gave her twenty-five pounds, and divided between her companions a like sum. In later years a monument in commemoration of her heroism has been erected at Haverhill.

Some years after the exploit of Mrs. Dustan, in 1708, Haverhill was again attacked by a band of French and Indians. They appeared suddenly at dawn of day in the village, and separated into several parties the more quickly to dispatch their bloody work. They had been seen by one of the inhabitants who was abroad early, and he had fired his gun to alarm his neighbors. Though they had feared such an attack, and some of the houses were "garrisoned" by three or four soldiers each, all seem to have slept as if there were no danger, and the savages were at their work before they were aroused. Having killed one woman as she fled to one of the garrisoned houses, the foremost party next made an attack on the house of the Rev. Mr. Rolfe, the minister of the town. Mr. Rolfe and his family were aroused from their slumbers by the yells of the savages. Springing from his bed, he placed himself against the outer door, upon which the assailants were already beating, at the same time calling upon three soldiers, placed in the house to defend it, to come to his assistance. But these cowards were paralyzed with fear, and instead of making any attempt to defend the house, threw up their arms in despair. The Indians, who might have been driven off by these poltroons had they shown any courage, fired two shots through the door, one of which wounded Mr. Rolfe in the elbow. Unable longer, in consequence of pain and exhaustion, to hold the door against the assailants, he fled through the house and out the rear door, pursued by the Indians, who overtook him at the well and killed him. Others of the savages entering the house, soon discovered Mrs. Rolfe with an infant child, and while one buried his hatchet in the head of the mother, another dashed the infant's head against a stone.

The other children of Mr. Rolfe were preserved by the prompt action of a negro servant, who at the first alarm carried them to the cellar, where she covered each with a large tub and then concealed herself. The enemy did not overlook the cellar, but plundered it of everything valuable, and repeatedly passed the tubs under which the children were concealed, and took meat from a barrel behind which the black girl was hiding, but fortunately none were discovered in the dim light of the place. Another girl, who was an inmate of the house, also escaped by hiding in a chest. The cowardly soldiers, however,

seem not to have had sufficient energy to attempt to save themselves, and they were soon dispatched by the Indians.

Meanwhile the other parties of savages were at work. Mr. Benjamin Hartshorne, seeing one of them approaching his house, started out, followed by his three sons, to call assistance, but every one of them was killed. His wife, with three or four other children, was left defenceless in the house, but with great presence of mind took her children, except an infant, whose cries she feared might reveal their hiding-place, and descended through a trap-door into the cellar, carefully closing it after her. There they remained undisturbed while the Indians plundered the house above. The infant was left on a bed in the garret, and when the savages discovered it, they tossed it out the window. But, fortunately, under the window there was a pile of clapboards, on which the child so fell that it was not seriously injured, and lived to become a stalwart man.

Other houses were attacked by similar parties of the savages, and some of their inmates killed. One mother, flying from the house where her husband had been shot, with her infant in her arms, was overtaken by a fierce Indian and dispatched by a blow from his hatchet. With a mother's instinct she fell in a way to protect her child from injury. The savage unaccountably passed on without dashing out the child's brains, as was their custom, and after the massacre it was found alive on the bosom of its dead mother.

A Mrs. Wainwright successfully resorted to artifice to save her family. The house was garrisoned by several soldiers, who, in the chambers, were preparing to defend it; but Mrs. Wainwright boldly unbarred the door and let the Indians in. She spoke to them kindly, and offered to furnish them with whatever they desired. The ferocity of the Indians was overcome by their amazement at this conduct, and they attempted no violence. They had learned the value of money, and they demanded that she should make good her offer by furnishing it. She promised to bring it, and being permitted to retire for that purpose, she took advantage of the opportunity and fled from the house with all her children except one daughter, who unfortunately was left behind, and was carried away to a captivity from which she never returned. When they found how they had been outwitted, the Indians were

greatly enraged, and attacked the chambers with violence; but the soldiers succeeded in driving them away and extinguishing the fire which they had kindled for the destruction of the house.

Another woman, a Mrs. Swan, exhibited a sterner courage. As the Indians approached, Swan and his wife placed themselves against the narrow door to prevent their entrance, hoping to keep them at bay till assistance arrived, and thus save the lives of their children. Finding the door was not easily opened, two of the Indians braced themselves against it and pushed with all their strength, which proved too great for the besieged. The door yielded a little, and one of the savages was crowding himself in, when Mrs. Swan, knowing if they gained an entrance that she, and her husband, and little ones would speedily be butchered, seized a long spit, such as was used in those days, and with all her strength drove it through the body of the foremost Indian. This unexpected resistance staggered the assailants. The wounded savage, howling with pain, hastily retreated, and the others followed, afraid to encounter so formidable a weapon.

Meanwhile the people of the town were alarmed, and a force of armed men soon gathered. The Indians were always averse to a pitched battle, especially with anything like an equal force to oppose them, and the French who were with them do not appear to have taken an active part in the attack. As soon as organized resistance appeared, the enemy beat a hasty retreat, taking with them a number of prisoners. The Haverhill men pursued, and had a skirmish in which they killed several of the Indians and retook some of the captives, but the greater part of the enemy were soon beyond pursuit.

Such was the fearful warfare waged by the northern tribes, instigated by the French, upon the frontier settlements of New England during King William's war. Deerfield, Lancaster, and other exposed towns were attacked, and suffered in a similar manner. At Deerfield and Lancaster the French were as numerous as their Indian allies, and encouraged the latter in their savage and cruel practices. The settlements in Maine and New Hampshire fared even worse. The events above narrated illustrate the dangers to which all these frontier settlers were exposed, and the endurance and heroism displayed even by the women who were inured to the hardships of the early days.

The sufferings of those who were so unfortunate as to be taken captive by the Indians have already appeared in the foregoing narrative and in the story of Mrs. Rowlandson. The men who were taken were treated with the greatest cruelty, and were in many cases tortured to death or summarily dispatched by their enraged captors. Women fared a little better, but were often subjected to the severest trials of physical and mental endurance. Children, who were less feared, and who were less likely to attempt to escape, were generally spared the worst inflictions of savage malignity, and were sometimes treated with such kindness as the barbarous life of the natives could bestow. But even this was little better than cruelty to those who were torn from the comforts of a civilized home and the love and tender care of parents and friends. With the facility of youth to adapt itself to circumstances, captive children sometimes became inured to Indian life, forgetting the habits and affections of earlier years, and becoming little better than savages. During the French and Indian war many were carried to Canada, where they were sold to the French, and were subsequently ransomed and restored to their families. A few escaped, but the difficulties which attended any attempt to fly were too great for the shrewdness and skill of children alone to overcome, and the severe punishment which would follow failure might well deter stouter hearts. The story is told, however, of two boys who were carried off from Haverhill, who outwitted their cunning masters and found their way back through the trackless wilderness to their homes.

While at work in the fields, or gathering nuts in the woods, these boys, Isaac Bradley and Joseph Whittaker, were surprised by a roving band of Indians, who, without committing any further violence by which their presence might have been known, carried them rapidly away. Isaac was fifteen years old, rather small for one of his age, but strong and active, and very intelligent. Joseph was several years younger, and the very reverse of his companion, being an overgrown boy, clumsy in his movements, and lacking energy both of body and mind. The Indians travelled northward with their captives till they reached Lake Winnipiseogee, where the boys were taken into the cabin of one of their captors. Here they fared as well as the Indians themselves, and were not ill used, according to the standard of savage life, Isaac being nursed through a raging fever by his master's squaw.

Isaac soon acquired a knowledge of the Indian language; and one day in winter, while he lay convalescent on a mat before the fire, he overheard the Indians talking of going to Canada in the spring and taking their captives with them. He knew little of geography, and less of the chances of escape through the good will or avarice of the French who might buy them; but he knew that Canada was still farther from his home and parents, and distance seemed to render their captivity more hopeless. He resolved that he would attempt to escape, even at the peril of his life, and from that time forward he revolved in his mind various plans by which he could accomplish his purpose.

The snows were fast disappearing even in the shady ravines, and the blue waters of the lake appeared in the broader expanses between its many islands; and Isaac felt that he had no time to lose, for the Indians would soon be moving on their long journey. He had matured his plan, and fixed upon a night for putting it in execution; and it was not till the day before the appointed night that he told his fellow-captive of his purpose. Joseph begged that he might go with him, and not be left alone in that terrible captivity. But he was a heavy sleeper, and not easily aroused, and Isaac was fearful that he would not awake without disturbing their Indian master or his squaw, and thus defeat the plan. To leave him, however, if the plan was successful, would be cruel, and he agreed to let him share the chances of escape.

At night the whole family lay down to sleep. Joseph was soon snoring lustily, as usual; but Isaac's thoughts were full of his scheme, with its difficulties and its dangers, and he lay anxiously waiting for the moment when he could attempt its execution. At last the heavy and regular breathing of the Indians assured him that they were wrapped in profound slumber. Rising cautiously, he secured his master's flint and tinder for striking a light, and a small quantity of moose meat, the position of which he had carefully noted the evening before, and, carrying them out of the cabin, concealed them in some bushes. He then returned to awake Joseph, who was still sleeping soundly, and cautiously shook him. But the tired boy had in his sleep forgotten the scheme which had so engrossed his companion's thoughts, and he said, petulantly and aloud, "What do you want?" Alarmed lest the Indians

should be waked, Isaac lay down again and pretended to sleep till he felt sure that they were unconscious of the noise. He could not relinquish the purpose on which his thoughts had so long dwelt, and to attempt to wake Joseph was to endanger its success, and might insure a fearful punishment. It was perhaps the last and only chance he would have, and he resolved to attempt to escape alone. He stepped carefully out of the wigwam and proceeded with caution to the place where he had hidden his small store of provisions. The waning moon was just risen above the hills, and afforded light sufficient for him to find his way without difficulty, and he determined to travel with all speed. While pausing to take up his provisions he heard footsteps, and trembled with fear as he supposed his design had been thus early discovered. He was equally surprised and relieved, however, to see Joseph approaching alone. The latter had been moved by some mysterious influence to awake, and finding his companion gone, he arose and hastened after him.

Listening a moment to learn if any one else had been disturbed, the two then started on their perilous journey. They knew only that they must travel southward through the pathless forest, and in that direction they hastened on with speed prompted by an intense desire to escape, and fear of the consequences should they be overtaken. They thus hurried on till daylight, when, weary, and afraid of being seen if they continued their journey, they concealed themselves in a hollow log. Morning was not far advanced when they heard the distant barking of dogs, which gradually came nearer. It was evident that their flight had been discovered and the Indians were in pursuit. The dogs came nearer, and at last made a stand at the log and barked furiously. Well might the fugitives be terrified at the threatened discovery; but Isaac had sufficient presence of mind to speak to the dogs, which recognized his voice and ceased barking. He then threw to them the moose-meat to distract their attention from the hiding-place, and they were busy with the dainty food when several Indians came along and passed close by the log without pausing to notice the dogs, or examining, with their usual care, for the trail of the fugitives. The dogs soon trotted after their master, and the terror of the boys subsided.

Lying in the log through the day, with only a little corn bread to

appease their hunger, they again started on their journey at night. In the darkness, before the moon rose, they travelled with much difficulty, the thick bushes tearing their flesh, and the jagged rocks or soft morasses delaying their weary limbs. At daylight they again found a hiding-place, and through the day they rested, and slept in spite of their anxiety. Night called them again to pursue their journey, and hope and fear alike urged them on. They now believed that pursuit had been abandoned, though there was still danger of meeting some roving band of natives, who would surely carry them back to captivity, and perhaps to death. But they were so anxious to hurry on that they travelled day and night, pausing to rest only when their weary and mangled limbs refused to carry them. Their moose-meat had been sacrificed to quiet the dogs, and their bread had been soon exhausted; but they killed a pigeon, and captured a turtle, both of which they were compelled to devour raw. These, with roots and buds, were all the sustenance they had; and the pangs of hunger were added to the pains of lacerated and swollen limbs, and they grew weaker day by day. But thoughts of home, and the hope of again seeing their parents, and brothers, and sisters, sustained them, and they persevered in making short stages till the eighth day of their flight. Then the younger boy could travel no farther. Weary with the long and laborious journey, and weak from the want of food, his limbs refused to carry him, and he no longer had the will to proceed. Isaac, whose native energy still sustained his weakened body, endeavored to encourage him. He dug roots for him to eat, and brought water for him to drink, but the poor boy was too feeble in mind and body to be aroused to any further effort. He lay down in apathetic despair; and Isaac,—unable to help him, and feeling that he, too, must succumb if he did not soon find help,—with a sorrowful heart left his companion, hoping against hope that some relief might yet reach him before it was too late.

They had for several days been following a stream which Isaac knew must eventually lead to the sea-coast, where he might hope to reach some settlement. Alone he now proceeded along its banks, sorrowing for his helpless companion, and with a will much stronger than his weary limbs. He had not travelled far before he saw, at some distance, a newly-raised frame of a building. Rejoiced at this discov-

ery, which told him that he was not far from some settlement, he retraced his steps to the spot where he had left his feeble mate. He found Joseph still lying as he had left him, utterly despairing of help, and too weak even to lament his unhappy fate. He told what he had seen, and aroused Joseph's hope; and after rubbing his limbs for a long time, he succeeded in getting the poor boy upon his feet. Assisting him to walk, and sometimes carrying him upon his back, he encouraged him with hopes of speedy relief. Thus, with slow and laborious steps, they proceeded till night again overtook them; but they saw a light in the distance, and were encouraged to exert all their remaining strength. At last they reached a settlement, and utterly exhausted, emaciated, with bleeding limbs, they were kindly taken care of at Saco Fort. Eight days and nights they had travelled through the trackless wilderness, with scarce any food save one pigeon, a small turtle, and a few roots. What a relief it was, after their long captivity and weary journey, to find themselves once more among people of their own race, escaped from their captors, and safe from pursuit! They were kindly cared for, and Isaac soon recovered his strength sufficiently to find his way from settlement to settlement till he reached his home in Haverhill, where he was welcomed as one restored from the dead. Joseph, younger and more exhausted, was seized with a violent fever immediately upon his arrival at the fort, and for a long time his recovery was doubtful. Before he was able to travel, his father, hearing from Isaac the joyful news of his escape, arrived at the fort to carry him back to the tender embraces of his mother.

ROYAL TYRANNY IN NEW ENGLAND, AND THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.



OW the Virginia colonists were animated with the spirit of civil liberty, which led them to resist the oppression of Sir William Berkeley, has been related in a previous chapter. All the colonists from England brought with them a high sense of their rights as Englishmen. The people of New England were especially strenuous in their assertion and maintenance of their rights and privileges. From the first, they asserted their independence of the mother country in many respects, though in others they acknowledged allegiance to the home government. The Massachusetts colony had, under its charter, managed its own affairs, and its example had been followed by those colonies which were its offshoots. During the existence of the English commonwealth, the sympathy between the colonists and the dominant party of the mother country had secured them from the application of the Navigation Acts of Parliament to their commerce, and not until the restoration of the Stuarts did they experience any serious interference with the rights and privileges which they had claimed and enjoyed. If they were sometimes called to answer complaints against their conduct, they had never yielded any precious right, or abandoned any valuable privilege.

When the commonwealth crumbled, and the monarchy was restored under Charles II., the people of New England were in no haste to

acknowledge the king, from whom, they were justly fearful they could expect no special favor. They hoped for a counter revolution, which should restore the Puritan commonwealth; but when it was certain that the monarchy was firmly established, they acknowledged allegiance, as formerly, to the king, and took measures to secure from him a recognition of the rights they had hitherto enjoyed.

While seeking such a recognition from the king, the people of Massachusetts were none the less determined jealously to maintain those rights, and to yield nothing of the privileges granted by their charter. They soon had an opportunity to show how firm was their resolution. The Puritan colony, which was an epitome of the commonwealth, could not be allowed to exist undisturbed. Royal commissioners were sent to regulate the affairs of New England. They came with a fleet fitted out to reduce the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, and establish the claim of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., to that territory; and after arranging that business, they were to inquire into the manner in which the charters of New England had been exercised, and were invested with discretionary powers "to provide for the peace of the country."

The commissioners were received with coldness by the people of Massachusetts, who were not disposed to trust to the discretion of royal agents. They were determined not to allow any entering-wedge to be driven into their political fabric, which should open the way for tyranny, and they took a stand on their chartered rights before the commissioners attempted to exercise the authority with which they were invested. To show their loyalty to the king, the general court voted to raise men for the expedition against the Dutch settlements. The authority of the commissioners to interfere in the affairs of the colony was scrupulously denied. Without accomplishing more in Massachusetts than to test the constant determination of the colonists to maintain their chartered rights, the commissioners proceeded with the fleet to the Hudson, where their proceedings will be mentioned in a subsequent chapter.

While affairs in New York were in process of settlement, the commissioners visited Connecticut, where they seem to have adopted the policy of dividing the colonies in sentiment; and in order to play off

Connecticut against Massachusetts, they adopted a conciliatory course. In the settlement of the boundary between that colony and New York, and in other matters, they deferred to the wishes of Connecticut, and thus secured the good-will of the people. The younger Winthrop, by his ability, accomplishments, and influence at court, had recently succeeded in obtaining from Charles II. a liberal charter, under which the colonies of Hartford and New Haven were united. Though the union was not at first regarded with favor by New Haven, the favorable terms of the charter had the natural effect of making the people generally loyal to the monarch who had thus manifested his one merit of good-nature towards them or their admirable agent. No dislike of the commission was manifested by the magistrates or people, and in their report to the king, the commissioners praised the "dutifulness" of Connecticut, in contrast with the disaffection of Massachusetts.

In Rhode Island, the commissioners met with a like favorable reception. Through the favor of the king, and the devoted efforts of Clarke, that colony had also recently received a charter of remarkable liberality. The people, always loyal, and dependent on the mother country, had no fears that so recent a grant would be disturbed; and they doubtless hoped to derive some advantage from the commission, which might put them in a position of equality with the other colonies. The commissioners, therefore, found nothing of which to complain, and much to commend.

Meanwhile they were engaged in a controversy with Massachusetts, whose government would not submit to their interference in its affairs. Plymouth, weak in numbers and wealth, but strong in the love of independence, was no more disposed to submit than her more powerful neighbor. The commissioners promised a much desired charter, if the people would recognize the royal prerogative, and allow the king to select their governor. The general assembly took the proposition into respectful consideration, but remembering the independence and quiet they had hitherto enjoyed, they replied, with strong protestations of loyalty to the king, that they preferred to continue under the simple form of government which they then had. The calm and deferential, though firm manner in which their proposals were met, afforded the commissioners no opportunity for a quarrel, however much they may have been nettled at their failure.

But in Massachusetts they found a different temper. The first settlers had brought with them a charter which they regarded as the palladium of their liberties. Under it they had governed themselves, and maintained an independence of the mother country, prospering as no other colony had prospered. Government and people were jealous of any interference which might in any degree invalidate their charter, and the commissioners had a sorry time in asserting their authority. Nothing substantial was yielded by the colonists, and their firmness led to a series of bitter disputes. At last, the commissioners—tired of their unavailing efforts to coax the obstinate Puritans, and of argument in which they were continually worsted—resolved to assert the authority with which the royal commission invested them.

They publicly announced their intention to hold a court to decide some of the questions over which they claimed to have jurisdiction. A case was made up, and the colony was cited to appear as defendant. This was an assumption of their prerogative which the general court could not tolerate, and they forbade the proceedings, and disregarded the summons. The commissioners, in turn, paid no heed to the general court, and persisted in their course. The general court had long been supreme in Massachusetts, and they proposed to remain so. They therefore prepared to measure strength with the meddlers.

The day appointed for the trial arrived, and the commissioners, with due ceremony, prepared to hold their court and proceed with the cause. But they found their match in the stubborn colonists. The people were all astir, indignant at the attempt to override their charter, and anxious to learn what was to be the result of the controversy. While they awaited the hour appointed by the commissioners for the trial, a herald appeared and sounded a trumpet. The crowd gathered in all haste about him as he made a public proclamation, in the name of the king and by authority of the charter, to all the people of the colony, that, "in observance of their duty to God, to the king, and to their constituents, the general court could not suffer any to abet his majesty's honorable commissioners in their proceedings." A murmur of approval ran through the crowd; and the herald proceeded to two other places where, with a like flourish of the trumpet, he repeated the solemn proclamation. This measure had the desired effect; the

proclamation of the general court was not to be disregarded; neither defendant nor witnesses, nor even spectators, attended the court of the commissioners, who found themselves only the objects of ridicule.

Disgusted with their want of success, and with the obstinacy of Massachusetts, which they could overcome neither by fear nor favor, the commissioners abandoned the contest, and proceeded to New Hampshire, where the influence of Massachusetts followed them; and to Maine, where they found more favor, but still experienced the opposition of the elder colony. Then followed a long controversy, which was transferred to England, whither some of the leading men of Massachusetts were summoned to negotiate concerning the claims of the colony to Maine, and to answer for the contumacy of the general court. At last, the corrupt and sensual court of Charles II. was too much engrossed with its pleasures to care much for the far-off Puritan colony, whose high notions of its chartered rights profligate courtiers could not understand. New England affairs were neglected for the more pleasing intrigues of a licentious court, and New England prospered by the neglect.

Then followed King Philip's war, which was fought through without any aid from the mother country. The war, indeed, served only to attract the attention of the English ministry once more to the refractory Puritan colony. While the people of Massachusetts were yet suffering from its effects, and the savages were still practising their cruelties in Maine, Edward Randolph was sent as a royal messenger to reopen the dispute as to jurisdiction. Massachusetts was becoming too powerful, and her influence must be circumscribed; and her right to jurisdiction over New Hampshire and Maine was denied by the privy council. But, as yet, the precious charter was not called in question. Massachusetts then by purchase secured possession of the grant which had been made to Gorges, under which the contest had begun, and a controversy arose whether proprietary rights carried with them the right of jurisdiction. New Hampshire was more thoroughly severed from Massachusetts, and made a royal province.

Massachusetts, with a determined spirit, maintained her rights before the privy council, and, though with constant fear and anxiety for the issue, generally with success. But her enemies were reinforced

by the merchants and manufacturers of England, who regarded her growing prosperity with jealousy, and sought to secure a monopoly of colonial trade. They complained of the long total disregard of the Navigation Acts on the part of the colony; and their influence, even in that day, was such, that it was not long before the question was raised, whether the charter under which the colonists had so long shielded themselves had a legal existence. The monarchy could not well deny the validity of a charter granted under the royal hand of James I.; but in order to accomplish the purpose of the friends of prerogative and the enemies of Massachusetts, it was suggested that it might be abrogated for cause.

For several years the matter remained unsettled, and the general court adopted some measures to show their recognition of the crown, such as putting up the king's arms in the court-house; but they yielded nothing of their rights under the charter. The people were aware how their liberties were threatened, and they anxiously discussed the policy to be pursued. The clergy, who had always taken the lead in political affairs, were outspoken in their opinion that it was a religious duty to maintain the charter, and they consolidated public sentiment against any surrender of the liberties secured by it. The general court truly represented the people, and were firm in their resolution not to yield anything voluntarily.

Meanwhile, the power of the king, through the schemes of hungry courtiers, the blind submission of the church of England, and the apathy of the English people, had become more and more despotic, and the friends of popular liberty had perished on the scaffold. The time was at last ripe to proceed against the recusant colony, and summon it before a tribunal subservient to the king. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued, and the obnoxious Randolph was sent with it to Massachusetts. The lurking good-nature of the king prompted him to send with the writ a declaration promising the royal favor, and the fewest alterations of the charter consistent with the maintenance of a royal government, if the colony would quietly submit.

The magistrates, feeling that further resistance before a tribunal bound to do the king's will would be fruitless, were disposed to trust to this promise, and submit. They resolved "not to contend with his

majesty in a court of law," but to send agents to remind him of his promises and receive his commands. The vote, as usual, was submitted to the deputies for their approval, and was by them discussed for many days. They faithfully represented the people, and, after their long deliberation, they voted not to consent to the proposition. If they were to be deprived of their liberties, it should be by no voluntary act of theirs. The king was asked to forbear; but all such appeals were now in vain, and the prosecution proceeded to its predetermined conclusion; the charter was adjudged to be forfeited, and Massachusetts was at the mercy of the king and a corrupt court.

Before a new order of things was actually commenced in the colony, Charles II. died; and James II., a worse ruler, and a more narrow-minded man, succeeded him on the throne. Knowing the new king to be a papist, cold-hearted, and an enemy of popular liberty, indulging in a baser sensuality than that of his brother, and without his natural generosity, the people looked for the government which was to be vouchsafed to them, with gloomy forebodings. It was not altogether pleasant when, after nearly a year's delay, Joseph Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, but faithless to the charter, and an avowed royalist, came to assume, for a time, the government of the colony. They had feared that a more dangerous man might be sent; and though to this extent it was a relief, it was also a source of regret and indignation that a son of Massachusetts should come to represent the triumph of royal prerogative over their chartered liberties. With Dudley came the old enemy of the colony, Randolph, with authority to exercise a censorship over the press, and a disposition to practise other devices of petty tyranny.

The old government was formally set aside, and the new order of things proclaimed. While a few sycophants were ready to support the royal commission, the people generally looked on with sorrow and disquiet. The authority of Dudley was only temporary; and after a few months, Sir Edmund Andros came, duly commissioned as royal governor of New England; and then the people realized more fully that they lived no longer under their precious charter, but in a royal province.

Andros had been the representative of James II. while he was yet the Duke of York, when the Dutch settlements on the Hudson were

surrendered a second time to the English, and the grant of a vast territory, from Maine along the frontier of Massachusetts and Connecticut to the Delaware, was confirmed to him by a royal charter. This grant to the Duke of York covered the territory as far as the Connecticut River, and Andros, not long after assuming the government of New York, as the province was named by the English, had tested the spirit of New England when he proceeded with some armed vessels to assert his jurisdiction as far as that river. As soon as this expedition was known in Connecticut, the aged deputy-governor, Leete, convened the assembly, who, representing the will of the people, prepared to resist any invasion of their territory or rights. Orders were sent to the commander of the fort at Saybrook, not to surrender to, or recognize the claimant. The orders arrived just as Andros demanded the surrender of the fort. The garrison was composed of the Connecticut militia, who knew little about war, but were imbued with the spirit of independence, and the only answer to the summons was the raising of the English flag over the fort, and a shout of defiance. Andros did not desire to resort to a conflict, or feared the result, and endeavored to accomplish his purposes by a peaceful conference. He asked permission to land, for the purpose of an amicable interview, and being allowed to do so with a small retinue, he immediately, on reaching the fort, assumed authority, and ordered the duke's patent to be proclaimed. The Connecticut yeomen were not thus to be overreached, and in the king's name the herald was ordered to desist, and the proclamation of the colonial assembly was read. This determined spirit, which was enforced by the resolute looks of the colonial troops, was more than the duke's representative had anticipated. He found himself in a precarious situation, and he was glad to retire, apparently escorted, and in fact driven to his boat.

This attempt had given Andros an idea of the Puritan spirit of New England, and, together with his subsequent acts of oppression by command of his master, had made him known to the people of Massachusetts as an instrument of tyranny. His arrival at Boston was, therefore, more unwelcome than that of Dudley, and an augury of evil days to come. He came with the pomp and display which he considered belonged to his office, in the showy dress of the court,—scarlet, and

gold, and lace,—which contrasted strongly with the more sober garb of the former governors and magistrates. Among the crowd who witnessed the landing of the governor and his retinue, there were, of course, some who, averse to the spirit of Puritanism, welcomed the change, and manifested their satisfaction by cheers; but the mass of the people looked on coldly and sullenly. Andros saw, at the outset, that he had come to govern “a perverse people.”

The royal governor was authorized to appoint the members of his council, and he took care to appoint a majority who would be merely subservient courtiers. This council made the laws; and the people, who had always enjoyed the privilege of choosing their own rulers, soon felt that they were simply the subjects of a despotism. Episcopacy was to be sustained, and free printing-presses were not to be tolerated. The governor was further authorized to maintain his government, which was but the will of a tyrant, by force. A body of English soldiers was placed in the fort, and the militia was under the governor's control, though he could expect little aid from them.

With such authority, responsible only to the king, whose notion of government was simply the exercise of his prerogative, it is not strange that the most tyrannical measures followed. Acts of real oppression and of petty tyranny were indulged in at the pleasure of Andros and his subordinates, who had come to gain wealth by the plunder of the colonists. Personal liberty was set at nought, and long-established rights and privileges were derided. Taxes and fees were multiplied at the will of the officers. Town meetings were prohibited as acts of sedition and riot. The religious services of the Puritans were subjected to various annoyances, and the Episcopal service was performed by force. The title to lands was ignored, notwithstanding the king had declared that their properties should be granted to the people “according to their ancient records.” Andros and Randolph insisted that new grants must be taken, for which exorbitant fees were exacted in order to bring in “vast profits” to the hungry spoilsmen. If a landholder pleaded his grant under the charter, he was told that it was made void by the forfeiture of that instrument. If he showed an Indian deed, he was informed that it was “worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw.” If the record of town grants was produced, it was

declared "not worth a rush." There was no way to escape the rapacious tyrants; the poor farmer must pay the fee which impoverished him, or be ejected from the lands he had subdued and long enjoyed. And the proceeds of these exactions were appropriated to the support of the tyrannical government and the emoluments of officers.

These measures of oppression were accompanied by acts of petty tyranny scarcely less annoying and painful to the people. They were constantly reminded of their subjection, and told that they had no rights. No encouragement was given to schools, and the methods of supporting religious worship were abolished. The services of the meeting-house were ridiculed, and the Puritans were asked to contribute towards the erection of a church for the Episcopal service, which they esteemed as little better than papacy. Soon after his arrival, Andros demanded the use of one of the meeting-houses for the performance of the church service. The Puritan elders declared that they could not consent to such a use of their meeting-house, and the worthy sexton said he would not ring the bell. The refusal defeated the first demand; but the tyrant whose power was absolute found a way to accomplish his purpose. By threats he succeeded in having the meeting-house opened, and the bell rung. Then, with his retinue, he proceeded thither, and an Episcopal clergyman, in gown and surplice, read from the Book of Common Prayer in the Puritan meeting-house.

The people of Massachusetts did not meekly endure these acts of petty tyranny, nor willingly submit to the exactions of the arbitrary government. In some of the towns they refused to pay the taxes levied upon them. The ministers, as always before, were foremost in proclaiming the right of resistance to tyrants. Prosecutions and imprisonment followed; packed juries rendered verdicts as the subservient magistrates directed. The writ of *habeas corpus* was denied, and when as Englishmen the prisoners appealed to the protection of Magna Charta, a provincial Jeffries replied, "Think not the laws of England follow you to the ends of the earth." The time had not come for forcible resistance, but the spirit of liberty animated the people. But they first sought, though with little hope, for some relief by an appeal to the king; and Increase Mather was sent to England on this errand, in spite of the law prohibiting any one to leave the country without permission.

Randolph, who entertained a personal hatred towards Mather, as well as a dislike for all Puritan clergymen, and was the willing instrument for all petty tyranny, attempted to prevent his departure; but, by means of disguise, the minister succeeded in evading pursuit, and got on board a vessel about to sail for England.

The people of Rhode Island and Connecticut still lived under the liberal charters granted by Charles II.; but Andros had been appointed by James II. governor of all New England, and soon after his arrival in Boston he demanded the surrender of the charter of Rhode Island. Governor Clarke, by whose labors the charter had been obtained, desired a delay; but Andros was determined to assert his authority. A writ of *quo warranto* had already been issued against the charter, and, in view of the fate of Massachusetts, the government resolved not to contend. Proceeding to Rhode Island, Andros dissolved the government, broke its seal, and appointed five citizens members of his council, who, responsible only to him, should administer the affairs of the colony.

In the autumn of 1687, Andros, with some of his council and an armed guard, went to Connecticut to assume control of that portion of his province. Against the charter obtained by the younger Winthrop, a writ of *quo warranto* had also been issued. More determined than the people of Rhode Island, the colony asserted its chartered rights, and appealed to the king. The result of the proceedings was yet unknown when Andros arrived in Hartford. The colonial assembly was in session, and the royal governor, with his retinue, marched into the hall and arrogantly demanded the surrender of the charter. The people of Connecticut were much like those of Massachusetts, and their representatives were not disposed to yield to the demand without discussion. Governor Treat pleaded with great zeal and able argument for the charter granted by the late king, and was supported by the magistrates and deputies. Andros was a keen lawyer, and argued in reply. The debate continued till evening, and candles were brought in. The citizens, stirred by the report of the proceedings, crowded into the hall to hear the debate. The cherished charter lay on the table before the governor, and Andros probably only waited for some crisis in the proceedings to seize the precious instrument and tear it into fragments.

But that opportunity did not occur. There were those present who were bold enough, by a hastily formed but well-executed plot, to prevent the outrage. Suddenly the not over-numerous candles were extinguished, and, in the darkness, William Wadsworth quietly seized the parchment and passed out through the crowd. When the candles were relighted, the subject of discussion had disappeared, and could not be found. While Andros looked on in anger, and others in wonder, and some of the royal governor's followers were disposed to cry treason, Wadsworth hurried to an ancient oak, in the hollow of which he concealed the precious charter. There it remained till a new revolution brought it once more to light; and the noble tree, always afterward known as the "Charter Oak," was cherished with the greatest reverence till time's ravages at last destroyed it.

The disappearance of the written charter, however, was of little consequence to Andros. Its authority was denied, and the government established upon it was subverted. To the records of the assembly he added the word *Finis*, and, appointing a new council, formally established an arbitrary government founded on the royal prerogative.

The spirit of liberty, which, from the first, had burned in the hearts of the people of New England, was not crushed by the oppression of the agents of royalty. They were ready to resist, as nearly a century later they resisted. They only bided their time, and waited patiently till peaceful efforts to regain their rights should be exhausted. The time for action, and their relief, came sooner than they anticipated.

While the minions of a tyrannical king were oppressing the colonies in his name, and for their own emolument, the bigoted and despotic monarch himself was preparing the way for a revolution in England. At last, the long-threatening storm burst: William, Prince of Orange, invited by Tories and Whigs, Church of England and Presbyterians, landed in England to assume the government; and James II., deserted by priests, friends, and children, fled to the Continent.

Early in the spring of 1689, a vessel arrived at Boston, bringing a messenger to announce the glorious news of the great revolution in the mother country. The intelligence spread rapidly as soon as it was told to those who first communicated with the ship; but when it reached the ears of the governor, the messenger was forthwith impris-

oned. It was too late, however, to suppress the exciting news. In a few hours it was known throughout the town, and was quickly borne even to the remote settlements. Knots of citizens discussed it and its consequences, greatly to the alarm of the agents of the dethroned tyrant; and ministers stirred the whole people with discourses adapted to the times, declaring that the day of deliverance was at hand.

For two weeks the excitement, though repressed, continued, and the spirit of revolt ripened. Alarmed at the "general buzzing among the people," Andros sent orders to the commander of the fort to have his soldiers ready for action, and similar orders to the commander of a frigate lying in the harbor. But one morning, two days after the orders were given, this naval officer, as he stepped on shore, probably with contempt for the "buzzing" of the citizens, suddenly found himself a prisoner in the hands of a party of stalwart ship-carpenters. This was a signal for the people to gather, and they were soon collected in formidable numbers. The royalist sheriff hastened to quiet and disperse the multitude, and he too was held as a prisoner. The crowd then demanded of the commander of the militia the colors and arms of the regiment. Holding his office by appointment of Andros, he refused the demand; but it was enforced by threats, and companies were soon formed under their old officers. Meanwhile several royal officers were arrested, and the governor, with his adherents, hastened to the fort for safety. There he desired to hold a conference with the ministers and other leading citizens, but they were too wary to trust themselves in the power of the tyrant, and the conference was declined. The revolt was now in full progress, the several companies of militia assembled at the town-house, and boys paraded the streets with clubs.

The proceedings of the people, though revolutionary, were not riotous. They assembled in the town-house—after the manner of former town meetings which had been suppressed by the royal governor—to consider their duties and the requirements of the hour. The venerable colonial governor, Bradstreet, a relic of the earliest days of the colony, and a representative of the spirit of civil liberty which animated the Puritan pioneers, was present, and was hailed with shouts of welcome, as the very opposite of the arrogant and tyrannical Andros. The men



ANDROS A PRISONER IN BOSTON.

who had long been honored as magistrates were there, and the ministers, who, as the royalists declared, were responsible for this "long-contrived piece of wickedness," were not wanting with encouragement and advice. A provisional government was organized by making the old magistrates, who had gone out with the overthrow of the charter, a council of safety, with Bradstreet as their president; and a solemn declaration of the purposes of the insurrection was adopted and sent out to all the other towns of the colony, inviting their co-operation. Already the stirring news had spread to many of those towns, and on the other side of the Charles River a thousand armed yeomen assembled to take part in any conflict which might ensue.

Meanwhile the "train-band" soldiers of Boston proceeded to consummate the revolution by an actual overthrow of the hated government inflicted by the deposed king. The fort which was then the defence of Boston was on a hill in the south-easterly part of the peninsula, known as Fort Hill as long as it existed, and was a work of some strength for the times. At the foot of the hill, near the water, was a battery, called the "sconce," a small work mounted with several guns. A body of the militia moved along the shore towards this battery, and, at their approach, the few soldiers who held it retired hastily to the fort on the hill. The battery was seized, and the guns turned towards the fort. The garrison was small, and as the forces of the insurgents were evidently becoming too formidable, Andros thought that the place of safety for him was on board the frigate which lay in the harbor with ports open and guns out. He attempted to escape, with his followers, but the whole party was captured, and marched through the streets as prisoners. The arrogance and contempt with which he and his creatures had treated the people of Boston, were now repaid with jeers, as, in his scarlet coat but with manacled hands, he was paraded in disgrace on his way to prison.

The revolution was soon accomplished. Numbers of armed men came in from the country. Andros was compelled to deliver up the keys of the castle. The blustering lieutenant, who commanded the frigate after the capture of the captain, found it expedient to surrender. The fort was occupied by the militia. The proclamation of William and Mary had not yet been received; but the people assumed

their old privileges, and most of the towns voted to resume the old charter. Representatives were chosen, and once more the general court assembled.

Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut soon received the news of the proceedings in Boston, and each in turn speedily subverted the government established by Andros, and re-established the one which he had overturned. The mysteriously rescued charter of Connecticut was brought from its hiding-place, and the closed records of the general assembly were again opened. The people of Rhode Island, with one mind, voted "to lay hold of our former gracious privileges in our charter contained." The sons of the Pilgrims at Plymouth put the agent of Andros in jail, and quietly resumed their former government under the compact framed in the cabin of the Mayflower. Thus did the people of New England assert their rights, and foster the spirit of liberty and independence which they bequeathed to their children. Three quarters of a century later, that spirit, in all the colonies, was displayed with increasing energy, and contended against far greater odds, till ultimately, in a long and exhausting war, it achieved independence and established a nation;—the same spirit that aroused the citizens of Boston, and called thither the armed yeomen of Massachusetts to aid in the overthrow of tyranny,—that afterwards mustered the "embattled farmers" at Concord bridge, and defended Bunker Hill.

LI.

WITCHCRAFT.



WHEN Europeans first settled in America, the belief in witchcraft was universal among civilized nations. It had come down from the dark ages, and thousands of victims had been condemned as witches, tortured, and burned at the stake. Coming to a vast, unbroken wilderness, into which the light of true religion had never penetrated, and inhabited by heathen who were believed to be worshippers and agents of devils, the superstition which the colonists shared in common with all people of that age was by no means diminished. The mysterious forest seemed the fitting abode of evil spirits, who were more powerful here than elsewhere, because of the incantations of the Indians, and the absence of the counteracting influence of the worship of God. Romanist and Protestant alike believed that here they had to contend with the spirit of darkness, who ruled his worshippers, the natives, if he did not openly wage war upon Christians. The more strict they were in the observance of religious services, the stronger was this belief; and among the Protestants, the Puritans of New England were the most ready to put faith in the superstition. Happily, among the settlers there were few of that class of evil-disposed and idle persons, railers at sacred things and experts in necromancy, who might be charged with dealings with Satan, and who, in Europe, furnished the great number of victims who suffered for witchcraft; else it is quite probable that such madness as was displayed at a later day would have been manifest from the first.

But the Puritans were not alone in their belief in witchcraft, or readiness to punish witches. Even under the mild and liberal government of Penn, two Swedish women were indicted for witchcraft, under instructions from the governor himself; and they escaped by reason of some defect in the indictment, rather than from any unwillingness to punish the offence. It is said that Penn, on one occasion, in the early days of Philadelphia, when a woman was charged with being a witch and riding a broomstick through the air, declared there was no law against that method of locomotion, and she might so ride as often as she pleased; but if this be true, he had probably modified his opinions if he prompted the indictment of the Swedish women.

The first case of punishment for witchcraft in New England that is recorded took place in 1648. Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, who, like many another old woman, administered "herbs and simples" to the ailing, and, as is usual with that class of persons, mingled a good many superstitious notions with her prescriptions, came to be much feared by some of her neighbors. She had probably acquired some knowledge of the virtues of roots and herbs from the Indians, and it was supposed that she had also learned some of their sorcery, especially as she had some disagreeable qualities, and was "a railer and liar if not a witch." She took no pains to disavow the supernatural powers ascribed to her, but on the contrary encouraged the belief in them, as it made her more of a terror to her neighbors. The natural result of such a reputation was, that she was accused of being a witch, and practising the "malignant touch." She was tried, found guilty, and condemned to death. She was executed in Boston, in June, and "the same day and hour there was a great tempest;" a thunder-shower, common at that period of the year, was supposed by the superstitious to be the raging of the spirit of darkness at the punishment of his agent, or a manifestation of his delight at securing her soul.

In 1651, Mary Parsons, of Springfield, murdered her infant, and otherwise conducted herself so insanely that she was thought to be a witch,—the only way of accounting for her singular pranks, according to the notions of some of her neighbors. She was indicted for the murder of her child, and also for "having familiarity with the devil as a witch." At the trial, the evidence was not sufficient to convict her

on the latter indictment, and she was acquitted; but she confessed the murder, and was condemned to death.

The next year, Hugh Parsons, the husband of Mary, was also charged with making a covenant with the devil, and by his wicked practices inflicting injury on some of his neighbors. What the real trouble was with the Parsons family does not appear; but they had in some way become obnoxious to some of the good people of Springfield, and their resentful dispositions probably suggested witchcraft. Parsons was indicted and tried, and the jury found him guilty. It was necessary, however, that the verdict should be approved by the magistrates, and they withheld their approval. The case, therefore, came before the general court, and that body decided that the charge of witchcraft was not sustained. Parsons escaped; but had the public mind been wrought up to the madness shown at a later day, there would have been little chance for him. Hutchinson intimates that a woman in Dorchester and another in Cambridge were condemned and executed as witches about the same time that Mary and Hugh Parsons were tried; but the colonial records do not mention any such victims.

A more notable case occurred in Boston in 1656. Mrs. Ann Hibbins was the widow of a prominent citizen, and the sister of Deputy-Governor Bellingham, and therefore occupied a prominent position. She probably had a shrewish temper, and after her husband's death she managed to quarrel with her neighbors. When a waspish woman unfortunately gets into such unpleasant relations with those about her, she is very apt to go from bad to worse, and Mrs. Hibbins's sharp tongue undoubtedly did not spare her enemies. Gossip and slander had painted her worse than she was, and she retorted in no measured terms; but she had to contend alone against a united body of gossips and persecutors. At first, she was subjected to the censure of the church; but that had no effect, unless it was to loose her tongue against things held sacred by the Puritans; and that made her still more odious. She was sharp-eyed and keen-witted; and once, when she saw two of her persecutors conversing in the street, she railed at them for talking about her, and charged them with saying certain things which, under the circumstances, any woman might have guessed. But this was proof that she had supernatural powers of reading the

thoughts of others, or hearing their whispers when far removed from her, and she could possess such powers only by dealing with Satan. She was accordingly accused of witchcraft, and was tried by the general court. The strongest evidence against her was, that she had rightly guessed what two gossips were saying about her; but this, with the reports current concerning her violent language and actions, was enough, and she was convicted, and sentenced to be executed. There were those who defended her against the charge of witchcraft, but their efforts in her behalf were fruitless, and they only succeeded in bringing themselves into trouble. Joshua Scottow, a citizen of respectability, and a selectman, who testified in her favor, and perhaps used some language reflecting upon her accusers, was punished for taking her part, and was obliged to write a humble apology therefor. Efforts were made to save the unfortunate woman from the gallows, but they were unavailing, and she was executed; but in the last hours of her life she manifested less of the supposed characteristics of a witch than some of those who had persecuted her. When it was too late, there was a change in public opinion, and the accusers of Mrs. Hibbins found themselves regarded with resentment, and shunned for bearing false witness against her.

Prosecutions for witchcraft were not confined to Massachusetts; several cases occurred in Connecticut, where the accused were tried and condemned in much the same manner. In 1662, a number of women were accused of being witches, and, when brought to trial, one of them made the most preposterous confessions of her dealings with the devil, which were accepted as true, in spite of their absurdity. They were found guilty, and condemned to death, and were probably all executed.

In 1679, the phenomena known in later times as "spiritual manifestations," occurred at the house of one William Morse, in Ipswich, where there were mysterious rappings and violent movements of furniture and utensils, which not only disturbed the comfort of the family, but brought them into disrepute with their neighbors, who were greatly alarmed at what they conceived were the doings of Satan. Caleb Powell, a seafaring friend of Morse, who visited the house, and was not prevented by an excess of piety from inquiring into the phenomena, was convinced

that a youth, who was an inmate of the family, was the cause of all the trouble. He agreed, if permitted to take this youth to sea with him, that the house should be rid of the disturbances. After some parleying, it was agreed that he should take the boy to sea; and with this agreement the mysterious commotion ceased. Powell, however, had the propensity of many sailors, and told some extravagant stories of his experiences; and having little fear of the devil, talked with considerable freedom about the Prince of Darkness, and his power to exorcise evil spirits. This, with the fact that the deviltry ceased when he prevailed upon Morse to let him take away the boy, was enough to satisfy some of the neighbors that he had dealings with the devil; and he was accused of witchcraft. He was brought before the magistrates of the county and tried. The evidence was not sufficient to convict him, but the court found "such grounds of suspicion of his dealing" with Satan that he was obliged to pay the costs of his prosecution.

Though Powell was acquitted, the belief that somebody practised witchcraft was still entertained by the neighbors; and as old women were supposed to be the most ready to become the tools of Satan, old Mrs. Morse, the grandmother of the troublesome boy, was accused. Her case was carried before the Court of Assistants at Boston, and although the evidence against her was exceedingly frivolous, she was convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. She was, however, reprieved till the next session of the court; and afterwards, from time to time, till the deputies, reflecting the popular feeling, expressed their disapprobation. The magistrates, however, did not yield to the outcry, and the poor old woman remained in jail, with the sentence hanging over her, till she petitioned to have her case disposed of one way or the other, and her suspense ended. There was not much in her conduct while so confined to sustain the verdict of the jury, and after a long confinement she was finally released.

For some years after this, witchcraft seems to have subsided. Those who had an ambition to pretend to supernatural powers were by no means numerous, and jealous gossips found few of their neighbors whose conduct was open to suspicion of diabolical practices. But in 1692, the belief in witchcraft, which had from the first had a strong hold upon the minds of most of the people of New England, reached a climax

in the delusion which prevailed at Salem. It is not intended to dwell upon the sickening details of that unhappy period, the results of mingled delusion and chicanery, of malice and religious zeal, of false testimony and mockery of justice, of hysteria, epilepsy, and conspiracy, and cruel acting. Few of those then living were among the pioneers in the settlement of that region, but they inherited the belief from the earliest colonists; and it is only proposed to show, briefly, to what madness this credulity could be carried under the religious system of the Puritans, and the social condition of the colonists. But while the delusion in that little village was remarkable for its excess, it should be remembered that it was by no means peculiar to its people, or the product of Puritanism; for while "witches" had hitherto been rare in New England, the gallows and the stake had, with little intermission, found scores if not hundreds of victims in Europe condemned for this crime, as it was then universally considered among the Christian nations. As in many other delusions, its excess here wrought its cure, and New England saw the folly, and abandoned the practice of punishing an imaginary spiritual offence long before its penalties were discarded in Europe.

The delusion which was carried to such excess at Salem was preceded by, and perhaps had its origin in certain strange proceedings in a respectable family in Boston in 1688. The children of Mr. John Goodwin began to behave in an unaccountable manner, going through various contortions of their bodies, uttering strange cries, apparently suffering severe tortures, and otherwise showing symptoms of some malady which the physician could only account for on the ground that they were bewitched. They barked like dogs, mewed like cats, and are soberly reported to have flown like geese, "their toes barely touching the ground." One of them was exceedingly expert in the various performances, especially in riding an imaginary horse about the house, which was done with such skill that the astonished spectators believed she was really mounted on an invisible animal. The strange conduct of these children excited general interest and alarm, the belief that it was caused by the agency of evil spirits being almost universal.

The Rev. Cotton Mather, who witnessed their proceedings, and who felt that by virtue of his office as minister it was his duty to fight the

devil in this attack upon some of his flock, took the most expert performer into his family, that he might exorcise the evil spirit that troubled her. He had rather a sorry time of it, for the girl played all manner of pranks upon him; sometimes to his astonishment, and often to his great annoyance. She would read in the Prayer Book, but could not be persuaded to read in the Bible, and this was supposed to be proof positive that she was under the influence of Satan. When he spoke to a visitor in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, successively, she guessed his meaning, but when he spoke in the Indian tongue, she professed not to understand; and this was supposed to indicate that the devil who controlled her had not yet mastered the language of the aborigines. She was artful enough to humor the doctor's belief and notions respecting the things which were distasteful to the evil spirit, and she flattered him by intimating that the devil could not come into his study. She did not, however, content herself with this style of acting, but sometimes acted with great violence, disturbing the reverend gentleman while writing his sermon by throwing great books at his head, and otherwise annoying him. Dr. Mather probably considered even these demonstrations as rather complimentary than otherwise, since they indicated Satan's impotent hostility towards him.

While this girl was acting at Dr. Mather's, the other children were performing at home, though probably with less effect, since the most accomplished actor and teacher was absent. Boston and Charlestown ministers held a fast at Mr. Goodwin's house, and thereby it was supposed that the youngest child was relieved from its sufferings. But according to the doctrine of demonology, the sufferers must be afflicted through some human agent of the evil spirits, and suspicion was fixed upon a weak and infirm old woman, who was a Roman Catholic, as the witch by whom they were tormented. This woman had incurred the displeasure of Mrs. Goodwin, and she had retorted with violent and threatening language. She was a poor outcast, weak in mind, and a Papist; altogether, she was just the person to be accused as a witch, and it was assumed that she was the agent of the devil in afflicting the children. She was arrested and tried for witchcraft, and her answers to questions which she did not understand were taken to be admissions that she was in league with Satan. She was found guilty,

condemned and executed, and the bewitched children were in due time relieved.

The story of the Goodwin children was told by Cotton Mather in a pamphlet which was read with wonder and awe in most of the families of Massachusetts. The performances of the boy in the family of Mr. Morse, already mentioned, were also recounted, while tales of witches in England were the most thrilling romances—and the only ones—of the day. That all these tricks and tortures were the doings of Satan, neither Mather nor his readers doubted, and an uneasy feeling pervaded the community, which was easily stirred by a recurrence of similar events.

Whether prompted by a growing disquietude respecting the supernatural, by Cotton Mather's account of the performances of the Goodwin children, or by the wild suggestions of an Indian woman, a number of girls in Salem village, an outlying district of Salem town, were in the habit of meeting at the house of Rev. Mr. Parris, the minister of the village, to practise fortune-telling and necromancy, or tricks which had the appearance of the supernatural. They were of various ages, from eleven to twenty years,—one of them a daughter of Mr. Parris, others the daughters of substantial residents, or servants in their families. With them was joined an Indian woman, named Tituba, who had been brought as a slave from New Spain in the family of Mr. Parris. This woman, who was full of the superstition of her race, probably gave direction to the proceedings of the girls which resulted in the sad scenes which followed.

At first they confined themselves to tricks in which they became quite expert, and exhibited them to the astonishment of their friends. They next indulged in strange antics which were so much like the wild proceedings of Indian sorcerers and their dupes, that their origin might well be ascribed to the teachings of Tituba. They would apparently be seized with spasms and fits, drop insensible on the floor, and writhe in fearful tortures. With some these sufferings were, perhaps, the effects of imagination; but with others they were undoubtedly mere pretences. As they attracted notice, they very naturally increased in frequency and violence, and created great alarm among their friends. The village physician was called, and having neither sufficient acumen to see through

the acting, nor sufficient skill to prescribe a remedy for such apparent suffering, he gravely decided that the children were bewitched: a conclusion to which the medical men of that day not infrequently came in cases which they could not comprehend. "The malignant touch" of some one who had become the agent of the devil was declared to be the cause of these tortures. The prevailing belief in witchcraft accepted this decision of the doctor as reasonable and only too correct; and the whole community, with a few exceptions, became greatly alarmed. People flocked to see the children in their tortures and convulsions, and the tortures and convulsions increased with the increasing interest in them. They were not confined to private dwellings and week-days, but came at last to be exhibited on Sunday, in the meeting-house, greatly to the disturbance of the exercises. Ministers were then called to consider the matter; and the ministers agreed with the doctor, that it was the work of Satan, grown more bold than ever.

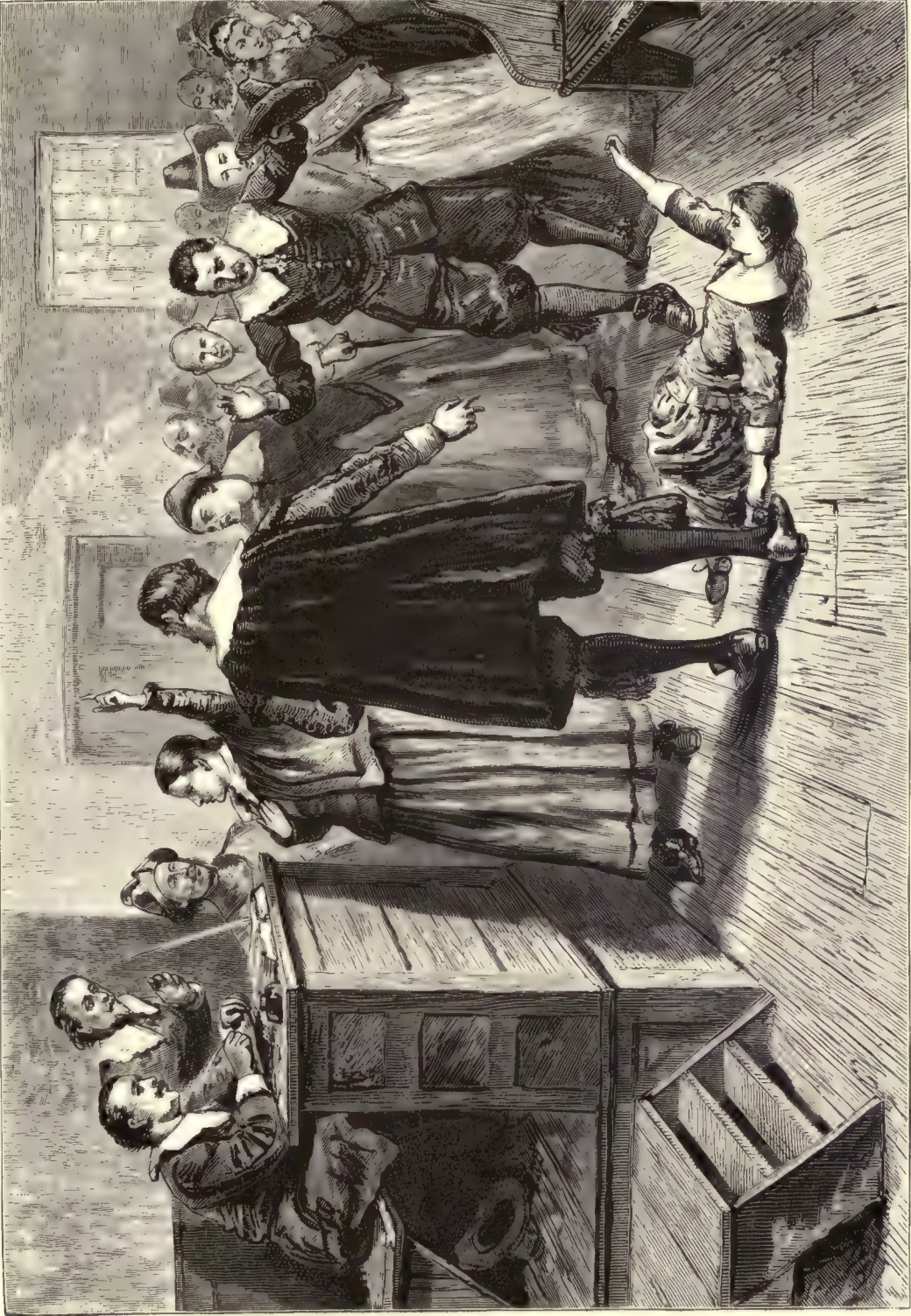
Doubtless, while the alarmed spectators beheld the "afflicted children," as they were called, taking for granted that they were suffering from an "evil hand," it was asked in whispers who was the wicked instrument through whom the devil wrought this mischief. "Who is the witch?" was a fearful whisper heard by the children. It was one which very soon they were called upon to answer; and then the artfulness and acting of some of these girls were called more seriously into play. Did they confer together to select the persons to be accused? They had ample opportunity to do so; and when, at last, they were urged to say who it was that bewitched them, they unitedly pronounced the names of three women, two of whom — Sarah Good and Sarah Osborn — were persons of whom the community were ready to believe anything bad; and the other was Tituba, the Indian woman, who was named with deliberate cunning, in order better to carry out the imposture.

Meanwhile, the excitement in the community had reached such a height that, under the lead of the Rev. Mr. Parris, in whose house had been commenced the folly and tricks which led to the wicked accusations, there was a general demand for the prosecution of the accused. Two of the magistrates residing in the vicinity, Hathorne and Corwin, were called upon to issue warrants for the arrest of the supposed

witches, and to examine them. The magistrates shared in the general belief in the "bewitched" condition of the "afflicted children," and entered upon the examination with minds convinced in advance of the guilt of the accused. The children went through their contortions, and cried out that the accused were torturing them; and the magistrates, assuming that it was all true, sought by leading questions to obtain some admission from the unfortunate women that should condemn them. They persisted in their innocence, except Tituba, who confessed that she had dealings with the devil, and by her confession and artful answers confirmed the belief in the guilt of the others. After a mockery of judicial examination they were committed for trial.

The "reign of terror" was thus commenced; and having once begun their accusations, the "afflicted children" soon named others as their tormentors, while the prosecutors increased in zeal and in numbers. Persons of good social position and of excellent and pious life were accused, especially such as were not carried away by the delusion. They were examined in the same prejudiced manner, the children becoming more and more expert in their manifestations of torture, and more artful in their methods of accusation. The excitement spread through the colony, and people came from far and near to witness the examinations and the pretended torments of the "afflicted children." The latter, too, were reinforced by the accession of several married women to their number. A special court was convened for the examination of the increasing number of the accused, and the ministers united in urging on the prosecutions, that the schemes of Satan might be defeated. Sermons were preached to arouse magistrates and people to proceed with the greatest rigor against all the instruments of the devil, and the whole religious and social life of the community was engrossed with the delusion. The few who were not carried away by it were accused, or in great danger of being accused as witches.

This sad state of affairs was brought about by the acting of most, with perhaps the effects of imagination on others of the "afflicted children." "These girls," says Upham, "by long practice in 'the circle,' and day by day, before astonished and wondering neighbors gathered to witness their distresses, and especially on the more public occasions of the examinations, had acquired consummate boldness and tact. In



WITCHCRAFT AT SALEM VILLAGE.

simulation of passions, sufferings, and physical affections; in sleight of hand, and in the management of voice, and feature, and attitude,—no necromancers have surpassed them. There has seldom been better acting in a theatre than they displayed in the presence of the astonished and horror-stricken rulers, magistrates, ministers, judges, jurors, spectators, and prisoners. No one seems to have dreamed that their actings and sufferings could have been the result of cunning or imposture. . . . The prisoners, although conscious of their own innocence, were utterly confounded by the acting of the girls. The austere principles of that generation forbade, with the utmost severity, all theatrical shows and performances. But at Salem village and the old town, in the respective meeting-houses, and at Deacon Nathaniel Ingersoll's, some of the best playing ever got up in this country was practised; and patronized, for weeks and months, at the very centre and heart of Puritanism, by 'the most straitest sect' of that solemn order of men. Pastors, deacons, church-members, doctors of divinity, college professors, officers of state, crowded, day after day, to behold feats which have never been surpassed on the boards of any theatre; which rivalled the most memorable achievements of pantomimists, thaumaturgists, and stage-players; and made considerable approaches towards the best performances of ancient sorcerers and magicians, or modern jugglers and mesmerizers."

What relation the conduct and acting of the "afflicted children" bear to the phenomena of modern "spiritualism" may be an interesting question to those who believe that such performances were involuntary; but the exposed tricks of recent times may well lead one to believe that deception was not an unknown art in 1692. Malice and revenge for real or fancied affronts were too evidently the motives of some of these false accusers,—the real evil spirits that caused so much excitement and anguish, acting not through the unfortunate victims, but through these pretenders. If some were carried away by imagination and a thoughtless zeal to perform their part well, the elder girls, who gave direction to the tragedy, were the cool, calculating actors who were moved by malice and cunning.

When the jails were filled with the accused, and the unfortunate victims were brought to trial, the court and juries shared in the gen-

eral excitement, and under the influence of the ministers manifested a readiness to do their part, "that Satan's kingdom might be suppressed, weakened, brought down, and at last totally destroyed." Convictions were easy on the absurd testimony which was presented, and when a jury once acquitted one of the accused, the court refused to receive the verdict, and sent them back to find the friendless victim guilty. Not to dwell upon the sad story, many convictions had taken place, and condemnation to death promptly pronounced against the convicts; a score of unfortunates were led, amid the jeers of the spectators, up to the "Witches' Hill" in Salem, and died upon the gallows; but still the jails were full of the accused, and the charges continued,—persons of more and more note in social position, and even young and guileless children, being selected as the culprits. Thoughtful men began to ask when these mad proceedings would end. One fearful punishment appalled all but the craziest and most violent of the prosecutors. Giles Corey, whose wife had been one of the earliest accused, and whose testimony had unintentionally sustained the charge, was at a later day himself charged with witchcraft. That his property might not be taken from his heirs by attainder if he were convicted and hanged, he refused to plead. Several times he was arraigned, but he firmly adhered to his resolution neither to plead "guilty" nor "not guilty." The court was at a loss how to proceed; but at last resorted to an old law of England, and condemned the stern old man to be pressed to death by heavy weights. The terrible sentence was carried into effect. The gradually increased pressure could not change the sufferer's purpose, and he only bade the executioners "pile on more weights" to end the torture.*

A few who had already been condemned were executed after this terrible death had been inflicted on Giles Corey. But enough lives had been sacrificed, and a fierce reaction began in the public mind. Even Cotton Mather and other ministers, who had urged on the prosecutions, began to doubt the wisdom of their work. The judges who had condemned the victims repented of their zeal, and some, through

* The case of Giles Corey and his wife, Martha, is the subject of one of Mr. Longfellow's "New England Tragedies," in which the spirit of the proceedings and the character of the parties are portrayed with close adherence to the tragic reality.

the remainder of their lives, bore a heavy burden on their consciences. Those who had busied themselves as accusers were looked upon with aversion. The jails were opened, and the survivors of the accused were permitted to return to their homes. One hundred and fifty were thus discharged, besides a number of children who had been detained in private houses. In all, several hundred had been accused. The delusion, produced by the foolish pranks, followed by the wicked devices of some young girls who were carried away by their imaginations or their malice, had resulted in the death of a score of innocent persons, and had brought mourning, estrangement, remorse, to the community; but it brought to light a better reason, and ended the persecution of alleged witches.

LII.

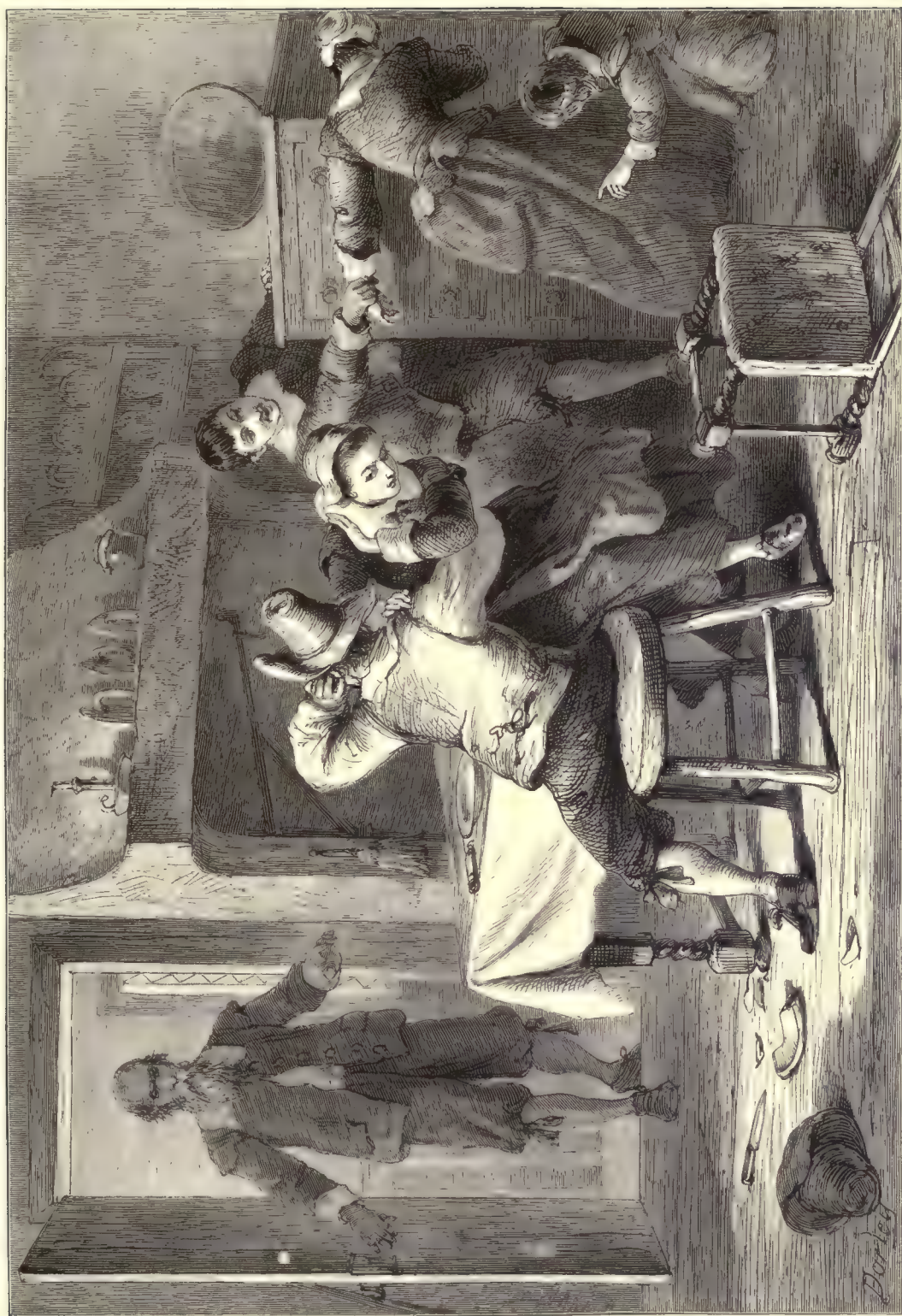
BETWEEN THE LINES OF HISTORY.



It has been suggested by one who takes a genial view of life, and who has studied human nature,* that certain pleasant experiences may be written between the lines of New England history: the attempts of youth to enjoy the things of youth,—new ribbons or new vests,—songs other than psalms,—love,—walks of young men and maidens together,—possibly a frolic in some outlying farm-house, whose inmates were not so austere as to forbid it, or whose absence offered a golden opportunity. The grave chroniclers of the early days were ignorant of these episodes in the staid life of the Puritan colonies, or omitted them as frivolous and wicked devices. Yet who can doubt that, notwithstanding all the restraints that hemmed it about, youth would still be youth, and in spite of homily and reproof would sometimes steal the pleasures which austere elders were disposed to deny it? Indeed, here and there in the pages of sober historians we have glimpses of the working of human nature for its own enjoyment, while the records of the courts show the punishments which sometimes followed. In the absence of pious elders who felt the weight of the church on their shoulders, the younger members of their families would have a frolic, the pleasures of which were too soon brought to an end by the sudden appearance of the scandalized parent.

Not all who came over were church-members, nor very austere in

* Robert Collyer.



STOLEN FROLIC IN A PURITAN FARMHOUSE.

their notions, though they were good, orderly people, who were glad enough to bear with the austerity of the Puritan leaders, so they could escape ecclesiastical oppression in England. Thrifty and industrious, they were good farmers and good citizens. We may imagine the homes of this class, at least, as not always governed by over-strict rules to cloud the sunshine of the young. And among the church-members there was not always that severity of countenance or of thought which would prohibit all mirth or pleasure, if it were not the sacred Sabbath-time, or a day set apart for humiliation and fasting.

Let the reader picture to himself one of these "outlying farm-houses" after the early years of peril and hardship had passed. A frame house of stout oaken beams, covered with rough boards that grew dark under sunshine and storm, one story in height, with a high, thatched roof that in the rear sloped nearly to the ground, affording ample room for the family, who did not desire each a separate apartment. In the centre a huge stone chimney divided the house into a spacious kitchen on the one side and sleeping-rooms on the other. In the former was a wide fireplace, in which could be piled "back-logs and fore-sticks" four or five feet long, and yet afford room for children to sit against the comfortable jambs. High up in the mouth of the chimney, where the smoke constantly ascended, hung a store of bacon for future use. Along the beams and joists that supported the garret floor hung strings of dried apples, and golden pumpkins for the Thanksgiving pies, and here and there a bunch of savory herbs which the goodwife had carefully raised and preserved for pleasant seasoning to her dishes, or bitter but wholesome draughts for the ailing.

At evening, around the spacious hearth, the family gathered for an hour or two of homely tasks. The blazing pine knots afforded a light which put to shame the tallow candle on the table. The goodman and his hired man repaired some farming implement, or nailed new soles upon their heavy shoes. The goodwife at her spinning-wheel spun the yarn with which the grown-up maidens knit long hose. On the hearth the smaller children roasted chestnuts from the ample store they had gathered in the woods. Nor were these various employments carried on in silence and under stern restraint. The children laughed over their bursting chestnuts; the goodman told of his exploits at the

plough, and challenged his man to a contest in felling trees. The goodwife gave pleasant instruction to her daughters in spinning or knitting, or told some story of her youthful days in Old England. If the maidens were a little demure, their eyes would sometimes wander towards that hired man,—a frank-faced, hearty lad,—and they smiled approval when he accepted their father's challenge, and laughed outright at some sally of his wit.

Though not austere, these good people were religious; and ere the pine knots were burnt out, they laid aside their work, and the goodman read aloud in the Bible,—almost the only book the house could boast,—and offered up a prayer. And then the boys ran a race for their bed, the girls disappeared more quietly, and the elders, carefully raking up the fire, and covering it with ashes, soon followed the others to rest. It was an early hour; but long before the dawn they must be up at their morning tasks.

In the quiet autumn days at such a farm there were sometimes more joyous occasions. When the harvest was gathered, and a goodly stock of ripened ears of corn was piled in the barn, the young people gathered for a husking-frolic, when work and pleasure were combined. Rapidly the crisp husks were stripped from the golden ears, with many a joke and peal of laughter. If at first some of the youths were bashful, and some of the girls demure, numbers of like youthful age soon put to flight all excessive shyness, and young men and maidens mingled their voices in the merry din, pelted each other with the harmless husks, and eagerly watched for the appearance of the red ear, which brought a half-desired, half-shunned reward. There was no reproving elder to stop the fun; only the mild-eyed cattle looked on in wonder at the unwonted scene. If the good man for whose benefit this merry labor was performed should chance to come near, he wisely kept out of sight, that he might not mar the joy, or hinder the busy hands.

The sun had set, and deepening shadows gathered in the barn ere the corn and husks were parted. When the work was finished, and a great heap of golden ears lay before them, the girls retired to the house, while the young men gave the impatient cattle their evening meal, and finished the farmer's "chores," and then with glad expect-

tation followed, bearing the foaming pails of milk. In the house they found a bountiful table spread, and, with appetites sharpened by their toil and merriment, promptly attacked the plain but abundant fare. "Many a sweet thing was whispered behind a doughnut, and many a sentiment lurked in a pie." These young men and young women thus becoming acquainted, were by no means too austere or too demure to fall in love, and a husking frolic often led to love-making of the robust sort and speedy weddings. There were not many long courtships in those days, and early marriages were the rule. Land was plenty; and industry in the field and thrift in the house made happy homes.

But social meetings were not confined to the "boys and girls." The older men, indeed, gave little time to such enjoyment; but the matrons were somewhat given to gossip then—as when were they not? "Spin-nings" were then in vogue, and the thrifty goodwives, each carrying her spinning-wheel, went to some neighbor's house, where they entered into a lively competition in spinning yarn from the wool of her little flock, or thread from the flax grown on her farm. At such gatherings, the clatter and whirring of the wheels by no means drowned the voices of the spinners. All the events of the neighborhood, and the virtues and faults of those who were not present, were freely discussed. The matches, real and imaginary, that grew out of the last husking frolics were commented on in a manner that should have made the ears of some of the boys and girls tingle. Nor were these dames always sweet-tempered; ill-natured remarks, which found a ready repetition, sometimes caused heart-burnings and sorrow, and perhaps retaliation. But let us hope that these were exceptions.

In 1623, after the Pilgrims had gathered a fair harvest on their little plantations, Governor Bradford sent out a party to hunt for game, "that they might have more dainty and abundant things for a feast, and rejoice together after they had enjoyed the fruits of their labors." That was the origin of the New England Thanksgiving, which at an early day became a regular autumnal festival. The Merry Christmas of Old England was wholly ignored, and even abhorred as a day associated with popery and with the persecution of the English hierarchy. But as Englishmen, the colonists had a desire to enjoy the festivities and

good will of such a day, and they accordingly substituted a day appointed by the magistracy, which, in accordance with their predominant religious character, was first of all a day of pious "thanksgiving and praise," and secondarily an occasion for feasting and good cheer. In the lapse of time the good cheer has come to be the chief instead of the secondary consideration. Yet the New England Thanksgiving is not a riotous holiday, but a home festival,—a day for the reunion of families and the indulgence of the pure affections, and as such it is a precious legacy of the Pilgrims and Puritans to their descendants.

The peculiar characteristic of the day as a home festival has come down from those primitive farm-houses above described. Under those humble roofs first began the custom of family gatherings to celebrate the harvest festivities. Thither came on that day children who had gone forth from the parental roof to service elsewhere, or to establish new homes, the less fortunate relative who had no other home to welcome him, and those who had no children to gather around their board. Most of them, according to custom, had attended the Thanksgiving services at the "meeting-house," and having fulfilled this pious duty, they came prepared to devote the rest of the day to homely festivities and pleasant intercourse.

Willing hands made light work, and in due time the table was spread with an abundance of good cheer. The turkey and chickens, pampered for this day's feast, appeared in a dress of ruddy brown, the very sight of which was appetizing. The garden patch furnished its choicest productions; goodly loaves of brown bread told of the generous yield of the cornfields; the golden pumpkin appeared in tempting pies; the little orchard contributed its rosy apples, and the forest its sweet nuts. A portly jug of cider and mugs of home-brewed beer were not wanting to moisten the more substantial food. Though the formalities of more aristocratic tables were unknown, the company did not forget to bow their heads while the host asked a blessing and gave thanks for the bountiful provision of Providence. Then how joyously the feast proceeded! with what grateful hearts these bounties were partaken of! with what happiness were these kindred assembled once more around the hospitable board! With the elders, remembrances of former days and more straitened circumstances mingled with

thoughts of present comforts to make the thanksgiving more genuine. The young recalled the toils, the exploits, and the joys of childhood, recounted the experiences of the past year, or whispered hopes for the future.

When the feast was over, the women cleared away the fragments, while the men repaired to the barn to inspect the cattle, to guess at the weight of the hay-mow, to tell of achievements with the scythe, the plough, or the axe, and to talk of the various interests of the farmer; and the children scrambled to the woods to glean a few more nuts, or chase some squirrel that ventured from his winter nest. Twilight brought all again around the old, familiar hearth, where the cheery fire blazed brightly, and threw grotesque and dancing shadows on the walls. The children roasted apples and chestnuts over the coals, jests passed freely among the young men and women, the goodman played a game of draughts with his eldest guest,—corn and beans being the opposing forces,—and the goodwife told some quaint tradition of the past. An early hour broke up the little circle with hearty good-nights and blessings. The guests who did not live too far away mounted their rough wagon or their steady horse, the young wife clinging close behind her husband, a folded blanket serving for saddle and pillion, and thus they rode homeward in the moonlight.

Such is the story of the "outlying farm-houses" that we may read between the lines of history; how shall we read the 'unwritten tales of life in the larger towns? There people were brought closer together, and social life, if restrained by stern laws and austere customs among the more rigid Puritans, would nevertheless assert itself, and would not be content with the meetings at the Sabbath service or the weekly lecture. The men met in the market-place and discussed the prices and prospects of merchandise, or the political and religious questions that divided the general court and the people. The women visited, and over their knitting and sewing found food for gossip, and sometimes for scandal, in the doings of their neighbors which were scrupulously watched. Fashion, even in those days, and among the Puritans, held some sway, so that the court found occasion to pass sumptuary laws. Many of the settlers of the wealthier sort brought with them the notions of the mother country, where a royal court and wealthy

aristocracy set the example of costly and stylish dress, and demanded it from those who made pretensions to gentle birth or honorable position. Boston had been settled but a year when some of the women were thought to be extravagant in dress, and the court "bade the Elders urge it upon the consciences of the people that they should avoid costliness of apparel and following of new fashions." But it so happened that the Elders' wives belonged to a class who considered dress as a badge of social distinction, and this attempt to check fashion did not accomplish much. At a later day, when there was no court or titled and wealthy aristocracy at hand to set the fashion, and stern Puritanism was in the ascendant not only in New England but in Old England, fashion had comparatively fewer followers, and sumptuary laws were more rigidly observed. But custom and the laws allowed some distinction of class in dress, and of course there were some who went as far as possible, without offending, in the style and trimming of their garments; and scarlet bodices and costly ruffs, and other adornments that grieved the austere Puritan, were not unknown in Boston.

Spite of the watchful eyes of gossips, young men and maidens would meet and walk together on the Common. An English visitor about the year 1663, in a description of Boston, wrote, "On the south there is a small but pleasant Common, where the gallants, a little before sunset, walk with their Marmalet-Madams, as we do in Morefields, till the nine-o'clock bell rings them home to their respective habitations; when presently the constables walk their rounds to see good order kept, and to take up loose people." Doubtless there was much courting done in those days on that Common, where soft words could be whispered more freely than in the homes of the fair ones. And when the unwelcome curfew rang, how slow was the pace of some of the happy pairs, and how long the lingering at the gate, spite of constable or Mrs. Grundy! Were there not gay times, too, for these young folks when little parties of them went out to the farms at Muddy River? A good long row it was for the young men, in their deeply-laden boat, across the broad "back bay," and up the Muddy River winding through the marshes to a point where the wooded upland invited them to debark. There, in the golden autumn days, was there not many a merry shout and laugh as the holiday party gathered chestnuts amid a shower of prickly burs shaken

down by some adventurous climber? A return by moonlight across the shining water, a slow drifting with the tide to prolong the pleasure, was a very natural way for youth to finish the excursion. Perhaps there were some dull homilies read, and some tears shed, when the truant maidens came tardily home; but the homilies were soon forgotten, and the tears soon dried, as newly awakened hopes brought dreams of a happy future.

The Puritan burial-place was no blooming garden nor shady grove, beautiful with rural art and costly sculpture, but it was often a well-chosen site on an eminence looking out upon the sea or down upon the homes of the living. Their austere notions and gloomy faith forbade the decoration of the tomb with flowers, or that pious care for the last resting-place of friends and kindred which characterizes their descendants. The pathway to the cemetery was seldom trod except to fill a new grave. But with all their religious austerity which looked apparently with so little love upon the untenanted "tabernacle of the flesh," many a heart yet yearned after the lifeless forms that were laid away to rest; sometimes a bereaved widow or stricken mother has stolen away from formal words of consolation or admonition, and sought the desolate burial-place to pour out her human grief upon the grassy mound that covered husband or child. And in their homes the few memorials of the departed, trifles though they were, were cherished as the dearest treasures of those human hearts, and often bedewed with secret tears.

LIII.

MAINE.—THE POPHAM COLONY AT
SAGADAHOCK.



THE same year that a settlement was made at Jamestown, in Virginia, under the auspices of the London Company, the Plymouth Company fitted out an expedition to establish a colony in North Virginia,—the name of Virginia being then given to all the continent claimed by the English. Previous to that time both French and English traders and explorers had visited the coast of Maine, and had claimed the country for their respective sovereigns. Three years before, De Monts had attempted a settlement at the mouth of the St. Croix, of which mention has been made in a previous chapter. When that ill-chosen place was abandoned, and a better situation was sought, the French sailed along the coast, entered Penobscot Bay, Casco Bay, and the Kennebec, where they erected a cross, and formally took possession of the country in the name of their king. They found places which invited a settlement; but the natives were unfriendly, and the harbor of Port Royal seemed more attractive. Leaving this part of Acadia, as the whole region between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels of latitude was named in the grant to De Monts, they returned to the basin of Port Royal, and established their ill-fated settlement there.

Previous to this, Bartholomew Gosnold and Martin Pring had severally visited the coast under the English flag, and laid claim to it in behalf of their sovereign. Traders of both nations had even before



WEYMOUTH SAILING UP THE PENOBSCOT.

this touched at some places on the coast; but Pring was the first to give any account to the English of the shores along which he sailed, as Champlain shortly afterwards was the first to describe them to the French. Pring spoke of the country in glowing terms, having "goodly groves and woods, and sundry sorts of beasts," while the neighboring waters abounded in fish superior to those taken at Newfoundland.

George Weymouth, sent out by the Earl of Southampton and others in order to maintain the English claim of prior possession, reached the coast of Maine the same year that De Monts withdrew to Port Royal. Touching at the island of Monhegan, he sailed among the islands that stud the waters of the coast till he reached a pleasant harbor, which he named "Pentecost Harbor," near the mouth of St. George's River. Here the adventurers landed, and visited the natives, whom they found friendly, and regaled themselves on fish and game. They were highly delighted with the country, which abounded with "various sorts of trees, besides vines, currants, spruce, yew, angelica, and divers gums," while on the shores there were plenty of shell-fish, some of which contained pearls. Here they planted a small garden, and were somewhat amazed at the rapid vegetation of the seeds and growth of the plants,—the first planted by English hands in Northern Virginia. From Pentecost Harbor, Weymouth proceeded to Penobscot Bay, and ascended the river in a pinnace, carrying a cross which he planted at the end of his journey.

As they sailed up the broad river in the early summer, when the forests were clothed in their brightest foliage, and the grass waved green on the banks and in the shady coves, and the waters sparkled in the rays of an unclouded sun, the voyagers were delighted with the country. Some, "who had been travellers in sundry countries and in most famous rivers, affirmed them not comparable to this,—the most beautiful, rich, large, secure harboring river that the world affordeth." Such was the account these visitors carried back to England of the attractions of Northern Virginia.

The intercourse of Weymouth and his men with the natives had from the first been friendly, and a profitable trade had been carried on, in which the English exchanged knives and trinkets for valuable furs. But at last a dispute arose, and Weymouth seized four or five of the

Indians and confined them in the hold of his ship. The natives were greatly disturbed, and resorted to various stratagems to induce the English to leave the ship, hoping by treachery to retaliate for the imprisonment of their friends, or to release them. Their efforts, however, were fruitless; and soon after Weymouth sailed for England, carrying four of the captives with him, and leaving in the hearts of the natives a hatred of the English which was cherished for a long time.

The reports brought by Pring and Weymouth made the influential members of the Plymouth Company more anxious to plant a colony in so attractive a region, and to reap the advantages of a promising trade. Lord John Popham (Chief Justice of England) and Sir Ferdinando Gorges took especial interest in the enterprise, and by their efforts an expedition was fitted out for the purpose of establishing a colony. A hundred emigrants were enlisted, besides the sailors, and they were amply provided with ordnance, household utensils, agricultural and mechanical implements and supplies. A form of government was drawn up sufficiently comprehensive and grand for a great state, which its authors undoubtedly expected the colony would soon become. A colonial council was created, consisting of eight members, each with some sounding title of office. To one of these, George Popham, a brother of the chief justice, was given the chief command, and Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, was the second in rank.

Leaving England the last of May, the expedition arrived on the coast of Maine the 8th of August. Touching at various points, the colonists at last landed on a small island at the mouth of the Sagadahock, and assembling on the shore, they devoutly thanked God for their safe arrival, and listened to an appropriate sermon by the clergyman who was sent out as the spiritual shepherd of the flock. The patent was read, and a code of laws promulgated; and these formalities completed, the adventurers prepared to establish themselves in their new home. Some slight buildings were erected, and wells were sunk for water. But they soon found that they had made a poor choice for the site of their habitation, for the water was brackish and nauseating, and the island was too small for them to occupy with advantage, and too far from the main land to permit a free intercourse with the natives, from which they hoped to profit. They therefore abandoned the island

and proceeded to the mainland on the western side of the river, where they took possession of a peninsula formed by the sea on one side and a creek on the other. It was a pleasant situation, convenient for the purposes of trade, and well adapted for habitation.

Here they constructed a fort and one large house and barn, as well as several small cabins, which they found were altogether too slight for protection from the storms and cold of winter. The autumn was far advanced when their buildings were completed, and the snow-flakes had commenced to fly. What the winter would be in this untried climate they were utterly ignorant; but they made such preparation as their experience and the increasing cold suggested. Early in December the ships which brought them over sailed for England, leaving only forty-five of the hundred emigrants to brave the rigors of the winter, and endure the hardships of a life in the wilderness.

Two of the Indians whom Weymouth had carried to England returned with Popham's company to their native land, and through their good offices the adventurers established friendly relations with the neighboring savages. They commenced a trade in furs with the "Vashaba," or great chief of that region, and with enterprise and prudence might have driven a prosperous business. But like most of the expeditions fitted out at that time from Europe, the company, with the exception of the leaders, was composed of reckless and thriftless adventurers if not criminals. They were not inclined to labor, nor to practise economy or fair dealing with the natives. The winter was exceedingly severe; and, unused to the rigors of such a climate, they suffered severely in their poor habitations. It is quite probable that under such circumstances discontent and disorder prevailed. They had a good supply of provisions when the ships left; but in midwinter their storehouse was burned, and they lost a good part of their supplies. Sickness prevailed, though not of a fatal character, and the settlers were thoroughly disheartened. The Indians of the neighborhood subsequently had a tradition of another misfortune which befell the company. It was said that a quarrel occurred between the colonists and the natives in which one of the former was killed, and the others were driven from the fort, leaving their provisions, arms, and powder. The natives, in the course of their plunder, broke open some

casks of powder, which, becoming scattered near a fire, was ignited, and the whole exploded with a fearful result. A number of Indians were killed, and, what was of more serious consequence to the colonists, nearly everything in the fort was destroyed. Dismayed at the report and the destruction they witnessed, the Indians supposed that it was a manifestation of the anger of the Englishman's God, and they immediately sought to make amends by offering a renewal of friendship.

Whether this tradition contains the truth, or the storehouse was burnt through their own carelessness, the result to the colonists was the same. They were reduced to a short allowance of food, and were, in a measure, dependent upon the natives. They suffered more severely from the cold, and before spring came were in a miserable condition. George Popham, the president of the colony, died, and was succeeded by Raleigh Gilbert, the next in command; but it may well be believed that the imposing frame of government which had been provided was of little use in managing these half-starved and reckless adventurers.

Meanwhile, upon the return of the ships to England, preparations were made, through the influence of Lord Popham and Gorges, to fit them out again with new supplies and more settlers. The vessels sailed from England well-laden with provisions, and in due time arrived at Sagadahock. But they brought intelligence that was more important in determining the fate of the colony than the ample supplies. Just before they left England, Lord Popham, the chief patron of the enterprise, and Sir John Gilbert, brother of Raleigh Gilbert, the new president, had died. This intelligence, coming to men already disheartened, put an end to the attempt at settlement. Gilbert, who was heir to his brother's estate, found it necessary to return at once to England, and none of the other high officers of the company felt any ambition to rule over a colony with such blighted prospects. Instead of landing the supplies, the demoralized adventurers gladly embarked, and returned to England, carrying with them the most discouraging accounts of the rigors of the climate and the hostility of the natives. The country which in summer appeared so attractive to Pring and Weymouth, these incapable adventurers, as an

excuse for their abandonment of the enterprise, represented as an intolerably cold and sterile region, "not inhabitable by our English nation."

Such was the end of the Popham colony. It had no experienced leader, accustomed to hardships and fertile in resources, to instruct and encourage the adventurers in their untried difficulties. The principal men were gentlemen whose life in England had not fitted them to endure the rigor of the climate, or to meet the exigencies of a settlement in the wilderness. Had Captain John Smith been one of the leaders of the company, by his energy, bravery, and fertility of resources, he might have made the colony a permanent one; but without him the settlement at Jamestown might have been nearly as short-lived as that at Sagadahock.

MAINE.—PLANTATIONS AND TRADING-POSTS.



FTER the failure of the Popham colony, no attempt was made by the Plymouth Company to plant another, though the coast was frequently visited by English vessels for fishing and trading purposes, and at various points temporary stations were established. Though the Plymouth Company was negligent, Gorges was especially anxious that the English claim to the country should be maintained by a continual occupation of some parts of it; but he found it difficult to induce any parties to emigrate for the purpose of settling. He encouraged adventurers, however, to visit the shores of Maine, and sent out Richard Vines to explore the coast, collect facts in relation to the country, and select an eligible situation for the establishment of a colony. Vines was engaged in this business at the time of the pestilence which swept away large numbers of the Indians between Narragansett and the Penobscot, several years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, and he passed a winter in the cabins of the natives during the prevalence of the disease. But though the Indians were stricken down with it all about, and in the same cabins where the Englishman found shelter, neither Vines nor any of his companions were attacked by it. Vines was a physician, but he does not appear to have given any distinct idea of the character of the fatal disease. He found the winter more tolerable than the Popham colonists had represented it, and the country sufficiently attractive to induce him to make further visits, and to obtain from Gorges a grant of lands

on the river Saco. He was at Saco in 1617, and between that year and 1623 he established a settlement there, in a very small way, and was the first permanent English settler in Maine. From the first he took pains to conciliate the Indians, and always lived on friendly terms with them, driving a profitable trade in furs. A fair explorer, he had given Gorges a very good description of the coast and the character of the country, and when established at Saco he made himself acquainted with the region in that vicinity. In 1642, he went up the Saco River to the White Mountains, and if he was not the first white man who visited that Alpine region, he was the first to give any idea of the height of the mountains and their distance from the coast. He had been preceded by a man from Exeter, who visited the mountains the previous year, and brought back wonderful stories of the glittering stones he saw.

Previous to the expedition of Vines, Captain Smith explored the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, and subsequently made a map of it, and gave to the country the name of New England. Smith's report revived the desire to colonize the country, and he labored earnestly to enlist the nobility and merchants in an expedition for that purpose. The desire to colonize, however, was greatly in excess of the desire to emigrate for the purpose of settling in this wilderness. He succeeded in securing the outfit of three vessels, but only fifteen settlers were obtained, and these were hired for the purpose. Smith prepared to sail in the spring of 1617, with the intention of commencing a colony; but he was so long delayed by head winds that he finally abandoned the undertaking, and the country he had named did not experience the advantage of his energy and ability in the establishment of a settlement.

The Plymouth Company, having obtained a new and more favorable charter, made extensive grants to Gorges and John Mason. The English claimed the territory of Acadia, where the French had established some settlements, and through the freebooter Argall had asserted their rights. But the French had subsequently maintained possession by continuing their small trading-posts; and Gorges, fearful that they would extend their settlements into New England, a part of which at least they claimed to be included in Acadia, succeeded in obtaining a

patent from the king granting to Sir William Alexander of Scotland the greater part of Acadia, to which was then given the name of Nova Scotia. It was intended to settle the country thus granted with Scotch emigrants; but the attempts made were not very successful, though Sir William at last succeeded, "after subduing the French, or removing them to Virginia," in planting one colony there, and holding possession of the territory until it was transferred by treaty to the French.

Gorges, having thus secured a barrier against French aggression, projected an extensive plan for colonizing the region between the Merimack and Sagadahock, of which a patent had been granted to him and Mason under the name of the "Province of Laconia." A number of merchants and others were induced to join with the grantees in forming a company for the purpose of establishing settlements and prosecuting the fur trade and fisheries. Under the auspices of this company a number of vessels visited the coast, and trading-posts and fishing villages were commenced, some of which became permanent settlements.

Monhegan was an island which had for some years before this been frequently visited by the English fishing-vessels, and occupied from time to time for the purpose of curing fish. In 1622, through the enterprise of Gorges and his associates, it became a continuous settlement, though its inhabitants were constantly changing. Similar settlements or plantations were soon after commenced at Sagadahock, Pemaquid, Damariscotta, and some other places. They were small affairs, and the settlers had not come out of any devotion to principle, or to escape persecution, like the Pilgrims at New Plymouth, but for the purposes of gain, and not a few of them as hired servants of the merchants in England. They were, however, the early pioneers in the settlement of Maine.

As soon as colonization was commenced, the Plymouth Company determined to unite all the settlements, including New Plymouth, under one civil government. They accordingly sent out Robert Gorges as governor-in-chief, with Francis West as admiral, and William Morrell, an Episcopal minister, as superintendent of religious affairs. Neither of these officers met with much success in their respective departments, and were quite ignored by the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Gorges and West

succeeded, however, in exciting opposition among the traders and fishermen, and complaints were so loud in England that the Commons demanded a surrender of the Plymouth Company's charter. Gorges defended the company with great spirit and ability; but parliament complained to the king that the charter was a grievance to the nation which they desired should be recalled. Though the king did not comply with the demand, public sentiment was so strong against the company and its recent proceedings that its plans and expeditions were abandoned, and Robert Gorges was called home.

Disappointed in his more ambitious efforts, Gorges determined to plant a colony at his own expense. He selected a place on Agamenticus or York River, and sent out a party of emigrants better selected and better provided for the founding of a permanent colony than any that had hitherto come to the coast of Maine. There were artisans to build vessels and saw-mills as well as houses, and laborers with oxen to clear and cultivate the ground, and to get timber. It was designed to be a self-supporting colony, and Gorges during his life exerted himself to make it successful and prosperous.

When Charles I. came to the throne of England, and married a French princess, the marriage treaty provided that the jurisdiction of Acadia should be resigned to France. This treaty conflicted with royal grants already made, and created not a little feeling among the English people who were interested in the trade with the new world. Gorges succeeded in obtaining a postponement of the concessions agreed upon in the treaty, and Sir William Alexander procured from the king a confirmation of his grant. The king also resisted the demands of the advocates of free fisheries that the charter of the Plymouth Company should be revoked. A war with France followed soon afterwards, during which there were few attempts to establish plantations or trading-posts.

At the close of the war, the rising contention between the king and the people caused great numbers to desire a refuge in the new world. The Plymouth Company, apparently ignoring the patent already granted to Gorges, and probably with his acquiescence, proceeded to make new grants of the territory between the Merrimack and the Penobscot to the various applicants, and in a few years had thus conveyed all the

land along the coast between those rivers. But under none of these patents was any considerable colony established. The grants were made chiefly to English merchants and others, who sent out agents and servants to commence plantations, but had no idea of going themselves. One grant, ridiculed as the "Plough Patent," was made to parties who undertook to plant a small agricultural colony at Sagadahock. It consisted of "ten husbandmen," and considerable money was expended in providing for improvements. But the company soon became dissatisfied, and at the end of one year abandoned the enterprise. The adventurers who came to Maine at that period had a great contempt for agriculture, and of all other pursuits except the fisheries and fur-trading.

Among the patents granted at this time was one of a tract on the Kennebec to the Pilgrim colony of New Plymouth. As early as 1625, the settlers at Plymouth had sent their shallop up the Kennebec to trade for furs. Before that, they had visited Monhegan for provisions, and had learned that an advantageous trade could be carried on in this region. In 1627, they had procured a patent to secure to themselves the exclusive right to trade on the Kennebec; but the limits of the patent and the privileges granted were rather indefinite, and when other grants were rapidly disposing of the territory, a new and more certain patent was obtained.

For many years the Plymouth people maintained their trading-house on the Kennebec, and carried on a fair business with the natives, obtaining from them furs which were subsequently exchanged for the supplies needed by the colony. The trading-house was managed by a master and two or three assistants, and their trade was so fairly conducted, and they were always so friendly, that the Indians found no cause for complaint. But in 1639, the natives of that region, from some cause, were short of provisions, and a party of them determined to take what they supposed was the easiest way of supplying their immediate wants, namely, to kill the Englishmen and seize their stores. To put their plan into execution, they happened to select Sunday, which the Plymouth men observed as strictly as their brethren at home. Coming stealthily about the house, several of the Indians found the master reading his Bible, and his usually cheerful face wore an exceedingly solemn expression. When they entered the house, he was greatly disturbed by this inter-

ruption of his meditations and desecration of the quiet Sabbath-time, and he received them with a cold and severe manner quite unlike his usual friendly and familiar greeting. The master's solemn and perhaps angry look, and the book, which was then regarded by the Indians as a supernatural charm, immediately aroused their superstitious fears, and believing that he had divined their purpose by consulting the sacred pages, they abandoned their bloody design.

The Plymouth settlers appear to have been quite as enterprising as any of the adventurers who established trading-posts on the coast of Maine. In 1626 they erected a trading-house on Penobscot Bay, and opened a traffic with the Indians of that region, exchanging wampum, procured from the Wampanoags and Narragansetts, for beaver-skins and other furs. This was the most easterly trading-post of the English on the coast of Maine, and when the claims of France to Acadia were again asserted, it was exposed to the attacks of the French.

The treaty of St. Germain, which followed the war above referred to, surrendered to France all the places occupied by British subjects in New France and Acadia, thus at last carrying out the provisions of the marriage treaty. Acadia was the name applied by the French to a region of indefinite extent westward, while the English considered that it was only coextensive with the territory they called Nova Scotia. Here was a fine opportunity for dispute and contention, and it was for a long time improved.

The trading-post of the Plymouth colony on Penobscot Bay, being the most easterly establishment of the English, was the most exposed to aggression by the French, and was the first to suffer from it. One fine morning in June, 1632, the commander of the post, with a number of men, started out on a trading excursion among the Indians, leaving three or four men in charge of the fortified house. During the absence of this party, a French vessel appeared in the bay, and, approaching the post, represented that they had put into the harbor in distress, and asked permission to repair their leaky vessel and refresh themselves. The favor was readily granted by the men at the post, and the Frenchmen were invited to come on shore. The invitation was accepted; and having landed, and entered the fort, they discovered its weak condition, and immediately abandoned the character of needy mariners and became

freebooters. Seizing the arms, they ordered the unsuspecting keepers of the trading-house to surrender, on pain of death; and they then commenced plundering the place of all its valuable contents. A stock of furs and all the arms and provisions were taken, and the unfortunate keepers were compelled to aid in loading the booty on board the boat. Having thus treacherously rifled the post, the robbers sailed away, bidding the luckless Englishmen tell their master to "remember the Isle of Rè,"—the scene of a brilliant victory of the French over the English in the then recent war.

With such men as Bradford and Miles Standish to encourage them, the Plymouth colonists were not dismayed by this act of piracy, although the loss was to them a serious one. They still maintained the station, and continued their traffic; and the next year they went farther east, and established a new trading-house at Machias, which they garrisoned with five or six trusty men, well armed, being determined to hold permanent possession of the place.

Meanwhile, after the surrender of Acadia by the English, the French monarch made extensive grants in that territory to some of his subjects. The chief of these grants was to Razilla, the French officer who received the surrender; and a subordinate one was to La Tour, a Protestant, who had previously obtained a grant from Sir William Alexander, and fortified it by confirmations from both the English and the French kings. La Tour's object was a profitable traffic, and, with an arrogant spirit and a somewhat violent temper, he determined to suffer no interference with what he claimed as his exclusive rights. When he heard that the English had established a trading-house at Machias, he at once determined to destroy it, because it was too near, though not within his grant. It was at least within the domain of the king of France, as he claimed, and could not be permitted to exist. Proceeding with a sufficient force to Machias, he demanded the surrender of the post. This was refused by the little garrison, who undertook to defend their charge. Two of them, however, were killed by the assailants, who then gained possession of the house. Rifling it of everything that was valuable, La Tour returned to Port Royal, taking with him the surviving defenders as prisoners.

The Plymouth colonists sent Mr. Allerton to Port Royal to recover

the men and goods, but the messenger met with a cold and haughty reception from La Tour. When Mr. Allerton demanded by what authority he had seized the men and property, he arrogantly replied, "I have taken them as lawful prize; my authority is from the king of France, who claims the coast from Cape Sable to Cape Cod. I wish the English to understand, if they trade to the eastward of Pemaquid, I shall seize them, and my sword is all the commission I shall show." Some years afterwards the son of La Tour applied to Massachusetts for aid against his rival D'Aulnay; and, in striking contrast with his father's arrogance, his manner was so pleasing and persuasive that he secured the good will of many of the leading men of the colony, and obtained, if not the open alliance of the Puritan government, permission to fit out an expedition against D'Aulnay, who was then besieging his fort at St. John's.

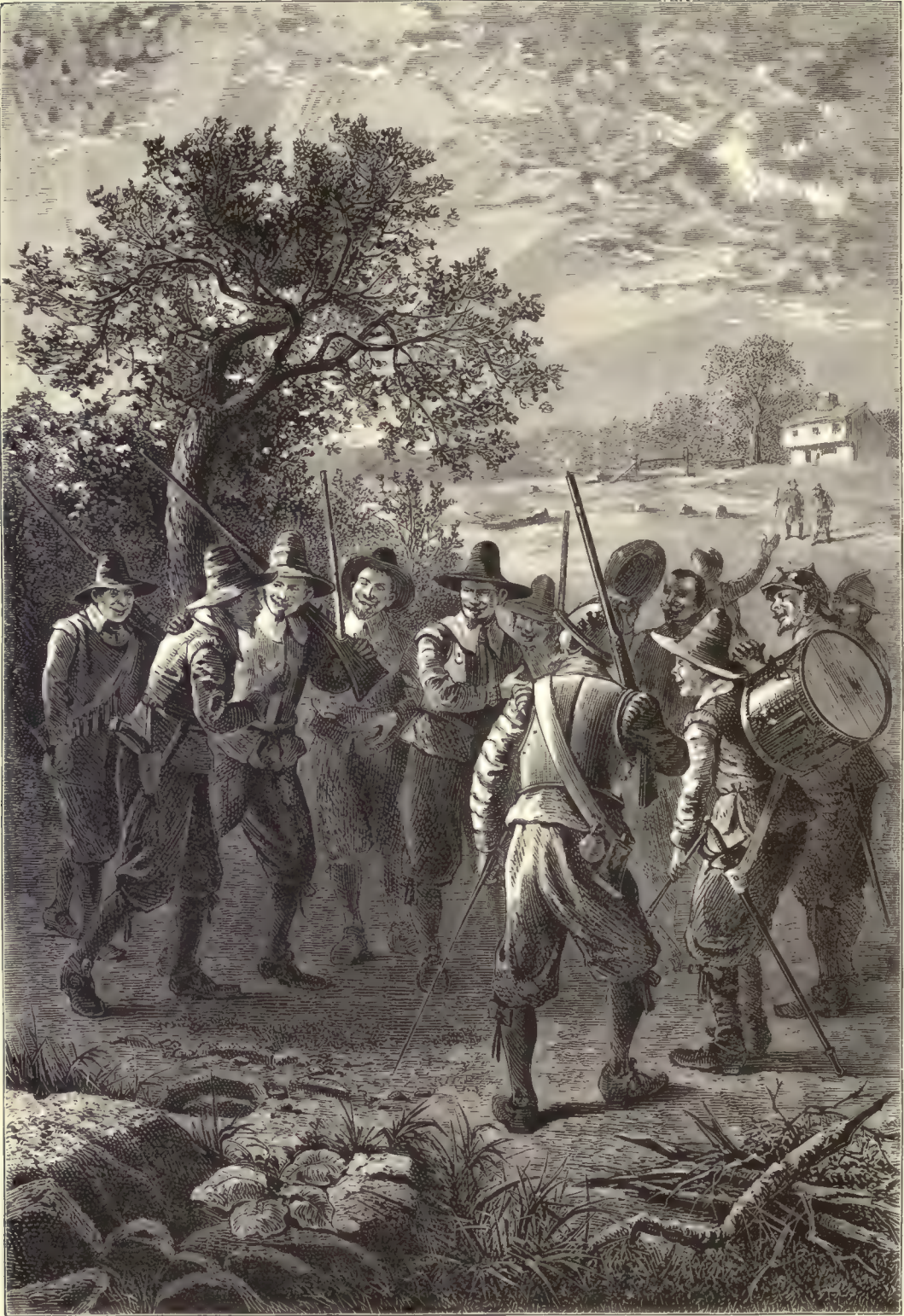
Two or three years afterwards, the trading-post of the Plymouth colonists at Penobscot shared the fate of that at Machias. General Razilla, the chief officer and representative of France in Acadia, sent D'Aulnay, his subordinate, in a ship of war to take possession of the country as far as Pemaquid. That officer, who was of a violent temper and greedy of gain, finding the Plymouth trading-house within the jurisdiction claimed for France, plundered it of its contents, and drove the men away, bidding them tell their friends that a French fleet would be sent against all the English settlements as far south as the fortieth degree. "And know," he added, "that my commission is from the king of France!"

But the commission from the king of France did not deter the peaceful Pilgrims from asserting their rights. They chartered a large vessel, armed it, and dispatched it to the Penobscot, under the command of a Captain Girling, while the doughty Miles Standish, the faithful defender of the colony, accompanied it in a shallop. Girling was hired to recapture the place, and was to receive a quantity of beaver-skins if he succeeded, and nothing if he failed. Anxious to win the beaver, he commenced firing at too long range for his guns, and wasted his ammunition without effect. While the French laughed at his ineffectual shots, and Standish looked on with anger and contempt, Girling found that he had burnt all his powder without earning the beaver.

The attempt to recover the post thus failed, and Standish, after furnishing Girdling with more powder, returned in disgust to Plymouth, to tell the colonists that they must thereafter confine their trading to the Kennebec.

Meanwhile the other settlements or plantations on the coast of Maine, with two or three exceptions, were scarcely more permanent than the trading-posts of the Pilgrims. They were occupied by adventurous traders, or hirelings, who had no desire or purpose to settle permanently in the country, and were ready to leave as soon as profit or pay ceased. In England the Plymouth Company was unable to contend longer with the assaults of merchants and rival companies against its charter, and notwithstanding the efforts of Gorges in its defence, it was forced to yield to public opinion if not to the royal revocation. Before dissolving, the company divided their patent into twelve royal provinces which were to be drawn by lot in the presence of the king. Two of these were assigned to Gorges, who alone seems to have taken much interest in colonizing America; and few if any of the other divisions were ever formally granted by royal charter. Gorges was ambitious to secure for his family vast proprietary rights in New England, and a position of honor as well as profit there. When the king appointed "Lords Commissioners of all his American Plantations," Gorges obtained through them a commission as Governor-General of New England. A man-of-war was built to convey him to his new domain, and to remain there for the defence of the country. But in launching, this vessel was so damaged that she could not be sent to sea, and no other being provided, Gorges never came to exercise the authority he coveted. Domestic affairs so occupied the attention of the king and parliament that no further attempt was made at that time to establish a general government in New England; and Gorges himself, abandoning all thought of it, devoted his attention only to the success of plantations within his own patent.

The settlement at Agamenticus was the object of his special regard and care. In 1641 he gave it a charter as a town or borough, and invested the inhabitants with power to choose a mayor and eight aldermen, who were to make laws, erect fortifications, hold courts, and exercise other powers of government over a territory extending three miles



A FALSE ALARM.

every way from the church chapel. The exclusive privileges granted the inhabitants of Agamenticus brought them in conflict with the provincial government; but the difference was amicably settled by the latter recognizing the immunities of the borough.

The next year, Gorges, desirous of showing still greater favor to the settlement, executed a new charter, by which he made it a "city," under the name of Georgiana, or Gorgeana. The territory covered by this charter contained twenty-one square miles, upon which, in scattered hamlets, were about two hundred and fifty inhabitants. The government consisted of a mayor, twelve aldermen, twenty-four common councilmen, and a recorder, to be elected annually by the freeholders. Their powers were somewhat more extensive than those granted to the mayor and aldermen of the borough; and to maintain the dignity of their office as justices, the mayor and aldermen of the city were authorized to appoint four sergeants, whose badge of office was a white rod, and who were to serve all judicial precepts. This government was authorized to make any laws it saw fit, not repugnant to the laws of England or those of the province, to erect fortifications, and generally to enjoy all the liberties and privileges granted by the charter of Bristol in England. The first mayor under the city charter was Edward Godfrey, one of the earliest adventurers who settled on the coast of Maine.

For more than ten years this ambitious form of municipal government performed its functions and exercised its authority over the sparsely settled territory of Georgiana. Annually the citizens or freeholders assembled and elected their mayor, aldermen, common councilmen, and recorder, and as the number to be elected was no insignificant part of the whole number of electors, they must have taken great satisfaction in voting for each other. No very large proportion of the settlers were men of character and worth, and some queer people were elevated to the dignity of office. But notwithstanding all the supposed advantages of this corporate government, Georgiana increased but little during the ten years of its existence. Some persons, driven from other settlements for offences or scandalous practices, sought a refuge there, and stirred up trouble, and these were the principal accessions to the population.

This corporate government was an object of ridicule and contempt with the people of Massachusetts. Winthrop, writing of affairs in Maine, says they have "lately made Agamenticus, a poor village, a corporation, and a tailor their mayor." That the Church of England was maintained there, and excommunicants and exiles from the Puritan colony found there a refuge, made the "city" an object of dislike and jealousy as well as ridicule.

Gorges himself must have laughed could he have seen what sort of a city he had created here in the wilderness. Over all his twenty-one miles of "city limits" a hundred houses, perhaps, had been erected; a few of them, some built at his expense, were of a superior character, but most of them were the poor habitations of the early settlers. The inhabitants were engaged in felling trees and hewing timber, or in cultivating some small patches on their farms. When the court days came round, there was doubtless some parade to maintain the dignity of the magistrates, after the manner of the mother country, and the inhabitants made an idle day of it. We have no record of these proceedings, or of the "lord-mayor's procession" which we may believe marched through the stump-obstructed "street" to the primitive town-house where the courts were held. The four sergeants, with their white wands, were of course on duty: the church-beadle, the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the shoemaker. Not over-particular in their costume, their work-day aprons, perhaps, served to cover the tatters of their clothes; but the white wands gave them authority and distinction, which were duly revered by the idlers and boys who came out to witness the civic display. Preceded and followed by two of these functionaries, the mayor, recorder, and twelve aldermen, swelling with the dignity of their office, proceeded to the seat of justice. Having taken their places, the beadle, as chief of the sergeants, made proclamation, while the others, with their white rods, kept order among the people who had followed the procession into the court-house. The court being duly opened, the fourteen solemn magistrates, some of whom, doubtless, were versed in "Crown's Quest Law," proceeded to hear complaints and try causes. But it may well be believed that the court was not overburdened with business, though it is only fair to suppose that justice was administered in a rough sort of way, both to offenders and suitors.

Gorges, at least, saw how ill-considered were the attempts which had been made to establish settlements in Maine, and he himself describes the character of those settlements in giving the reasons for their failure. In his narrative he wrote: "We have been endeavoring to found plantations in a wilderness region, where men, bred up in a land of villages, farms, and plenty, could hardly be hired to stay; or if induced to become residents, they must be fed in idleness from their master's crib, yet with few or no returns. . . . Trade, fishing, lumber,—these have been the phantoms of pursuit; while there has been a criminal neglect of husbandry—the guide to good habits, the true source of wealth, and the almoner of human life."

But Gorges discovered too late the mistaken policy under which adventurers had been sent to Maine. His opportunities for planting a successful colony had passed away, and it was left for others to profit by his experience. The permanent settlements of Maine were established, and slowly increased, independent, for the most part, of the schemes of great proprietors and avaricious merchants.

CONFLICTS OF RIVAL FRENCH CLAIMANTS.



IN the early part of the seventeenth century an appeal to the "dread arbitrament of war" was the usual way of settling the disputes of nations or factions. Might made right, and force was resorted to more frequently than diplomacy to settle rival claims even of a petty nature. The grants of the French king and the company of New France in Acadia were as conflicting as those from the Plymouth Company in Maine, and led to contentions which seriously affected the English colonies. To General Razilla had been given the command of the whole Acadian country when it was transferred by England to France. La Tour had purchased an extensive tract from Sir William Alexander before the transfer, and had also obtained a grant from the French monarch, which had been recognized by Razilla. He claimed the territory from the basin of Minas to Passamaquoddy as exclusively under his jurisdiction, and established himself at the mouth of the river St. John, where he constructed fortifications, and whence he undertook to carry on a traffic with the Indians and the English settlements.

La Tour, however, had a formidable rival who had obtained a grant and located himself to the westward of the former, on the eastern side of Penobscot Bay. He also raised fortifications, and established himself, as if permanently, in the neighborhood of a good harbor on the one side, and of a numerous tribe of Indians on the other. D'Aulnay was a subordinate officer of Razilla, and when that general died, in

1635, he considered himself as his successor, and entitled to exercise authority over territory claimed by La Tour, and as far westward as the Penobscot. La Tour was not disposed to submit to any authority superior to his own, and contentions soon arose between the rival claimants. Numerous petty contests respecting jurisdiction took place, and, in order to quiet them, the king of France ordered D'Aulnay to confine his authority to the country of the "Etechenims," as the Indians between the St. John and the Penobscot were called.

La Tour was a Protestant, and D'Aulnay was a Catholic; and while Catholics and Huguenots were fighting in France, it was not to be expected that these rivals, of different faiths, would smother their ambition or their enmity so far away from any paramount authority. Their contests took on something of the color of the religious contest of the old country. D'Aulnay relied on the Catholics in France and the Jesuit missionaries in Acadia for support of his pretensions, and La Tour looked to the Puritans of New England for countenance of his rival claims, and even for material aid. He sent a messenger to Boston proposing a treaty or agreement for free trade between Massachusetts and his settlement, and that Massachusetts should also furnish him with assistance in a war against D'Aulnay. The proposal for free trade was readily accepted, but the other proposal was not acceded to, as La Tour's authority to enter into such an alliance for hostile purposes was not shown. La Tour, the next year, went to Boston himself, where he made a favorable impression, and concluded an agreement for free trade, while as a Protestant he felt assured of the sympathy of the Puritans as against his Catholic antagonist.

A profitable trade with La Tour's settlement was commenced by the merchants of Boston, and continued for a short time, when it was suddenly brought to a close by D'Aulnay. That officer had not been idle while his rival was at work, and through the machinations of his friends in France he had procured an order from the king for the arrest of La Tour as a rebel and outlaw. One of the Boston vessels, touching at Pemaquid, on its return from St. John, chanced to fall in with D'Aulnay. Learning whence the vessel had come, D'Aulnay gave the master a copy of the decree of outlawry against La Tour, and bade him "take it to the governor of Massachusetts, and tell him, if vessels

dare persist in a trade between the English colonies and St. John, I will make prize of them."

Having procured this formidable order for the termination of his rival's career, D'Aulnay did not long content himself with threats. Unlike the English colonists, he had a considerable military force at his command; and while La Tour, through his partisans in France, was endeavoring to obtain a revocation of the order, or a mitigation of the penalties pronounced against him, D'Aulnay organized an expedition against St. John, consisting of several armed vessels with five hundred men. With this force he blockaded the harbor of St. John, and closely besieged La Tour's fort, relying on famine, rather than assault, for its reduction. Supplies had not been collected within the fort in anticipation of a siege, and the aspect of affairs for La Tour was gloomy enough, as he saw little prospect of relief.

While troubled with anxious forebodings as to his fate should he be captured by D'Aulnay, La Tour saw in the offing a long-expected ship from France, laden with supplies, and bearing a large number of Protestant fugitives. He determined, if possible, to intercept her before she should fall into the hands of his enemy; and leaving the fort, accompanied by his wife, he put off in a boat, and succeeded in reaching her while at some distance from D'Aulnay's squadron. As soon as he was on board, the ship bore away for Boston, where she arrived in safety. There La Tour earnestly sought the aid of the Puritans against his Catholic antagonist, whom he represented as their natural enemy. He met with much sympathy; and Madame La Tour commended herself as a pious Protestant, whose influence ably seconded her husband's entreaties. While some of the Puritans were ready to afford the desired aid against a national and religious enemy, there were others who as strenuously objected to taking part in a contest between foreign factions, and presented strong arguments why the Massachusetts government should remain neutral. Massachusetts, indeed, as one of the new confederacy of colonies, could not engage in a war without the assent of the commissioners, and such consent was hopeless. But though the government could take no action, La Tour was informed that he could charter ships, and enlist as many volunteers as he could induce to join him, at his own expense. He promptly acted on this

suggestion, and mortgaging his property at St. John to raise the means, he chartered four vessels, armed them with thirty-eight guns, and, besides the crews, enlisted nearly a hundred soldiers. With this squadron, and the French ship that had brought him to Boston, he sailed for St. John.

D'Aulnay was far from expecting a hostile visit when this squadron appeared and commenced a sudden and furious attack. He was compelled to leave his station and seek safety in flight. His enemy gave chase, and pursued him to Penobscot, where he ran three of his vessels on shore, and fortified his position in the most expeditious manner. A party of La Tour's men landed, and an engagement ensued, in which a number were killed and wounded on each side, but without any decisive result. The commander of the chartered squadron declined to continue longer in La Tour's service, the object of the expedition having been accomplished in driving D'Aulnay away from St. John. Having captured one of his ships well-laden with furs, the squadron returned to Boston to divide the spoils.

Meanwhile the Massachusetts authorities had dispatched a messenger to Penobscot to inform D'Aulnay, that, though they would not have been "backward to do themselves justice" had he molested them in their right of free trade, yet, as a colony, they had taken no part in La Tour's expedition, and had simply permitted him to fit it out at his own expense. D'Aulnay was not prepared to quarrel with Massachusetts, but he determined to crush his rival in spite of her, and to stop all trade between the English colonists and La Tour. An attempt to carry out the latter purpose led to a rash and foolish conflict which greatly exasperated D'Aulnay.

Three men of some distinction in their respective settlements,—Vines of Saco, Shurt of Pemaquid, and Wannerton of New Hampshire,—to whom La Tour was indebted, took passage for St. John for the purpose of collecting the money due them. On the way, they stopped at Penobscot, where they were forcibly detained by D'Aulnay, and were with some difficulty liberated, after several days' detention, by the influence of Shurt, to whom D'Aulnay was indebted for favors. Proceeding then to St. John, they did not succeed in collecting their dues; but they heard that D'Aulnay's garrison was small, and short of supplies; and

Wannerton, who was a man of violent temper, and felt a bitter resentment for the wrong and indignity he had suffered at Penobscot, determined to be revenged. He collected a party of twenty men, armed them, and sailed for Penobscot. Landing his men, he proceeded to D'Aulnay's farm-house, five or six miles from the fort. Wannerton knocked at the door, and fiercely demanded admission. As the door was opened, he received a shot, and fell, mortally wounded. His men rushed in, and, returning the fire, killed one of the inmates, when the others surrendered. The assailants then set fire to the house, killed the cattle, and destroyed all else. They then departed, before D'Aulnay received intelligence of the outrage.

When he heard of it, the choleric Frenchman was enraged, and, with violent threats, he issued orders to make prize of every vessel of the English colonies found east of Penobscot. When his threats were known in Boston, the governor demanded an explanation, and assured him that, while La Tour could not expect more aid from the colonists, the right to trade at St. John would be protected. The Massachusetts colony was already strong enough to be respected; and D'Aulnay afterwards acknowledged that he had been hasty, and sent an agent to Boston to negotiate a treaty, and to show his authority for proceeding against La Tour as an outlaw. The Massachusetts authorities, in the negotiations that followed, endeavored to bring about a reconciliation between the rival Frenchmen; but D'Aulnay's representative assured them that nothing but complete submission would save La Tour's head, and that his wife, who was then in Boston, should not be permitted to go to St. John, as she was the cause of his rebellion. A treaty of amity and free trade was, however, agreed to by the governor and D'Aulnay's agent, subject to ratification by the ruler of Penobscot and the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

Madame La Tour had arrived in Boston a short time before D'Aulnay's messenger. She had been to Europe in her husband's behalf, and had taken passage in an English vessel, the master of which had engaged to carry her to St. John; but the vessel had made a circuitous voyage, touching at various places for trade, and, after a long and tedious passage, instead of going to St. John, landed her at Boston. She was a woman of unusual energy; and, indignant that she should be so long

detained, and then, in violation of the contract made with her, left at a place so distant from her destination, to reach which she would now be exposed to capture by D'Aulnay, she commenced suits against the master of the ship for bringing her to Boston, and against the merchant who had chartered the ship, for an unnecessary detention of nearly six months on board. She laid her damages in a sum sufficient to enable her to provide an outfit strong enough to resist any attempt of D'Aulnay to capture her. The suits were tried before the Court of Assistants, and, whether from the justice of her cause, or the influence of her character and presence, she was successful. She recovered two thousand pounds,—a very large sum in those days,—and with the money she promptly chartered three English ships then lying in Boston harbor, and sailed to St. John.

Meanwhile D'Aulnay, at Penobscot, had heard of Madame La Tour's presence in Boston, and confidently reckoned on her capture, which he desired almost as much as that of La Tour himself, on account of her earnest Protestantism and her important service to her husband. When he learned that she had left Boston, and in such a way as to defy any attempt to intercept her, he was greatly disappointed, and in his anger he declared he would pay no regard to the treaty entered into with those perfidious Puritans. Moreover, he vowed he would yet make a prisoner of this brave lady, and execute his rival.

When Madame La Tour arrived at St. John, her husband was absent on a trading or marauding expedition. She took command of the fort, and prepared, with a slender garrison, to defend it against any attack; and she drove away some Jesuits who, in her absence, had established themselves at the settlement. The priests, in time, found means to inform D'Aulnay that La Tour was absent, and his fort was in a weak condition and could be easily captured. The angry commander of Penobscot determined to improve the opportunity, and, early in the spring, he proceeded in an armed ship to St. John. On the way, he fell in with a vessel from Massachusetts, laden with supplies, and, true to his threat to pay no regard to the treaty recently negotiated, he seized it, and put the crew ashore on a desolate island, without arms, compass, or the means of making a fire. The snow was deep, and the weather cold; and, deprived of a part of their clothing,

and sheltered only by a dilapidated hut, the unfortunate crew suffered intensely. D'Aulnay proceeded with his prize to St. John, and, mooring his ship before the fort, commenced an attack, which at first seemed to have considerable effect. But Madame La Tour, who commanded the garrison in the absence of her husband, was not disposed to have the fort battered down without resistance, and the guns of the fort were so well served that twenty of D'Aulnay's men were killed, and a number of others wounded, while his ship was so much damaged that he was glad to warp her away under a protecting bluff for repairs.

Unable to renew the attack, D'Aulnay returned more angry than ever to Penobscot. On the way, he took the suffering crew from the island where he had left them, and from Penobscot sent them home in a miserable shallop, half clothed, and with a scanty supply of provisions. For this outrage, Massachusetts sent a messenger to demand immediate satisfaction, charging him with violating a sacred treaty. But D'Aulnay had not yet ratified the treaty, and utterly refused to do so, and threatened the Massachusetts colony with his sovereign's hostility. Assuming that he was the injured party, he said he would wait for an explanation of the conduct of the Puritan colony till the next spring. Unwilling to resort to hostilities, Massachusetts concluded to wait till a more favorable time for negotiation.

After a long delay, during which D'Aulnay effectually stopped all trade between the English settlements and St. John, he sent three commissioners to Boston to treat with the colonial government, and to demand a payment of damages for injuries done at various times. This demand was considered preposterous by the governor and magistrates of Massachusetts, who summed up a much greater loss by the colonists from D'Aulnay's unwarrantable interference with their rights. They resolved, however, to be generous, and, waiving their own demands, to send an elegant present to the choleric Frenchman to flatter his pride and testify their friendly disposition.

Some time previous to this, a Spanish viceroy in Mexico had sent a costly sedan as a present to his sister in the West Indies. By some mischance this sedan, instead of reaching the lady for whom it was intended, fell into the hands of an English sea-captain, who brought it to Boston and presented it to Governor Winthrop. The governor was



MADAME LA TOUR A PRISONER AT PENOBSCOT.

not disposed to use this luxury, and perhaps had a lurking prejudice against it as formerly belonging to Papists, or some doubts as to the morality of the manner in which it had come into the possession of the giver. Here was an opportunity to get rid of a piece of troublesome furniture, and at the same time to turn it to good account. Stolen from Papists, it might very properly be bestowed upon a Papist, and be no longer a constant reminder of doubts and scruples. Accordingly the sedan was sent to the ruler of Penobscot, as a token of the good will of the governor and magistrates of Massachusetts. The previously rejected treaty of peace and amity was signed; but how D'Aulnay received the present as a satisfaction of his demands is not recorded, though Madame D'Aulnay, doubtless, greatly enjoyed the sedan.

The prevention of trade between the English colonies and St. John reduced that place to want; and before the close of the winter after D'Aulnay's treaty with Massachusetts, La Tour again left his fort in the charge of his wife, and went on a cruise for provisions. From the Jesuits, who still held communication with St. John, D'Aulnay learned the condition of the garrison, and proceeded with all the force he could command to make another attack. Madame La Tour again defended the place with a bravery worthy of a nobler husband; but D'Aulnay made a fierce assault, and, after the loss of a number of men, succeeded in carrying the fort. He took Madame La Tour a prisoner, and put the small garrison of French and English to the sword. He then plundered the place of all that was valuable, and returned to Penobscot with his prisoner, and spoils amounting to many thousand pounds.

Arriving at Penobscot, D'Aulnay conducted his prisoner into his fortified and rather extensive house. As he led her into the hall, he said, with the manner of a courtier, but with a tone of triumph,—

"Madame, it gives me the greatest pleasure to welcome you to my abode. You shall have whatever comforts we ourselves enjoy; but remember, you are my prisoner, and if you attempt to escape, something disagreeable may happen."

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Then turning to Madame D'Aulnay, who approached, he said to her,—

"Madame, permit me to introduce to you the wife of my greatest

enemy,— nay, my greatest enemy herself, since it is her heresy and energy that inspire her husband's rebellion."

Madame D'Aulnay received the unfortunate prisoner with haughty coldness. She had no word or look of sympathy for a sister in her misfortune. She was a bigoted Catholic, and Madame La Tour was known as an earnest Protestant, whose heresy she regarded with feelings akin to horror. She congratulated her husband on his success with an air of triumph which drove the steel deeper into the heart of the brave but unhappy prisoner, who, without further parley, was conducted to the apartment assigned her. Little did Madame D'Aulnay then think that in a few years she would succeed this unfortunate woman as the wife of La Tour.

Madame La Tour was detained at Penobscot as a close prisoner; but her captivity was speedily ended. A firm Protestant, she had been driven from her native France by Catholic persecution, and with untiring devotion she had labored to advance her husband's interests. Separated from him now, as she might well believe, forever, and in the hands of her most inveterate enemy, she could not endure the indignities to which she was subjected, and the utter ruin which had overwhelmed her husband's estate while in her charge. Her spirits sank, and her health failed, and, within three weeks after she was made a prisoner, she died of grief. D'Aulnay's triumph was complete; for he rightly believed that it was Madame La Tour's spirit which had sustained his rival in their long contest, and, though he might have wished that she had lived to be the means of ultimately capturing her husband, he felt sure that La Tour's career was ended.

But La Tour, despite his present misfortunes, was destined in the end to triumph over his enemy. Returning to St. John to find that his wife was the prisoner of his bitter enemy, and that he was despoiled of all his property except his thrice-mortgaged lands, unable to find the means even for a paltry trade, he sought assistance from Sir David Kirk, at Newfoundland. Disappointed there, he obtained a passage to Boston, where he had the assurance to ask for further aid, notwithstanding the debts he still owed for former relief. By his plausible words, and his seductive manners, he succeeded in gaining the good will of several merchants, who furnished him with a vessel manned by

a crew of Englishmen and Frenchmen, and well supplied with articles with which he might traffic with the Indians.

No longer guided by his wife, and having neither her, nor home, nor property to hold him to even the appearance of an honest life, La Tour determined to add piracy to the fraud with which he had already wronged his English friends. He conspired with the master of the vessel, and some of the French crew, to put the Englishmen ashore, and run away with the vessel and cargo. This project was not carried out without resistance on the part of the Englishmen, one of whom was wounded by La Tour; but, after a fierce struggle, they were overcome, and left upon a desolate shore, in midwinter, where they would have perished but for the succor of some friendly Indians.

Having committed this act of cruelty and piracy, La Tour sailed away on some unknown expedition, and disappeared from the waters of Nova Scotia and Maine for several years. During that time, D'Aulnay lived undisturbed by any rival claims, and asserted his authority, unquestioned, over Nova Scotia, and the territory of Maine east of the Penobscot. He was a bigoted Catholic, and his settlement at Penobscot was the resort of the Jesuits and other missionaries who thence extended their labors among the Indians, and gained an influence with them which secured their friendship to the French and their enmity to the English settlers. While the outlawed La Tour was absent in parts unknown, D'Aulnay died. Some months after that event the wanderer again appeared, and possessing still the accomplishments and manners which had secured the good will of the Puritans of Boston, he became a successful suitor for the hand of his old enemy's widow, and succeeded to his place and estate. This good fortune, however, did not make him any more disposed to do justice to those who had befriended him in his adversity; and merchants of Boston who had been beguiled into investments on his fair promises were never repaid.

Within the borders of Maine the French had settlements at Penobscot, Mount Desert, Machias, and on the St. Croix. The settlers, generally, were of a poor quality, ignorant, unenterprising, and indolent, under the control of a military government and a bigoted priesthood, and the settlements were far from flourishing. The French, however, were always on good terms with the Indians, among whom the priests

labored with a certain sort of success in making converts, the ceremonies of the Catholic church appealing forcibly to the superstition of the natives. French and Indians mingled freely, and often lived together in the wigwams of the latter. D'Aulnay and La Tour, in their traffic, furnished the natives with fire-arms and ammunition, contrary to the general policy of the English colonists. But while the French held such cordial relations with the Indians, the possession and use of fire-arms by the latter boded evil only to the English settlers. Hostility to the English was artfully encouraged by officers and priests, and in time led to many outrages and the shedding of much blood.

In this connection, mention may be made of the career of a Frenchman some years after the period already referred to. After his marriage of D'Aulnay's widow, La Tour rebuilt his fort and residence at St. John, and enjoyed several years of quiet. St. John, Penobscot, and several other French forts and settlements, were then captured by a naval force fitted out at Boston. This force was intended to operate against the Dutch at New Netherlands; but peace having been made before the armament was ready, it was sent—with some of the English ships that had come to reduce New Amsterdam—to assert the old claim of a prior right to all the territory east of the Penobscot. The French were unprepared for such unsuspected hostilities, France and England being then at peace, and the forts were easily captured. Notwithstanding the circumstances under which the places were captured, Cromwell refused to restore them, and the territory was held by the English for a dozen years or more, when it was again surrendered by Charles II. to the French.

During this interval there came to America, among the officers of the French troops, the Baron St. Castine, who, after some years of service, when his regiment was disbanded, received a liberal grant of lands, in common with his fellow-officers. Castine, with a few followers, settled at a place on the eastern shore of Penobscot Bay, which still bears his name. There he established a trading-house of considerable importance; but he seems to have been disgusted with the uneventful life of such a settlement, and, plunging into the wilderness, he took up his abode with the Abenaki or Terratine Indians. He was enamoured with savage life, and adapted himself to it so readily that

he soon won the respect of the savages. He learned their language, taught them the advantages of military organization, and acquired so great an influence over them that they made him a great chief. To maintain his influence, and identify himself more fully with the tribe, he accepted the hand of a daughter of one of the chiefs, who was offered to him as a wife. He was made the great war-chief of the nation, and could summon all the warriors to follow him in any war-like expedition he chose to undertake. He was always on the side of the French, and hostile to the English, by whom he was regarded with fear and jealousy. He led his dusky warriors in several attacks on the English posts, captured Pemaquid, and fought in several engagements in Canada and Nova Scotia. He even planned an expedition against Boston, in which, with his Indian warriors, he was to operate on land, while a naval force attacked the place from the harbor; but this project was never undertaken. Under his rule, the Indians imbibed his national hatred of the English, in addition to their native hostility to the whites, while the bigotry of the Catholic missionaries taught the savages intolerance.

Although Castine was a wild and reckless adventurer, and while in the army had been guilty of debauchery which had sometimes brought him to grief, his joining the Abenakis was no temporary notion. He lived faithfully attached to his one wife,* though Indian customs encouraged him to accept the hands of other "princesses," and was contented to hold his savage court in the wilderness, though a large inheritance invited him back to France. Nor did he forget the civilized love of accumulation; but he established a trading-house at his first settlement, and by his influence and shrewd offers of reward he obtained great quantities of furs from his native subjects, which he exchanged for "good dry gold," and such gifts for his tawny subjects as would bring him additional stores of peltry. In this way he amassed a large fortune, which, however, was of little use in his chosen style of living, except to prepare hostile expeditions, and ultimately to provide liberal dowries for his several half-Indian daughters, who received a civilized education, and married Frenchmen of prominence in the colony. A son was

* Another account states that he had four or five native wives, "with whom he lived by turns."

reared both as a Frenchman and an Indian; for while he received such instruction adapted to his rank as a French nobleman, as circumstances would admit, he was trained in savage arts also, and was made a chief of the tribe. After his father's death, the younger Castine was captured by an English expedition in "Lovewell's war," and carried to Boston, where he was charged with attempting, as a French officer, to instigate the savages to war. With the self-control of the Indian and the dignity of a French nobleman he denied the charge. "By my mother," said he, "I am a Tarratine sachem, and all my life has been passed with that nation. As their chief, it was my duty to be present at their councils, and I was there not by any orders from the governor of Canada. The dress I wear is not the uniform of a French officer, but one I choose as suited to my rank."

After being detained several months as a prisoner, the young Castine was released; and soon after he abandoned his wasting tribe and went to France, to enter upon the inheritance which his father had so strangely neglected.

Castine was an exaggerated type of many of the French settlers in Acadia. Numbers of them sought the society, and engaged in the pursuits and pastimes of the savages. They were content with life in a wigwam and with Indian wives, and preferred the chase, with long intervals of idleness, to any regular industry. Under the control of the priests, who did not condemn such a course of life, they aided the latter in extending their influence over the Indians. The readiness with which the French adapted themselves to Indian habits secured the friendship of the natives, and Gallic and religious hostility to the English encouraged a like disposition in the savages.

NOTE.—For the matter of chapters VII. to XI. inclusive, as well as of chapters IV. and V., the author is especially indebted to the admirable works of Mr. Francis Parkman, "The Pioneers of France in the New World," and "The Jesuits in North America in the seventeenth Century," which give the English reader by far the best, and indeed the only complete and connected history of the early French efforts at colonization in America and conversion of the natives. To those works, the results of extensive research, and which combine the charms of romance with strict fidelity to historical fact, the reader is referred for a more full and interesting description of the events and characters outlined in the above-named chapters.

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SAMUEL WALKER & CO., 18 Arch Street, Boston.

[PART 5.]

PIONEERS
IN THE
Settlement
OF
AMERICA

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PIONEERS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA.

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[PART 6.]

A large circular frame, resembling a wooden barrel or a shield, is the central element. It is decorated with various tools and foliage. At the top, there are several knives and a pitchfork. At the bottom, there are more knives, a saw, and a small barrel. The frame is surrounded by a dense border of leaves and vines. The text is arranged within the frame: "PIONEERS" in a large, stylized font at the top, "IN THE" in a smaller font below it, "Settlement" in a very large, ornate font in the center, and "OF AMERICA" in a large, stylized font at the bottom.

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[PART 7.]

A large circular frame, resembling a wooden barrel or a metal drum, is the central element. It is decorated with various tools and foliage. At the top, a pitchfork and a bundle of sticks are visible. On the sides, there are more tools and leaves. The frame is secured with several bolts or rivets. The text is arranged within this frame: "PIONEERS" in a large, stylized font at the top, "IN THE" in a smaller font in the middle, "Settlement" in a large, gothic-style font in the center, and "OF AMERICA" in a large, stylized font at the bottom.

PIONEERS
IN THE
Settlement
OF
AMERICA

A decorative banner or ribbon is positioned at the bottom of the image. It is adorned with various tools and foliage, including a large axe, a pickaxe, and a bundle of sticks. The banner is tied with a ribbon that loops around the tools. The text on the banner is "SAMUEL WALKER & CO. 18 ARCH ST. BOSTON." in a serif font.

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[PART 8.]

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[PART 11.]

A large circular frame, resembling a wooden barrel or a metal drum, is the central element. It is decorated with various tools and foliage. At the top, there are several long, thin tools, possibly spears or poles, and some leaves. At the bottom, there are more tools, including what looks like a pickaxe, a shovel, and some leaves. The frame is divided into sections by horizontal lines, and the text is arranged within these sections.

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In the artistic department of the work the Publishers can confidently challenge competition. The illustrations are all from original drawings, made expressly and exclusively for this work, by F. O. C. DARLEY, W. L. SHEPPARD, G. PERKINS, and others, from subjects selected by the author, and the artists have added to their reputations as the leading designers of America. The initial letters of the chapters were also designed and engraved expressly for this work. The engraving has been under the special and personal supervision of Mr. GEORGE T. ANDREW, of the firm of JOHN ANDREW & SON, by whom, with W. J. LINTON, A. V. S. ANTHONY, and others, it has been executed in a style unequalled by any similar work ever attempted in this country. Printed at the well-known *University Press*, these illustrations, as well as the letter-press, are wholly American, and may well be offered in this Centennial year, as a beautiful specimen of American art and workmanship.

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[PART 13.]

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