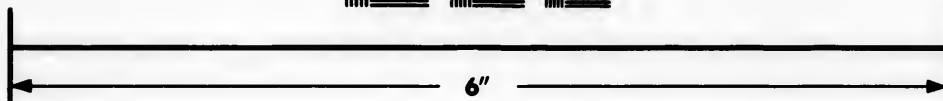
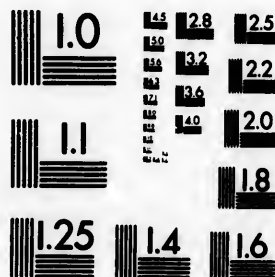


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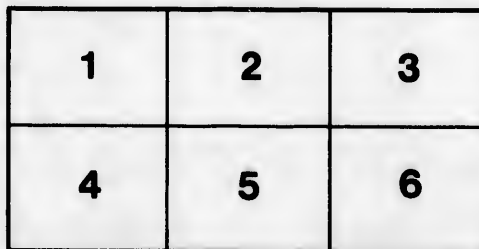
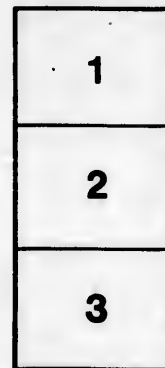
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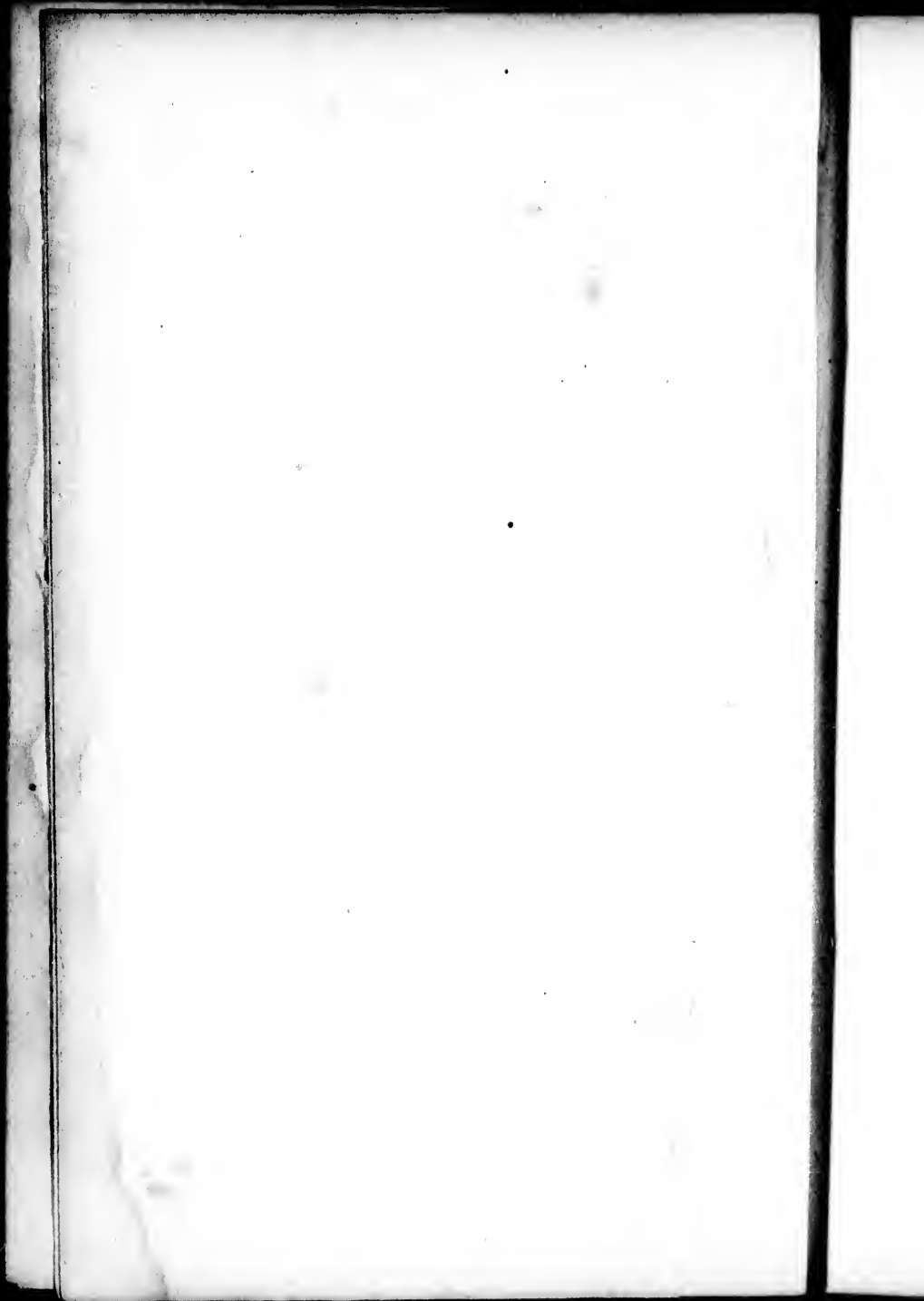
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### IX. JOHN DE FUCA.

WHEN the existence of a western continent was known to the maritime nations of Europe, one great object of their inquiry was to find, through some openings which appeared in it, a passage to India and China. For this purpose several expensive and unsuccessful voyages were made; and every hint which could throw any light on the subject was eagerly sought and attended to by those who considered its importance.

JOHN DE FUCA\* was a Greek, born in the Island of Cephalonia, in the Adriatic Gulf. He had been employed in the service of Spain, in the West Indies, as a mariner and pilot, above forty years. Having lost his fortune, amounting, as he said, to sixty thousand ducats, when the Acapulco ship was taken by Captain Cavendish, an Englishman, and being disappointed of the recompense

\* [Commonly known by that name, though properly called Apostolos Valerianos.—Purchas, iii., 849.—H.]

which he had expected from the court of Spain, he returned in disgust to his native country by the way of Italy, that he might spend the evening of his life in peace and poverty among his friends.

At Florence he met with John Douglas,\* an Englishman, and went with him to Venice. There Douglas introduced him to Michael Lock, who had been consul of the Turkey Company† at Aleppo, and was then occasionally resident in Venice (A.D. 1596).

In conversation with Mr. Lock, De Fuca gave him the following account of his adventures.

“That he had been sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, as pilot of three small vessels, to discover the Straits of Anian on the western coast of America, through which it was conjectured that a passage might be found into some of the deep bays on the eastern side of the continent. This voyage was frustrated by

\* [Douglas is called “a famous mariner,” and was then on his way to pilot a Venetian ship to England.—H.]

† [The first charter of this company was granted in 1581 to Edward Osborn (the first governor), Thomas Smith (afterward governor), and others, with the privilege of an exclusive trade to Turkey for seven years. It was made a perpetual corporation, with the power of regular succession, in 1605.—Anderson's History of Commerce, fol. i., 423 and 468.—H.]

the misconduct of the commander and the mutiny of the seamen.

“ In 1592 the viceroy sent him again, with the command of a caravel and a pinnace, on the same enterprise. Between the latitudes of 47° and 48° N. he discovered an inlet, into which he entered and sailed more than twenty days. At the entrance was a great headland, with an exceedingly high pinnacle or spired rock, like a pillar. Within the strait the land stretched N.W., and also E. and S.E. It was much wider within than at the entrance, and contained many islands. The inhabitants were clad in the skins of beasts. The land appeared to be fertile like that of New-Spain, and was rich in gold and silver.

“ Supposing that he had accomplished the intention of the voyage and penetrated into the North Sea, but not being strong enough to resist the force of the numerous savages who appeared on the shore, he returned to Acapulco before the expiration of the year.”

Such was the account given by De Fuca ; and Mr. Lock was so impressed with the sincerity of the relation and the advantages which his countrymen might derive from a knowledge of this strait, that he earnestly urged him to enter into the service of Queen

Elizabeth and perfect the discovery. He succeeded so far as to obtain a promise from the Greek, though sixty years old, that, if the queen would furnish him with one ship of forty tons and a pinnace, he would undertake the voyage. He was the more easily persuaded to this by a hope that the queen would make him some recompense for the loss of his fortune by Captain Cavendish.

Mr. Lock wrote to the Lord-treasurer Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Mr. Hakluyt, requesting that they would forward the scheme, and that one hundred pounds might be advanced to bring De Fuca to England. The scheme was approved, but the money was not advanced. Lock was so much engaged in it that he would have sent him to England at his own expense, but he was then endeavouring to recover at law his demands from the Turkey Company, and could not disburse the money. The pilot therefore returned to Cephalonia, and Lock kept up a correspondence with him till 1602, when he heard of his death.

Though this account, preserved by Purchas,\* bears sufficient marks of authenticity, yet it has been rejected as fabulous for nearly

\* Lib. iv., chap. xx., p. 849.

two centuries, and is treated so even by the very candid Dr. Forster.\* Recent voyages, however, have established the existence of the strait,† and De Fuca is no longer to be considered as an impostor, though the gold and silver in his account were but conjectural.

The strait which now bears his name is formed by land which is supposed to be the continent of America on one side, and by a very extensive cluster of islands on the other. Its southern entrance lies in lat.  $48^{\circ} 20' N.$ , long.  $124^{\circ} W.$  from Greenwich, and is about seven leagues wide. On the larboard side, which

\* Northern Voyages, p. 451.\*

† The strait was entered by a boat's crew from an English exploring vessel, the Felice, in 1788, who went some thirty leagues in it. The appearances singularly corresponded with the account of De Fuca. The next year it was for the first time sailed through, to its northwestern outlet in the Pacific Ocean, by an American sloop, the Washington.—Meares's Voyage to the Northwestern Coast of America, p. 178 and lvi., 4to, London, 1790. Meares was in this expedition, and gives in his work a plate representing the entrance of De Fuca's Straits, and in the accompanying maps traces the route of the Washington. He found it in latitude  $47^{\circ} 30'$  to  $48^{\circ} 30'$  north, and in longitude  $235^{\circ}$  to  $235^{\circ} 30'$  east of London. See also Greenhow's Report on the Northwest Coast, 1840.—H.]

\* [Dr. Forster states his opinion very cautiously. "This relation of De Fuca's in many instances seems to be rather fabulous, which renders the remaining part of it very suspicious," l. c.—H.]

is composed of islands, the land is very mountainous, rising abruptly in high and sharp peaks. On the starboard side is a point of land terminating in a remarkably tall rock, called the Pillar. Within the entrance the passage grows wider, extending to the S.E., N., and N.W., and is full of islands. On the E. and N.E., at a great distance, are seen the tops of mountains, supposed to be on the continent; but the ships trading for furs have not penetrated far to the eastward, the sea-otters being their principal object, and the land-furs of small consideration. For this reason the eastern boundary of the inland sea is not yet fully explored. The strait turns to the N. and N.W., encompassing a large cluster of islands, among which is situate Nootka Sound, and comes into the Pacific Ocean again in lat.  $51^{\circ} 15'$ , long.  $128^{\circ} 40'$ . This extremity of the strait is called its northern entrance, and is wider than the southern.

Another strait has been lately seen, which is supposed to be that of De Fonte, a Spanish admiral, discovered in 1640, the existence of which has also been treated as fabulous. The cluster of islands called by the British seamen Queen Charlotte's, and by the Americans Washington's Islands, are in the

very spot where De Fonte placed the Archipelago of St. Lazarus.\* The entrance only of this strait has been visited by the fur-ships. It lies in lat.  $54^{\circ} 35'$ , and long.  $131^{\circ} W.$ †

These recent and well-established facts may induce us to treat the relations of former voyages with decent respect. The circumnavigation of Africa by the ancient Phœnicians was for several ages deemed fabulous by the learned Greeks and Romans, but its credibility was fully established by the Portuguese discoveries in the fifteenth century. In like manner, the discoveries of De Fuca and De Fonte, which have long been stigmatized by geographers as *pretended*, and marked in their maps as *imaginary*, are now known to have been founded in truth, though, from the imperfection of instruments or the inaccuracy of historians, the degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude were not precisely marked, and though some circumstan-

\* See the Critical Review, January, 1791.

† For this information I am indebted to Captain ROBERT GRAY, who has the last summer (1793) returned from a second circumnavigation of the globe, in the ship *Columbia*, of Boston. He has sailed quite through the strait of De Fuca, and seen the entrance of that of De Fonte. The latitudes and longitudes of these places are taken from a very neat and accurate map of the N.W. coast of America, drawn by Mr. HASWELL, first mate of the *Columbia* in her late voyage.



ces in their accounts are but conjectural. Farther discoveries may throw new light on the subject ; and though perhaps a N.W. passage by sea from the Atlantic into the Pacific may not exist, yet bays, rivers, and lakes are so frequent in those northern regions of our continent that an inland navigation may be practicable.

It has been suggested that the company of English merchants who enjoy an exclusive trade to Hudson's Bay have, from interested motives, concealed their knowledge of its western extremities. Whether there be any just foundation for this censure I do not pretend to determine ; but a survey is said to be now making, from which it is hoped that this long-contested question of a N.W. passage will receive a full solution.

## X. DE MONTS, POUTRINCOURT, AND CHAMPLAIN.

AFTER the discovery of Canada by Cartier, the French continued trading to that country for furs, and fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Acadia, where they found many excellent and convenient harbours, among which Canseau was early distinguished as a place extremely suitable for the fishery. One Savalet, an old mariner who frequented that port, had before 1609 made no less than forty-two voyages to those parts.\*

Henry IV., king of France, perceived the advantages which might arise to his kingdom from a farther exploration of the northern parts of America, and therefore gave encouragement to those who were desirous of making adventures. In 1598 the Marquis DE LA ROCHE obtained a commission of lord-lieutenant, and undertook a voyage with a view to establish a colony, consisting of convicts taken out of the prisons. Happening in the course of his voyage to fall in with the

\* Purchas, v., 1640.

Isle of Sable, a low, sandy island, lying about twenty-five leagues southward of Canseau, he there landed forty of his miserable crew, to subsist on the cattle and swine with which the place had been stocked by the Portuguese for the relief of shipwrecked seamen. The reason given for choosing this forlorn place for the disembarcation of his colony was, that they would be out of all danger from the savages till he should find a better situation for them on the continent, when he promised to return and take them off. Whether he ever reached the continent is uncertain,\* but he never again saw the Isle of Sable. Returning to France, he engaged in the wars, was made a prisoner by the Duke of Mercœur, and soon after died. The wretched exiles subsisted on such things as the place afforded, and clothed themselves with the skins of seals. At the end of seven years,† King Henry, in compassion, sent a fisherman to bring them home. Twelve only were then

\* Forster says that "he made in different parts of it such researches as he thought necessary, and then returned to France," p. 443. Purchas says that "it was his fortune, by reason of contrary wind, not to find the main land, but was blown back to France."—Vol. v., p. 1807.

† Purchas says twelve; this will bring it to the last year of Henry's life, 1610.

alive. The fisherman, concealing from them the generous intention of their sovereign, took all the skins which they had collected as a recompense for his services, some of which, being black foxes, were of great value. The king had them brought before him in their sealskin habits and long beards. He pardoned their former crimes, and made each of them a present of fifty crowns. When they discovered the fraud of the fisherman, they instituted a process against him at law, and recovered large damages, by means of which they acquired so much property as to enter into the same kind of traffic.

The king also granted to PONTGRAVE DE CHAUVIN\* an exclusive privilege of trading at

\* [There seems to be a confusion of persons in this passage. Chauvin and Pontgravé were different men, though associated in discovery and trade to the St. Lawrence. Chauvin was a native of Normandy, a Protestant, a captain in the royal navy, and had much experience as well in the French maritime warfare as in navigation. He undertook a voyage to Tadousac in the year 1599, at the solicitation of the Sieur du Pontgravé, who was a resident, and is said to have been a merchant of St. Malo. In his second voyage, Pontgravé, who had now obtained a monopoly of the trade at Tadousac, and De Monts accompanied him. In 1602, while preparing for a third expedition, he died.—Voyages De Champlain, ed. 1632, lib. i., cap. 6. The enterprise was continued by Pontgravé, under the auspices of De Chaste, governor of Dieppe. De Chaste, having a commission from the king, had for this purpose formed a company of gentlemen and merchants

Tadousac, the mouth of the River Saguenay, to which place he made two voyages, and was preparing for a third, when he was prevented by death.

The next voyager of any note was SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN,\* of Brouage, a man of a noble family, who in 1603 sailed up the river of Canada as far as Cartier had gone in 1535. He made many inquiries of the natives concerning their country, its rivers, falls, lakes, mountains, and *mines*. The result of his inquiry was, that a communication was formed by means of two lakes with the country of the Iroquois towards the south; that towards the west there were more and greater lakes of fresh water, to one of which they knew no

of Rouen, at whose expense the voyage was undertaken. Pontgravé, attended by Champlain, sailed in 1603 up the St. Lawrence as far as the Falls of St. Louis. Their equipment was scanty, their barks being of only twelve or fifteen tons.—*Ib.*, 38, 40. Pontgravé is frequently mentioned in the text under the name of Dupont.—H.]

\* [Champlain had already done good service in the wars of France, and had enjoyed the favourable notice of the king, who, to retain him in his immediate employment, had given him a pension. He accompanied Chauvin in his second voyage to New-France in 1600, and remained there nearly two years and a half.—*Voyages De Champlain*, lib. i., p. 39. He sailed again with De Monts in 1604, and remained in America four years. In 1609 he was made lieutenant of New-France under De Monts, sailed to the St. Lawrence, where he arrived July 3d, and fixed his quarters at Quebec.—H.]

limits, and that to the northward there was an inland sea of fresh water. In the course of this voyage Champlain anchored at a place called *Quebec*, which in the language of the country signified a strait; and this was thought to be a proper situation for a fort and settlement. He heard of no mines but one of copper, far to the northward. With this information he returned to France in the month of September.

On the eighth of November in the same year, King Henry granted to the Sieur De MONTS,\* a gentleman of his bedchamber, a patent constituting him lieutenant-general of all the territory of *L'Acadia*, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, with power to subdue the inhabitants and convert them to the Christian faith.†‡ This

\* [This was his title. His proper name was Pierre du Gast (Bosman's *Maryland*, 115) or Du Gua (Lescarbot, *Nouvelle France*, 431, ed. 1612). He was a gentleman of Xaintonge, held the office of governor of Pons, and had been highly distinguished in the wars of France.—H.]

† [Probably the larger number of those who accompanied De Monts were Catholics. He himself was a Protestant and a Calvinist. His commission was given him on condition of planting the Catholic religion in Acadia, though complete toleration was allowed among the French adventurers. To this mixture of religions was ascribed the failure of his scheme.—Champlain, i., 8.—H.]

‡ See the patent, in French, in Hazard's *Collection*, vol. i.,

patent was published in all the maritime towns of France; and De Monts, having equipped two vessels, sailed for his new government on the seventh of March, 1604, taking with him the aforesaid Samuel Champlain for a pilot, and Monsieur DE POUTRINCOURT,\* who had been for a long time desirous to visit America.

On the 6th of May they arrived at a harbour on the S.E. side of the Peninsula of Acadia, where they found one of their countrymen, Rossignol, trading with the Indians without license.† They seized his ship and

45, and translated into English, in Churchill's Collections, vol. viii., p. 796.

\* [Bosman and Haliburton spell this name Pontrincourt. Lescarbot, who is the best authority, spells it as in the text. In a letter to Pope Paul V., written on his return from his second voyage to America, he styles himself "Joannes de Biencour, vulgo de Poutrincour."—Nouvelle France, 612. Some years after, and as early as 1609, he succeeded, on the death of his mother, to the barony of St. Just, in Champagne, at the confluence of the Seine and Aube. He held a high place in the esteem of King Henry, who, to secure his services and allegiance while besieging Beaumont Castle, offered to create him Count de Beaumont, an offer which, in his zeal for the Catholic Church, Poutrincourt rejected, though he afterward served him without reward or promise when Henry had renounced Protestantism.—Lescarbot's Relation, &c., 3, 4. In this voyage with De Monts he proposed to select a spot for permanent emigration with his family, and accordingly returned to France in the autumn of the same year.—H.]

† [To enable himself to defray the expenses of this expedi-

cargo, leaving him only the poor consolation of giving his name to the harbour where he was taken; the provisions found in his ship were a seasonable supply, and without them the enterprise must have been abandoned. This place is now called Liverpool.

From Port Rossignol they coasted the peninsula to the S. W., and, having doubled Cape Sable, came to anchor in the Bay of St. Mary, where Aubry,\* a priest, going ashore, was lost in the woods, and a Protestant was charged with having murdered him, because they had sometimes had warm disputation on religious subjects. They waited for him several days, firing guns and sounding trumpets, but in vain; the noise of the sea was so great that no other sound could be heard. Concluding that he was dead, they quitted the place after sixteen days,† intending to examine that ex-

tion, De Monts had obtained from the king an exclusive right to the fur-trade in America, by letters patent, dated December 18, 1603.—Lescarbot, N. F., 439-442. The encouragement of this traffic, and the securing of it to France, were the chief objects of the king in patronising the scheme.—H.]

\* [Haliburton (Nova Scotia, i., 14) calls him Daubré; Lescarbot, who is of course to be preferred, writes Aubri. He was of a good family in Paris, and accompanied De Monts, from an ardent desire to visit America, contrary to the wishes of all his friends.—H.]

† [I. e., sixteen days after they entered the bay. They stay-



tensive bay on the west of the peninsula, to which they gave the name of La Baye Françoise, but which is now called the Bay of Fundy. The priest was afterward found alive, but almost starved to death.

On the eastern side of this bay they discovered a narrow strait, into which they entered, and soon found themselves in a spacious basin, environed with hills, from which descended streams of fresh water, and between the hills ran a fine navigable river, which they called L'Equille.\* It was bordered with fertile meadows, and full of delicate fish. Poutrincourt, charmed with the beauty of the place, determined here to take his residence, and, having received a grant of it from De Monts, gave it the name of Port Royal [Annapolis].

From Port Royal De Monts sailed farther into the great bay to visit a copper mine. It was a high rock, on a promontory, between two bays [Menis]. The copper,† though

ed four days for the unfortunate priest, who was found, sixteen days after he was lost, by a party under Champdore, who had returned to examine the ores near St. Mary's Bay.—H.]

\* [Called also Du Dauphin in Lescarbot, now Allan's River.—Haliburton, i., 15, note.—H.]

† [Haliburton (Nova Scotia, i., 16) places this copper mine at Cape Dore or Cape D'Or, and the crystals near Parrsboro,

mixed with stone, was very pure, resembling that called Rozette copper. Among these stones they found crystals and a certain shining stone of a blue colour. Specimens of these stones were sent to the king.

In farther examining the bay they came to a great river, which they called St. John's,\* full of islands and swarming with fish. Up this river they sailed fifty leagues,† and were extremely delighted with the vast quantity of grapes which grew on its banks. By this river they imagined that a shorter communication might be had with the Baye de Chaleur and the port of Tadousac than by the sea.

From the River St. John they coasted the bay southwesterly till they came to an island in the middle of a river which Champlain had previously explored. Finding its situation safe and convenient, De Monts resolved

which are on the opposite side of the strait that leads into Mianao's Basin.—H.]

\* [Called by the natives Ouigoudi. Haliburton, who is careless in such matters, writes it Ouangondy. De Monts named it St. John's, because it was discovered June 24th, the day of the festival of St. John the Baptist.—Lescarbot, N. F., 459.—H.]

† [Lescarbot (Nouvelle France, 459) places this expedition up the St. John's in the year 1608, four years later. It was undertaken by Champdoré and one of De Monts' men.—H.]

there to build a fort and pass the winter. To this island he gave the name of St. Croix,\*

\* This is a station of much importance. It has given rise to a controversy between the United States and the British government which is not yet terminated. I shall therefore give a description of this island and its surrounding waters, from a translation of *Mark Lescarbot's* history of the Voyages of De Monts, in which he himself was engaged, and therefore had seen the place which he describes. This translation is to be found at large in Churchill's Collections, vol. viii., 796, and an abridgment of it in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. v., 1619.

"Leaving St. John's River, they came, following the coast twenty leagues from that place, to a *great river*, which is properly *sea* [i. e., salt water], where they fortified themselves in a *little island* seated in the midst of this river, which the said Champlain had been to discover and view. And seeing it strong by nature, and of easy defence and keeping, besides that the season began to slide away, and therefore it was behoveful to provide of lodging without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there.

"Before we speak of the ship's return to France, it is meet to tell you how *hard* the Isle of St. Croix is to be found out to them that were never there. For there are so many isles and great bays to go by [from St. John's] before one be at it, that I wonder how one might ever pierce so far as to find it. There are *three or four mountains*, imminent above the others, *on the sides*; but on the *north side*, from whence the river runneth down, there is but a *sharp-pointed one*, above two leagues distant. The woods of the mainland are fair and admirable high, and well grown, as in like manner is the grass. There is right over against the island *fresh-water brooks*, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of Mons. De Monts men did their business, and builded there certain cabins. As for the nature of the ground, it is most excellent and most abundantly fruitful. For the said Mons. De Monts having caused there some piece of

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because that two leagues higher there were  
brooks which "came crosswise to fall within  
this large branch of the sea."

The winter proved severe, and the people  
suffered so much by the scurvy that thirty-  
six of them died; the remaining forty, who  
were all sick, lingered till the spring (1605),  
when they recovered by means of the fresh  
vegetation. The remedy which Cartier had  
found in Canada was here unknown.

ground to be tilled, and the same sowed with rye, he was not  
able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it; and, notwith-  
standing, the grain fallen hath grown and increased so wonder-  
fully, that two years after we reaped and did gather of it as fair,  
big, and weighty as in France, which the soil hath brought forth  
without any tillage; and yet at this present [1609] it doth con-  
tinue still to multiply every year.

"The said island containeth some *half a league in circuit*,  
and at the end of it, on the sea side, there is a mount or *small*  
*hill*, which is, as it were, *a little isle severed from the other*,  
where Mons. de Monts his cannon were placed. There is also  
a little chapel, built after the savage fashion. At the foot of  
which chapel there is such *store of muscles* as is wonderful,  
which may be gathered at low water, but they are small.

"Now let us prepare and hoist up sails. Mons. de Poutrin-  
court made the voyage in these parts with some men of good  
sort, not to winter there, but, as it were, to seek out his seat,  
and find out a land that might like him. Which he having  
done, had no need to sojourn there any longer. So then, the  
ships being ready for the return, he shipped himself and those  
of his company in one of them.

"During the foresaid navigation, Mons. De Monts his people  
did work about the *fort*, which he seated *at the end of the isl-*

As soon as his men had recovered, De Monts resolved to seek a comfortable station

*and*, opposite to the place where he had lodged his cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end *to command the river up and down*. But there was an inconvenience; the said fort did lie towards the north, and without any shelter but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which all about he commanded to be kept and not cut down.

“The most urgent things being done, and hoary, snowy father being come, that is to say, winter, then they were forced to keep within doors, and to live every one at his own home. During which time our men had three special discommodities in this island, want of food (for that which was in the said isle was spent in buildings), *lack of fresh water*, and the continual watch made by night, fearing some surprise from the savages that had lodged themselves at the foot of the said island, or some other enemy. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such that one must take heed of them much more than of infidels. When they had need of water or wood they were constrained to cross over the river, which is *thrice as broad of every side as the River of Seine*.”\*

By a gentleman who resided several years in those parts, I have been informed that an island which answers to this description lies in the *eastern* part of the Bay of Passamaquoddy; and there the River St. Croix was supposed to be by the commissioners who negotiated the peace in 1783, who had Mitchel's map before them; but in a map of the coast of New-England and Nova Scotia, published in London, 1787, by Robert Sayer, and said to be drawn by Captain Holland, the River St. Croix is laid down at the *western* part of the bay, the breadth of which is about six or seven leagues.

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\* [Leacarbott was a native of Vervins. His account of the voyages of De Monts, from which the above passage is taken, is entitled “*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*.” The second edition,

in a warmer climate. Having victualled and armed his pinnace, he sailed along the coast to Norombega, a name which had been given by some European adventurers to the Bay of Penobscot; from thence he sailed to Kennebec, Casco, Saco, and finally came to Malabarre, as Cape Cod was then called by the French. In some of the places which he had passed the land was inviting, and particular notice was taken of the grapes; but the savages appeared numerous, unfriendly, and thievish:\* De Monts' company being small, he preferred safety to pleasure, and returned first to St. Croix, and then to Port Royal, where he found Dupont,† in a ship from

which I have used, was published at Paris, 1612, in two volumes 12mo. In the title-page he calls himself "Marc Lescarbot, advocat en Parlement." To his "Relation," elsewhere described, are appended some sixty pages of odes, sonnets, &c., entitled "Les Muses de la Nouvelle France," a large part of which was written in America, and which he, at least, seems to have regarded with some partiality.—H.]

\* [The natives on the coast, from the St. John's to the Kennebec, were called Etechemins, and from the Kennebec to Cape Cod, Armouchiquois.—Lescarbot, N. F., 498.—H.]

† [Dupont had come over with De Monts the preceding year. Lescarbot (N. F., 501) calls him "Le Sieur du Pont, surnommé Gravé." He had with him a son, Robert Gravé. He had been resident at Honfleur, and is characterized as a man of great activity and energy. I suppose him to be the Pontgravé referred to in page 17, note. He afterward went with Cham-

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France, with fresh supplies, and a re-enforcement of forty men. The stores which had been deposited at St. Croix were removed across the bay, but the buildings were left standing. New houses were erected at the mouth of the river which runs into the basin of Port Royal; there the stores and people were lodged; and De Monts, having put his affairs in as good order as possible, in the month of September embarked for France, leaving Dupont as his lieutenant, with Champlain and Champdore,\* to perfect the settlement and explore the country.

During the next winter they were plentifully supplied by the savages with venison, and a great trade was carried on for furs. Nothing is said of the scurvy; but they had short allowance of bread, not by reason of any scarcity of corn, but because they had

plain in the expedition to the St. Lawrence in 1608, and, with the exception of an occasional return to France, remained in Canada till after 1629, when I have lost sight of him.—H.]

\* [Haliburton (Nova Scotia, i., 17) is in error in calling Champdoré "the mineralogist of the expedition." On the occasion to which he refers, Champdoré was sent, *with* a mineralogist, "un maitre de mines."—Lescarbot, N. F., 462. He was employed as a pilot, "pour la conduite des voyages."—Ib, 503. Lescarbot, in his *Muses de la Nouvelle France*, has a sonnet addressed to "Pierre Angibaut dit Champdoré, Capitain de Marine en la Nouvelle France."—H.]

no other mill to grind it than the hand-mill, which required hard and continual labour. The savages were so averse to this exercise, that they preferred hunger to the task of grinding corn, though they were offered half of it in payment. Six men only died in the course of this winter.

In the spring of 1606, Dupont attempted to find what De Monts had missed in the preceding year, a more southerly settlement. His bark was twice forced back with adverse winds, and the third time was driven on rocks and bilged at the mouth of the port. The men and stores were saved, but the vessel was lost. These fruitless attempts proved very discouraging; but Dupont employed his people in building a bark and shallop, that they might employ themselves in visiting the ports whither their countrymen resort to dry their fish\* till new supplies should arrive.

De Monts and Poutrincourt were at that time in France, preparing, amid every discouragement, for another voyage.† On the

\* [Canseau was principally frequented by the French; Mirimachi and the Bay de Chaleur by the English.—H.]

† [The reports made by De Monts respecting Acadia had not been very favourably received in France, and some difficulty was experienced in enlisting men for a new expedition. This difficulty was overcome chiefly by the reputation and influence of



13th of May they sailed from Rochelle in a ship of one hundred and fifty tons,\* and on the 27th of July arrived at Port Royal, in the absence of Dupont, who had left two men only to guard the fort. In a few days he arrived, having met with one of their boats which they had left at Canseau, and great was the joy on both sides at their meeting.

Poutrincourt now began his plantation; and, having cleared a spot of ground, within fifteen days he sowed European corn and several sorts of garden vegetables. But, notwithstanding all the beauty and fertility of Port Royal, De Monts had still a desire to find a better place at the southward. He therefore prevailed on Poutrincourt to make another voyage to Cape Malebarre; and so earnest was he to have this matter accomplished, that he would not wait till the next spring, but prepared a bark to go to the

Poutrincourt, who had already received from De Monts a division of the territory of Acadia, and who now, more resolutely than ever, purposed to establish there himself, his family, and the Catholic religion. To effect this favourite scheme, he left, as he had done before, his property in France exposed to several suits at law then in progress, and to his success in which his personal presence was important. It was found necessary to make advances of money to those who were induced to embark in this expedition.—Lescarbot, Nouvelle France, 508-510.—H.]

\* [The ship was named the Jonas: "le Jonas."—H.]

southward as soon as the ship was ready to sail.

On the 28th of August the ship and the bark both sailed from Port Royal. In the ship De Monts and Dupont returned to France, while Poutrincourt, Champlain, Champdore, and others crossed the bay to St. Croix, and thence sailed along the coast, touching at many harbours in their way, till they arrived in sight of the cape, the object of their voyage. Being entangled among the shoals, their rudder was broken, and they were obliged to come to anchor at the distance of three leagues from the land. The boat was then sent ashore to find a harbour of fresh water, which, by the information of one of the natives, was accomplished. Fifteen days were spent in this place, during which time a cross was erected, and possession taken for the King of France, as De Monts had done two years before at Kennebec. When the bark was repaired and ready to sail, Poutrincourt took a walk into the country while his people were baking bread. In his absence some of the natives visited his people and stole a hatchet. Two guns were fired at them, and they fled. In his return he saw several parties of the savages, male and female, carrying away

their children and their corn, and hiding themselves as he and his company passed. He was alarmed at this strange appearance, but much more so when, early the next morning, a shower of arrows came flying among his people, two of whom were killed and several others wounded. The savages, having taken their revenge, fled, and it was in vain to pursue them. The dead were buried at the foot of the cross; and, while the funeral-service was performing, the savages were dancing and yelling in mock-concert at a convenient distance, but within hearing. When the French retired on board their bark, the savages took down the cross, dug up the bodies and stripped them of their grave-clothes, which they carried off in triumph.

This unhappy quarrel gave Poutrincourt a bad idea of the natives. He attempted to pass farther round the cape, but was prevented by contrary winds, and forced back to the same harbour, where the savages offering to trade, six or seven of them were seized and put to death.

The next day another attempt was made to sail farther, but the wind came against them. At the distance of six or seven leagues they discovered an island, but the wind would not

permit them to approach it; they therefore gave it the name of Douteuse or Doubtful. This was probably either Nantucket or Capawock, now called Martha's Vineyard; and if so, the contest with the Indians was on the south shore of Cape Cod, where are several harbours and streams of fresh water. To the harbour where he lay he gave the name of Port Fortune.

It was now late in the season, and no prospect appeared of obtaining any better place for a settlement; besides, he had two wounded men whose lives were in danger. He therefore determined to return, which he did by the shortest and most direct course; and, after a perilous voyage, in which the rudder was again broken and the bark narrowly escaped shipwreck, he arrived at Port Royal on the 14th of November.\*

The manner in which they spent the third

\* [To show their joy at the safe return of Poutrincourt, Les-carbot, who was there, devised some sports, or, as he terms them, "quelque gaillardise;" and farther to celebrate that event, they placed over the entrance of the fort the arms of France, wreathed with laurel, with the motto DUO PROTEGET UNUS. Below them were put the arms of De Monts, with the inscription DABIT DEUS HIS QUOQUE FINEM, and of Poutrincourt, with the inscription INVIA VIRTUTI NULLA EST VIA. These also were adorned with chaplets of laurel.—Lescarbot, N. F., 579.—H.]

winter was social and festive. At the principal table, to which fifteen persons belonged, an order was established by the name of *L'ordre de bon temps*. Every one took his turn to be caterer and steward for one day, during which he wore the collar of the order and a napkin, and carried a staff. After supper he resigned his accoutrements, with the ceremony of drinking a cup of wine, to the next in succession. The advantage of this institution was, that each one was emulous to be prepared for his day, by previously hunting or fishing, or purchasing fish and game of the natives, who constantly resided among them, and were extremely pleased with their manners.\*

Four only died in this winter, and it is remarked that these were "sluggish and fretful." The winter was mild and fair. On a Sunday in the middle of January, after Divine service, they "sported and had much music on the river;" and in the same month they went two leagues to see their cornfield, and dined cheerfully in the sunshine.

\* [Lescarbot, commending their good cheer, in reply to the insinuations of some Parisian epicures who had made sport of their supposed coarse fare, said that they lived as luxuriously as they could have done in the street *Aux Ours* in Paris, and at much less expense.—H.]

At the first opening of the spring (1607) they began to prepare gardens, the produce of which was extremely grateful, as were also the numberless fish which came into the river. They also erected a water-mill, which not only saved them much hard labour at the hand-mill, but gave them more time for fishing. The fish which they took were called herrings and pilchards, of which they pickled several hogsheads to be sent home to France.

In April they began to build two barks, in which they might visit the ports frequented by the fishermen, and learn some news from their mother-country, as well as get supplies for their subsistence. Having no pitch to pay the seams, they were obliged to cut pine-trees and burn them in kilns, by which means they obtained a sufficiency.

On Ascension Day\* a vessel arrived from France, destined to bring supplies, a large share of which the crew had ungenerously consumed in their voyage. The letters brought by this vessel informed them that the company of merchants associated with De Monts were discouraged, and that their ship was to be employed in the fishery at Canseau. The reason of this proceeding was, that, contrary

\* [Some day in May. The vessel was the Jonas again.—H.]

to the king's edict, the Hollanders had intruded themselves into the fur-trade in the River of Canada, having been conducted by a treacherous Frenchman ; in consequence of which,\* the king had revoked the exclusive privilege which he had given to De Monts for ten years.† The avarice of these Hol-

\* [It is hardly probable that the intrusion of the Hollanders could have induced the king to revoke letters patent to De Monts. Lescarbot (Nouvelle France, 591) states this fact as the reason why the company of merchants was dissolved, the loss of this trade being supposed so to diminish their resources that they would be unable to bear the expense of the colony. He gives also (p. 619) as the reasons of the revocation, the natural jealousy of a monopoly, and the petitions of the merchants of St. Malo and others, "who sought their own profit, and not the honour of God and of France ;" which petitions were made, ostensibly at least, on account of the high price of the beavers imported by De Monts. He adds, what was, perhaps, a reason of some weight, that for the three years during which he had held the patent, he had made no converts among the natives. The robbery of the Indian graves he ascribes (p. 593) to the French, who had come to bring them home, "ceux qui nous sont venus querir," and says that it "made the name of the French odious and contemptible" among the Indians. The murder of La Jeunesse, who had showed the new-comers, "a nos gens," the burial-places of the natives, took place when the company were at Canseau, on their way from Port Royal to France—"lorsque nous Estions à Campseau."—H.]

† [Champlain affirms that De Monts could obtain only the pitiful sum of 6000 livres, as a recompense for all his labours and expense (which was not less than 100,000 livres) in his colonial efforts.—Voyages de Champlain, i., 8.—H.]

landers was so great, that they had opened the graves of the dead and taken the beaver-skins in which the corpses had been buried. This outrage was so highly resented by the savages at Canseau, that they killed the person who had shown the places where the dead were laid. This news was extremely unwelcome, as it portended the destruction of the colony.

Poutrincourt, however, was so well pleased with his situation, that he determined to return to it, though none but his own family should accompany him. He was very desirous to see the issue of his attempt at agriculture, and therefore detained the vessel as long as he could, and employed his bark in small voyages about the bay, to trade for furs, and gather specimens of iron and copper to be transported to France. When they were all ready to sail, he tarried eleven days longer than the others, that he might carry home the first-fruits of his harvest. Leaving the buildings, and part of the provision, with the standing corn, as a present to the friendly natives, he finally sailed from Port Royal on the 11th of August, and joined the other vessels at Canseau, from which place they proceeded to



France, where they arrived in the latter end of September.

Specimens of the wheat, rye, barley, and oats were shown to the king, which, with other productions of the country, animal and mineral, were so highly acceptable, that he renewed and confirmed to De Monts the privilege of trading for beavers, that he might have it in his power to establish a colony. In consequence of which, the next spring several families were sent to renew the plantation, who found that the savages had gathered seven barrels of the corn which had been left standing, and had reserved one for their friends, whom they expected to return.

The revocation of the exclusive patent given to De Monts was founded on complaints made by the masters of fishing vessels, that the branch of commerce in which they were engaged would be ruined. When this patent was restored it was limited to one year, and on this condition, that he should make an establishment in the River St. Lawrence. De Monts therefore quitted his connexion with Acadia, and the company of merchants with whom he had been connected fitted out two ships for the port of Tadousac in 1608. The fur-trade was of very considerable value,

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and the company made great profits ; but De Monts, finding their interests hurt by his connexion with them, withdrew from the association.

Poutrincourt resolving to prosecute his plantation at Port Royal, the grant of which had been confirmed to him by the king, sent Biencourt, his son, to France (1608) for a supply of men and provisions.\* One condi-

\* The date in the text must be an error. Lescarbot, besides his work entitled "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*," already often referred to, published a smaller work, "*Relation Dernière de ce que c'est passé au voyage du Sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France, depuis 20 mois ença*," Paris, 1612. In this work, after alluding to the two voyages of Poutrincourt already made, he says (p. 6) that he set sail again for America (having now lost *two years* by relying on the promised assistance and company of others, N. F., 635) February 26th, 1610, "*mil six cens dix*," and reached Port Royal in the latter part of May. A leading purpose of this voyage was the conversion of the natives, some of whom had previously been instructed in the Catholic faith. These instructions were renewed ; and on the festival of St. John the Baptist, June 24th, Membertou, the chief of the Indians in that region, with twenty of his tribe, made a formal profession of their faith in receiving the ordinance of baptism. Membertou, to show his zeal in the new religion, offered to make war on all who should refuse to become Christians. Poutrincourt found it necessary to send his eldest son (Biencourt), le Baron de Saint Just, then about nineteen years old, to France for a supply of provisions and merchandise. He sailed from Port Royal July 8th, and reached Dieppe August 21st. The period of his absence was passed by his father in settling his new republic, and initiating the Christian Indians in the cere-

tion of the grant was, that attempts should be made to convert the natives to the Catholic faith; it was therefore necessary to engage the assistance of some ecclesiastics. The first who embraced the proposal were the Jesuits, by whose zealous exertions a contribution was soon made for the purpose, and two of their order, Biard and Masse, embarked for the new plantation. It was not long before a controversy arose between them and monial of their new faith. The music of the hymns and chants used in these services was composed by him. St. Just was charged to return in four months, and was, of course, expected by the end of November. They passed the winter, however, without seeing him, on a short allowance of provisions, eked out by the uncertain resources of hunting and fishing. St. Just was detained in France partly by an unsuccessful attempt to monopolize the trade in furs. The news of the conversion of the heathen was joyfully received by the king and queen, the latter of whom, to carry on this good work, directed two Jesuits to accompany him. They were Fathers Biard (Lescarbot writes it Biar and Birat), a learned man of Gascony, and Remond Masse. Their commission was another cause of delay, as the merchants at Dieppe associated with Poutrincourt would not allow them to embark without an advance of money, which was at last obtained of the queen. At length he set sail, Jan. 26th, 1611, and, having been forced by contrary winds to put into England, reached Port Royal 22d May. The delay was a serious loss to Poutrincourt in respect of the trade in beaver, much of which he lost for want of seasonable supplies. Of the later life of Poutrincourt I have been able to find nothing, except that he soon returned to France. See also *Voyages de Champlain*, lib. iii., cap. 1.—H.]

the proprietor, who said "it was his part to *rule* them on earth, and theirs only to *guide* him to heaven."\* After his departure for France, his son Biencourt, disdaining to be controlled by those whom he had invited to reside with him, threatened them with corporeal punishment in return for their spiritual anathemas. It became necessary, then, that they should separate. The Jesuits removed to Mount Desart, where they planted gardens and entered on the business of their mission, which they continued till 1613 or 1614, when Sir Samuel Argal, from Virginia, broke up the French settlements in Acadia. In the encounter one of these Jesuits was killed and the other was made prisoner. Of the other Frenchmen, some dispersed themselves in the woods and mixed with the savages; some went to the River St. Lawrence, and strengthened the settlement which Champlain had made there; and others returned to France.

Two advantages were expected to result from establishing a colony in the River St. Lawrence: one was an extension of the fur-trade, and another was the hope of penetrating westward through the lakes to the Pacific Ocean, and finding a nearer communica-

\* Purchas, v., 1808.

tion with China. One of the vessels sent by the company of merchants in 1608 to that river was commanded by Champlain. In his former voyage he had marked the strait above the Isle of Orleans as a proper situation for a fort, because the river was there contracted in its breadth, and the northern shore was high and commanding. He arrived there in the beginning of July, and immediately began to clear the woods, to build houses, and prepare fields and gardens. Here he spent the winter, and his company suffered much by the scurvy. The remedy which Cartier had used was not to be found, or the savages knew nothing of it. It is supposed that the former inhabitants had been extirpated, and a new people held possession.\*

In the spring of 1609, Champlain, with two other Frenchmen and a party of the natives, went up the river now called Sorel, and entered the lakes which lie towards the south and communicate with the country of the Iroquois. To the largest of these lakes Champlain gave his own name, which it has ever since retained. On the shore of another, which he called Lake Sacrament, now Lake George, they were discovered by a company

\* Purchas, v., 1642

of the Iroquois, with whom they had a skirmish. Champlain killed two of them with his musket. The scalps of fifty were taken, and brought to Quebec in triumph.

In the autumn Champlain went to France, leaving Captain Pierre to command, and in 1610 he returned to Quebec to perfect the colony, of which he may be considered as the founder.\*

After the death of Henry IV. he obtained of the queen regent a commission as lieutenant of New-France, with very extensive powers. This commission was confirmed by Louis XIII., and Champlain was continued in the government of Canada.

The religious controversies which prevailed in France augmented the number of colo-

\* [He returned to France in 1611, arriving there August 11th, and on the 7th of May, 1612, came again to Quebec. He went to France in August of the same year, and returned to Quebec in 1613; again in 1615, and still again in 1617. In 1620 he brought over his family, with the fixed purpose of permanent residence, and remained there till 1624. In 1615 and 1616 he made a long voyage of discovery in the interior of the country. He ascended the Ottawa River a great distance, and crossed to Lake Nipissing, in latitude  $46^{\circ} 15'$ . He sailed down the outlet of the lake and entered Lake Huron, and returned probably through the western part of New-York, as may be inferred from his description of the lakes and rivers, by Lake Ontario (Entouhonorous, as he calls it) to the St. Lawrence.—H.]

nists. A settlement was made at Trois Rivières, and a brisk trade was carried on at Tadousac. In 1626 Quebec began to assume the face of a city, and the fortress was rebuilt with stone;\* but the people were divided in their religious principles, and the Huguenot party prevailed.

In this divided state (1629) the colony was attacked by an armament from England, under the conduct of Sir David Kirk.† He sailed up the River St. Lawrence and appeared before Quebec, which was then so miserably supplied that they had but seven ounces of bread to a man for a day. A squadron from France, with provision for their relief, entered the river, but, after some resistance, was taken by the English. This disappointment increased the distress of the colony, and obliged Champlain to capitulate. He was carried to France in an English ship, and there found the minds of the people divided

\* [Champlain laid the foundations May 6th, 1624, placing underneath a stone, on which were engraven the arms of the king, and his own name as lieutenant of New-France, with the date.—*Voyages de Champlain*, part ii., liv. i., p. 67. On his return from France, July, 1626, he found the fort as he had left it. The works proceeded rapidly under his inspection.—H.]

† [The surrender was demanded and the terms agreed on by Thomas and Lewis, brothers of Sir David.—H.]

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with regard to Canada ; some thinking it not worth regaining, as it had cost the government vast sums without bringing any return ; others deeming the fishery and fur-trade to be great national objects, especially as they proved to be a nursery for seamen. These sentiments, supported by the solicitation of Champlain, prevailed ; and, by the treaty of St. Germain's in 1632, Canada, Acadia, and Cape Breton were restored to France.

The next year Champlain resumed his government, and the company of New-France were restored to their former rights and privileges. A large recruit of inhabitants, with a competent supply of Jesuits, arrived from France, and with some difficulty a mission was established among the Hurons, and a seminary of the order was begun at Quebec. In the midst of this prosperity Champlain died, in the month of December, 1635, and was succeeded the next year by De Montmagny.

Champlain is characterized as a man of good sense, strong penetration, and upright views ; volatile, active, enterprising, firm, and valiant.\* He aided the Hurons in their wars

\* [We may add humane, generous, daring, and reckless.—H.]



with the Iroquois, and personally engaged in their battles, in one of which he was wounded. His zeal for the propagation of the Catholic religion was so great, that it was a common saying with him, that "the salvation of one soul was of more value than the conquest of an empire."\*

\* Charlevoix, *Hist. Nouvelle France*, tom. i., p. 197, 4to.

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## XII. FERDINANDO GORGES AND JOHN MASON.\*

WE know nothing concerning Gorges in the early part of his life.† The first account we have of him is the discovery which he made of a plot which the Earl of Essex had laid to overthrow the government of Queen Elizabeth, the tragical issue of which is too well known to be here repeated. Gorges, who had been privy to the conspiracy at first, communicated his knowledge of it to Sir Walter Raleigh, his intimate friend, but the enemy and rival of Essex.‡

There was not only an intimacy between Raleigh and Gorges, but a similarity in their genius and employment; both were formed for intrigue and adventure; both were indefatigable in the prosecution of their sanguine projects; and both were naval commanders.

\* [Little can be added to the copious and exact account given by Dr. Belknap of Gorges and Mason, and of their schemes of colonization, and I have contented myself with a very few illustrations of some individuals connected with them.—H.]

† In Josselyn's voyage he is called "Sir F. G., of Ashton Phillips, in Somerset," p. 197.

‡ Hume.

During the war with Spain, which occupied the last years of Queen Elizabeth, Gorges, with other adventurous spirits, found full employment in the navy of their mistress. When the peace, which her successor, James I., made in 1604, put an end to their hopes of honour and fortune by military enterprises, Sir Ferdinando was appointed governor of Plymouth in Devonshire. This circumstance, by which the spirit of adventure might seem to have been repressed, proved the occasion of its breaking out with fresh ardour, though in a pacific and mercantile form, connected with the rage for foreign discoveries, which, after some interruption, had again seized the English nation.

Lord Arundel, of Wardour,\* had employ-

\* [Thomas Arundel was created Baron Arundel, of Wardour, May 4th, 1605. In August of the same year he was appointed colonel of an English regiment in the service of the Archduke Albert, and crossed to Holland in disguise, contrary to the directions of King James, who was highly displeased, and ordered him to be recalled.—Winwood's State Papers, ii., 59 ; iii., 144. He went at a very early age to Germany, and, serving as a volunteer in the imperial army in Hungary, took with his own hand the standard of the Turks in an engagement at Gran. For this heroic action, Rodolph II., emperor of Germany, created him a count of the holy Roman empire, Dec. 14, 1595. His lordship, who was surnamed the valiant, married the Lady Maria, daughter of the second Earl of Southampton, and, of course, was brother-in-law of the third earl, who in 1609 engaged in the Vir-

ed a Captain Weymouth in search of a North-west Passage to India. This navigator, having mistaken his course, fell in with a river on the coast of America, which, by his description, must have been either Kennebec or Penobscot.\* From thence he brought to England five of the natives, and arrived in the month of July, 1605, in the harbour of Plymouth, where Gorges commanded, who immediately took three of them into his family. Their names were Manida, Skettwaroes, and Tasquantum; they were all of one language, though not of the same tribe. This accident proved the occasion, under God's providence, of preparing the way for a more perfect discovery than had yet been made of this part of North America.

Having gained the affections of these savages by kind treatment, he found them very docile and intelligent; and from them he learned, by inquiry, many particulars concerning their country, its rivers, harbours,

ginia Company. He died Nov. 7th, 1630. The title yet remains in his family.—Burke's Peerage and Baronetage.—H.]

\* [Weymouth had already much experience as a navigator. About 1594 he commanded an expedition, fitted out at the joint expense of the companies of the Turkish and Russian merchants, for the discovery of a Northwest Passage to China.—Forster's Voyages, 312.—H.]

islands, fish, and other animals ; the numbers, disposition, manners, and customs of the natives ; their government, alliances, enemies, force, and methods of war. The result of these inquiries served to feed a sanguine hope of indulging his genius and advancing his fortune by a more thorough discovery of the country.

His chief associate in this plan of discovery was Sir John Popham,\* lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, who, by his acquaintance with divers noblemen, and by their interest at court, obtained from King James a patent for making settlements in America, which was now divided into two districts, and called North and South Virginia. The latter of these districts was put under the care of certain noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, who were styled the London Company ; the former under the direction of others in Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, who were called the

\* [Sir John Popham was a distinguished lawyer under Elizabeth and James I. He was educated at Baliol College, Oxford, and afterward was a student of the Middle Temple, and became a barrister in 1568. He was appointed solicitor-general in 1579, attorney-general in 1581, and chief-justice of the King's Bench in 1592. This office he held till his death, June 10, 1607.—Birch's Elizabeth, ii., 227, note. He is said to have "administered towards malefactors with wholesome and available severity."—Wood, Ath. Ox., i., 292, 3.—H.]

Plymouth Company, because their meetings were usually held there.

By the joint efforts of this company, of which Popham and Gorges were two of the most enterprising members, a ship, commanded by Henry Chalong, was fitted out, and sailed in August, 1606, for the discovery of the country from which the savages had been brought, and two of them were put on board. The orders given to the master were to keep in as high a latitude as Cape Breton till he should discover the main land, and then to range the coast southward till he should find the place from which the natives had been taken. Instead of observing these orders, the captain, falling sick on the passage, made a southern course, and first arrived at the Island of Porto Rico, where he tarried some time for the recovery of his health; from thence, coming northwardly, he fell in with a Spanish fleet from the Havanna, by whom the ship was seized and carried to Spain.

Captain Prynne, in another ship, which sailed from Bristol, with orders to find Chalong, and join with him in a survey of the coast, had better success; for, though he failed of meeting his consort, yet he carried home a particular account of the coasts, rivers, and

harbours, with other information relative to the country, which made so deep an impression on the minds of the company as to strengthen their resolution of prosecuting their enterprise.

It was determined to send over a large number of people, sufficient to begin a colony. For this purpose George Popham was appointed president, Raleigh Gilbert, admiral, Edward Harlon, master of ordnance, Robert Davis, serjeant-major, Elis Best, marshal, Mr. Seaman, secretary, James Davis, commander of the fort, Gome Carew, searcher. All these were to be of the council; and, besides these, the colony consisted of 100 men, who were styled planters. They sailed from Plymouth in two ships (May 31, 1607); and, having fallen in with the Island of Monahigon (August 11), landed at the mouth of Sagadahock, or Kennebec River, on a peninsula, where they erected a storehouse, and, having fortified it as well as their circumstances would admit, gave it the name of Fort St. George.

By means of two natives, whom they brought with them from England, viz., Skettwarroes, sent by Gorges, and Dehamida, by Popham, they found a cordial welcome among the Indians, their sachems offering to conduct

and introduce them to the bashaba or great chief, whose residence was at Penobscot, and to whom it was expected that all strangers should make their address.\*

The president, having received several invitations, was preparing to comply with their request, and had advanced some leagues on his way, but contrary winds and bad weather obliged him to return, to the great grief of the sachems who were to have attended him. The bashaba, hearing of the disappointment, sent his son to visit the president and settle a trade for furs.

The ships departed for England in December, leaving behind them only 45 persons of the new colony. The season was too far advanced before their arrival to begin planting for that year, if there had been ground prepared for tillage. They had to subsist on the provisions which they had brought from England, and the fish and game which the

\* The Bashaba of Penobscot was a prince superior in rank to the sachems of the several tribes. All the sachems westward as far as Naumkeag [Salem] acknowledged subjection to him. He is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the first voyages to New-England, but was killed by the Tarrateens in 1615, before any effectual settlement was made in the country. We have no account of any other Indian chief in these northern parts of America whose authority was so extensive.



country afforded. The severity of an American winter was new to them; and, though it was observed that the same winter was uncommonly severe in England, yet that circumstance, being unknown, could not alleviate their distress. By some accident, their storehouse took fire and was consumed, with the greater part of their provisions, in the middle of the winter; and in the spring (1608) they had the additional misfortune to lose their president, Captain Popham, by death. The ship which their friends in England had by their united exertions sent over with supplies, arrived a few days after with the melancholy news of the death of Sir John Popham, which happened while she lay waiting for a wind at Plymouth. The command of the colony now devolved on Gilbert, but the next ship brought an account of the death of his brother, Sir John Gilbert, which obliged him to return to England to take care of the estate to which he succeeded. These repeated misfortunes and disappointments, operating with the disgust which the new colonists had taken to the climate and soil, determined them to quit the place. Accordingly, having embarked with their president, they returned to England, carrying with them, as the fruit

of their labour, a small vessel which they had built during their residence here, and thus the first colony which was attempted in New-England began and ended in one year.

The country was now branded as intolerably cold, and the body of the adventurers relinquished the design. Sir Francis Popham, indeed, employed a ship for some succeeding years in the fishing and fur-trade; but he at length became content with his losses, and none of this company but Sir Ferdinando Gorges had the resolution to surmount all discouragements. Though he sincerely lamented the loss of his worthy friend the chief-justice, who had zealously joined with him in these hitherto fruitless but expensive labours, yet, "as to the coldness of the clime," he says, "he had too much experience in the world to be frightened with such a blast, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder, were plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities than these parts afford, if like industry, art, and labour be used."

Such persevering ardour, in the face of so many discouragements, must be allowed to discover a mind formed for enterprise, and

fully persuaded of the practicability of the undertaking.

When he found that he could not be seconded in his attempts for a thorough discovery of the country by others, he determined to carry it on by himself; and for this purpose he purchased a ship, and engaged with a master and crew to go to the coast of New-England for the purpose of fishing and traffic, the only inducement which seafaring people could have to undertake such a voyage. On board this ship he put RICHARD VINES\* and several others of his own servants, in whom he placed the fullest confidence, and whom he hired, at a great expense, to stay in the country over the winter and pursue the discovery of it. These persons, having left the ship's compa-

\* [Vines afterward resided in the country. In 1629 a grant was made to him and Oldham by the council for New-England of "all that tract known by the name of Sagadahock," being four miles on the sea and eight miles inland. Vines sold out to Dr. Robert Childs in 1645. The name Sagadahock is used confusedly to denote the Saco River and the Kennebec.—Sullivan's Maine, 220 and 111. Vines lived near Winter Harbour (Saco), on the seashore.—Ib., 224. He was deputy-governor of the province under Gorges in 1644 (Mass. Hist., Coll, iii., 138), and was largely engaged in trade to Machias, &c.—Winthrop's Journal, ii., 126. He afterward removed to Barbadoes, where he acquired considerable property as a planter and a physician. See his letters to Governor Winthrop in 1647, 8.—Hutch. Coll., 222, 3.—H.]

ny to follow their usual occupation on the coast, travelled into the land, and, meeting with the savages who had before returned to America, by their assistance became acquainted with such particulars as Gorges wished to know.

Mr. Vines and his companions were received by the Indians with great hospitality, though their residence among them was rendered hazardous, both by a war which raged among them, and by a pestilence which accompanied or succeeded it.

This war and pestilence are frequently spoken of by the historians of New-England as remarkable events in the course of Providence, which prepared the way for the establishment of a European colony. Concerning the war we know nothing more than this, that it was begun by the Tarratenes, a nation who resided eastward of Penobscot. These formidable people surprised the bashaba or chief sachem at his headquarters, and destroyed him with all his family; upon which all the other sachems who were subordinate to him quarrelled among themselves for the sovereignty; and in these dissensions many of them, as well as of their unhappy people, perished. Of what particular kind the pesti-

lence was we have no certain\* information; but it seems to have been a disorder peculiar to the Indians, for Mr. Vines and his companions, who were intimately conversant with them, and frequently lodged in their wigwams, were not in the least degree affected by it, though it swept off the Indians at such a prodigious rate that the living were not able to bury the dead, and their bones were found several years after lying about the villages where they had resided. The extent of this pestilence was between Penobscot in the east and Narraganset in the west. These two tribes escaped, while the intermediate people were wasted and destroyed.

The information which Vines obtained for Sir Ferdinando, though satisfactory in one view, produced no real advantage proportionate to the expense. While he was deliberating by what means he should farther prosecute his plan of colonization, Captain Henry Harley, who had been one of the unfortunate adventurers to Sagadahock, came to him, bringing a native of the Island Capa-

\* Mr. Gookin says that he "had discoursed with some old Indians who were then youths, who told him that the bodies of the sick were all over exceeding *yellow* (which they described by pointing to a yellow garment), both before they died and afterward."—See Collections of Historical Society for 1792, p. 148.

wock, now called Martha's Vineyard, who had been treacherously taken from his own country by one of the fishing-ships, and shown in London as a sight. Gorges received this savage, whose name was Epenow, with great pleasure, and about the same time recovered Assacumet, one of those who had been sent in the unfortunate voyage of Captain Chalong. These two Indians at first scarcely understood each other; but, when they had grown better acquainted, Assacumet informed his old master of what he had learned from Epenow concerning his country. This artful fellow had invented a story of a *mine of gold* in his native island, which he supposed would induce some adventurer to employ him as a pilot, by which means he hoped to get home, and he was not disappointed in his expectation.

Gorges had engaged the Earl of Southampton, then commander of the Isle of Wight, to advance one hundred pounds, and Captain Hobson another hundred, and also to go on the discovery. With this assistance, Harley sailed in June, 1614, carrying with him several land-soldiers and the two before-mentioned Indians, with a third named Wanapé, who had been sent to Gorges from the Isle

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of Wight. On the arrival of the ship she was soon piloted to the Island of Capawock, and to the harbour where Epenow was to perform his promise. The principal inhabitants of the place, with some of his own kinsmen, came on board, with whom he held a conference and contrived his escape. They departed, promising to return the next day with furs for traffic. Epenow had pretended that if it were known that he had discovered the secrets of his country, his life would be in danger; but the company were careful to watch him; and, to prevent his escape, had dressed him in long clothes, which could easily be laid hold of if there should be occasion. His friends appeared the next morning in twenty canoes, and, lying at a distance, the captain called to them to come on board, which they declining, Epenow was ordered to renew the invitation. He, mounting the fore-castle, hailed them as he was directed, and at the same instant, though one held him by the coat, yet being strong and heavy, he jumped into the water. His countrymen then advanced to receive him, and sent a shower of arrows into the ship, which so disconcerted the crew that the prisoner completely effected his escape. Thus the golden dream vanished, and the

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ship returned without having performed any services adequate to the expense of her equipment.

The Plymouth Company were much discouraged by the ill success of this adventure, but the spirit of emulation between them and the London Company proved very serviceable to the cause in which they were jointly engaged. For these, having sent out four ships, under the command of Michael Cooper, to South Virginia [January, 1615], and Captain John Smith, who had been employed by that company, having returned to England and engaged with the company at Plymouth, their hopes revived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in concert with Dr. Sutcliffe,\* dean of Exeter, and several others, equipped two vessels, one of two hundred, the other of 50 tons, on board of which (besides the complement of seamen) were sixteen men who were destined to begin a colony in New-England [March, 1615].

\* [Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe was the author of many learned works in theology. He founded Chelsea College "for the defence of the Church of England against that of Rome."—Birch, *Eliz.*, i., 61. He was a member of the Virginia Company (Smith, 156), and was one of the commissioners for that colony appointed by James after the charter of the company was declared void.—Hazard, i., 183. Captain John Smith named a promontory on the coast of Massachusetts Point Sutcliffe. See his map.—H.]



When they had sailed one hundred and twenty leagues, the large ship lost her masts and sprung a leak, which obliged them to put back under jury-masts to Plymouth. From thence Smith sailed again [June 24] in a bark of 60 tons, carrying the same sixteen men, but on this second voyage was taken by four French men-of-war, and carried to France. The vessel of fifty tons, which had been separated from him, pursued her voyage and returned in safety; but the main design of the voyage, which was to effect a settlement, was frustrated.

The same year (October) Sir Richard Hawkins, by authority of the Plymouth Company, of which he was president for that year, visited the coast of New-England, to try what services he could do them in searching the country and its commodities; but, on his arrival, finding the natives engaged in war, he passed along the coast to Virginia, and from thence returned to England by the way of Spain, where he disposed of the fish which he had taken in the voyage.

After this ships were sent every season by the London and Plymouth Companies on voyages of profit; their fish and furs came to a good market in Europe, but all the at-

tempts which were made to colonize North Virginia by some unforeseen accidents failed of success. Gorges, however, had his mind still invariably bent on his original plan, and every incident which seemed to favour his views was eagerly improved for that purpose. Being possessed of the journals and letters of the several voyagers, and of all the information which could be had, and being always at hand to attend the meetings of the company, he contrived to keep alive their hopes, and was the prime mover in all their transactions.

About this time Captain Thomas Dermer, who had been employed in the American fishery, and had entered fully into the same views, offered his service to assist in prosecuting the discovery of the country. He was at Newfoundland, and Gorges prevailed on the company to send Captain Edward Rocrast in a ship to New-England, with orders to wait there till he should be joined by Dermer. Rocrast, on his arrival, met with a French interloper, which he seized, and then sailed with his prize to South Virginia. In the mean time Dermer went to England, and, having conferred with Gorges and the company on the intended discovery, went out in

a ship which Gorges himself owned, hoping to meet with Rocraft, but was much perplexed at not finding him.

Having ranged and examined every part of the coast, and made many useful observations, which he transmitted to Gorges, he shaped his course for Virginia,\* where Rocraft had been killed in a quarrel and his bark sunk. Dermer, being thus disappointed of his consort and of his expected supplies, returned to the northward. At the Island of Capawock he met with Epenow, who, knowing him to be employed by Gorges, and suspecting that his errand was to bring him back to England, conspired with his countrymen to seize him and his companions, several of whom were killed in the fray: Dermer defended himself with his sword and escaped, though not without fourteen wounds, which obliged him to go again to Virginia, where he died. The loss of this worthy man was the most discouraging circumstance which Gorges had met with, and, as he himself expresses it, "made him almost resolve never to intermeddle again in any of these courses."

\* It is said that he was the first who passed the whole extent of Long Island Sound, and discovered that it was not connected with the continent. This was in 1619.

But he had, in fact, so deeply engaged in them, and had so many persons engaged with him, that he could not retreat with honour while any hope of success remained. Soon after this a prospect began to open from a quarter where it was least expected.

The patent of 1606, which divided Virginia into two colonies, expressly provided that neither company should begin any plantation within one hundred miles of the other. By this interdiction the middle region of North America was neglected, and a bait was laid to attract the attention of foreigners.

The adventurers to South Virginia had prohibited all who were not free of their company from planting or trading within their limits; the northern company had made no such regulation; by this means it happened that the South Virginia ships could fish on the northern coast, while the other company were excluded from all privileges in the southern parts. The South Virginians had also made other regulations in the management of their business, which the northern company were desirous to imitate. They thought the most effectual way to do this was to procure an exclusive patent. With this view, Gorges, ever active to promote the interest which he

had espoused, solicited of the crown a new charter, which, by the interest of his friends at court, was after some delay obtained. By this instrument forty noblemen, knights, and gentlemen were incorporated by the style of "the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New-England in America." The date of the charter was Nov. 3, 1620. The territory subject to their jurisdiction was from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude, and from sea to sea. This charter is the foundation of all the grants which were made of the country of New-England.

Before this division was made, a number of families, who were styled *Puritans* on account of their seeking a farther reformation of the Church of England, which they could not obtain, and who had retired into Holland to avoid the severity of the penal laws against Dissenters, meditated a removal to America. The Dutch were fond of retaining them as their subjects, and made them large offers if they would settle in some of their transmarine territories; but they chose rather to reside in the dominions of their native prince if they could have liberty of conscience. They had by their agents negotiated with the South

Virginia Company, and obtained a permission to transport themselves to America within their limits; but as to the liberty of conscience, though they could obtain no indulgence from the crown under hand and seal, yet it was declared that "the king would connive at them provided they behaved peaceably." As this was all the favour which the spirit of the times would allow, they determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence and venture to America. After several disasters they arrived at Cape Cod, in the 42d degree of north latitude, a place remote from the object of their intention, which was Hudson's River. The Dutch had their eye on that place, and bribed their pilot not to carry them thither. It was late in the season when they arrived; their permission from the Virginia Company was of no use here; and, having neither authority nor form of government, they were obliged, for the sake of order, before they disembarked, to form themselves into a body politic by a written instrument. This was the beginning of the colony of New-Plymouth; and this event happened (Nov. 11, 1620) a few days after King James had signed the patent for incorporating the council. These circum-

stances served the interest of both, though then wholly unknown to each other. The council, being informed of the establishment of a colony within their limits, were fond of taking them into their protection, and the colony were equally desirous of receiving that protection as far as to obtain a grant of territory. An agent being despatched by the colony to England, Sir F. Gorges interested himself in the affair, and a grant was accordingly made (1623) to John Peirce, in trust for the colony. This was their first patent; they afterward (1629) had another made to William Bradford and his associates.

One end which the council had in view was to prevent the access of unauthorized adventurers to the coast of New-England. The crews of their ships, in their intercourse with the natives, being far from any established government, were guilty of great licentiousness. Besides drunkenness and debauchery, some flagrant enormities had been committed, which not only injured the reputation of Europeans, but encouraged the natives to acts of hostility. To remedy these evils, the council thought proper to appoint an officer to exercise government on the coast. The first person who was sent in this character

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was Captain Francis West, who, finding the fishermen too licentious and robust to be controlled by him, soon gave up this ineffectual command. They next appointed Capt. Robert Gorges, a son of Sir Ferdinando. He was, like his father, of an active and enterprising genius, and had newly returned from the Venitian war. He obtained of the council a patent for a tract of land on the north-eastern side of Massachusetts' Bay, containing thirty miles in length and ten in breadth, and by the influence of his father, and of his kinsman Lord Edward Gorges, he was despatched with a commission to be "*lieutenant-general and governor of New-England.*" They appointed for his council the aforesaid West, with Christopher Levet, and the governor of New-Plymouth for the time being. Gorges came to Plymouth in 1623, published his commission, and made some efforts to execute it. He brought over with him as a chaplain William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman. This was the first essay for the establishment of a *General Government* in New-England, and Morrell was to have a superintendence in ecclesiastical, as Gorges had in civil affairs; but he made no use of his commission at Plymouth, and only mentioned it



in his conversation about the time of his departure.\* This general government was a darling object with the council of Plymouth, but was much dreaded by the planters of New-England; however, all the attempts which were made to carry it into execution failed of success. Gorges, after about a year's residence in the country, and holding one court at Plymouth upon a Mr. Weston, who had begun a plantation at Wessagusset [Weymouth], where Gorges himself intended a settlement, was recalled to England, the supplies which he expected to have received having failed. This failure was owing to one of those cross accidents which continually

\* This Morrell appears to have been a diligent inquirer into the state and circumstances of the country, its natural productions and advantages, the manners, customs, and government of the natives; the result of his observations he wrought into a poem, which he printed both in Latin and English. The Latin is by no means destitute of classical merit, of which the following lines may serve as an evidence :

“ Est locus occiduo procul hinc spatiosus in orbe  
 Plurima regna tenens, populisque incognitus ipsis :  
 Felix frugiferis sulcis, simul æquore felix,  
 Prædis perdives variis, & flumine dives,  
 Axe satis calidus, rigidoque a frigore tutus.”

The description itself is just and animated, and the English translation (considering the date of it) is very tolerable. It is printed in the Collections of the Historical Society for 1792, page 125.

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befell the council of Plymouth. Though the erection of this board was really beneficial to the nation, and gave a proper direction to the spirit of colonizing, yet they had to struggle with the opposing interests of various sorts of persons.

The company of South Virginia, and, indeed, the mercantile interest in general, finding themselves excluded from the privilege of fishing and traffic, complained of this institution as a monopoly. The Commons of England were growing jealous of the royal prerogative; and wishing to restrain it, the granting charters of incorporation with exclusive advantages of commerce was deemed a usurpation on the rights of the people. Complaints were first made to the king in council, but no disposition appeared there to countenance them. It happened, however, that a Parliament was called for some other purposes (February, 1624), in which Sir Edward Cook was chosen speaker of the Commons. He was well known as an advocate for the liberties of the people, and an enemy to projectors. The king was at first in a good humour with his Parliament, and advantage was taken of a demand for subsidies to bring in a bill against monopolies.

The house being resolved into a committee, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was called to the bar, where the speaker informed him that the patent granted to the Council of Plymouth was complained of as a grievance; that, under colour of planting a colony, they were pursuing private gains; that, though they respected him as a person of worth and honour, yet the public interest was to be regarded before all personal considerations; and therefore they required that the patent be delivered to the house. Gorges answered that he was but one of the company, inferior in rank and abilities to many others; that he had no power to deliver it without their consent, neither, in fact, was it in his custody. Being asked where it was, he said it was, for aught he knew, still remaining in the Crown-office, where it had been left for the amendment of some errors. As to the general charge, he answered that he knew not how it could be a public *grievance*, since it had been undertaken for the advancement of religion, the enlargement of the bounds of the nation, the increase of trade, and the employment of many thousands of people: that it could not be a *monopoly*; for, though a few only were interested in the business, it was because

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many could not be induced to adventure where their losses at first were sure and their gains uncertain; and, indeed, so much loss had been sustained, that most of the adventurers themselves were weary; that as to the profit arising from the fishery, it was never intended to be converted to private use, as might appear by the offers which they had made to all the maritime cities in the west of England; that the grant of exclusive privileges made by the crown was intended to regulate and settle plantations by the profits arising from the trade, and was, in effect, no more than many gentlemen and lords of manors in England enjoyed without offence. He added that he was glad of an opportunity for such a parliamentary inquiry, and, if they would take upon themselves the business of colonization, he and his associates would be their humble servants as far as lay in their power, without any retrospect to the vast expense which they had already incurred in discovering and taking possession of the country, and bringing matters to their then present situation. He also desired that, if anything farther was to be inquired into, it might be given him in detail, with liberty of answering by his counsel.

A committee was appointed to examine the patent and make objections, which were delivered to Gorges, accompanied with a declaration from the speaker that he ought to look upon this as a favour. Gorges, having acknowledged the favour, employed counsel to draw up answers to the objections. His counsel were Mr. (afterward Lord) Finch, and Mr. Caltrup, afterward attorney-general to the Court of Wards. Though, in causes where the crown and Parliament are concerned as parties, counsel are often afraid of wading deeper than they can safely return, yet Gorges was satisfied with the conduct of his counsel, who fully answered the objections, both in point of *law* and *justice*; these answers being read, the house asked what farther he had to say, upon which he added some observations in point of *policy* to the following effect:

That the adventurers had been at great cost and pains to enlarge the king's dominions; to employ many seamen, handicraftsmen, and labourers; to settle a flourishing plantation, and advance religion in those savage countries; matters of the highest consequence to the nation, and far exceeding all the advantage which could be expected from

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a simple course of fishing, which must soon have been given over, for that so valuable a country could not long remain unpossessed either by the French, Spaniards, or Dutch; so that, if the plantations were to be given up, the fishery must inevitably be lost, and the honour as well as interest of the nation greatly suffer; that the mischief already done by the persons who were foremost in their complaints was intolerable; for, in their disorderly intercourse with the savages, they had been guilty of the greatest excesses of debauchery and knavery; and, in addition to these immoralities, they had furnished them with arms and ammunition, by which they were enabled to destroy the peaceable fishermen, and had become formidable enemies to the planters.

He farther added, that he had, in zeal for the interest of his country, deeply engaged his own estate, and sent one of his sons to the American coast, besides encouraging many of his friends to go thither; this he hoped would be an apology for his earnestness in this plea, as, if he had shown less warmth, it might have been construed into negligence and ingratitude.

These pleas, however earnest and rational,

were to no purpose. The Parliament presented to the king the grievances of the nation, and the patent for New-England was the first on the list. Gorges, however, had taken care that the king should be previously acquainted with the objections and answers; and James was so jealous of his prerogative, that, though he gave his assent to a declaratory act against monopolies in general, yet he would not recall the patent. However, in deference to the voice of the nation, the counsel thought fit to suspend their operations. This proved for a while discouraging to the spirit of adventure, and occasioned the recalling Robert Gorges from his government.

But the Parliament having proceeded with more freedom and boldness in their complaints than suited the feelings of James, he dissolved them in haste before they could proceed to measures for remedying the disorders in church and state which had been the subject of complaint, and some of the more liberal speakers were committed to prison. This served to damp the spirit of reformation, and prepared the way for another colony of emigrants to New-England.

About the same time the French ambassador put in a claim in behalf of his court to

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these territories, to which Gorges was summoned to answer before the king and council, which he did in so ample and convincing a manner that the claim was for that time silenced. Gorges then, in the name of the Council of Plymouth, complained of the Dutch as intruders on the English possessions in America by making a settlement on Hudson's River. To this the States made answer that, if any such things had been done, it was without their order, as they had only erected a company for the West Indies. This answer made the council resolve to prosecute their business and remove these intruders.

Hitherto Gorges appears in the light of a zealous, indefatigable, and unsuccessful adventurer; but neither his labours, expense, nor ill success were yet come to a conclusion.

To entertain a just view of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, we must consider him both as a member of the Council of Plymouth, pursuing the general interest of American plantations, and, at the same time, as an adventurer undertaking a settlement of his own in a particular part of the territory which was subject to the jurisdiction of the council. Having formed an intimacy with Captain John Mason, governor of Portsmouth, in the county of



Hants, who was also a member of the council; and having (1622), jointly with him, procured from the council a grant of a large extent of country, which they called *Laconia*, extending from the River Merrimac to Sagadahock, and from the ocean to the lakes and River of Canada, they indulged sanguine expectation of success. From the accounts given of the country by some romantic travellers, they had conceived an idea of it as a kind of terrestrial paradise, not merely *capable* of producing all the necessaries and conveniences of life, but as already richly furnished by the bountiful hand of nature. The air was said to be pure and salubrious, the country pleasant and delightful, full of goodly forests, fair valleys, and fertile plains; abounding in vines, chestnuts, walnuts, and many other sorts of fruit; the rivers stored with fish, and environed with goodly meadows full of timber-trees. In the great lake,\* it was said, were four islands, full of pleasant woods and meadows, having great store of stags, fallow deer, elks, roebucks, beavers, and other game; and these islands were supposed to be commodiously situated for habitation and traffic, in the midst of a fine lake abounding with the most deli-

\* Lake Champlain.

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cate fish. This lake was thought to be less than 100 miles distant from the seacoast, and there was some secret expectation that mines and precious stones would be the reward of their patient and diligent attention to the business of discovery. Such were the charms of Laconia !

It has been before observed that Gorges had sent over Richard Vines, with some others, on a discovery to prepare the way for a colony. The place which Vines pitched upon was at the mouth of the River Saco. Some years after, another settlement was made on the River of Agamenticus by Francis Norton, whom Gorges sent over with a number of other people, having procured for them a patent of 12,000 acres on the east side of the river, and 12,000 more on the west side, his son Ferdinando Gorges being named as one of the grantees : this was the beginning of the town of York. Norton was a lieutenant-colonel, and had raised himself to that rank from a common soldier by his own merit. In this company were several artificers, who were employed in building saw-mills, and they were supplied with cattle and other necessaries for the business of getting lumber.

About the same time (*viz.*, 1623) a settle-

ment was begun at the River Piscataqua by Captain Mason and several other merchants, among whom Gorges had a share. The principal design of these settlements was to establish a permanent fishery, to make salt, to trade with the natives, and to prepare lumber for exportation. Agriculture was but a secondary object, though in itself the true source of all opulence and all subsistence.

These attempts proved very expensive, and yielded no adequate returns. The associates were discouraged, and dropped off one after another, till none but Gorges and Mason remained. Much patience was necessary, but in this case it could be grounded only on enthusiasm. It was not possible, in the nature of things, that their interest should be advanced by the manner in which they conducted their business. Their colonists came over either as tenants or as hired servants. The produce of the plantation could not pay their wages, and they soon became their own masters. The charge of making a settlement in such a wilderness was more than the value of the lands when the improvements were made: overseers were appointed, but they could not hold the tenants under command, nor prevent their changing places on every discontent.

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The proprietors themselves never came in person to superintend their interests, and no regular government was established to punish offenders or preserve order. For these reasons, though Gorges and Mason expended, from first to last, more than *twenty thousand pounds* each, yet they only opened the way for others to follow, and the money was lost to them and their posterity.\*

While their private interest was thus sinking in America, the reputation of the council, of which they were members, lay under such disadvantage in England as tended to endanger their political existence. As they had been incorporated for the purpose, not merely of granting lands, but of making actual plantations in America, they were fond of encouraging all attempts, from whatever quarter, which might realize their views and expectations.

The ecclesiastical government at this time allowed no liberty to scrupulous consciences; for which reason many, who had hitherto been peaceable members of the national Church, and wished to continue such, finding that no indulgence could be granted, turned their thoughts towards America, where some

\* See History of New-Hampshire, vol. i., ch. i., ii.

of their brethren had already made a settlement. They first purchased of the Council of Plymouth a large territory, and afterward obtained of the crown a charter, by which they were constituted a body-politic within the realm. In June, 1630, they brought their charter to America, and began the colony of *Massachusetts*. This proved an effectual settlement, and the reasons which rendered it so were the zeal and ardour which animated their exertions; the wealth which they possessed, and which they converted into materials for a new plantation; but principally the *presence* of the adventurers themselves on the spot where their fortunes were to be expended and their zeal exerted. The difference between a man's doing business by himself and by his substitutes was never more fairly exemplified than in the conduct of the Massachusetts planters compared with that of Sir Ferdinando Gorges: what the one had been labouring for above twenty years without any success, was realized by the others in two or three years; in five they were so far advanced as to be able to send out a colony from themselves to begin another at Connecticut; and in less than ten they founded a University, which has ever since produced an uninter-

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rupted succession of serviceable men in church and state.

The great number of people who flocked to this new plantation raised an alarm in England. As they had manifested their discontent with the ecclesiastical government, it was suspected that they aimed at *independence*, and would throw off their allegiance to the crown. This jealousy was so strong, that a royal order was made to restrain any from coming hither who should not first take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and obtain a license for their removal.

To refute this jealous cavil against the planters of New-England, we need only to observe that, at the time when they began their settlement, and for many years after, the lands which they occupied were objects of envy both to the Dutch and French. The Dutch claimed from Hudson as far as Connecticut River, where they had erected a trading-house. The French claimed all the lands of New-England; and the governor of Port Royal, when he wrote to Governor Winthrop, directed his letters to him as *Governor of the English at Boston, in Acadia*. Had the New-England planters thrown off their subjection to the crown of England, they must

have become a prey to one or the other of these rival powers. Of this they were well aware; and if they had entertained any idea of independency, which they certainly did not (*nor did their successors till driven to it by Britain herself*), it would have been the most impolitic thing in the world to have avowed it in the presence of neighbours with whom they did not wish to be connected.

This jealousy, however groundless, had an influence on the public councils of the nation as well as on the sentiments of individuals, and contributed to increase the prejudice which had been formed against all who were concerned in the colonization of New-England. The merchants still considered the Council of Plymouth as monopolizing a lucrative branch of trade. The South Virginia Company disrelished their exclusive charter, and spared no pains to get it revoked. The popular party in the Commons regarded them as supporters of the prerogative, and under the royal influence.\* The high-Church party were incensed against them as enemies of

\* This manifestly appears from the grant which they were obliged to make to Sir William Alexander, of the country of Nova Scotia, by virtue of a message from the king, which they considered as a command. This grant was confirmed to him by the king, and he sold it to the French.

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prelacy, because they had favoured the settlement of the Puritans within their territory; and the king himself suspected that the colonies in New-England had too much liberty to consist with his notions of government. Gorges was looked upon as the author of all the mischief; and, being publicly called upon, declared "that, though he had earnestly sought the interest of the plantations, yet he could not answer for the evils which had happened by them." It was extremely mortifying to him to find that, after all his exertions and expenses in the service of the nation, he had become a very unpopular character, and had enemies on all sides.

To remedy these difficulties, he projected the resignation of the charter to the crown, and the division of the territory into twelve lordships, to be united under one general governor. As the charter of Massachusetts stood in the way of this project, he, in conjunction with Mason, petitioned the crown for a revocation of it. This brought on him the ill-will of those colonists also, who from that time regarded him and Mason as their enemies. Before the council surrendered their charter, they made grants to some of their own members of twelve districts, from



Maryland to St. Croix, among which the district from Piscataqua to Sagadahock, extending one hundred and twenty miles northward into the country, was assigned to Gorges. In June, 1635, the council resigned their charter, and petitioned the king and the lords of the privy-council for a confirmation of the several proprietary grants, and the establishment of a general government. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then threescore years of age, was the person nominated to be the general governor. About this time Mason, one of the principal actors in this affair, was removed by death;\* and a ship, which was intended for

\* [Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, under the date of July 31, 1636, writes, "The last winter Captain Mason died. He was the chief mover in all attempts against us, and was to have sent the general governor, and for this end was providing shipping; but the Lord in mercy taking him away, all the business fell on sleep," i., 187. Again he says, ii., 12, "As for this Mason, he fell sick and died soon after, and in his sickness he sent for the minister, and bewailed his enmity against us, and promised, if he recovered, to be as great a friend to New-England as he had formerly been an enemy." The opposition of interests between Mason and the colony of Massachusetts will account for the jealous dislike with which the governor seems to have regarded him, and which renders the story of his late repentance somewhat questionable. His hostility to the colony arose naturally in the prosecution of his undoubted rights, and from the representations of those whose testimony he had the means of rejecting.—H.]

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the service of the new government, fell and broke in launching. A *quo warranto* was issued against the Massachusetts charter; but the proceedings upon it were delayed, and never completed. An order of the king in council was also issued in 1637 for the establishment of the general government, and Gorges was therein appointed governor; but the troubles in Scotland and England at this time grew very serious, and put a check to the business. Soon after, Archbishop Laud and some other lords of council, who were zealous in the affair, lost their authority, and the whole project came to nothing.

Gorges, however, obtained of the crown in 1639 a confirmation of his own grant, which was styled the *Province of Maine*, and of which he was made lord palatine, with the same powers and privileges as the Bishop of Durham, in the county palatine of Durham. In virtue of these powers, he constituted a government within his said province, and incorporated the plantation at Agamenticus\* into a city, by the name of *Gorgeana*, of which his cousin, Thomas Gorges,† was may-

\* [Now York.—H.]

† [Thomas Gorges came to America in 1640, and probably returned to England in 1643, making his residence here *three*

or, who resided there about two years, and then returned to England. The council for the administration of government were Sir Thomas Josselyn, knight, Richard Vines (steward), Francis Champernoon (a nephew to Gorges), Henry Josselyn, Richard Boniton, William Hooke, and Edward Godfrey.\*

The plan which he formed for the government of his province was this: It was to be divided into eight counties, and these into sixteen hundreds; the hundreds were to be subdivided into parishes and tythings as the people should increase. In the absence of the proprietor a lieutenant was to preside. A chancellor was constituted for the decision of civil causes; a treasurer to receive the revenue; a marshal for managing the militia; and a marshal's court for criminal matters; an admiral, and admiral's court, for maritime causes; a master of ordnance, and a secreta-

years.—Winthrop, ii., 9; Hutch. Coll., 114. He was appointed by his uncle one of the council of the province, and their secretary.—Sullivan's Maine, Appendix vi. Governor Winthrop calls him "a young gentleman of the Inns of Court, sober, and well-disposed;" and adds, "he stayed a few days at Boston, and was very careful to take advice of our magistrates how to manage his affairs."—H.]

\* [He became governor of Maine in 1651, and was in office when the province came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.—Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 8.—H.]

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ry. These officers were to be a standing council. Eight deputies were to be elected, one from each county, by the inhabitants, to sit in the same council; and all matters of moment were to be determined by the lieutenant with advice of the majority. This council were to appoint justices, to give licenses for the sale of lands, *subject to a rent of fourpence or sixpence per acre*. When any law was to be enacted or repealed, or public money to be raised, they were to call on the counties to elect each two deputies "to join with the council in the performance of the service;" but nothing is said of their voting as a separate house. One lieutenant and eight justices were allowed to each county; two head constables to every hundred; one constable and four tythingmen to every parish; and, in conformity to the institutions of King Alfred, each tythingman was to give an account of the demeanour of the families within his tything to the constable of the parish, who was to render the same to the head constables of the hundred, and they to the lieutenant and justices of the county, who were to take cognizance of all misdemeanors; and from them an appeal might be made to the proprietor's lieutenant and council.

Forms of government and plans of settlement are much more easily drawn on paper than carried into execution. Few people could be induced to become tenants in the neighbourhood of such a colony as Massachusetts, where *all were freeholders*. No provision was made for public institutions; schools were unknown, and they had no ministers, till, in pity to their deplorable state, two went thither from Boston on a voluntary mission, and were well received by them. The city of Gorgeana, though a lofty name, was, in fact, but an inconsiderable village; and there were only a few houses in some of the best places for navigation. The people were without order and morals, and it was said of some of them that "they had as many shares in a *woman* as they had in a fishing-boat."\* Gorges himself complained of the prodigality of his servants, and had very little confidence in his own sons, for whose aggrandizement he had been labouring to establish a foundation. He had, indeed, erected saw-mills and corn-mills, and had received some acknowledgment in the way of rents, but lamented that he had not reaped the "happy success of those who are *their own* stewards and the disposers of *their own* affairs."

\* Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, p. 424.

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How long Gorges continued in his office as governor of Plymouth does not appear from any materials within my reach. In 1625 he commanded a ship-of-war in a squadron under the Duke of Buckingham, which was sent to the assistance of France, under pretence of being employed against the Genoese. But a suspicion having arisen that they were destined to assist Louis against his Protestant subjects at Rochelle, as soon as they were arrived at Dieppe, and found that they had been deceived, Gorges was the first to break his orders and return with his ship to England. The others followed his example, and their zeal for the Protestant religion was much applauded.\*

When the civil dissensions in England broke out into a war, Gorges took the royal side; and, though then far advanced in years, engaged personally in the service of the crown. He was in Prince Rupert's army at the siege of Bristol in 1643; and, when that city was retaken in 1645 by the Parliament's forces, he was plundered and imprisoned.† His political principles rendered him obnox-

\* Hume.

† Josselyn says that he was *several times* plundered and imprisoned, p. 197.

ious to the ruling powers, and, when it was necessary for him to appear before the commissioners for foreign plantations, he was severely frowned upon, and, consequently, discouraged.

The time of his death is uncertain; he is spoken of in the records of the Province of Maine as *dead* in June, 1647. Upon his decease his estate fell to his eldest son, John Gorges, who, whether discouraged by his father's death, or incapacitated by the severity of the times, took no care of the province, nor do we find anything memorable concerning him. Most of the commissioners who had been appointed to govern the province deserted it, and the remaining inhabitants, in 1649, were obliged to combine for their own security. In 1651 they petitioned the Council of State that they might be considered as part of the commonwealth of England. The next year, upon the request of a great part of the inhabitants, the colony of Massachusetts took them under their protection, being supposed to be within the limits of their charter; some opposition was made to this step, but the majority submitted or acquiesced; and, considering the difficulties of the times, and the unsettled state of affairs in

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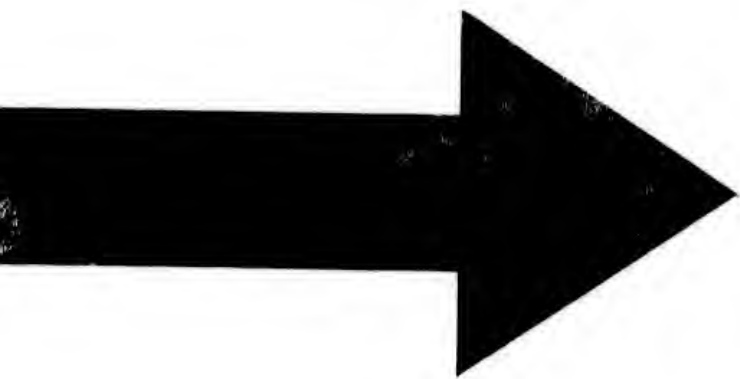
England, this was the best expedient for their security.

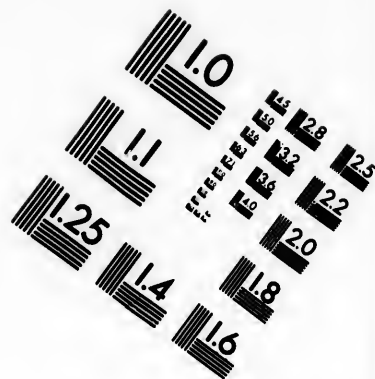
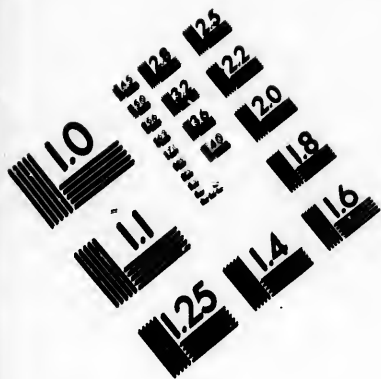
On the death of John Gorges, the propriety descended to his son Ferdinando Gorges, of Westminster, who seems to have been a man of information and activity. He printed a description of New-England in 1658, to which he annexed a narrative written by his grandfather, from which this account is chiefly compiled; but another piece, which in some editions is tacked to these, entitled "Wonder-working Providences," was unfairly ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, though written by a Mr. Johnson, of Woburn, in New-England.

On the restoration of King Charles II., Gorges petitioned the crown, complaining of the Massachusetts colony for usurping the government of Maine and extending their boundary-lines. In 1664 commissioners were sent to America, who, finding the people in the Province of Maine divided in their opinions with respect to matters of government, appointed justices in the king's name to govern them; and about the same time the proprietor nominated thirteen commissioners, and prepared a set of instructions which were entered on the records of the province. But,

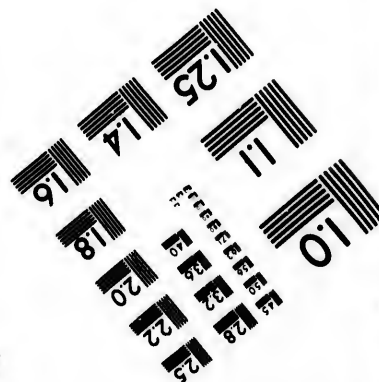
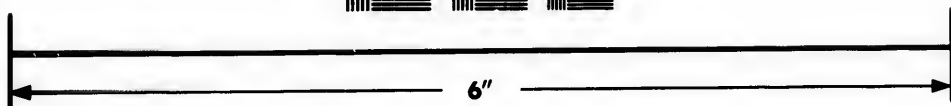
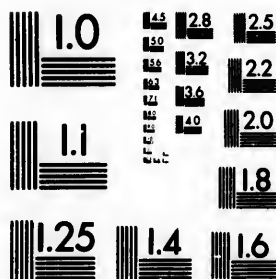








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upon the departure of the royal commissioners, the colony resumed its jurisdiction over them. These two sources of government kept alive two parties, each of whom were always ready to complain of the other and justify themselves.

An inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts had been instituted in England, and the colony was ordered to send over agents to answer the complaints of Gorges, and Mason the proprietor of New-Hampshire, who had jointly proposed to sell their property to the crown to make a government for the Duke of Monmouth. This proposal not being accepted, the colony themselves took the hint, and thought the most effectual way of silencing the complaint would be to make a purchase. The circumstances of the Province of Maine were such as to favour their views. The Indians had invaded it, most of the settlements were destroyed or deserted, and the whole country was in trouble; the colony had afforded them all the assistance which was in their power, and they had no help from any other quarter. In the height of this calamity, John Usher, Esq., was employed to negotiate with Mr. Gorges for the purchase of the whole territory, which was effected in the

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year 1677. The sum of *twelve hundred and fifty pounds* sterling was paid for it, and it has ever since been a part of Massachusetts. It is now formed into two counties, York and Cumberland; but the *District* of Maine, as established by the laws of the United States, comprehends also the counties of Lincoln, Washington, and Hancock, extending from Piscataqua to St. Croix; a territory large enough, when fully peopled, to be formed into a distinct state.\*

\* [Our readers will hardly need to be informed that the anticipation implied here has long since been realized. The District of Maine was formed into a distinct state in 1820, and is rich and populous, though by no means "fully peopled."—H.]

## THE VIRGINIA COLONY.

THE beginning of the colony of Virginia has been related in the life of Captain JOHN SMITH, to whose ingenuity, prudence, patience, activity, industry, and resolution its subsistence during the first three years is principally to be ascribed. It would have been either deserted by the people or destroyed by the natives had he not encouraged the former by his unremitting exertions, and struck an awe into the latter by his military address and intrepidity.

The views of the adventurers in England were intent on present gain, and their strict orders were to preserve peace with the natives. Neither of these could be realized. Cultivation is the first object in all new plantations; this requires time and industry, and, till the wants of the people could be supplied by their own labour, it was necessary to have some dependance on the natives for such provisions as they could spare from their own consumption; and, when the supply could not be obtained by fair bargain, it was thought necessary to use stratagem or force. Those

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who were on the spot were the best judges of the time and the occasion of using those means ; but they were not permitted to judge for themselves. The company of adventurers undertook to prescribe rules, to insist on a rigorous execution of them, and to form various projects which never could be carried into effect. In short, they expected more from their colony than it was able to produce in so short a time, with such people as they sent to reside there, and in the face of so many dangers and difficulties which were continually presented to them.

After the arrival of Captain NEWPORT in England from his third voyage, the Company of South Virginia, disappointed and vexed at the small returns which the ships brought home, determined on a change of system. They solicited and obtained of the crown a new charter (May 23, 1609), and took into the company a much greater number of adventurers than before.\* Not less than six hun-

\* [The following account of the terms and expectations on which men then ventured in this distant enterprise may not be uninteresting. It is taken from a contemporary publication (1609), *NOVA BRITANNIA*, p. 23, 4. "We call those Planters that goe in their persons to dwell there, and those Adventurers that adventure their money and goe not in person ; and both doe make the members of one Colonie. We doe account twelve



dred and fifty-seven names of persons are inserted in the charter, many of whom were noblemen, and gentlemen of fortune, and merchants, besides fifty-six incorporated companies of mechanics in the City of London ;\* and room was left for the admission of more. The government at home was vested in a council of fifty-two persons, named in the charter, at the head of which was Sir THOMAS SMITH, the former treasurer ; and all vacancies which might happen in the council were to be filled by the vote of a majority

pound tenne shillings to be a single share adventured. Every ordinary man or woman, if they will goe and dwell there, and every childe above tenne yeares that shall be carried thither to remaine, shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share. . . . All charges of settling and maintaining the Plantation, and of making supplies, shall be borne in a joint stock of the adventurers for seven yeares after the date of our new enlargement : . . . at which time wee propose to make a division by Commissioners appointed of all the lands granted unto us by his majestie, to every of the Colonie, according to each man's severall adventure, which wee doubt not will bee for every share of twelve pound tenne shillings five hundred acres at the least. The stock is also (as the land) to be divided equally at seven yeares end, or sooner, or so often as the company shall thinke fit for the greatness of it to make a Divident." Among the inducements offered in this book to encourage adventurers, it is said, p. 22, "And in searching the land, there is undoubted hope of finding Cochinell, the plant of rich Indico, Graine-berries, Beaver Hydes, Pearles, rich Treasure, and the South-sea leading to China, with many other benefites which our daylight will discover."—H.]

\* Stith and Hazard.

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of the company legally assembled. This council in England had the power of appointing governors and other officers to reside in Virginia, and of making laws and giving instructions for the government of the colony. In consequence of this power, the treasurer and council constituted the following officers. Sir THOMAS WEST, LORD DELAWARE, captain-general; Sir THOMAS GATES, lieutenant-general; Sir GEORGE SOMERS, admiral; Captain CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, vice-admiral; Sir THOMAS DALE, high-marshal; Sir FERDINANDO WAINMAN, general of horse.

Several other gentlemen, whose names are not mentioned, were appointed to other offices, all of which were to be holden *during life*. This may seem a strange way of appointing officers in a new colony, especially when the charter gave the council power to revoke and discharge them. But it is probable that these gentlemen had friends in the company who were persons of wealth and influence, and who thought the offices not worthy of their acceptance unless they could hold them long enough to make their fortunes. The example of COLUMBUS might have served as a precedent, who had the office of admiral of the West Indies not only for life, but as an inheritance to his posterity.

## XII. SIR THOMAS SMITH.

ALL which is known with certainty of this gentleman is, that he was a London merchant, of great wealth and influence, governor of the East India and Muscovy\* Companies, and of the company associated for the discovery of the Northwest Passage; that he had been sent (1604) ambassador from King James to the Emperor of Russia; that he was one of the assignees of Sir Walter Raleigh's patent, and thus became interested in the colony of Virginia. He had been treasurer of the company under their first charter, and presided in all the meetings of the council and of the company in England, but he never came to America.

It is unfortunate for the memory of Sir Thomas Smith that both the company and colony of South Virginia were distracted by a malevolent party spirit, and that he was equally the object of reproach on the one hand and of panegyric on the other. To

\* [The Muscovy or Russia Company received a charter Feb. 6, 1554, which was confirmed by act of Parliament in 1568.—Anderson's History of Commerce, i., 388, 404.—H.]

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decide on the merit or demerit of his character at this distance of time, would perhaps require more evidence than can be produced; but candour is due to the dead as well as to the living.

He was a warm friend of Captain John Smith, who, in his account of Virginia, speaks of him with respect as a diligent and careful overseer, especially in sending supplies to the colony during his residence there; and after his return to England, he depended on Sir Thomas and the council for those accounts of the colony which he has inserted in his history subsequent to that period.

In a dedication prefixed to a narrative of the shipwreck of Sir George Somers on the Island of Bermuda,\* Sir Thomas is complimented in the following manner: "Worthy sir, if other men were like you, if all as able as you were as willing, we should soon see a flourishing Christian Church and commonwealth in Virginia. But let this be your consolation: there is one that is more able and more willing than you, even the God of heaven

\* This narrative was written by Sylvester Jordan, one of the passengers. The dedication was by another person, who subscribes it with the initials W. C. It was printed with the black English letter, 1613.

and earth. And know farther, for your comfort, that, though the burden lie on you and a few more, yet are there many honourable and worthy men of all sorts who will never shrink from you. Go on, therefore, with courage and constancy; and be assured that, though by your honourable embassages and employments, and by your charitable and virtuous courses, you have gained a worthy reputation in this world, yet nothing that you ever did or suffered more honours you in the eyes of all that are godly-wise than your faithful and unwearied prosecution, your continual and comfortable assistance of those foreign plantations.”\*

\* [Two other tracts, now very curious as touching the early history of Virginia, were dedicated to Sir Thomas Smith. One of them is entitled “NOVA BRITANNIA; offering most excellent fruites by planting in VIRGINIA. Exciting all such as be well affected to further the same.” London, 1609. In the dedication, the writer says to Sir Thomas Smith, “Forasmuch as I have always observed your honest zeale to God, accompanied with so excellent carriage and resolution in actions of best consequence,” &c. The other is entitled “THE NEW LIFE OF VIRGINEA, declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation, being the second part of NOVA BRITANNIA. Published by authoritie of his MAJESTIE’S COUNSELL of Virginea.” London, 1612. The author dedicates it to Sir Thomas Smith as “being the chiefest patron of this and of many more worthie services.” Both were written by the same person, who appears not to have been in Virginia; and the “Epistile Dedicatorie”

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But, though flattered and complimented by his admirers, yet he had enemies both among the company in England and the colonists in Virginia. By some of his associates he was accused of favouring the growth of tobacco in the colony to the neglect of other staple commodities, which the country was equally capable of producing. It was also alleged that, instead of a body of laws agreeable to the English Constitution, a book had been printed and dedicated to him, and sent to Virginia by his own authority, and without the order or consent of the company, containing "Laws written in blood," which, though they might serve for a time of war, being mostly translated from the martial-law of the United Netherlands, yet were destructive of the liberties of English subjects, and contrary to the express letter of the royal charter.\* For this reason many people in England were deterred from emigrating to Virginia, and many

of each bears the initials R. J. I conjecture they were written by Robert Johnson, alderman of London, who was for a long time connected with the company, and deeply interested in its affairs. They have been reprinted in the first volume of Force's valuable collection of Historical Tracts; and the latter in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. xxiii.—H.]

\* [The laws referred to are the same, it is presumed, with those in the volume published by William Strachey in 1612.—H.]

persons in the colony were unjustly put to death.

In the colony the clamour against him was still louder. It was there said that he had been most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, in the matter of supplies; that in a certain period, called "the starving-time," the allowance for a man was only eight ounces of meal and half a pint of pease per day, and that neither of them was fit to be eaten; that famine obliged many of the people to fly to the savages for relief, who, being retaken, were put to death for desertion; that others were reduced to the necessity of stealing, which by his sanguinary laws was punished with extreme rigour; that the sick and infirm, who were unable to work, were denied the allowance, and famished for want; that some in these extremities dug holes in the earth, and hid themselves till they perished; that the scarcity was "so lamentable," that they were constrained to eat dogs, cats, snakes, and even human corpses; that one man killed his *wife* and put her flesh in pickle, for which he was burned to death.\* These calamities were by the colonists so strongly and pointedly laid to the charge of the treas-

\* Stith, 305.

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urer, that, when they had found a mare which had been killed by the Indians, and were boiling her flesh for food, they wished Sir Thomas was in the same kettle. A list of these grievances was presented to King James; and, in the conclusion of the petition, they begged his majesty that, "rather than be reduced to live under the like government again, he would send over commissioners to *hang* them."

In answer to these accusations, it was said that the original ground of all these calamities was the unfortunate shipwreck of a vessel loaded with supplies on the island of Bermuda. This happened at a time when Captain John Smith was disabled and obliged to quit the colony, which had been supported, in a great measure, by his exertions. Another source of the mischief was the indolence of the colonists themselves, who regarded only the present moment, and took no care for the future. This indolence was so great, that they would eat their fish raw rather than go to a small distance from the water for wood to dress it. When there was a plenty of sturgeon in the river, they would not take any more than to serve their present necessity,



though they knew the season was approaching when these fish return to the sea ; nor did they take care to preserve their nets, but suffered them to perish for want of drying and mending. Another cause was the dishonesty of those who were employed in procuring corn from the natives ; for, having accomplished their object, they went to sea and turned pirates ; some of them united with other pirates, and those who got home to England protested that they were obliged to quit Virginia for fear of starving. Besides, it was said that when ships arrived with provision it was embezzled by the mariners, and the articles intended for traffic with the Indians were privately given away or sold for a trifle ; and some of the people, venturing too far into their villages, were surprised and killed.

The story of the man eating his dead wife was propagated in England by some of the deserters ; but, when it was examined afterward by Sir Thomas Gates, it proved to be no more than this : One of the colonists who hated his wife secretly killed her ; then, to conceal the murder, cut her body in pieces, and hid them in different parts of the house. When the woman was missed the man was

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suspected; his house was searched, and the pieces were found. To excuse his guilt, he pleaded that his wife died of hunger, and that he daily fed on her remains. His house was again searched, and other food was found; on which he was arraigned, confessed the murder, and was put to death, being burned according to law.\*

Though calumniated both in England and America, Sir Thomas Smith did not want advocates; and his character for integrity was so well established in England, that when some of the company, who had refused to advance their quotas, pleaded his negligence and avarice in their excuse, the Court of Chancery, before whom the affair was carried, gave a decree against them, and they were compelled to pay the sums which they had subscribed.†

The charges against him were equally levelled against the council and company, and by their order a declaration was published, in which the misfortunes of the colony are thus summarily represented. "Cast up the reckoning together, want of government, store of idleness, their expectations frustrated by the traitors, their market spoiled by the mariners,

\* Purchas, vol. v., 1757.

† Stith, 121.

their nets broken, the deer chased, their boats lost, their hogs killed, their trade with the Indians forbidden, some of their men fled, some murdered, and most, by drinking the brackish water of James Fort, weakened and endangered; famine and sickness by all these means increased. Here at home the moneys came in so slowly, that the Lord Delaware could not be despatched till the colony was worn and spent with difficulties. Above all, having neither ruler nor preacher, they feared neither God nor man, which provoked the Lord, and pulled down his judgments upon them."\*

Sir Thomas Smith continued in his office of treasurer till 1619, when the prejudice against him became so strong, that, by the interest of the Earl of Warwick,† who hated

\* Purchas, v., 1758.

† [The earl's displeasure is said to have arisen out of the proceedings against Captain Argal, with whom he was largely involved as a partner. Sir Thomas Smith directed and sustained these proceedings, though Argal was his kinsman.—See the Company's Declaration in 1623.—Burk, i., 322. Stith, in his History of Virginia (p. 145), says of the earl, "he was a powerful, but a most designing, interested, and factious member of the company in England, aiming at a sudden and extraordinary profit, although it should be by the spoil of the public, and oppression of the private planters; and, being assisted by some corrupt and avaricious persons, he threw himself at the head of a faction in the company, and drew over to his party as many creatures and dependants as he possibly could." All the evidence in the case

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him, his removal was in contemplation.\* At the same time, Sir Thomas, being advanced

shows Stith's judgment to be a just one: The faction which he led was never very large, though large enough seriously to embarrass and distress the company.—See Burk's Virginia, Appendix to vol. i.

Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, succeeded to that title on the death of his father in 1618.—Burke's Peerage, &c. He was the son of the beautiful Lady Penelope Devereux, and was, of course, nephew of the Earl of Essex. He was handsome, accomplished, adventurous, gay, and witty. Carte adds (iv., 303), he "had a puritanical education, and led a dissolute life." He was recommended to the king by the Parliament for the office of lord high-admiral in March, 1642, but he refused to listen to their recommendation.—Whitelock's Memorials, 55. The king had soon occasion to complain to Parliament that he had actually assumed that office. Parliament, however, no longer complaisant, gave him a formal commission. A strenuous opponent of the king, and in no way too scrupulous, he was a suitable instrument for their purposes. In his capacity of admiral he "did gallant service," and in 1644 he received a grant of "a tenth of all prizes for his great disbursements in the Parliament's service" (ib., 89); and resigned his command April 9, 1646, "in compliance with an ordinance discharging the members of both houses from all employments, military and civil."—Ib., 106. He was afterward made one of the admiralty lords, advanced to a dukedom, made one of the commissioners for foreign plantations, and again admiral for a while.—Ib., 137, 188, 203, 337. He was a member of Cromwell's House of Lords (Cobbett's Parl. Hist., iii., 1518), and died in 1658. The titles and honours of the family became extinct in 1759.—See Burke's Extinct, Dormant, and Suspended Peerages. The original patent of Connecticut was given by him to Lords Say, Brooke, and others, March 19, 1631.—Hinman, 13-15.—H.]

\* Stith, 158.

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in years and infirmities, having grown rich, and having a sufficiency of business as governor of the East India Company, thought it prudent to retire from an office of so great responsibility, attended with so much trouble and so little advantage, and accordingly sent in his resignation\* to the Council of Virginia. His friends would have dissuaded him from this measure, but he was inflexible. Sir Edwin Sandys† was elected his successor; a

\* [April 28th.—Stith, 158, 186.—H.]

† [Sir Edwin Sandys was chosen treasurer (or governor) at the annual meeting of the company in Easter Term, 1619. He held the office but one year, being excluded the next year from the competition by the arbitrary interference of King James. The history of this transaction is worth inserting, as it illustrates the style of proceedings in that reign, and the condition of the company. We take it from Dr. Peckard's *Life of Nicolas Ferrar*, then the solicitor of the company, with which Stith, in the main, agrees. The *Life of Ferrar* was written in 1654, and reprinted in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, v., 74–260. We copy from page 120: "This election (for 1620) was now intended to be by ballot, a method introduced by Sir Edwin Sandys as most likely to secure a free election. The day of election being come, there were assembled near upon twenty great peers of the land; near a hundred of the most eminent knights of the kingdom; of gallant gentlemen, many colonels and captains, and renowned lawyers near a hundred more; and of the most worthy citizens a most worthy assembly. Everything being prepared, the three persons who were to be candidates for the place of governor were now to be named by the company. The name of Sir Edwin Sandys was first set up, and, as this was doing, a lord of the bedchamber and another courtier stood up,

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gentleman of good understanding and great application to business. At his motion, a

and declared to the court that it was the king's pleasure not to have Sir Edward Sandys chosen; and, *because he would not infringe their right of election*, he would nominate three persons, and permit the company to choose one of them." After some discussion, in which the Earl of Southampton and Sir Lawrence Hyde took a prominent part, the company voted to proceed to an election, claiming the free right to do so by their charter, when Sandys withdrew his name from the canvass. It was finally agreed, at his suggestion, that the king's messengers should name two persons for candidates, and the company one.

"And so they proceeded to the ballot, when, of the two persons nominated by the king's messengers, one of them had only one ball, and the other but two. The Earl of Southampton had all the rest." Sir Edwin Sandys continued actively interested in the affairs of the company till it was abolished. Both he and the Earl of Southampton were named of the Council of Virginia in the charter of 1609.—*Hazard, i., 66.*

Sir Edwin Sandys was the second son of the Archbishop of York of the same name. He was born at Worcester about the year 1561, and became in 1577 a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was a pupil of the celebrated Richard Hooker. Being designed for the Church, he was in 1581 made prebendary in the Cathedral Church at York. He then travelled in various parts of the Continent, and "at his return grew famous for his learning, wisdom, and virtue." In 1602 he resigned his prebendship, preferring, probably, a more active life, and in May, 1603, was knighted by King James, who employed him in many public services. "He was," says Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 462, 463, "very dexterous in any great employment, kept as constant time in all Parliaments as he that held the chair did, and was esteemed an excellent patriot in all transactions, faithful to his country without any falseness to his prince." In his later years he sided with the popular party in

gratuity of 2000 acres of land in Virginia was granted to Sir Thomas. He had been in office upward of twelve years, in which time the expenses of the plantation had amounted to £80,000; and, though he had declared that he left £4000 for his successor to begin with, yet it was found, on examination, that the company was in debt to a greater amount than that sum.\*

the House of Commons, and became thereby obnoxious to the king, who, probably for this reason, opposed his re-election to the treasurership of the Virginia Company. He was a member from Sandwich of the Parliament of 1620, and was a bold and fearless speaker in the debates of that body.—Parl. Hist., i., 1171. In 1621 he was arrested, and kept a month in the custody of the sheriff of London, "being found too daring and factious in Parliament." He was also a member of the Parliament of 1624, in which the violent taking away of the charter of the Virginia Company excited considerable attention, and was a member of the committee who drew up the articles of impeachment against the Lord-treasurer Cranfield for his agency in that nefarious transaction. In the earlier part of his career he was commonly esteemed highly ambitious. Sir Henry Neville wrote to Secretary Winwood (see Winwood's State Papers, ii., 26), "For the French employment, if Sir Thomas Parry (the ambassador to France) be recalled, they talk of Sir John Hollis or Sir Edwin Sandys. The former may peradventure shun it; the latter, I am sure, will not." He wrote a work, entitled "Europe Speculum;" or, "A view of the State of Religion in the western quarter of the World," which was published in 1629. A copy of this work is in the library of the Boston Athenæum. He died in October, 1629, and was buried at Northbourn, in Kent.—H.]

\* [We find little to add to the notices in the text of Sir

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Several ways were used for the raising of supplies to carry on the colonization of Virginia. One was by the subscription of the members of the company; another was by the voluntary donations of other people; and a third was by lotteries. Subscriptions, if not voluntarily paid, were recoverable by law; but this method was tedious and expensive. Donations were precarious, and, though liberal and well-intended, yet they sometimes consisted only of books and furniture for churches and colleges, and appropriations for the education of Indian children. Lotteries were before this time unknown in England; but so great was the rage for this mode of raising money, that within the space of six years the sum of £29,000 was brought

Thomas Smith. In Winwood's State Papers, iii., 118, is a letter of John Chamberlain, dated February 13, 1609, in which he says, "Our East India merchants have lately built a goodly ship of above 1200 tun; to the launching whereof the king and prince (Henry) were invited, and had a bountiful banquet. The king graced Sir Thomas Smith, the governor, with a chaine in manner of a collar, better than £200, with his picture hanging at it, and put it about his neck with his own hands."

Robert Bylot, who sailed in 1616 on a voyage for the discovery of a Northwest Passage, discovered in Baffin's Bay a sound, long. 78°, which he named Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, in honour of his patron. The spot "is remarkable, because in it there is the greatest variation of the compass of any part of the known world."—Forster's Northern Voyages, 352, 354.—H.]



into the treasury. This was "the real and substantial food with which Virginia was nourished."\* The authority on which the lotteries were grounded was the charter of King James (1609); and so tenacious was this monarch of his prerogative, that in a subsequent proclamation he vainly interdicted the "*speaking* against the Virginian lottery." Yet, when the House of Commons (1621) began to call in question some of the supposed rights of royalty, these lotteries and the proclamation which enforced them were complained of and presented among the grievances of the nation. On that occasion an apology was made by the king's friends,† "that he never *liked* the lotteries, but *gave way* to them because he was told that Virginia could not subsist without them;" and when the Commons insisted on their complaint, the monarch revoked the license by an order of council, in consequence of which the treasury of the company was almost without resources.

\* Stith, 191.

† Chalmers' Annals, 33.

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XIII. THOMAS LORD DELAWARE,  
SIR THOMAS GATES, SIR GEORGE  
SOMERS, CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER  
NEWPORT, SIR THOMAS DALE,  
SIR FERDINANDO WAINMAN.

THE history of these persons is so blended, that a separate account of each cannot be written from any materials in my possession. Their characters, however, may be distinguished in a few words, before I proceed to the history of their united transactions in the employment of the company and colony of Virginia.

Lord DELAWARE is said to have been a worthy peer of an ancient family, a man of fine parts and of a generous disposition, who took much pains and was at a great expense to establish the colony, in the service of which he suffered much in his health, and finally died at sea (1618), in his second voyage to America, in or near the mouth of the bay which bears his name.\*†

\* Purchas, v., 1757. Keith, 131. Stith, 148.

† [Thomas West, third Lord Delaware. His grandfather was

Sir THOMAS GATES was probably a land-officer. Between him and Sir George Somers there was not that cordial harmony which is always desirable between men who are engaged in the same business. Excepting this, nothing is said to his disadvantage.\*

Sir GEORGE SOMERS was a gentleman of rank and fortune, of approved fidelity and indefatigable industry; an excellent sea commander, having been employed in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, and having distinguished himself in several actions against the Spaniards in the West Indies.† At the time

created Baron de la Warre February 5th, 1568. The present Earl Delaware, John George West, is his lineal descendant. The additional title was conferred on John, seventh baron, who was created Viscount Cantelupe, Earl Delaware, in 1761.—Burke's Peerage and Baronetage. The Lord Delaware whose life is given in the text was employed by the king on several occasions, but of no great importance. The author of the *New Life of Virginea* calls him (p. 11) "religious, wise, and of a valerous minde." Walpole gives him a place in his catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors (ii., 180), though his only work was the *Relation to the Council*, after his return from Virginia. Collins' Peerage gives a different account of his death, which, however, the best authorities do not confirm. It says, "according to the inquisition taken after his decease, at Andover, he died near his seat at Whewell, Hants," June 7th, 1618.—H.]

\* Stith, 115.

† [In the year 1595, Sir George (then Captain) Somers, in company with Captain (afterward Sir) Amias Preston, "both valiant gentlemen and discreet commanders," sailed, "with two

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of his appointment to be admiral of Virginia he was above sixty years of age.\* His seat in Parliament was vacated by his acceptance of a colonial commission. He died in the service of the colony (1610), at Bermuda, highly esteemed and greatly regretted.†

CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT was a mariner of ability and experience in the American seas. He had been a commander in the navy of Elizabeth, and in 1592 had conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, where, with three or four ships, he plundered and burned some towns, and took several prizes, with a considerable booty. He was a vain, empty, conceited man, and very fond of parade. By the advantage of going to and fro, he gained the confidence of the council and company in England, and whatever he proposed was adopted by them. Some traits of his character have been given in the life of Captain John Smith. In 1621 he imported fifty men, and seated them on a plantation which he called Newport's News.

tall ships and a pinnace," for the West Indies, to attack and plunder the Spanish ships and settlements in that region. They burned three Spanish vessels, accepted a ransom for Cumana, took and burned St. Jagò, and entered Jamaica. They returned the same year.—Hakluyt, iii., 578-583.—H.]

\* Chalmers, 27. † Purchas, v., 1735. Stith, 118.

*Daniel Gookin* came with a cargo of cattle from Ireland, and settled first on this plantation. He afterward removed to New-England.\*†

SIR THOMAS DALE is said to have been a gentleman of much honour, wisdom, and experience. To him was intrusted the execution of the laws sent over by Sir Thomas Smith; which, though perhaps necessary at that time (1611), when so many turbulent and refractory persons were to be governed, yet were subversive of that freedom which Englishmen claimed as their birthright, and gave too much power into the hands of a governor. Though his administration was marked with rigour and severity, yet he did much towards advancing the settlements. On a high neck

\* ["The 22d of November (1621) arrived Master Gookin out of Ireland, with fifty men of his owne and thirty passengers," &c.—Smith, 140, quoting "one of the council's letter from Virginia." Gookin seems to have been the chief manager of the plantation at Newport's News, and maintained it "to his great credit and the satisfaction of his adventurers" after the great massacre of 1622.—Ib., 150. It has commonly been supposed that this was the Daniel Gookin afterward major-general of Massachusetts, and better known as the friend of the Indians, and the historian of their conversion. It will be seen, however, by a comparison of dates, that in 1621 the latter was but nine years old. See the Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. i.—H.]

† Stith, 205. Beverley, 37. Purchas, v., 1792.

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of land in James River, named Varina, he built a town which he called Henrico, in honour of Prince Henry, the remains of which were visible when Mr. Stith wrote his history (1746).\* On the opposite side of the river he made a plantation on lands from which he expelled the Indians, and called it New-Bermuda.† He stayed in Virginia about five years, and returned to England (1616), after which there is no farther account of him.‡

Of Sir FERDINANDO WAINMAN nothing is said but that he died soon after his arrival in Virginia with Lord Delaware, in the summer of 1610.§

When the new charter of Virginia was obtained, the council and company immediately equipped a fleet to carry supplies of men and women, with provisions and other necessaries, to the colony. The fleet consisted of seven ships, in each of which, besides the captain, went one or more of the counsellors or other officers of the colony; and though there was a dispute about rank between two officers,

\* ["The ruins of this place are still visible at Tuckahoe."—Burk, i., 166. Burk's first volume was printed in 1804.—H.]

† Stith, 123, 124, 138.

‡ [Burk, i., 219, note, says that he died in the East Indies, and, I believe, as early as 1622. It would seem from Stith, 297 that he had visited Japan.—H.]

§ Stith, 117

Somers and Gates, they were placed in one ship with Newport, the third in command. The governor-general, Lord Delaware, did not sail with this fleet, but waited till the next year, to go with a farther supply. The names of the ships and their commanders were as follow :

The *Sea-Adventure*, Admiral Sir *George Somers*, with Sir *Thomas Gates* and Captain *Christopher Newport*.

The *Diamond*, Captain *Radcliffe* and Captain *King*.

The *Falcon*, Captain *Martin* and Master *Nelson*.

The *Blessing*, *Gabriel Archer* and Captain *Adams*.

The *Unity*, Captain *Wood* and Master *Pett*.

The *Lion*, Captain *Webb*.

The *Swallow*, Captain *Moone* and Master *Somers*.

The fleet was attended by two smaller vessels, one of which was a ketch, commanded by *Matthew Fitch*, the other a pinnace, in which went Captain *Davies* and Master *Davies*.\*†

\* [The whole fleet carried "the better part of 500 men to inhabit there."—*New Life of Virg.*, 9. Smith, 174.—H.]

† Purchas, v., 1733.

This fleet sailed from Plymouth on the second day of June, 1609. Though their orders were not to go by the old route of the Canaries and the West Indies, but to steer directly for Virginia, yet they went as far southward as the twenty-sixth degree of latitude, where the heat was so excessive that many of the people were taken with calentures. In two ships thirty-two persons died, others suffered severely, and one vessel only was free from sickness.

The whole fleet kept company till the twenty-fourth of July, when they supposed themselves to be within eight days sail of Virginia, stretching to the northwest, and crossing the Gulf Stream. On that day began a violent tempest from the northeast, accompanied with a horrid darkness, which continued forty-four hours. In this gale the fleet was scattered. The admiral's ship, on board of which was the commission for the new government, with the three principal officers, was wrecked on the Island of Bermuda. The ketch foundered at sea. The remainder, much damaged and distressed, arrived one after another in James River about the middle of August.

The provisions brought by these ships were  
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insufficient for the colony and the passengers. This deficiency proved very detrimental, and occasioned the miseries and reproaches which have been already mentioned. The space of ten months, from August, 1609, to the arrival of Lord Delaware in June, 1610, was known in Virginia for many years after by the name of "the starving time."\* But the want of provision was not the only deficiency; there was a total want of principle and of order.

Of the company who arrived at this time, the following description is given by a native Virginian.† "A great part of them consisted of unruly sparks, packed off by their

\* [A brief account of the "starving time," from the record of an eyewitness and sufferer.—Smith's Virginia, 105, 6: "Of 500, within six monthes after Captaine Smith's departure, there remained not past sixtie men, women, and children, most miserable and poore creatures; and those were preserved, for the most part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had starch in these extremities made no small use of it; yea, even the very skinnes of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a Salvyge we slew and buried, the poorer sort tooke him up againe and eat him, and so did divers one another boyled and stewed with roots and herbes; and one amongst the rest did kill his wife, and powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was knowne, for which hee was executed, as hee well deserved: now, whether she was better roasted, boyled, or carbonado'd, I know not, but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of."—H.] † *Ibid.*, 103.

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friends to escape a worse destiny at home. The rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one. This lewd company were led by their seditious captains into many mischiefs and extravagances. They assumed the power of disposing of the government, and conferred it sometimes on one and sometimes on another. To-day the old commission must rule, to-morrow the new, and the next day neither. All was anarchy and distraction.”

Such being the character of the people, there could not have been any great hope of success if the whole fleet had arrived in safety.

The admiral's ship had on board a great quantity of provision. She was separated from the fleet in the storm, and sprang a leak at sea, so that, with constant pumping and bailing, they could scarcely keep her above water for three days and four nights, during which time Sir George Somers did not once leave the quarter-deck. The crew, worn out with fatigue and despairing of life, broached the strong liquors, and took leave of each other with an inebriating draught, till

many of them fell asleep. In this dreadful extremity Sir George discovered land, the sight of which awoke and revived them, and every man exerted himself to do his duty. At length the ship struck ground in such a position, between two rocks, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, that the people and a great part of the cargo were safely landed.

The Bermuda Islands were uninhabited, and had the reputation of being enchanted.\* But when the people were on shore they found the air pure and salubrious, and fruits of various kinds growing in luxuriant plenty and perfection. The shore was covered with tortoises, the sea abounded with fish, and in the woods they found wild hogs, which it is supposed had escaped from some vessel wrecked on the island.

Here they remained nine months. The two senior officers lived apart, and each, with the assistance of the men, built a vessel of the cedars which grew on the island, and the iron

\* "Whereas it is reported that this land of Bermudas, with the islands about it, are enchanted and kept by evil and wicked spirits, it is a most idle and false report. God grant that we have brought no wicked spirits with us, or that there come none after us; for we found nothing there so ill as ourselves."—*Jordan's News from Bermudas, 1613.*

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and cordage saved from the wreck. Sir George Somers laboured with his own hands every day till his vessel was completed. One of these vessels was called the Patience, the other the Deliverance.

It is remarked\* that, during their abode on this island, they had morning and evening prayers daily; Divine service was performed, and two sermons were preached every Lord's day by their chaplain, Mr. Bucke. One marriage was celebrated, and two children were born and baptized. Five of the company died, one of whom was murdered. The murderer was put under confinement, but escaped and hid himself among the woods and rocks, with another offender, till the departure of the company, when they were left behind. Many of the people were so well pleased with the place that they were with difficulty prevailed on to quit these pleasant islands.

The lower seams of the vessels were calked with the remains of the useless cables and a small quantity of tar saved from the wreck. The upper seams were secured with lime made of calcined stones and shells, slaked with fresh water and softened with the oil

\* Purchas, v., 1746.

of tortoises. This cement soon became dry and firm. The wild hogs served for sea-stores, being preserved with salt crystallized on the rocks.

On the tenth of May, 1610, the company, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons, embarked, and, after encountering some difficulty among the rocks, the next day got clear of the land and shaped their course for Virginia; where they arrived on the twenty-first at Point Comfort, and two days after at Jamestown. The colony, reduced to sixty persons, in a sickly, mutinous, and starving condition, gave them a mournful welcome. The new governor, Sir Thomas Gates, caused the bell to be rung, and summoned the whole company to the church, where, after an affectionate prayer by Mr. Bucke, the new commission was read, and the former president, Mr. Percy, then scarcely able to stand, delivered up the old patent, with his commission.

On a strict examination, it was found that the provisions brought by the two pinnaces would serve the people not more than sixteen days, and that what they had in the town would be spent in ten. It being seedtime, the Indians had no corn to spare, and they

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were so hostile that no treaty could be hold-  
en with them. The sturgeon had not yet  
come into the river, and many of the nets  
were useless. No hope remained of preserv-  
ing the colony; and, after mature delibera-  
tion, it was determined to abandon the coun-  
try. The nearest place where any relief could  
be obtained was Newfoundland; thither they  
proposed to sail, and there they expected to  
meet the fishing-vessels from England, on  
board of which the people might be distribu-  
ted, and get passages home when the season  
of fishing should be completed.

Having taken this resolution, and buried  
their ordnance at the gate of the fort, on the  
seventh of June, at beat of drum, the whole  
company embarked in four pinnaces. It was  
with difficulty that some of the people were  
restrained from setting fire to the town; but  
the governor, with a select company, remain-  
ed on shore till the others had embarked, and  
he was the last that stepped into the boat.  
About noon they came to sail, and fell down  
with the ebb that evening to Hog Island.  
The next morning's tide brought them to  
Mulberry Island Point, where, lying at an-  
chor, they discovered a boat coming up the  
river with the flood. In an hour's time the

boat came alongside the governor's pinnace, and proved to be an express from the Lord Delaware, who had arrived, with three ships and a supply of provision, two days before, at Point Comfort, where the captain of the fort had informed him of the intended evacuation; and his lordship immediately despatched his skiff, with letters by Captain Edward Brewster, to prevent their departure. On receiving these letters, the governor ordered the anchors to be weighed, and the wind being easterly, brought them back in the night to their old quarters at Jamestown.

On the Lord's day, June 10, the ships came to anchor before the town. As soon as Lord Delaware came on shore, he fell down on his knees, and continued some time in silent devotion. He then went to church, and after service his commission was read, which constituted him "governor and captain-general, during his life, of the Colony and Plantation of Virginia."\* Sir Thomas Gates delivered up his commission and the colony seal. On this occasion Lord Delaware made a public address to the people, blaming them for their former idleness and misconduct, and exhorting them to a contrary behaviour, lest he

\* Purchas, v., 1754.

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should be obliged to draw the sword of justice against delinquents, and cut them off; adding, that he had rather spill his own blood to protect them from injuries.

Having displaced such men as had abused their power, and appointed proper persons to office, he assigned to every man his portion of labour, according to his capacity; among which the culture of *vines* was not forgotten, some Frenchmen having been imported for the purpose. There had been no division of the lands, but all was common property; and the colony was considered as one great family, fed daily out of the public store. Their employments were under the direction of the government, and the produce of their labours was brought into the common stock. The Indians were so troublesome that it would not have been prudent for the people to disperse till they should be better able to defend themselves, or till the savages should be more friendly. They were therefore lodged within the fortifications of Jamestown; their working and fishing parties, when abroad, were well armed or guarded; their situation was hazardous; and the prospect of improvement, considering the character of the majority, was not very flattering. "The most honest and



industrious would scarcely take so much pains in a week as they would have done for themselves in a day, presuming that, however the harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them; by which means they reaped not so much corn from the labours of thirty men as three men could have produced on their own lands."\*

No dependance could be placed on any supply of provisions from this mode of exertion. The stores brought over in the fleet might have kept them alive, with prudent management, for the greater part of a year; but within that time it would be necessary to provide more. The Bermuda Islands were full of hogs, and Sir George Somers offered to go thither with a party to kill and salt them.† This offer was readily accepted, and he embarked in his own cedar vessel of thirty tons, accompanied by Captain Samuel Argal in another.

\* Purchas, v., 1766.

† [The relation of this enterprise (p. 176) in Smith's Gen. Hist. of Virg., N. E., and the Summer Isles, compiled from Jordan and others, shows the feeling with which Sir George and this his last adventure were regarded by his companions. "Whereupon Sir George Summers, whose noble minde ever regarded a generall good more than his owne ends, though above threescore yeeres of age, and had meanes in England sutable to his ranke, offered himselfe, by God's helpe, to performe this dangerous voyage againe for the Bermudas."—H.]

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They sailed together till, by contrary winds, they were driven among the Shoals of Nantucket and Cape Cod,\* whence Argal found his way back to Virginia, and was despatched to the Potowmac for corn. There he found Henry Spelman, an English youth who had been preserved from the fury of Powhatan by his daughter Pocahontas. By his assistance Argal procured a supply of corn, which he carried to Jamestown.

Sir George Somers, after long struggling with contrary winds, was driven to the northeastern shore of America, where he refreshed his men, then pursued the main object of his voyage, and arrived safely at Bermuda. There he began to collect the swine, and prepare their flesh for food; but the fatigues to which he had been exposed by sea and land proved too severe for his advanced age, and he sunk under the burden. Finding his time short, he made a proper disposition of his estate, and charged his nephew, Matthew Somers, who commanded under him, to return

\* [I do not find that they came to Nantucket and Cape Cod. The early writers are not so specific. Smith, 176, says merely that Somers "was forced to the north parts of Virginia;" and Stith, 118, that "Argal was soon forced back by stress of weather," and that Somers "was forced to the northern parts of the Continent."—H.]

with the provision to Virginia. But the love of his native country prevailed. Having buried the entrails at Bermuda, he carried the corpse of his uncle to England, and deposited it at Whitchurch,\* in Dorsetshire. A monument was afterward erected at Bermuda to the memory of this excellent man.†

\* ["Where by his friends he was honourably buried, with many vollies of shot and the rites of a souldier ; and upon his tombe was bestowed this epitaph :

"Hei mihi Virinea quod tam cito præterit Æstas,  
Autumnus sequitur, sæviet inde et hiems ;  
At ver perpetuum nascitur, et Anglia læta  
Decerpit flores, Florida terra tuas.

"In English thus :

"Alas, Virginia's Summer so soone past,  
Autumne succeeds, and stormy Winter's blast,  
Yet England's joyful Spring, with joyful showers,  
O Florida, shall bring thy sweetest flowers."

Smith, p. 176.—H.]

† This monument was erected about ten years after his death by *Nathaniel Butler*, then governor of Bermuda ; of which the following account is given by Captain Smith, in his History of Virginia and the Somer Islands, page 193 :

"Finding accidentally a little cross erected in a byo-place among many bushes, and understanding that there was buried the heart and entrails of Sir *George Somers*, he resolved to have a better memory to so worthy a soldier. So, finding a great marble stone brought out of England, he caused it by masons to be wrought handsomely and laid over the place, which he environed with a square wall of hewn stone, tomb-like, whereon he caused to be engraven this epitaph he had composed :

"In the year sixteen hundred and eleven,  
Noble Sir George Somers went hence to heaven ;

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The town of St. George was named for him,\* and the islands were called Somer Islands. The return of this vessel gave the first account in England of the discovery of those islands.

Virginia, thus left destitute of so able and virtuous a friend, was soon afterward deprived of the presence of its governor, Lord Delaware. Having built two forts at the mouth of James River, and another at the falls, and having rendered his government respectable in the view both of the English and Indians, he found his health so much impaired that he was obliged in nine months to quit the country, intending to go to Nevis† for the benefit of the warm baths. By contrary winds he was forced to the Western Islands, where he obtained great relief from the fresh fruits of the country; but he was advised not to hazard himself again in Virginia

Whose well-tried worth that held him still employ'd,  
Gave him the knowledge of the world so wide.  
Hence 'twas by Heaven's decree, that to this place  
He brought new guests and name, to mutual grace;  
At last his soul and body being to part,  
He here bequeathed his entrails and his heart."

\* [He died in the spot which afterward received this name.—Smith, 176.—H.]

† [Properly Mevis, an island of the West Indies famous for its medicinal baths.—H.]

till his health should be more perfectly restored by a voyage to England. Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates having previously gone at different times to England, the government was again left in the hands of Mr. Percy, a gentleman of a noble family and a good heart, but of very moderate abilities.\*

At the time of Lord Delaware's departure (March 28, 1611), the colony consisted of above two hundred people,† most of whom were in good health and well provided; but when Sir Thomas Dale arrived, in less than two months (May 10), with three ships, bringing an addition of three hundred people, he found the old colonists again relapsing into their former state of indolence and penury. Depending on the public store, they had neglected planting, and were amusing themselves with bowling and other diversions in the streets of Jamestown. Nothing but the presence of a spirited governor, and a severe execution of his orders, could induce

\* [He was a younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and one of the first planters. Lord Delaware, in his "relation to the council," after his return from Virginia, calls him "a gentleman of honour and resolution." His name is on the list of adventurers published in 1620.—Smith, 135. Smith says he was living in England in 1622.—New-England's Trials, p. 15.—H.]

† Purchas, v., 1763.

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these people to labour. The severities exercised upon them were such as could not be warranted by the laws of England. The consequences were discontent and insurrection in some, and servile acquiescence in others. Sir Thomas Dale was esteemed as a man who might safely be intrusted with power; but the laws by which he governed, and his rigorous administration of them, were the subject of bitter remonstrance and complaint.\*

The adventurers in England were still in a state of disappointment; and when Sir Thomas Gates arrived without bringing any returns adequate to their expectations, the council entered into a serious deliberation whether to proceed in their adventure or abandon the enterprise. Lord Delaware's arrival in England cast a deeper gloom on the melancholy prospect. But the representations of these gentlemen, delivered in council and confirmed by oath, served to keep up

\* [Master Hamor, at that time one of the planters, and a discreet man, bears witness (Smith's Virginia, 110) to the value of "his severitie and strict imprinted booke of Articles, then needful with all extremitie to be executed;" and says, "Sir Thomas Dale hath not beene so tyrannous nor severe by the halfe as there was occasion and just cause for it;" and "if his Lawes had not beene so strictly executed, I see not how the utter subversion of the Colonie should have been prevented."—H.]

their spirits, and induce them still to renew their exertions.

The substance of these representations was that the country was rich in itself, but that time and industry were necessary to make its wealth profitable to the adventurers; that it yielded abundance of valuable woods, as oak, walnut, ash, sassafras, mulberry-trees for silk-worms, live oak, cedar, and fir for shipping, and that on the banks of the Potowmac there were trees large enough for masts; that it produced a species of wild hemp for cordage, pines which yielded tar, and a vast quantity of iron ore, besides lead, antimony, and other minerals, and several kinds of coloured earths; that in the woods were found various balsams and other medicinal drugs, with an immense quantity of myrtle berries for wax; that the forest and rivers harboured beavers, otters, foxes, and deer, whose skins were valuable articles of commerce; that sturgeon might be taken in the greatest plenty in five noble rivers; and that without the bay to the northward was an excellent fishing bank for cod of the best quality; that the soil was favourable to the cultivation of vines, sugar-canes, oranges, lemons, almonds, and rice; and that the winters were so mild that

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the cattle could get their food abroad, and that swine could be fatted on wild fruits; that the Indian corn yielded a most luxuriant harvest; and, in a word, that it was "one of the goodliest countries, promising as rich entails as any kingdom of the earth to which the sun is no nearer a neighbour."\*

Lord Delaware farther assured them that, notwithstanding the ill state of his health, he was so far from shrinking or giving over the enterprise, that he was willing to lay all he was worth on its success, and to return to Virginia with all convenient expedition.†

Sir Thomas Gates was again sent out with six ships, three hundred men, one hundred cattle, two hundred swine, and large supplies of every kind. He arrived in the beginning of August (1611), and received the command from Sir Thomas Dale, who retired to Varina, and employed himself in erecting his town, Henrico, and improving his plantation at New-Bermuda.

In the beginning of the next year (1612), Captain Argal, who had carried home Lord Delaware, came again to Virginia with two ships, and was again sent to the Potowmac for corn, of which he procured fourteen hundred

\* Purchas, v., 1758.

† Ibid., 1763.



bushels.\* There he entered into an acquaintance with Japazaws, the sachem, an old friend of Captain Smith, and of all the English who had come to America. In his territory Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, was concealed. The reason of her quitting the dominion of her father is unknown. Certain it is that he had been in a state of hostility with the colony ever since the departure of Smith, and that the frequent depredations and murders committed by the Indians on the English were in the highest degree painful to this tender-hearted princess. Argal contrived a plan to get her into his possession. He bargained with Japazaws to bring her on board the ship, under pretence of a visit, in company with his own wife; then, dismissing the sachem and his wife with the promised reward, he carried Pocahontas to Jamestown, where she had not been since Captain Smith had left the colony.

A message was sent to Powhatan to inform him that his daughter was in their hands, and that she might be restored to him on condition that he would deliver up all the English whom he held as captives, with all the arms, tools, and utensils which the Indians had sto-

\* Purchas, v., 1765.

† Stith, 128.

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len, and furnish the colony with a large quantity of corn. This proposal threw him into much perplexity; for, though he loved his daughter, he was loth to give so much for her redemption. After three months he sent back seven of the captives, with three unserviceable muskets, an axe, a saw, and one canoe loaded with corn. He also sent word that, when they should deliver his daughter, he would give them five hundred bushels of corn, and make full satisfaction for all past injuries. No reliance could be placed on such a promise. The negotiation was broken, and the king was offended. The next spring (1613) another attempt was made, accompanied with threatening on the part of the English, and stratagem on the part of the Indians. This proved equally ineffectual. At length it was announced to Powhatan that John Rolfe, an English gentleman, was in love with Pocahontas, and had obtained her consent and the license of the governor to marry her. The prince was softened by this intelligence, and sent one of his chiefs to attend the nuptial solemnity. After this event Powhatan was friendly to the colony as long as he lived, and a free trade was carried on between them and his people.

The visit which this lady made to England with her husband, and her death, which happened there in the bloom of her youth, have been related in the Life of Captain Smith. It is there observed that "several families of note in Virginia are descended from her." The descent is thus traced by Mr. Stith:\* Her son, Thomas Rolfe, was educated in England, and came over to Virginia, where he became a man of fortune and distinction, and inherited a large tract of land which had been the property of his grandfather Powhatan. He left an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Robert Bolling. His son, Major John Bolling, was father to Colonel John Bolling; whose† five daughters were married to Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray. Such was the state of the family in 1747.

The reconciliation between Powhatan and the English awakened the fears of the Indians of Chickahomony, a formidable and free people. They were governed by an as-

\* Stith, 146.

† [The reading in Stith is different, making an error in our text of one generation. He says "the late (1746) Major John Bolling was father to the present Colonel John Bolling and several daughters, married," &c.—H.]

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sembly of their elders or wise men, who also bore the character of priests. They hated Powhatan as a tyrant, and were always jealous of his design to subject them. They had taken advantage of the dissension between him and the English to assert their liberty; but, on his reconciliation, they apprehended that he might make use of the friendship of the colony to reduce them under his yoke. To prevent this, they sent a deputation to Sir Thomas Dale to excuse their former ill conduct, and submit themselves to the English government. Sir Thomas was pleased with the offer, and on a day appointed went with Captain Argal and fifty men to their village, where a peace was concluded on the following conditions:

1. That they should forever be called [Tos-sentessas] New-Englishmen, and be true subjects of King James and his deputies.

2. That they should neither kill nor detain any of the English nor their stray cattle, but bring them home.

3. That they should always be ready to furnish the English with three hundred men against the Spaniards or any other enemy.

4. That they should not enter any of the English settlements without previously sending in word that they were New-Englishmen

5. That every bowman at harvest should bring into the store two measures [two and a half bushels] of corn as a tribute, for which he should receive a hatchet.

6. That the eight elders or chiefs should see all this performed, or receive punishment themselves; and that for their fidelity each one should receive a red coat, a copper chain, and a picture of King James, and should be accounted his nobleman.

Though this transaction passed while Sir Thomas Gates was at the head of the government, and residing within the colony, yet nothing is said of his assenting to it or giving any orders about it. Dale appears to have been the most active and enterprising man;\* and, on Gates's return to England in the spring of 1614, the chief command devolved on him.

The experience of five years had now convinced all thinking men among the English that the colony would never thrive while their lands were held in common, and the people were maintained out of the public stores. In such a case there is no spur to exertion; the

\* [The negotiation with Powhatan, mentioned p. 139, and the marriage of Pocahontas, were managed by Dale.—Smith, 113.—H.]

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industrious person and the drone fare alike, and the former has no inducement to work for the latter. The time prescribed in the king's instructions for their trading in a common stock, and bringing all the fruits of their labour into a common store, was expired. An alteration was then contemplated, but the first measure adopted did not much mend the matter. Three acres only were allotted to each man as a farm, on which he was to work eleven months for the store and one month for himself, and to receive his proportion out of the common stock.\* Those who were employed on Sir Thomas Dale's plantation had better terms. One month's labour only was required, and they were exempted from all farther service; and for this exemption they paid a yearly tribute of three barrels and a half† of corn to the public store. These farms were not held by a tenure of common soccage, which carries with it freedom and property, but merely by tenancy at will, which produces dependance.‡ It is, however, observed, that this small encouragement gave

\* [It would seem from Smith, 114, that the portion of provision received by each from the public store was only two bushels of corn.—H.]

† A barrel of corn was four bushels. ‡ Chalmers, 34.

some present content, and the fear of coming to want gradually disappeared.\*

About two years after (1616), a method of granting lands in freeholds, and in lots of fifty acres, was introduced into Virginia. This quantity was allowed to each person who came to reside, or brought others to reside there. The design of it was to encourage immigration. Besides this, there were two other methods of granting lands. One was a grant of *merit*. When any person had conferred a benefit or done a service to the colony, it was requited by a grant of land which could not exceed two thousand acres. The other was called the adventure of the *purse*. Every person who paid twelve guineas into the company's treasury was entitled to one hundred acres.†

After some time, this liberty of taking grants was abused, partly by the ignorance and knavery of surveyors, who often gave draughts of lands without ever actually surveying them, but describing them by natural boundaries and allowing large measure, and partly by the indulgence of courts in a lavish admittance of claims. When a master of a ship came into court, and made oath that he

\* Stith, 132.

† *Ib.*, 139.

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had imported himself, with so many seamen and passengers, an order was issued granting him as many rights of fifty acres; and the clerk had a fee for each right. The seamen at another court would make oath that they had adventured themselves so many times into the country; and would obtain an order for as many rights, *toties quoties*. The planter who bought the imported servants would do the same, and procure an order for as many times fifty acres. These grants, after being described by the surveyors in the above vague and careless manner, were sold at a small price, and whoever was able to purchase any considerable number of them became entitled to a vast quantity of land. By such means, the original intention of allotting a small freehold to each immigrant was frustrated; for the adventurers themselves, who remained on the spot, had the least share of the benefit, and the settlement of the country in convenient districts was precluded.\* Land speculators became possessed of immense tracts, too large for cultivation; and the inhabitants were scattered over a great extent of territory, in remote and hazardous

\* MS. anonymous account of Virginia, written 1697, page 18.



situations. The ill effects of this dispersion were insecurity from the savages, a habit of indolence, an imperfect mode of cultivation, the introduction of convicts from England, and of slaves from Africa.

The same year (1616) Sir Thomas Dale returned to England,\* carrying with him Pocahontas, the wife of Mr. Rolfe, and several other Indians. The motive of his return was to visit his family and settle his private affairs, after having spent five or six years in the service of the colony. He is characterized as an active, faithful governor,† very careful to provide supplies of corn, rather by planting than by purchase. So much had these supplies increased under his direction, that the colony was able to *lend* to the Indian princes several hundred bushels of corn, and take *mortgages* of their land in payment. He would allow no tobacco to be planted till a sufficiency of seed-corn was in the ground. He was also very assiduous in ranging and exploring the country, and became extremely delighted with its pleasant and fertile appearance. He had so high an opinion of it, that he declared it equal to the best parts of Eu-

\* [He arrived at Plymouth June 12.—H.]

† Stith, 140.

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Since the foregoing sheets were printed, I have found the following brief account of Sir GEORGE SOMERS in *Fuller's Worthies of England*, page 282 :

“George Somers, knight, was born in or near Lyme, in Dorsetshire. He was a lamb upon land, and a lion at sea. So patient on shore that few could anger him; and on entering a ship, as if he had assumed a new nature, so passionate that few could please him.” [Whitchurch, where his corpse was deposited, is distant three miles from Lyme.]

\* [In a letter to the council in 1611, he says, “take foure of the best kingdomes in Christendome, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this countrie, either for commodities or goodnesse of soile.”—*The New Life of Virginea*, p. 12. —H.]

#### XIV. SIR SAMUEL ARGAL. SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY.

WE have no account of Captain Argal before the year 1609, when he came to Virginia to fish for sturgeon and trade with the colony. This trade was then prohibited; but, being a kinsman of Sir Thomas Dale, his voyage was connived at, and the provisions and wine which he brought were a welcome relief to the colony. He was there when the shattered fleet, escaped from the tempest, arrived without their commanders; and he continued to make voyages in the service of the colony and for his own advantage till he was made deputy-governor under Lord Delaware.

The principal exploit in which he was engaged was an expedition to the northern part of Virginia.\* Sir Thomas Dale, having received some information of the intrusion of

\* The time of this voyage is not accurately mentioned; but, from comparing several dates and transactions, I think (with Mr. Prince) that it must have been in the summer of 1613. Certainly it was before Argal was made deputy-governor in 1617, though some writers have placed it after that period.

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the French and Dutch within the chartered limits of Virginia, sent Argal, ostensibly on a trading and fishing voyage, to the northward, but with orders to seek for and dispossess intruders. No account of his force is mentioned by any writer. Having visited several parts of the coast of North Virginia, and obtained the best information in his power, he arrived at the island now called Mount Desert, in the district of Maine, where two Jesuits, who had been expelled from Port Royal by the governor, Biencourt, for their insolence,\* had made a plantation and built a fort. A French ship and bark were then lying in the harbour. Most of the people were dispersed at their various employments, and were unprepared to receive an enemy. Argal at once attacked the vessels with musketry, and made an easy conquest of them. One of the Jesuits was killed in attempting to level one of the ship's guns against the assailants. Argal then landed and summoned the fort. The commander requested time for consultation, but it was denied; on which the garrison abandoned the fort, and, by a private passage, escaped to the woods. Argal took possession in the name of the crown

\* See p. 41.

of England, and the next day the people came in and surrendered themselves and their commission or patent. He treated them with politeness, giving them leave to go either to France in the fishing vessels which resorted to the coast, or with him to Virginia.

The other Jesuit, Father Biard, glad of an opportunity to be revenged on Biencourt, gave information of his settlement at Port Royal, and offered to pilot the vessel thither. Argal sailed across the Bay of Fundy, and, entering the harbour, landed forty men. A gun was fired from the fort as a signal to the people who were abroad; but Argal advanced with such rapidity that he found the fort abandoned, and took possession. He then sailed up the river with his boats, where he viewed their fields, their barns, and mill; these he spared; but at his return he destroyed the fort, and defaced the arms of the King of France.

Biencourt was at this time surveying the country at a distance, but was called home suddenly, and requested a conference with the English commander.\* They met in a meadow, with a few of their followers. After an ineffectual assertion of rights, equally

\* Purchas, v., 1608.

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claimed by both, Biencourt proposed, if he could obtain a protection from the crown of England, and get the obnoxious Jesuit into his possession, to divide the fur-trade, and disclose the mines of the country; but Argal refused to make any treaty, alleging that his orders were only to dispossess him, and threatening, if he should find him there again, to use him as an enemy. While they were in conference, one of the natives came up to them, and in broken language, with suitable gestures, endeavoured to mediate a peace; wondering that persons who seemed to him to be of one nation should make war on each other. This affecting incident served to put them both into good-humour.

As it was a time of peace between the two crowns, the only pretext for this expedition was the intrusion of the French into limits claimed by the English, in virtue of prior discovery. This mode of dispossessing them has been censured as "contrary to the Law of Nations, because inconsistent with their peace."\* It was, however, agreeable to the powers granted in the charter of 1609; and even the seizure of the French vessels, on board of which was a large quantity of pro-

\* Chalmers, 82.

visions, clothing, furniture, and trading-goods, was also warranted by the same charter. There is no evidence that this transaction was either approved by the court of England or resented by the crown of France; certain it is, however, that it made way for a patent which King James gave to Sir William Alexander in 1621, by which he granted him the whole territory of Acadia, by the name of Nova Scotia; and yet the French continued their occupancy.

On his return towards Virginia with his prizes, Argal visited the settlement which the Dutch had made at Hudson's River, near the spot where Albany is now built, and demanded possession; alleging that Hudson being an English subject, though in the service of Holland, could not alienate the lands which he had discovered, which were claimed by the crown of England, and granted by charter to the Company of Virginia. The Dutch governor, Hendrick Christiaens, being unable to make any resistance, quietly submitted himself and his colony to the crown of England, and was permitted to remain there. But on the arrival of a re-enforcement the next year, they built another fort on the south end of the Island Manhattan, where the City

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of New-York now stands, and held the country for many years, under a grant from the States-General, by the name of New-Netherlands.

The next spring (1614) Argal went to England, and two years after Sir Thomas Dale followed him, leaving GEORGE YEARDLEY to govern the colony in his absence. It had been a grand object with Dale to discourage the planting of tobacco; but his successor, in compliance with the humour of the people, indulged them in cultivating it in preference to corn. When the colony was in want of bread, Yeardley sent to the Indians of Chickahomony for their tribute, as promised by the treaty made with Dale. They answered that they had paid his master; but that they had no orders nor any inclination to obey him. Yeardley drew out one hundred of his best men, and went against them. They received him in a warlike posture, and, after much threatening on both sides, Yeardley ordered his men to fire. Twelve of the natives were killed, and as many were made prisoners, of whom two were elders or senators. For their ransom one hundred bushels of corn were paid in addition to the tribute. Three boats were loaded for Jamestown, one of



which was upset in the passage, and eleven men, with her whole cargo, were lost. The natives were so awed by this chastisement, that they supplied the colony with such provisions as they could spare from their own stock or procure by hunting; and being thus supplied, the colonists gave themselves chiefly to the planting of tobacco.

In 1617 Captain ARGAL was appointed deputy-governor of the colony under Lord Delaware, and admiral of the adjacent seas.\* When he arrived, in May, he found the palisades broken, the church fallen down, and the well of fresh water spoiled; but the market-square and the streets of Jamestown were planted with tobacco,† and the people were dispersed, wherever they could find room, to cultivate that precious weed, the value of which was supposed to be much augmented by a new mode of cure, drying it on lines rather than fermenting it in heaps. The author of this discovery was a Mr. Lambert, and the effect of it was a great demand from Eng-

\* [Argal was a kinsman of the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, but gained this appointment by favour of the Earl of Warwick, who "concerted matters with him, and entered into a partnership."—Stith, 145. The office of admiral was very convenient for his schemes of speedy enrichment.—H.]

† Stith, 146.

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\* Stith, 147.

† [Stith, 147  
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land for lines, which afterward became a capital article of traffic.

To counteract the ill effects of Yeardley's indulgence, Argal revived the severe discipline, which was grounded on the martial laws framed by his patron, Sir Thomas Smith, a specimen of which may be seen in the following edicts: He fixed the advance on goods imported from England at twenty-five per cent., and the price of tobacco at three shillings per pound: \* the penalty for transgressing this regulation was three years' slavery. No person was allowed to fire a gun except in his own defence against an enemy till a new supply of ammunition should arrive, on penalty of one year's slavery. Absence from church on Sundays and holydays was punished by laying the offender neck and heels for one whole night, or † by one week's slavery; the second offence by one month's, and the third by one year's slavery. Private trade with the savages, or teaching them the use of arms, was punishable by death.

These and similar laws were executed with

\* Stith, 147.

† [Stith, 147, says, "lie neck and heels that night, and be a slave to the colony the following week."—H.]

such rigour as to render the deputy-governor odious to the colony. They had entertained a hope of deliverance by the expected arrival of Lord Delaware, who sailed from England for Virginia (April, 1618) in a large ship containing two hundred people. After touching at the Western Islands, a succession of contrary winds and bad weather protracted the voyage to sixteen weeks, during which time many of the people fell sick, and about thirty died, among whom was Lord Delaware. This fatal news was known first in Virginia; but the report of Argal's injurious conduct had gone to England, and made a deep impression to his disadvantage on the minds of his best friends. Besides a great number of wrongs to particular persons, he was charged with converting to his own use what remained of the public stores; with depredation and waste of the revenues of the company; and with many offences in matters of state and government. At first the company were so alarmed as to think of an application to the crown for redress; but, on farther consideration, they wrote a letter of reprehension to him, and another of complaint to Lord Delaware, whom they supposed to be at the head of the colony, requesting that Argal

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might be sent to England to answer the charges laid against him.

Both these letters fell into Argal's hands. Convinced that his time was short, he determined to make the most of it for his own interest. Having assumed the care of his lordship's estate in Virginia, he converted the labour of the tenants and the produce of the land to his own use. But Edward Brewster, who had been appointed overseer of the plantation by his lordship's order before his death, endeavoured to withdraw them from Argal's service, and employ them for the benefit of the estate. When he threatened one who refused to obey him, the fellow made his complaint to the governor: Brewster was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to death in consequence of the aforesaid laws of Sir Thomas Smith. Sensible of the extreme severity of these laws, the court which had passed the sentence, accompanied by the clergy, went in a body to the governor to intercede for Brewster's life, which, with much difficulty, they obtained on this condition, that he should quit Virginia never more to return, and should give his oath that he would, neither in England nor elsewhere, say or do anything to the dishonour of the governor.

On his going to England he was advised to appeal to the company; and the prosecution of this appeal, added to the odium which Argal had incurred, determined them to send over a new governor to examine the complaints and accusations on the spot.

The person chosen to execute this commission was YEARDLEY, his rival, who on this occasion was knighted, and appointed governor-general of the colony, where he arrived in the spring of 1619.\*

The Earl of Warwick, who was Argal's friend and partner in trade, had taken care to give him information of what was doing, and to despatch a small vessel, which arrived before the new governor, and carried off Argal with all his effects. By this manœuvre, and by virtue of his partnership with the earl, he not only escaped the intended examination in Virginia, but secured the greater part of his property, and defrauded the company of that restitution which they had a right to expect.

The character of Captain Argal, like that of most who were concerned in the colonization and government of Virginia, is differently drawn. On the one hand he is spoken of as a good mariner, a civil gentleman, a man

\* Stith, 154.

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of public spirit, active, industrious, and careful to provide for the people, and keep them constantly employed.\* On the other hand he is described as negligent of the public business, seeking only his own interest, rapacious, passionate, arbitrary, and cruel; pushing his unrighteous gains by all means of extortion and oppression. Mr. Stith,† who, from the best information which he could obtain, at the distance of more than a century, by searching the public records of the colony and the journals of the company, pronounces him "a man of good sense, of great industry and resolution," and says that, "when the company warned him peremptorily to exhibit his accounts, and make answer to such things as they had charged against him, he so foiled and perplexed all their proceedings, and gave them so much trouble and annoyance, that they were never able to bring him to any account or punishment."

Nothing more is now known of him but that, after quitting Virginia, he was employed in 1620 to command a ship of war in an expedition against the Algerines,‡ and that in 1623 he was knighted by King James.§

\* Smith and Purchas.

† Stith, 229.

‡ Stith, 184.

§ [He was named in the temporary commission given by King

About the same time that Lord Delaware died at sea, the great Indian prince Powhatan died at his seat in Virginia (April, 1618).\* He was a person of excellent natural talents, penetrating and crafty, and a complete master of all the arts of savage policy,† but totally void of truth, justice, and magnanimity.‡ He was succeeded by his second brother Opitchapan, who, being decrepit and inactive, was soon obscured by the superior abilities and ambition of his younger brother Opecanchanough. Both of them renewed and confirmed the peace which Powhatan had made with the colony, and Opecanchanough finally engrossed the whole power of government; for the Indians do not so much regard the order of succession as brilliancy of talents and intrepidity of mind in their chiefs.

To ingratiate themselves with this prince and attach him more closely to their interest,

James to Mandeville and others, July 15, 1624.—Hazard, i., 183. He was also, as is mentioned hereafter, an unsuccessful rival with Sir Francis Wyatt for the governorship of Virginia in 1624.—H.]

\* The same year is also memorable for the death of Sir Walter Raleigh, who may be considered as the founder of the colony of Virginia. See vol. i., p. 323.

† Smith, 125

‡ Stith, 154.

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the colony built a house for him after the English mode. With this he was so much pleased that he kept the keys continually in his hands, opening and shutting the doors many times in a day, and showing the machinery of the locks to his own people and to strangers. In return for this favour, he gave liberty to the English to seat themselves at any places on the shores of the rivers where the natives had no villages, and entered into a farther treaty with them for the discovery of mines, and for mutual friendship and defence.\* This treaty was, at the request of Opecanchanough, engraven on a brass plate and fastened to one of the largest oaks, that it might be always in view, and held in perpetual remembrance.

Yeardley, being rid of the trouble of calling Argal to account, applied himself to the business of his government. The first thing which he did was to add six new members to the council, Francis West,\* Nathaniel Pow-

\* Purchas, v., 1786, 8.

† [Master Francis West, a younger brother of Lord Delaware, came to Virginia with Newport, in his third voyage, in the winter of 1607-8. He attended Smith in his expedition to Pamunky; in 1609, he was sent, "with 120 men," whence he is afterward called captain, to make a settlement at the falls of James River, which he did very "inconsiderately." He soon re-



el,\* John Pory,† John Ralfe, William Wick-

turned to Jamestown, having lost many of his men, and set out on a trading voyage in a small ship with thirty or forty men, and, being unsuccessful, set sail for England. He seems from the text to have returned to Virginia, but was living in England in 1622 (Smith, 72, 90-2, 105. *New-England's Trials*, p. 15), and perhaps remained there till he was appointed one of the council of Sir Francis Wyat (but see Prince, 218). He seems to have been an amiable but inefficient man. Smith ascribes to him a "gentle nature."

He was named a councillor under Yeardley, and in the commission to Harvey in 1627.—Hazard, i., 232, 234. After the death of Yeardley in the latter part of 1627, he was chosen by the council to succeed him, and, having held the government a few months, is presumed to have died early in 1628.—Burk, ii., 21, 2.—H.]

\* [Nathaniel Powel came to Virginia with Captain Smith in 1607, and his name occurs among the "gentlemen" in the catalogue of the first planters.—Smith, 43. He accompanied Smith in several of his exploring journeys, was employed by him, sometimes alone, in services requiring both courage and discretion, and wrote some of the narratives from which his *History of Virginia* was compiled. When Argal stole away from the colony in 1619, he left Powel, who has now the title of captain, for his deputy. He held this office but ten or twelve days, till Yeardley arrived, who, as is stated in the text, chose him into his council.—*Ib.*, 126. He was slain, with his family, and his body "butcher-like haggled," in the general massacre of March 22, 1622. Smith, p. 145, calls him "a valiant soldier, and not any in the country better known among them."—H.]

† [Master John Porey, as he wrote his name, was one of the grantees in the Virginia patent of 1609 (Hazard, i., 61), was educated at Cambridge, and had been in Parliament. He was not one of the adventurers, at least his name is not on the list of them in 1620, and probably not one of the planters, but em-

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ham; and Samuel Maycock.\* The next was to publish his intention of calling a General Assembly, the privileges and powers of which were defined in his commission. He also granted to the oldest planters a discharge from all service to the colony but such as was voluntary, or obligatory by the laws and customs of nations, with a confirmation of all their estates real and personal, to be holden in the same manner as by English subjects.

ployed by the company for his intelligence and supposed integrity. He made some pretensions to religion (Smith, 142, and Morton's Memorial, 84), but was of an intriguing, restless spirit. He was appointed secretary of state in Virginia on the recommendation of the Earl of Warwick, who doubtless thought him, as he proved, a fit instrument for his purposes.—Burk, i., App., 322. It may not be amiss to say, that the secretary's place was one of some consequence. In 1691, the company, in their instructions, gave order that the secretary should have twenty-five men "to serve and attend" him.—Smith, 127. After intercepting the proofs of Argal's misconduct, the company could not have longer employed him. He was a member of the temporary commission appointed by the king, July 15, 1624, after he had suppressed the meetings of the company.—Hazard, i., 183. Some curious letters of his are preserved in the Ellis Collection of Original Papers, iii., 237, seqq.—H.]

\* [Of Samuel Maycock I find little, except that he was slain by the Indians, March 22, 1622. In the list of the slain he is called Captain Macock. He had a plantation of 1000 acres on the south side of James River, in the corporation of Henrico.—Burk, i., 333. The date of his arrival is uncertain, and his name is not among those who came before 1609.—H.]

Finding a great scarcity of corn, he made some amends for his former error by promoting the cultivation of it. The first year of his administration (1619) was remarkable for very great crops of wheat and Indian corn, and for a very great mortality of the people, not less than 300 of whom died.

In the month of July of this year, the first General Assembly of the colony of Virginia met at Jamestown.\* The deputies were chosen by the townships or boroughs, no counties being at that time formed. From this circumstance, the Lower House of Assembly was always afterward called the House of Burgesses till the revolution in 1776. In this Assembly, the governor, council, and burgesses sat in one house, and jointly "debated all matters thought expedient for the good of the colony." The laws then enacted were of the nature of local regulations, and were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company. It is said that they were judiciously drawn up; but no vestige of them now remains.

Thus, at the expiration of twelve years

\* Beverley (p. 35) says that the first Assembly was called in 1620. But Stith, who had more accurately searched the records, says that the first was in 1619, and the second in 1620.—  
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from their settlement, the Virginians first enjoyed the privilege of a colonial Legislature, in which they were represented by persons of their own election.\* They received as a favour what they might have claimed as a right, and, with minds depressed by the arbitrary system under which they had been held, thanked the company for this favour, and begged them to reduce to a compendium, with his majesty's approbation, the laws of England suitable for Virginia; giving this as a reason, that it was not fit for subjects to be governed by any laws but those which received an authority from their sovereign.

It seems to have been a general sentiment among these colonists not to make Virginia the place of their permanent residence, but, after having acquired a fortune by planting and trade, to return to England.† For this reason most of them were destitute of families, and had no natural attachment to the country. To remedy this material defect, Sir Edwin Sandys, the new treasurer, proposed to the company to send over a freight of young women to make wives for the planters. This proposal, with several others made by that eminent statesman, was received with

\* Chalmers, 44.

† Stith, 165.

universal applause ; and the success answered their expectations. Ninety girls, " young and uncorrupt," were sent over at one time\* (1620); and sixty more, " handsome and well-recommended," at another (1621).† These were soon blessed with the object of their wishes. The price of a wife at first was one

\* Purchas, v., 1783.

† [The following remnant of the early times, when women were willing to get married and not ashamed to own it, is a letter accompanying a shipment of marriageable ladies made from England to the colony in Virginia. It is dated

" *London, August 21, 1621.*

" 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 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 honourable 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 for their people on the soil, therefore having given this fair beginning ; 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 marry 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 "  
—H.]

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hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco; but, as the number became scarce, the price was increased to one hundred and fifty pounds, the value of which, in money, was three shillings per pound.\* By a subsequent act of Assembly, it was ordained that "the price of a wife should have the precedence of all other debts in recovery and payment, because, of all kinds of merchandise, this was the most desirable."†

To this salutary project of the company King James was pleased to add another, which he signified to the treasurer by a letter,‡ *commanding* them to send to Virginia one hundred dissolute persons convicted of crimes, who should be delivered to them by the knight-marshal. The season of the year (November) was unfavourable for transportation; but so peremptory was the king's command, and so submissive the temper of the company, that they became bound for the subsistence of these wretches till they could sail, which was not till February. The expense of this equipment was £4000.

On this transaction Mr. Stith, who takes every opportunity to expose the weak and arbitrary government of King James, makes

\* Chalmers, 46.

† Stith, 197.

‡ Ibid., 167.

the following remarks: "Those who know with how high a hand this king sometimes carried it even with his Parliaments, will not be surprised to find him thus unmercifully insult a private company, and load them, against all law, with the maintenance and extraordinary expense of transporting such persons as he thought proper to banish. And I cannot but remark how early that custom arose of transporting loose and dissolute persons to Virginia as a place of punishment and disgrace, which, though originally designed for the advancement and increase of the colony, yet has certainly proved a great hindrance to its growth. For it hath laid one of the finest countries in America under the unjust scandal of being another **Siberia**, fit only for the reception of malefactors and the vilest of the people. So that few have been induced willingly to transport themselves to such a place; and our younger sisters, the northern colonies, have accordingly profited thereby. For this is one cause that they have outstripped us so much in the number of their inhabitants, and in the goodness and frequency of their towns and cities."

In the same year (1620) the merchandis of human flesh was farther augmented by the

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introduction of negroes from Africa.\* A Dutch ship brought twenty of them for sale; and the Virginians, who had but just emerged from a state of vassalage themselves, began to be the owners and masters of slaves.†

The principal commodity produced in Virginia besides corn was tobacco, an article of luxury much in demand in the north of Europe. Great had been the difficulties attending this trade, partly from the jealousy of the Spaniards, who cultivated it in their American colonies, partly from the obsequiousness of James to that nation, and partly from his own squeamish aversion to tobacco, against the use of which, in his princely wisdom, he had written a book.‡

\* Beverley, p. 35.

† [In 1618 Captain Argal sent out, at the expense of the Earl of Warwick, "on a roving voyage to the Spanish dominions in the Indies, a ship called the Treasurer, manned with the ablest men in the colony, with an old commission against the Spanish West from the Duke of Savoy." She returned to Virginia after some ten months with "her booty, which were a certain number of negroes." They were not left at Virginia, because Captain Argal was now gone home, but were put on the earl's plantation in the Somer Islands. It would seem that the Dutch owe their unenviable notoriety of introducing slavery into Virginia only to accident.—Declaration of the Council for Virginia, May 7th, 1623. Burk's Hist, of Va., i., 319.—H.]

‡ This book is entitled "A Counterblast to Tobacco," and is printed in a folio volume of the works of King James. In this

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The Virginia Company themselves were opposed to its cultivation, and readily admitted various projects for encouraging other productions of more immediate use and benefit to mankind. As the country naturally yielded mulberry-trees and vines, it was thought that silk and wine might be manufactured to advantage. To facilitate these projects, eggs of the silk-worm were procured from the southern countries of Europe; books on the subject were translated from foreign languages; persons skilled in the management of silk-worms and the cultivation of vines were engaged; and, to crown all, a royal order from King James, enclosed in a letter from the treasurer and council, was sent over to Virginia, with high expectations of success. But no exertions or authority could prevail to make the cultivation of tobacco yield to that of silk and wine; and, after the trade of the colony was laid open, and the Dutch had free access to their ports, the growth of tobacco received such encouragement as to become the grand staple of the colony.

curious work he compares the smoke of tobacco to the smoke of the bottomless pit, and says it is only proper to regale the devil after dinner.

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At this time the company in England was divided into two parties: the Earl of Warwick was at the head of one, and the Earl of Southampton\* of the other. The former was the

\* [Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, grandson of Wriothesley, the famous chancellor of Edward VI. He was a great favourite with the gallant and unfortunate Earl of Essex, by whom he was appointed general of the horse in Ireland contrary to the known wishes of the queen, by whose repeated orders he was displaced.—Winwood, i., 47. He was connected with Essex (in 1601) in his rash conspiracy to seize the person of Elizabeth, was convicted, and, while his patron lost his life, he suffered attainder, and was imprisoned during the queen's life. On the accession of James he was liberated, his attainder reversed by act of Parliament, and his title and estates restored by a new patent in 1603. He was afterward made captain of the Isle of Wight and governor of Carisbrooke Castle, and in 1618 a member of the privy-council. In his later years he commanded an English regiment in the Dutch service, and died in the Netherlands Nov. 10, 1624.—Birch's Mem. Eliz., ii., 494. Burke's Extinct, Dormant, and Suspended Peerages. He "was of a brave and generous, but haughty and impetuous temper." His disposition was ill-adapted to the servility and base intrigue which prevailed in the court and cabinet of James, where he obtained no share of political power. He was chosen (in 1620) treasurer of the Virginia Company, contrary to the wishes of the king, which office he held till the charter was vacated, and, both in this station, which was one of considerable weight and influence, and in his place in the house, showed himself an opponent of the measures of the court.—Aikin's Mem. of the Court of James I., ii., 205, 206. He was father to the excellent and noble treasurer Southampton, and grandfather to the glory of her sex, the heroic Rachel Lady Russel. He accompanied Essex as a volunteer in the unsuccessful expedition

least in number, but had the ear and support of the king; and their virulence was directed against Yeardley, who had intercepted a packet from his own secretary, Pory, containing the proofs of Argal's misconduct, which had been prepared to be used against him at his trial, but which the secretary had been bribed to convey to his close friend, the Earl of Warwick. The governor, being a man of a mild and gentle temper, was so overcome with the opposition and menaces of the faction, which were publicly known in the colony, that his authority was weakened, his spirits dejected, and his health impaired to that degree that he became unfit for business, and requested a dismissal from the cares of government. His commission expired in November, 1621, but he continued in the colony, was a member of the council, and enjoyed the respect and esteem of the people.

against the Spanish West India fleet in 1597; and, during a period of royal displeasure, we believe for his marriage, which for a while banished him from the court, attended Secretary Cecil to France to conclude the treaty of Vervins.—Aikin's *Eliz.*, vol. ii. Not the least of his merits is it that he was the patron and friend of William Shakspeare. About the year 1619 he was imprisoned through the influence of Buckingham, whom "he rebuked with some passion for speaking often to the same thing in the house and out of order." Soon after he went over to the Dutch.—Aikin's *James*, ii., 206.—H.]

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During this short administration many new settlements were made on James and York Rivers, and the planters, being supplied with wives and servants, began to think themselves at home, and to take pleasure in cultivating their lands ; but they neglected to provide for their defence, placing too great confidence in the continuance of that tranquillity which they had long enjoyed by their treaty with the Indians.

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## XV. SIR FRANCIS WYAT.

WHEN Sir George Yeardley requested a dismissal from the burden of government, the Earl of Southampton recommended to the company Sir Francis Wyatt as his successor. He was a young gentleman of a good family in Ireland,\* who, on account of his education, fortune, and integrity, was every way equal to the place, and was accordingly chosen.†

He received from the company a set of instructions, which were intended to be a permanent directory for the governor and council of the colony. In these it was recommended to them to provide for the service of God, according to the form and discipline of the Church of England; to administer justice according to the laws of England; to protect the natives, and cultivate peace with them; to educate their children, and to endeavour their civilization and conversion; to encourage industry; to suppress gaming, intemperance, and excess in apparel; to give no offence to any other prince, state, or people; to harbour

\* Stith, 187. † Hazard, vol. i., 232. ‡ Stith, 195.

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no pirates; to build fortifications; 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."

Immediately on Wyatt's arrival (October, 1621),\* he sent a special message to Opitchapan and Opecanchanough by Mr. George Thorpe, a gentleman of note in the colony, and a great friend to the Indians, to confirm the former treaties of peace and friendship. They both expressed great satisfaction at the arrival of the new governor, and Mr. Thorpe imagined that he could perceive an uncommon degree of religious sensibility in Opecanchanough. That artful chief so far imposed on the credulity of this good gentleman as to persuade him that he acknowledged his own religion to be wrong; that he desired to be instructed in the Christian doctrine; and that he wished for a more friendly and familiar intercourse with the English. He also confirmed a former promise of sending a guide to show them some mines above the falls. But all these pretences served only to conceal a design which he had long meditated, to destroy the whole English colony.

\* [Sir Francis entered upon his government Nov. 18, and immediately sent Mr. Thorpe, &c.—Stith, 204.—H.]

The peace which had subsisted since the marriage of Pocahontas had lulled the English into security, and disposed them to extend their plantations along the banks of the rivers as far as the Potowmac,\* in situations too remote from each other. Their houses were open and free to the natives, who became acquainted with their manner of living, their hours of eating, of labour and repose, the use of their arms and tools, and frequently borrowed their boats, for the convenience of fishing and fowling, and to pass the rivers. This familiarity was pleasing to the English, as it indicated a spirit of moderation, which had been always recommended by the company in England to the planters, and as it afforded a favourable symptom of the civilization and conversion of the natives; but by them or their leaders it was designed to conceal the most sanguinary intentions.

In the spring of the next year (1622) an opportunity offered to throw off the mask of friendship and kindle their secret enmity into a blaze. Among the natives who frequently visited the English was a tall, handsome young chief, renowned for his courage and success in war, and excessively fond of fine-

\* Beverley, 39.

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ry in dress. His Indian name was Nematanow, but by the English he was called Jack of the Feather. Coming to the store of one Morgan, he there viewed several toys and ornaments which were very agreeable to the Indian taste, and persuaded Morgan to carry them to Pamunky, where he assured him of an advantageous traffic. Morgan consented to go with him, but was murdered by the way.

In a few days Nematanow came again to the store, with Morgan's cap on his head ; and being interrogated by two stout lads who attended there what was become of their master, he answered that he was dead. The boys seized him and endeavoured to carry him before a magistrate, but his violent resistance and the insolence of his language so provoked them that they shot him. The wound proved mortal ; and, when dying, he earnestly requested of the boys that the manner of his death might be concealed from his countrymen, and that he might be privately buried among the English.

As soon as this transaction was known, Opecanchanough demanded satisfaction ; but being answered that the retaliation was just, he formed a plan for a general massacre of



the English, and appointed Friday, the twenty-second day of March, for its execution; but he dissembled his resentment to the last moment. Parties of Indians were distributed through the colony to attack every plantation at the same hour of the day, when the men should be abroad and at work. On the evening before and on the morning of that fatal day, the Indians came as usual to the houses of the English, bringing game and fish to sell, and sat down with them to breakfast. So general was the combination, and so deep the plot, that about one hour before noon they fell on the people in the fields and houses, and with their own tools and weapons killed indiscriminately persons of all ages, sexes, and characters, inhumanly mangling their dead bodies, and triumphing over them with all the expressions of frantic joy.

Where any resistance was made it was generally successful. Several houses were defended, and some few of the assailants slain. One of Captain Smith's old soldiers, Nathaniel Causie, though wounded, split the scull of an Indian and put the whole party to flight. Several other parties were dispersed by the firing of a single gun, or by the presenting of a gun even in the hands of a woman.

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\* Stith, 212.

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Jamestown was preserved by the fidelity of Chanco,\* a young Indian convert who lived with Richard Pace, and was treated by him as a son. The brother of this Indian came to lie with him the night before the massacre, and revealed to him the plot, urging him to kill his master, as he intended to do by his own. As soon as he was gone in the morning, Chanco gave notice of what was intended to his master, who, having secured his own house, gave the alarm to his neighbours, and sent an express to Jamestown.

Three hundred and forty-nine people† fell

\* Stith, 212.

† The number slain at the several plantations, from Captain Smith's History, page 149 :

1. At Captain John Berkeley's plantation, seated at the Falling Creek, sixty-six miles from James City, himself and twenty-one others . . . . . 22
2. At Master Thomas Sheffield's plantation, three miles from the Falling Creek, himself and twelve others . . . . . 13
3. At Henrico Islands, two miles from Sheffield's plantation . . . . . 6
4. Slain of the College people, twenty miles from Henrico . . . . . 17
5. At Charles City, and of Captain Smith's men . . . . . 5
6. At the next adjoining plantation . . . . . 8
7. At William Farrar's house . . . . . 10
8. At Brickley Hundred, fifty miles from Charles City, Master George Thorpe and ten more . . . . . 11
9. At Westover, a mile from Brickley . . . . . 2
10. At Master John West's plantation . . . . . 2

in this general massacre, of which number six were members of the council. - None of these were more lamented than Mr. George Thorpe. This gentleman was one of the best friends of the Indians, and had been earnest-

11. At Captain Nathaniel West's plantation . . . . .	2
12. At Richard Owen's house, himself and six more . . . . .	7
13. At Lieutenant Gibbs's plantation . . . . .	12
14. At Master Owen Macar's house, himself and three more . . . . .	4
15. At Martin's Hundred, seven miles from James City . . . . .	73
16. At another place . . . . .	7
17. At Edward Bonit's plantation . . . . .	50
18. At Master Waters's house, himself and four more . . . . .	5
19. At Apamatuck's River, at Master Perce's plantation, five miles from the College . . . . .	4
20. At Master Maycock's dividend, Captain Samuel May- cock and four more . . . . .	5
21. At Flowerda Hundred, Sir George Yeardley's planta- tion . . . . .	6
22. On the other side, opposite to it . . . . .	7
23. At Master Swinhow's house, himself and seven more . . . . .	8
24. At Master William Bickar's house, himself and four more . . . . .	5
25. At Weanock, of Sir George Yeardley's people . . . . .	21
26. At Powel Brooke, Captain Nathaniel Powel and twelve more . . . . .	13
27. At Southampton Hundred . . . . .	5
28. At Martin's Brandon Hundred . . . . .	7
29. At Captain Henry Spilman's house . . . . .	2
30. At Ensign Spence's house . . . . .	5
31. At Master Thomas Perse's house, by Mulberry Island, himself and four more . . . . .	5

The whole number . . . . . 349

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\* Smith, 14

VOL. II.—

ly concerned in the business of instructing and evangelizing them. He had left a handsome estate and an honourable employment in England, and was appointed chief manager of a plantation and a seminary designed for the maintenance and education of young Indians in Virginia. He had been remarkably kind and generous to them, and it was by his exertion that the house was built in which Opecanchanough took so much pleasure. Just before his death he was warned of his danger by one of his servants, who immediately made his escape ;\* but Mr. Thorpe would not believe that they intended him any harm, and thus fell a victim to their fury. His corpse was mangled and abused in a manner too shocking to be related.

One effect of this massacre was the ruin of the iron-works at Falling Creek, where the destruction was so complete, that of twenty-four people, only a boy and girl escaped by hiding themselves.† The superintendent of this work had discovered a vein of lead ore, which he kept to himself, but made use of it to supply himself and his friends with shot. The knowledge of this was lost by his death for many years. It was again found by Col-

\* Smith, 145.

† Beverley, 43.

onel Byrd, and again lost. The place was a third time found by John Chiswell; and the mine is now, or has been lately, wrought to advantage.

Another consequence of this fatal event was an order of the government to draw together the remnant of the people into a narrow compass. Of eighty plantations all were abandoned but six,\* which lay contiguous, at the lower part of James River.† The owners or overseers of three or four others refused to obey the order, and intrenched themselves, mounting cannon for their defence.‡

The next effect was a ferocious war. The Indians were hunted like beasts of prey, and as many as could be found were destroyed. But, as they were very expert in hiding themselves and escaping the pursuit, the English resolved to dissemble with them in their own way.§ To this they were farther impelled by

\* Purchas, v., 1792.

† The six plantations to which the government ordered the people to retire, were Shirley Hundred, Flowerda Hundred, Jamestown, Paspaha, Kiquotan, and Southampton.

‡ Those persons who refused to obey the order were Mr. Edward Hill, at Elizabeth City, Mr. Samuel Jordan, at Jordan's Point, and Mr. Daniel Gookin, at Newport's News.

Mrs. Proctor, a gentlewoman of a heroic spirit, defended her plantation a month, till the officers of the colony obliged her to abandon it.

§ Keith, 139.

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the fear of famine. As seedtime came on, both sides thought it necessary to relax their hostile operations and attend to the business of planting. Peace was then offered by the English, and accepted by the Indians; but, when the corn began to grow, the English suddenly attacked the Indians in their fields, killed many of them, and destroyed their corn. The summer was such a season of confusion that a sufficiency of food could not be obtained, and the people were reduced to great straits.

The unrelenting severity with which this war was prosecuted by the Virginians against the Indians transmitted mutual abhorrence to the posterity of both, and procured to the former the name of "the long knife," by which they are still distinguished in the hieroglyphic language of the natives.

Though a general permission of residence had been given by Powhatan and his successors to the colonists, yet they rather affected to consider the country as acquired by discovery or conquest;\* and both these ideas were much favoured by the English court.†

\* Chalmers, 39, 68.

† Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia (p. 153), observes, "That the lands of this country were taken from them by con-

The civilization of the natives was a very desirable object ; but those who knew them best thought that they could not be civilized till they were first subdued,\* or till their priests were destroyed.†

It is certain that many pious and charitable persons in England were very warmly interested in their conversion. Money and books, church plate and other furniture, were liberally contributed. A college was in a fair way of being founded ; to the support of which lands were appropriated, and brought into a state of cultivation. Some few instances of the influence of Gospel principles on the savage mind, particularly Pocahontas and Chanco, gave sanguine hope of success, and even the massacre did not abate the ardour of that hope in the minds of those who had indulged it. The experience of almost two centuries has not extinguished it ; and, however discouraging the prospect, it is best for quest is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records repeated proofs of purchases, which cover a considerable part of the lower country, and many more would doubtless be found on farther search. The upper country, we know, has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form." A more particular account of the earliest purchases is desirable, specifying the date, the extent, and the compensation.

\* Smith, 147.

† Stith, 233.

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the cause of virtue that it never should be abandoned. There may be some fruit which, though not splendid nor extensive, yet may correspond with the genius of a religion which is compared by its Author to "leaven hid in the meal." The power of evangelical truth on the human mind must not be considered as void of reality, because not exposed to public observation.

When the news of the massacre was carried to England, the governor and colony were considered as subjects of blame by those very persons who had always enjoined them to treat the Indians with mildness. However, ships were despatched with a supply of provisions, to which the Corporation of London, as well as several persons of fortune, largely contributed. The king *lent* them twenty barrels of powder, and a quantity of *unserviceable* arms from the Tower, and *promised* to levy four hundred soldiers in the several counties of England for their protection; but, though frequently solicited by the company in England and the colony in Virginia, he could never be induced to fulfil this promise.

The calamities which had befallen the colony, and the dissensions which had agitated



the company, became such topics of complaint, and were so represented to the king and his privy council, that a commission was issued,\* under the great seal, to Sir William Jones, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, Sir Francis Goston, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir William Pitt, Sir Henry Bouchier, and Sir Henry Spilman, or any four of them, to inquire into all matters respecting Virginia from the beginning of its settlement.

\* [This commission was issued on the 9th of May—Stith, 298; who adds, "Who these commissioners were, and what were their characters and conduct through life, I cannot say. I only find that Camden, in his Annals for the year 1619, briefly mentions Fortescue, Goston, Sutton, and Pitt, late commissioners for the navy, to be then knighted." He had stated above that Jones was "one of his majesty's justices for the Court of Common Pleas." Little can be added to this scanty notice. Smith, in his list of the commissioners, p. 168, does not mention Spilman, and Burk writes the name Spiller; the text follows Stith. Which spelling is right I have no means of determining; but I find Sir(?) Henry Spiller to have been a member of the House of Commons in the Parliament of 1620.—Cobbet's Parl. Hist., i., 1174. Sir William Pitt is named on the same catalogue, p. 1171. He was a native of Caernarvonshire, educated at Oxford, studied at Lincoln's Inn, and was made a justice of the King's Bench in the last year of James. Several of his reports of important cases were published. He died Dec. 9, 1640. Wood represents him as "eminent for his knowledge of our municipal laws."—Ath. Oxon. Sir Francis Goston was a member of the commission which met at Sir Thomas Smith's house after the dissolution of the Virginia Company.—Hazard, i., 183.—H.]

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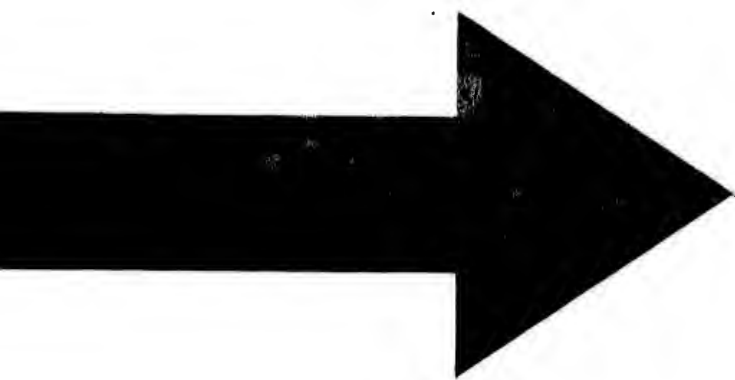
To enable them to carry on this inquiry, all the books and papers of the company were ordered into the custody of the commissioners; their deputy-treasurer\* was arrested and confined; and all letters which should arrive from the colony were, by the king's command, to be intercepted. This was a very discouraging introduction to the business, and plainly showed not only the arbitrary disposition of the king, but the turn which would be given to the inquiry. On the arrival of a ship from Virginia,† her packets were seized and laid before the privy council.

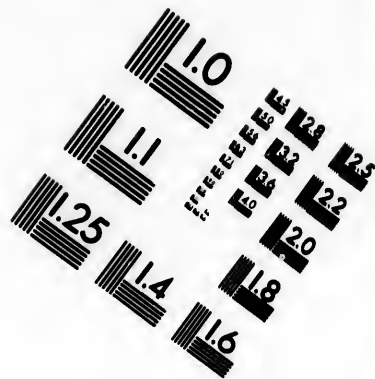
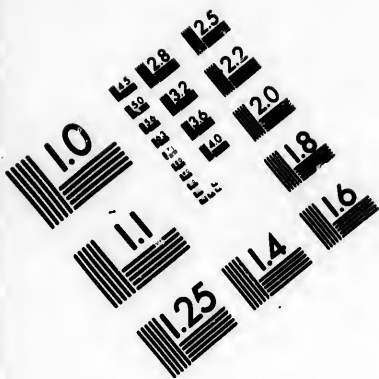
The transactions of these commissioners

\* [Nicholas Ferrar, one of the most able and efficient members of the Virginia Company, born in London, Feb., 1592, was a pensioner, and afterward fellow-commoner, of Clare Hall, Cambridge. After leaving Cambridge he travelled over a great part of Europe, and on his return in 1619, by the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, was appointed "king's counsel for the Virginia plantation." In 1622 he was chosen deputy-treasurer under the Earl of Southampton, and remained in this office till the company was dissolved. It was owing to his diligence and skill that the enemies of the charter did not succeed in gaining a repeal of it much earlier. He was a member of the Parliament of 1624, and soon after purchased an estate in Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire, where he spent the remainder of his life in religious meditation and the offices of devotion. He died Dec., 1637.—Life by Dr. Peckard, in Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.*, v., 75.—H.]

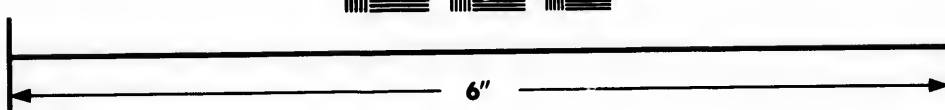
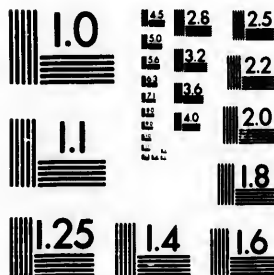
† Stith, 298.







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were always kept concealed, but the result of them was made known by an order of council (October, 1623), which set forth, "That his majesty, having taken into his princely consideration the distressed state of Virginia, occasioned by the ill government of the company, had resolved by a new charter to appoint a governor and twelve assistants to reside in England, and a governor with twelve assistants to reside in Virginia; the former to be nominated by his majesty in council, the latter to be nominated by the governor and assistants in England, and to be approved by the king in council; and that all proceedings should be subject to the royal direction." The company was ordered to assemble and resolve whether they would submit and resign their charter; and, in default of such submission, the king signified his determination to proceed for recalling their charter in such manner as to him should seem meet.

This arbitrary mandate so astonished the company, that when they met it was read over three times, as if they had distrusted their own ears.\* Then a long silence ensued; and, when the question was called for,

\* Stith, 304.

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twenty-six only voted for a surrender, and one hundred and twelve declared against it.

These proceedings gave such an alarm to all who were concerned in the plantation or trade of the colony, that some ships which were preparing to sail were stopped; but the king ordered them to proceed, declaring that the change of government would injure no man's property.\* At the same time, he thought it proper to appoint commissioners† to go to Virginia and inquire into the state of the colony. These were Sir John Harvey,

\* [By an order from the privy council, Oct. 20th.—Stith, 296.—H.]

† [The appointment was made by the lords of the privy council, Oct. 24th.—Stith, 297. John Harvey was not yet knighted. Stith spells the third name on the list Piersey, l. c., and in Hazard it is Percey and Percy. He adds, that "Captain Harvey and Mr. Porey seem to have been most active in this business." Porey had an old grudge to gratify. "As for Mr. Jefferson, he never appeared in it, but seems all along a hearty friend to the company," and was resident in England during most of the term of the commission. "And Captain Matthews expressly joined with the General Assembly in their opposite representations to his majesty." He commanded one of the companies in the general and concerted attack upon the Indians of July 23d, 1623 (Stith, 303), and was a member of the council under Wyatt in 1624, under Yeardley in 1625, and Harvey in 1627.—Hazard, i., 230, 234. Jefferson was one of the witnesses against Martin in 1622.—Stith, 225. Percy is named one of the councillors in the second commission to Yeardley, and in Harvey's.—Hazard, i., 230, 234.—H.]



afterward governor, John Pory, who had been secretary, Abraham Percy, Samuel Matthews, and John Jefferson.\* The subjects of their inquiry were, "How many plantations there be; which of them be public and which private; what people, men, women, and children, there be in each plantation; what fortifications, or what place is best to be fortified; what houses, and how many; what cattle, arms, ammunition, and ordnance; what boats and barges; what bridges and public works; how the colony standeth in respect of the savages; what hopes may be truly conceived of the plantation, and the means to attain these hopes." The governor and council of Virginia were ordered to afford their best assistance to the commissioners; but no copy of their instructions was delivered to them.

After the departure of the commissioners, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued by the court of King's Bench against the company (November 10, 1623),† and upon the repre-

\* Chalmers, 77.

† [The indecent haste of this step shows the king's determination to destroy the company at any rate. The appointment of commissioners to visit Virginia and report minutely the state of affairs there, gave his proceedings a show of equity and moderation; but this writ was issued in seventeen days from the

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resentation of the attorney-general\* that no defence could be made by the company without their books and their deputy-treasurer, the latter was liberated and the former were restored. The redelivery† of them to the privy council was protracted till the clerks of the company had taken copies of them.‡

date of their commission (Oct. 24—Burk, i., 272), and when they were hardly out of sight of England.—H.]

\* [Sir Thomas Coventry, who was, or had been in 1620, one of the adventurers.—Smith, 131.—H.]

† [Such is the uniform statement of the historians of Virginia. The difference is unimportant, except as it may show the foresight and preparation of the company; but Peckard, p. 149, 150, who says nothing of the redelivery of them to the company, states that the copies were made some time before the originals were demanded by the council, and that they were made privately, by the order of the deputy-treasurer, without the knowledge of the company, and that the work cost him £50. He adds, p. 149, 150, 151, that "the copies were carefully collated with the originals, and attested upon oath by the examiners to be true copies," and that, after the dissolution of the company, the Earl of Southampton, fearing that his house might be searched for them, delivered them into the custody of Sir R. Killigrew, who at his death left them in care of Edward Sackvill, earl of Dorset.—P. 90, note. Burk, i., 275, speaks of another volume used in preparing his history, of which Stith was ignorant, and which made the papers complete.—H.]

‡ These copies were deposited in the hands of the Earl of Southampton, and after his death, which happened in 1624, descended to his son. After his death in 1667, they were purchased of his executors for sixty guineas by Colonel Byrd, of Virginia, then in England. From these copies and from the Records of the colony, Mr. Stith compiled his History of Vir-

In the beginning of 1624 the commissioners arrived in Virginia, and a General Assembly was called, not at their request, for they kept all their designs as secret as possible. But, notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken to prevent the colony from getting any knowledge of the proceedings in England, they were by this time well informed of the whole, and had copies of several papers which had been exhibited against them.

The Assembly, which met on the 14th of February,\* drew up answers to what had been alleged, in a spirited and masterly style, and appointed John Porentis,† one of the council, to go to England as their agent to solicit the cause of the colony. This gentleman unhappily died on his passage; but their petition to the king and their address to the privy council were delivered, in which they

ginia, which extends no farther than the year 1624.\*—*Preface*, p. vi.

\* Stith, 304.

† Perhaps a typographical error. Yet, when such apparent-ly occur, I have retained the text, for it is easier to convict Burk of a mistake than Belknap. Burk (i., 285) spells the name Pountis. Smith (p. 138) says Mr. John Porentas was chosen of the council in 1620.—H.]

\* [They were sent back to England by the late John Randolph.—H.]

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requested that, in case of a change of the government, they might not again fall into the power of Sir Thomas Smith or his confidants; that the governors sent over to them might not have absolute authority, but be restrained to act by the advice of council; and, above all, that they might have "the liberty of General Assemblies, than which nothing could more conduce to the public satisfaction and utility." They complained that the short continuance of their governors had been very disadvantageous. "The first year they were raw and inexperienced, and generally in ill health through a change of climate; the second they began to understand something of the affairs of the colony; and the third they were preparing to return."

To the honour of Governor Wyatt, it is observed, that he was very active, and joined most cordially in preparing these petitions;\* and was very far from desiring absolute and inordinate power, either in himself or in future governors.

The Assembly was very unanimous in their proceedings, and intended, like the commissioners, to keep them secret. But Pory, who had long been versed in the arts of corrup-

\* Stith 315.

tion, found means to obtain copies of all their acts. Edward Sharples, clerk of the council, was afterward convicted of bribery and breach of trust, for which he was sentenced to the pillory, and lost one of his ears.

The commissioners, finding that things were going on in the Assembly contrary to their wishes, resolved to open some of their powers with a view to intimidate them, and then endeavoured to draw them into an explicit submission to the revocation of their charter. But the Assembly had the wisdom and firmness to evade the proposal, by requesting to see the whole extent of their commission. This being denied, they answered that, when the surrender of their charter should be demanded by authority, it would be time enough to make a reply.

The laws enacted by this Assembly are the oldest which are to be found in the records of the colony. They contain many wise and good provisions.\* One of them is equivalent to a *Bill of Rights*, defining the powers of the governor, council, and assembly, and the privileges of the people with regard to taxes,†

\* Stith, 319-322.

† [The provision relating to taxes is worth transcribing, as it shows the notions of freedom that then prevailed in the colony.

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burdens, and personal services.\* The twenty-second of March, the day of the massacre, was ordered to be solemnized as a day of devotion.

While these things were doing in the colony, its enemies in England were endeavouring, by means of some persons who had returned from Virginia, to injure the character of the governor ; but he was sufficiently vindicated by the testimony of other persons, who asserted, on their own knowledge, the uprightness of his proceedings, and declared, upon their honour and conscience, that they esteemed him just and sincere, free from all corruption and private views. As he had requested leave to quit the government at the

It declares that " the governor should not lay any taxes or impositions upon the colony, their lands, or commodities, otherwise than by the authority of the General Assembly ; to be levied and employed as the said Assembly should appoint."—Burk, i., 281. Stith, 320.—H.]

\* At this time women were scarce and much in request, and it was common for a woman to connect herself with more than one man at a time, by which means great uneasiness arose between private persons, and much trouble to the government. It was therefore ordered " That every minister should give notice in his church, that what man or woman soever should use any word or speech tending to a contract of marriage to two several persons at one time, although not precise and legal, should either undergo corporeal punishment or pay a fine, according to the quality of the offender."—Stith, 322.

expiration of his commission, the company took up the matter; and, when Sir Samuel Argal was nominated as a candidate in competition with him, there appeared but eight votes in his favour, and sixty-nine for the continuance of Wyat.

The Parliament assembled in February, 1624, and the company, finding themselves too weak to resist the encroachments of a prince who had engrossed almost the whole power of the state, applied to the House of Commons for protection. The king was highly offended at this attempt, and sent a prohibitory letter to the speaker, which was no sooner read than the company's petition was ordered to be withdrawn.

However singular this interference on the one hand and compliance on the other may now appear, it was usual at that time for the king to impose his mandates, and for the Commons,\* who knew not the extent of their own rights, to obey, though not without the animadversions of the most intelligent and zealous members. The royal prerogative was held inviolably sacred, till the indiscretions of a subsequent reign reduced it to an object of contempt. In this instance the Commons,

\* Chalmers, 66.

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however passive in their submission to the crown, yet showed their regard to the interest of the complainants as well as of the nation, by petitioning the king that no tobacco should be imported but of the growth of the colonies.\* To this James consented, and a proclamation was issued accordingly.†

The commissioners, on their return from Virginia, reported to the king‡ “ that the people sent to inhabit there were most of them, by sickness, famine, and massacres of the savages, dead; that those who were living were in necessity and want, and in continual danger from the savages; but that the country itself appeared to be fruitful, and, to those who had resided there some time, healthy; that, if industry were used, it would produce divers staple commodities, though for sixteen years past it had yielded few or none; that this neglect must fall on the governors and company, who had power to direct the plantations; that the said plantations were of great importance, and would remain a lasting monument to posterity of his majesty’s most gracious and happy government, if the

\* Hazard, i., 198.

† [The proclamation was dated Sept. 29, 1624.—Hazard, i., 197.—H.]

‡ Hazard, i., 190.



same were prosecuted to those ends for which they were first undertaken; that if the provisions and instructions of the first charter (1606) had been pursued, much better effect had been produced than by the alteration thereof into so *popular* a course, and among so many hands as it then was, which caused much confusion and contention."

On this report the king, by a proclamation (July 15), suppressed the meetings of the company; and, till a more perfect settlement could be made, ordered a committee of the privy council to sit every Thursday at the house of Sir Thomas Smith\* for conducting the affairs of the colony.† Soon after, viz., in Trinity term, the *Quo Warranto* was brought to trial in the court of King's Bench, judgment was given against the company, and the charter was vacated.‡

\* [It may be not uninteresting to state that Sir Thomas Smith lived in Philpot Lane. At the head of the committee, which was composed of others as well as privy counsellors, was Viscount Mandeville. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Samuel Argal, John Porey, Sir George Calvert, Sir John Wolstenholme, and others, were members.—Hazard, i., 183, where the commission is given at length.—H.]

† Stith, 329.

‡ [The argument of the attorney-general on the *Quo Warranto* is curious as showing the straits to which the enemies of the company were driven for reasons. "The main inconvenience," he said, "was, that the company had power to carry

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This was the end of the Virginia Company, one of the most public-spirited societies away to Virginia as many of the king's loving subjects as were desirous to go; and, consequently, they might carry away all the king's subjects, and leave his majesty a kingdom indeed, but no subjects in it." We cannot wonder that "this argument extorted a smile even from the judges."—Peckard's *Life of Ferrar*, 146. The causes which led to the dissolution of the Virginia Company form a curious chapter in history. During the later years of its existence King James seems to have been resolutely bent on its destruction, and, though his measures were artfully designed to wear the appearance of equity and moderation, no means of effecting the purpose were scrupled at or spared. The Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Pembroke again and again informed the company that all resistance would be in vain, as its destruction was resolved on.—N. F., 129, 132. The king disliked the company for the political character of its members. Southampton and Sandys, the leaders, and probably the large body which sided with them, shared in the then growing fondness for religious and political freedom. They had infused too much of a popular spirit into the institutions of the new state rising under their care to suit him. Inflated with notions of the Divine right of kings, he may have been jealous of them as trenching on his prerogative. His vanity, nursed by courtly flatteries, led him to think himself a more suitable overseer of a plantation than any company. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, had some influence in this matter. The king was fretfully anxious to conclude the Spanish match, and, to further it, was ready to yield almost anything to the Spanish court. Gondomar, it is said (N. F., 129, 130), told him that "they were deep politicians, and had farther designs than a tobacco plantation . . . that, once being become numerous, they intended to step beyond their limits, and, for aught he knew, they might visit his master's mines."\*—See Smith's N. E.

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\* [A strange suspicion, yet not without some grounds, in the

which had ever been engaged in such an undertaking.\* Mr. Stith, who had searched all their records and papers, concludes his history by observing that they were "gentlemen of very noble, clear, and disinterested views, willing to spend much of their time and money, and did actually expend more than £100,000 of their own fortunes, without any

There was, besides, a party in the company itself which favoured the scheme of the king, headed by the Earl of Warwick, supported by Alderman Johnson, and made up of the needy, rapacious, and dissatisfied of the adventurers. Many had entered the company to repair shattered fortunes, or to become rich of a sudden. They looked for the golden returns which the Spaniards had brought from Mexico and Peru, and could not abide the tardy gains of agriculture. They had expended much, and were liable to farther assessments, and were hardly contented to have received only "sassafras and soap ashes." Such persons were readily induced to join the party of Warwick and the king. Warwick was a rival of Southampton, and had, moreover, been guilty of some underhand practices, which drew upon him no very gentle expression of the company's displeasure. The enemies of the colony who had been in Virginia, Butler and Argal, were urged, and, it is alleged, suborned, to bear their testimony to its necessities and rank disorder. The company made a stout defence, but, assailed from high places without, and betrayed by bitter enemies within, without success.—H.]

\* Stith, 330.

ignorance of geography which then seems to have prevailed. We read in Stith, 123, "One Cole and Kitchens, with three men, plotted to run away to the Spaniards, whom they supposed to be inhabiting somewhere within five days' journey of the fort." Smith also refers to a similar mistake.—Smith, 110.—H.]

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prospect of present gain or retribution, in advancing an enterprise which they conceived to be of very great consequence to their country."

No sooner was the company dissolved than James issued a new commission (August 26) for the government of the colony. In it the history of the plantation was briefly recited. Sir Francis Wyat was continued governor, with eleven assistants or counsellors, Francis West, Sir George Yeardley,\* George San-

\* [Little can be added to the information which Dr. Belknap has given us of Sir George Yeardley. In the narrative (in Smith, 119) of his appointment by Sir Thomas Dale, he is mentioned as "one Master George Yearly." He could hardly have been a person of much note among the colonists. Indeed, this is the first mention of him. One fact merits to be recorded, as illustrating both the character of the man and the state of the colony under his first brief, but feeble and ill-judged, administration. "Captain Yearly had a salvage or two so well trained up to their pieces, they were as expert as any of the English, and one hee kept purposely to kill him fowle. There were divers others had salvages in like manner for their men."—Smith, 121. He returned to England in 1617.—*Ib.*, 121. The burden of government seems to have been too much for his, perhaps, indolent temper. We believe that after his return he remained in Virginia till his death. In June of 1622 or 3 we hear of him on a journey to his plantation at Accomac "with a number of the greatest gallants in the land," and in the latter part of the summer commanding 300 men on an expedition to Nansemond against the Indians. The result of this valiant enterprise was the supposed killing of two Indians, and the destruction of a quantity of their corn. How far the failure was owing to the want of conduct in the leader, we do not know.—H.]

dys,\* Roger Smith,† Ralph Hamor,‡ who had

\* [George Sandys, or Sands, as his name is written in Smith, Sandis in Hazard, was the brother of Sir Edwin Sandys, the tried friend and treasurer of the Virginia Company. He was born in 1577, and received a part of his education at Oxford. In 1610 he went abroad, and travelled over a great part of Europe to Turkey, where few travellers of his day went, and to Palestine and Egypt. After his return he published a volume of his travels, folio, Oxford, 1615, which was received with great favour. He was one of the grantees in the second patent of Virginia.—Hazard, i., 61. Though his turn seems to have been rather to the quiet of literary pursuits than to active business, he was appointed the company's treasurer in Virginia, where he arrived with Sir Francis Wyat in the autumn of 1621.—Smith, 140. We have no knowledge of his official conduct there. He had a plantation of 300 acres, but found, doubtless, more delight in his classics than in raising tobacco. In 1626, fol. (Lond. Bibliog. Brit., 1632, Oxon.), he published a metrical translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which he had made in Virginia, and which was dedicated to King Charles I. In the dedication he says that "it was doubly a stranger, being sprung from an ancient Roman stock, and bred up in the New World, of the rudeness whereof it could not but participate."—Stith. He published several other works, which gained him favour and friendship among the literary men of his day; and, having lived chiefly in retirement, he died in 1643, at the house of Sir Francis Wyat, his relative? in Bexley, Kent.—Aikin. He was of the council under Wyat, Yeardley (second), and Harvey in 1627.—Hazard, i., 230, 234. In the year 1639 the grand Assembly (of Virginia) appointed George Sandis, Esq., their agent to the English court, with particular instructions to oppose the re-establishment of the company; but he, forgetting his duty to his constituents, presented a petition to the House of Commons, in the name of the adventurers and planters in Virginia, for restoring the letters patent of incorporation to the treasurer and company. When

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had been of the former council,\* with the addition of John Martin, John Harvey, Samuel Matthews, Abrahāam Percy, Isaac Madison,†

intelligence of this was received in Virginia, the Assembly passed a solemn declaration disclaiming their agent's conduct, and affirming that it was never their intention to make way for the old company or any other, so well pleased were they with a royal government.—MS. Annals relative to Virginia, in second volume of Force's Hist. Tracts.—H.]

† [Of Roger Smith I find nothing, save that 100 acres were assigned to Captain Roger Smith by order of court.—Burk, i., 335. He was a councillor under Yeardley in 1625, and Harvey afterward.—Hazard, i., 230, 234.—H.]

‡ [Ralph Hamor was in Virginia in 1614. He was sent in that year, as a special messenger, by Sir Thomas Dale to Powhatan, to ask that his second daughter might live with the English as an "assurance of peace and friendship."—Smith, 115. We have in Smith, 116, a brief narrative, written that year by him and John Rolfe. The date of his arrival is uncertain, though not before 1609. He was one named in the charter of that year.—Hazard, i., 61. Of his previous life we know nothing. In the massacre of 1622 he was surprised by the Indians in the woods, but escaped "to his new house then building; there, only with spades, axes, and brickbats, he defended himself and his company till the savages departed."—Smith, 146. After this we find him in command of "a ship and a pinnace" (ib., 154), and I suppose went a voyage to Newfoundland, 157. He was apparently a man of resoluteness and energy. Five hundred acres were assigned to him by order of court, on the south side of James River.—Burk, i., 336. He was a councillor also under Yeardley in 1625, and Harvey from 1627.—Hazard, i., 230, 234. He had a brother Thomas living near him. Ralph Hamor, Jr., was one of the adventurers.—H.]

\* Hazard, i., 189.

† [Smith mentions a Captain Madison who was employed by

and William Clayborne. The governor and council were appointed during the king's pleasure, with authority to rule the colony and punish offenders as fully as any governor and council might have done. No Assembly was mentioned or allowed, because the king supposed, agreeably to the report of the commissioners, that "so popular a course" was one cause of the late calamities; and he hated the existence of such a body within any part of his dominions, especially when they were disposed to inquire into their own rights, and redress the grievances of the people.

After the death of James, which happened on the 27th of March, 1625, his son and successor Charles issued a proclamation\* expressing his resolution that the colony and government of Virginia should depend immediately on himself, without the intervention of any commercial company. He also followed the example of his father in making no mention of a representative Assembly in any of his subsequent commissions.

Governor Wyat in his first administration in affairs of some difficulty and danger, and in which he showed considerable tact and courage, p. 154, 6, 7. I suppose this to be the same person. He had a plantation of 250 acres not far below the falls.—Burk, 332.—H.]

\* Hazard, i., 303.

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Governor Wyat, on the death of his father, Sir George Wyat,\* having returned to Ireland, the government of Virginia fell again into the hands of Sir George Yeardley. But his death happening within the year 1626, he was succeeded by Sir John Harvey.

\* Hazard, i., 231, 236.

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XVI. BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD.\*  
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THE voyages made to America by these navigators, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, may be considered as the leading steps to the colonization of New-England. Excepting the fishery at Newfoundland, the Europeans were at that time in actual possession of no part of North America, though the English claimed a right to the whole by virtue of prior discovery. The attempts which Raleigh had made to colonize the southern part of the territory, called Virginia, had failed; but he and his associates enjoyed an exclusive patent from the crown of England for the whole coast; and these adventurers

\* The account of Gosnold's voyage and discovery in the first volume of this work is so erroneous, from the misinformation which I had received, that I thought it best to write the whole of it anew. The former mistakes are here corrected, partly from the best information which I could obtain after the most assiduous inquiry, but principally from *my own observations* on the spot, compared with the journal of the voyage more critically examined than before.

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obtained a license, under this authority, to make their voyages and settlements.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD was an active, intrepid, and experienced mariner in the west of England.\* He had sailed in one of the ships employed by Raleigh to Virginia, and was convinced that there must be a shorter and safer way across the Atlantic than the usual route by the Canaries and the West India Islands. At whose expense he undertook his voyage to the northern part of Virginia does not appear, but that it was with the approbation of Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates is evident from an account of the voyage which was presented to him.†

On the 26th of March, 1602, Gosnold sailed from Falmouth‡ in a small bark, the tonnage of which is not mentioned, carrying thirty-two persons, of whom eight were mariners.§ The design of the voyage was to find

\* Stith, 35, 48. Oldmixon, i., 218.

† Purchas, v., 1651.

‡ Ibid., 1647.

§ The names of the persons who went in this voyage, as far as I can collect them; are as follows: Bartholomew Gosnold, commander; Bartholomew Gilbert, second officer; John Angel; Robert Salterne. He went again the next year with Pring. He was afterward a clergyman. William Streete; Gabriel Archer,\* gentleman and journalist. He afterward went to Vir-

\* [I find Gabriel Archer, gentleman, named among the grantees in the second patent to the Virginia Company.—Hazard, i., 60.—H.]

a direct and short course to Virginia, and, upon the discovery of a proper seat for a plantation, twelve of the company were to return to England, and twenty to remain in America, till farther assistance and supplies could be sent to them.

The former part of this design was accomplished, as far as the winds and other circumstances would permit. They went no farther southward than the 37th degree of latitude, within sight of St. Mary, one of the Western Islands. In the 43d degree they approached the Continent of America, which they first discovered on the 13th of May, after a passage of seven weeks.\* The weakness of their bark, and their ignorance of the route, made them carry but little sail, or they might have arrived some days sooner. They judged that they had shortened the distance 500 leagues.

It is not easy to determine from the journal what part of the coast they first saw.† Oldmixon says it was the north side of Massachusetts Bay. The description in the journal. Archer's Hope, near Williamsburg, is named from him. James Rosier. He wrote an account of the voyage and presented it to Sir Walter Raleigh. John Brierton, or Brereton; — Tucker, from whom the shoal called Tucker's Terror is named. \* Smith, 16. † Hist. Amer., i., 218.

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nal does in some respects agree with the coast extending from Cape Ann to Marblehead, or to the rocky point of Nahant.

From a rock, which they called *Savage Rock*, a shallop of European fabric came off to them, in which were eight savages, two or three of whom were dressed in European habits. From these circumstances they concluded that some fishing vessel of Biscay had been there, and that the crew were destroyed by the natives. These people, by signs, invited them to stay, but "the harbour being naught, and doubting the weather," they did not think proper to accept the invitation.

In the night they stood to the southward, and the next morning found themselves "embayed with a mighty headland," which at first appeared "like an island, by reason of a large sound which lay between it and the main." Within a league of this land they came to anchor in fifteen fathoms, and took a very great quantity of cod. From this circumstance the land was named *Cape Cod*. It is described as a low, sandy shore, but without danger, and lying in the latitude of 42°. Captain Gosnold, with Mr. Brierton and three men, went to it, and found the shore bold and the sand very deep. A young Indian, with

copper pendants in his ears, a bow in his hand, and arrows at his back, came to them, and in a friendly manner offered his service; but, as they were in haste to return to the ship, they had little conference with him.

On the sixteenth they sailed by the shore southerly, and at the end of twelve leagues saw a point of land, with breakers at a distance. In attempting to double this point they came suddenly into shoal water, from which they extricated themselves by standing out to sea. This point they named *Point Care*, and the breakers *Tucker's Terror*, from the person who first discovered the danger. In the night they bore up towards the land, and came to anchor in eight fathoms. The next day (17th), seeing many breakers about them, and the weather being foul, they lay at anchor.

On the 18th, the weather being clear, they sent their boat to sound a breach which lay off another point, to which they gave the name of *Gilbert's Point*. The ship remained at anchor the whole of this day, and some of the natives came from the shore in their canoes to visit them. These people were dressed in skins, and furnished with pipes and tobacco; one of them had a breastplate of

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copper. They appeared more timorous than those of Savage Rock, but were very thievish.

When the people in the boat returned from sounding, they reported a depth of water from four to seven fathoms over the breach, which the ship passed the next day (19th), and came to anchor again above a league beyond it. Here they remained two days, surrounded by schools of fish and flocks of aquatic birds. To the northward of west, they saw several hummocks, which they imagined were distinct islands; but, when they sailed towards them (on the 21st), they found them to be small hills within the land. They discovered also an opening, into which they endeavoured to enter, supposing it to be the southern extremity of the sound between Cape Cod and the mainland. But, on examination, the water proving very shoal, they called it *Shoal Hope*, and proceeded to the westward. The coast was full of people, who ran along the shore, accompanying the ship as she sailed; and many smokes appeared within the land.

In coasting along to the westward, they discovered an island, on which the next day (22d) they landed. The description of it in the Journal is this: "A disinhabited island;

from Shoal Hope it is eight leagues; in circuit it is five miles, and hath forty-one degrees and one quarter of latitude. The place most pleasant; for we found it full of wood, *vines*, gooseberry bushes, hurt-berries, raspices, eg-lantine [sweet-briar], &c. Here we had cranes, hems, shoulers, geese, and divers other birds, which there, at that time, upon the cliffs, being sandy with some rocky stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw *deer*. Here we rode in eight fathoms, near the shore, where we took great store of cod, as before at Cape Cod, but much better. This island is sound, and hath no danger about it." They gave it the name of *Martha's Vineyard*, from the great number of vines which they found on it.

From this island they passed (on the 24th) round a very high and distinguished promontory, to which they gave the name of *Dover Cliff*, and came to anchor "in a fair sound, where they rode all night."

Between them and the main, which was then in sight, lay "a ledge of rocks, extending a mile into the sea, but all above water, and without danger." They went round the western extremity of this ledge, and "came to anchor in eight fathoms, a quarter of a

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mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that they had ever seen." This they called *Gosnold's Hope*. The north side of it was the mainland stretching east and west, distant four leagues from the island, where they came to anchor, to which they gave the name of *Elizabeth*, in honour of their queen.

On the 28th of May they held a council respecting the place of their abode, which they determined to be "in the west part of Elizabeth Island, the northeast part running out of their ken." The island is thus described: "In the western side it admitteth some creeks or sandy coves, so girded, as the water in some places meeteth, to which the Indians from the main do often resort for fishing crabs. There is eight fathom very near the shore, and the latitude is  $41^{\circ} 10'$ .\*

The breadth of the island from sound to sound, in the western part, is not passing a mile at most, altogether unpeopled and uninhabited.

"It is overgrown with wood and rubbish. The woods are oak, ash, beech, walnut, witch-hazel, sassafrage, and cedars, with di-

\* In Gosnold's letter to his father, the latitude is said to be  $41^{\circ} 20'$ , which is nearer the truth. It is laid down in Dea Barres's Charts  $41^{\circ} 24'$ .



vers others of unknown names. The rubbish is wild pease, young sassafrage, cherry-trees, *vines*, eglantine (or sweet-briar), gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of the like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, rasps, ground-nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c., without count. Touching the fertility of the soil, by our own experience we found it to be excellent; for, sowing some English pulse, it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot.

“In this island is a pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on one side not distant from the sea thirty yards. In the centre of it is a *rocky islet* containing near an acre of ground, full of wood and rubbish, on which we began our fort and place of abode, and made a punt or flat-bottomed boat to pass to and fro over the fresh water.

“On the north side, near adjoining to Elizabeth, is an islet, in compass half a mile, full of cedars, by me called *Hill's Hap*; to the northward of which, in the middle of an opening on the main, appeared another like it, which I called *Hap's Hill*.” When Captain Gosnold, with divers of the company, “went in the shallop towards Hill's Hap to view it and the sandy cove,” they found a bark ca-

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Before I proceed in the account of Gosnold's transactions, it is necessary to make some remarks on the preceding detail, which is either abridged or extracted from the Journal written by Gabriel Archer. This Journal contains some inaccuracies, which may be corrected by carefully comparing its several parts, and by actual observations of the places described. I have taken much pains to obtain information by consulting the best maps, and conversing or corresponding with pilots and other persons. But for my greater satisfaction, I have visited the island on which Gosnold built his house and fort, the ruins of which are still visible, though at the distance of nearly two centuries.

That Gosnold's *Cape Cod* is the promontory which now bears that name, is evident from his description. The point which he denominated *Care*, at the distance of twelve leagues southward of Cape Cod, agrees very well with Malebarre, or Sandy Point, the southeastern extremity of the county of Barnstable. The shoal water and breach, which

he called *Tucker's Terror*, correspond with the shoal and breakers commonly called the Pollock Rip, which extends to the southeast of this remarkable point.

To avoid this danger, it being late in the day, he stood so far out to sea as to overshoot the eastern entrance of what is now called the Vineyard Sound. The land which he made in the night was a white cliff on the eastern coast of Nantucket, now called Sankoty Head. The breach which lay off *Gilbert's Point* I take to be the Bass Rip and the Pollock Rip, with the cross riplings which extend from the southeast extremity of that island. Over these riplings there is a depth of water from four to seven fathoms, according to a late map of Nantucket, published by Peleg Coffin, Esq., and others. That Gosnold did not enter the Vineyard Sound, but overshot it in the night, is demonstrated by comparing his journal with that of Martin Pring the next year, a passage from which shall be cited in its proper place.

The large opening which he saw, but did not enter, and to which he gave the name of *Shoal Hope*, agrees very well with the open shore to the westward of the little island of Muskeget.

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The island which he called *Martha's Vineyard* now bears the name of No-Man's Land. This is clear from his account of its size, five miles in circuit ; its distance from *Shoal Hope*, eight leagues, and from *Elizabeth Island*, five leagues ; the safety of approaching it on all sides, and the small but excellent cod which are always taken near it in the spring months. The only material objection is that he found *deer* upon the island ; but this is removed by comparing his account with the Journal of Martin Pring, who the next year found deer in abundance on the large island now called the Vineyard. I have had credible testimony that deer have been seen swimming across the Vineyard Sound when pursued by hunters. This island was a sequestered spot, where those deer who took refuge upon it would probably remain undisturbed and multiply.\*

The lofty promontory to which he gave the

\* The following information was given to me by Benjamin Bassett, Esq., of Chilmark :

"About the year 1720 the last *deer* was seen on the Vineyard and shot at. The horns of these animals have been ploughed up several times on the west end of the island. If one deer could swim across the Vineyard Sound, why not more ? No-Man's Land is four miles from the Vineyard ; and if deer could cross the sound seven miles, why not from the Vineyard to No-Man's Land ?"

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name of *Dover Cliff* is Gay Head, an object too singular and entertaining to pass unobserved, and far superior in magnitude to any other cliff on any of these islands. The "fair sound" into which he entered after doubling this cliff is the western extremity of the Vineyard Sound, and his anchoring-place was probably in or near Menemsha Bight.

For what reason, and at what time, the name of Martha's Vineyard was transferred from the small island, so called by Gosnold, to the large island which now bears it, are questions which remain in obscurity. That Gosnold at first took the southern side of this large island to be the main, is evident. When he doubled the cliff at its western end he knew it to be an island, but gave no name to any part of it except the cliff.\*

\* The reader will give to the following conjecture as much weight as it deserves :

The large island is frequently called *Martin's Vineyard*, especially by the old writers. This is commonly supposed to be a mistake. But why? Captain Pring's Christian name was *Martin*, and this island has as good a right to the appellation of vineyard as the other, being equally productive of vines. The names Martha and Martin are easily confounded; and, as one island only was supposed to be designated by the *Vineyard*, it was natural to give it to the greater. The lesser became disregarded, and, being not inhabited or claimed by any, it was supposed to belong to *no man*, and was called No-Man's Land.

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"The ledge of rocks extending a mile into the sea," between his anchoring-ground and the main, is that remarkable ledge distinguished by the name of the Sow and Pigs. The "stately sound" which he entered after passing round these rocks is the mouth of Buzzard's Bay, and the Island *Elizabeth* is the westernmost of the islands which now go by the name of Elizabeth's Islands. Its Indian name is Cuttyhunk, a contraction of Poo-cut-oh-hunk-un-noh, which signifies a thing that lies out of the water. The names of the others are Nashawena, Pasque, Naushon, Nenimisset, and Peniquese, besides some of less note.

In this island, at the west end, on the north side, is a pond of fresh water three quarters of a mile in length, and of unequal breadth; but, if measured in all its sinuosities, would amount to two miles in circuit. In the middle of its breadth, near the west end, is a "rocky islet containing near an acre of ground."

In an old Dutch map, extant, in Ogilby's History of America, p. 168, the name of *Marthae's Vyneard* is given to a small island lying southward of *Elizabet Eyl*, and the name of *Texel* is given to the large island which is now called the Vineyard. The situation of the small island agrees with that of No-Man's Land.

To this spot I went on the 20th day of June, 1797, in company with several gentlemen\* whose curiosity and obliging kindness induced them to accompany me. The protecting hand of Nature has reserved this favourite spot to herself. Its fertility and its productions are exactly the same as in Gosnold's time, excepting the wood, of which there is none. Every species of what he calls "rub-bish," with strawberries, pease, tansy, and other fruits and herbs, appear in rich abundance, unmolested by any animal but aquatic birds. We had the supreme satisfaction to find the cellar of Gosnold's storehouse, the stones of which were evidently taken from the neighbouring beach, the rocks of the islet being less movable, and lying in ledges.

The whole island of Cuttyhunk has been for many years stripped of its wood; but I was informed by Mr. Greenill, an old resident farmer, that the trees which formerly grew on it were such as are described in Gosnold's Journal. The soil is a very fine garden mould, from the bottom of the valleys to the top of the hills, and affords rich pasture.

\* Noah Webster, Esq., of New-York; Captain Tallman, Mr. John Spooner, Mr. Allen, a pilot, of New-Bedford.

The length is more than two miles. The sea is two miles deep and firm as a rock. The wind blows into the port from the gale from the north in the middle of the fish are plentifully frequented by domestic.

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The length of the island is rather more than two miles, and its breadth about one mile. The beach between the pond and the sea is twenty-seven yards wide. It is so high and firm a barrier, that the sea never flows into the pond but when agitated by a violent gale from the northwest. The pond is deep in the middle. It has no visible outlet. Its fish are perch, eels, and turtles, and it is frequented by aquatic birds, both wild and domestic.

On the north side of the island, connected with it by a beach, is an elevation, the Indian name of which is Copicut. Either this hill, or the little Island of Peniquese, which lies a mile to the northward, is the place which Gosnold called *Hill's Hap*. Between Copicut and Cuttyhunk is a circular sandy cove, with a narrow entrance. *Hap's Hill*, on the opposite shore of the main, distant four leagues, is a round elevation on a point of land near the Dumplin Rocks, between the Rivers of Aponeganset and Pascamanset, in the township of Dartmouth.

From the south side of Cuttyhunk the promontory of Gay Head, which Gosnold called Dover Cliff, and the island which he named Martha's Vineyard, lie in full view,



and appear to great advantage. No other objects in that region bear any resemblance to them or to the description given of them, nor is there a ledge of rocks projecting from any other island a mile into the sea.

While Gabriel Archer and a party, generally consisting of ten, laboured in clearing the "rocky islet" of wood, and building a storehouse and fort, Captain Gosnold and the rest of the company were employed either in making discoveries, or fishing, or collecting sassafras. On the 31st of May he went to the mainland, on the shore of which he was met by a company of the natives, "men, women, and children, who, with all courteous kindness, entertained him, giving him skins of wild beasts, tobacco, turtles, hemp, artificial strings coloured [wampum], and such like things as they had about them." The stately groves, flowery meadows, and running brooks afforded delightful entertainment to the adventurers. The principal discovery which they made was of two good harbours, one of which I take to be Aponeganset, and the other Pascamanset, between which lies the round hill which they called *Hap's Hill*. They observed the coast to extend five leagues farther to the southwest, as it does, to Secon-

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net Point. As they spent but one day in this excursion, they did not fully explore the main, though from what they observed, the land being broken and the shore rocky, they were convinced of the existence of other harbours on that coast.

On the 5th of June, an Indian chief and fifty men, armed with bows and arrows, landed on the island. Archer and his men left their work and met them on the beach. After mutual salutations, they sat down and began a traffic, exchanging such things as they had to mutual satisfaction. The ship then lay at anchor a league off. Gosnold, seeing the Indians approach the island, came on shore with twelve men, and was received by Archer's party with military ceremony as their commander. The captain gave the chief a straw hat and two knives. The former he little regarded; the latter he received with great admiration.

In a subsequent visit they became better acquainted, and had a larger trade for furs. At dinner they entertained the savages with fish and mustard, and gave them beer to drink. The effect of the mustard on the noses of the Indians afforded them much diversion. One of them stole a target, and con-

veyed it on board his canoe; when it was demanded of the chief, it was immediately restored. No demand was made of the birch canoe which Gosnold had a few days before taken from the Indians. When the chief and his retinue took their leave, four or five of the Indians stayed and helped the adventurers to dig the roots of sassafras, with which, as well as furs and other productions of the country, the ship was loaded for her homeward voyage. Having performed this service, the Indians were invited on board the ship, but they declined the invitation, and returned to the main. This island had no fixed inhabitants; the natives of the opposite shore frequently visited it, for the purpose of gathering shellfish, with which its creeks and coves abounded.

All these Indians had ornaments of copper. When the adventurers asked them, by signs, whence they obtained this metal, one of them made answer by digging a hole in the ground and pointing to the main, from which circumstance it was understood that the adjacent country contained mines of copper. In the course of almost two centuries, no copper has been there discovered, though iron, a much more useful metal, wholly unknown to

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the natives, is found in great plenty. The question, Whence did they obtain copper? is yet without an answer.

Three weeks were spent in clearing the islet, digging and stoning a cellar, building a house, fortifying it with palisades, and covering it with sedge, which then grew in great plenty on the sides of the pond. During this time a survey was made of their provisions. After reserving enough to victual twelve men, who were to go home in the bark, no more could be left with the remaining twenty than would suffice them for six weeks; and the ship could not return till the end of the next autumn. This was a very discouraging circumstance.

A jealousy also arose respecting the profits of the ship's lading, those who stayed behind claiming a share as well as those who should return to England. While these subjects were in debate, a single Indian came on board, from whose apparently grave and sober deportment they suspected him to have been sent as a spy. In a few days after the ship went to Hill's Hap, out of sight of the fort, to take in a load of cedar, and was there detained so much longer than they expected that the party at the fort had expended their

provision. Four of them went in search of shellfish, and divided themselves, two and two, going different ways. One of these small parties was suddenly attacked by four Indians in a canoe, who wounded one of them in the arm with an arrow. His companion seized the canoe and cut their bowstrings, on which they fled. It being late in the day and the weather stormy, this couple were obliged to pass the night in the woods, and did not reach the fort till the next day. The whole party subsisted on shellfish, ground-nuts, and herbs till the ship came and took them on board. A new consultation was then holden. Those who had been the most resolute to remain were discouraged, and the unanimous voice was in favour of returning to England.

On the 17th of June they doubled the rocky ledge of Elizabeth, passed by Dover Cliff, sailed to the island which they had called Martha's Vineyard, and employed themselves in taking young geese, cranes, and herns. The next day they set sail for England, and, after a pleasant passage of five weeks, arrived at Exmouth, in Devonshire.

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ony in North Virginia, the causes of which are obvious. The loss of Sir Walter Raleigh's company in South Virginia was then recent in memory, and the same causes might have operated here to produce the same effect. Twenty men, situated on an island, surrounded by other islands and the main, and furnished with six weeks' provisions only, could not maintain possession of a territory to which they had no right against the force of its native proprietors. They might easily have been cut off when seeking food abroad, or their fort might have been invested, and they must have surrendered at discretion, or have been starved to death had no direct assault been made upon them. The prudence of their retreat is unquestionable to any person who considers their hazardous situation.

During this voyage, and especially while on shore, the whole company enjoyed remarkably good health. They were highly pleased with the salubrity, fertility, and apparent advantages of the country. Gosnold was so enthusiastic an admirer of it, that he was indefatigable in his endeavours to forward the settlement of a colony in conjunction with Captain John Smith. With him, in 1607, he embarked in the expedition to South

Virginia, where he had the rank of a counsellor. Soon after his arrival, by excessive fatigue in the extremity of the summer heat, he fell a sacrifice, with fifty others, to the insalubrity of that climate, and the scanty measure and bad quality of the provisions with which that unfortunate colony was furnished.\*

The discovery made by Gosnold, and especially the shortness of the time in which the voyage was performed, induced Richard Hackluyt,† then prebendary of St. Augustine's Church in Bristol, to use his influence with the mayor, aldermen, and merchants of that opulent mercantile city to prosecute the discovery of the northern parts of Virginia. The first step was to obtain permission of Raleigh and his associates. This was undertaken and accomplished by Hackluyt, in conjunction with John Angel and Robert Salterne, both of whom had been with Gosnold to America. The next was to equip two vessels, one a ship of fifty tons, called the

\* In an account of the first settlement of Virginia, written by George Percy, I find the following note :

"The 22d of August died Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, one of our council. He was honourably buried, having all the ordnance in the fort shot off, with many volleys of small shot. After his death the council could hardly agree."—Purchas, iv., 1690.

† *Ib.*, v., 1654

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Speedwell, carrying thirty men, the other a bark of twenty-six tons, called the Discoverer, carrying thirteen men. The commander of the ship was MARTIN PRING, and his mate Edmund Jones. The bark was commanded by William Browne, whose mate was Samuel Kirkland. Salterne was the principal agent or supercargo, and was furnished with various kinds of clothing, hardware, and trinkets to trade with the natives. The vessels were victualled for eight months, and sailed on the 10th of April, 1603, a few days after the death of Queen Elizabeth.

They went so far to the southward as to be within sight of the Azores, and in the beginning of June fell in with the American coast, between the 43d and 44th degrees of latitude, among those numerous islands which cover the District of Maine. One of these they named *Fox Island*, from some of that species of animal which they saw upon it. Among these islands, in the mouth of Penobscot Bay, they found good anchorage and fishing. The land being rocky, they judged it proper for the drying of cod, which they took in great plenty, and esteemed better than those usually taken at Newfoundland.

Having passed all the islands, they ranged

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the coast to the southwest, and entered four inlets, which are thus described: "The most easterly was barred at the mouth; but, having passed over the bar, we ran up it for five miles, and for a certain space found very good depth. Coming out again, as we sailed southwest we lighted on two other inlets, which we found to pierce not far into the land. The fourth and most westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles. In all these places we found no people, but signs of fires where they had been. Howbeit, we beheld very goodly groves and woods, and sundry sorts of beasts. But, meeting with no *sassafras*, we left these places, with all the aforesaid islands, shaping our course for *Savage Rock*, discovered the year before by Captain Gosnold."

From this description I conclude that, after they had passed the islands as far westward as Casco Bay, the easternmost of the four inlets which they entered was the mouth of the River Saco. The two next were Kennebunk and York Rivers, and the westernmost and best was the River Piscataqua. The reason of their finding no people was, that the natives were at that season (June) fishing at the falls of the rivers, and the ves-

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tiges of fires marked the places at or near the mouths of the rivers where they had resided and taken fish in the earlier months of the spring. In steering for *Savage Rock* they must have doubled Cape Ann, which brought them into the Bay of Massachusetts, on the northern shore of which I suppose *Savage Rock* to be situated.

It seems that one principal object of their voyage was to collect sassafras, which was esteemed a highly medicinal vegetable. In several parts of these journals, and in other books of the same date, it is celebrated as a sovereign remedy for the plague, the venereal disease, the stone, the strangury, and other maladies.\* One of Gosnold's men had been cured by it, in twelve hours, of a surfeit, occasioned by eating greedily of the bellies of dogfish, which is called a "delicious meat."

The journal then proceeds: "Going on the main at *Savage Rock*, we found people, with whom we had no long conversation, because here also we could find no sassafras.

\* "*Saxifraga*, *Saxifragum*, herba a *frangendis* in corpore *calculis* appellata. Si bibatur semen aut radix cum vino, urinam optimè provocat et calculos expellit, atque medetur stranguriæ ac obstructionibus renum et vesicæ; succus foliorum delet maculas faciei."—Gerard. Vide Minsheu in verbum.

Departing hence, we bore into *that great gulf which Captain Gosnold overshot* the year before, coasting and finding people on the north side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed over, and came to anchor on the south side, in the latitude of forty-one degrees and odd minutes, where we went on land in a certain bay, which we called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the worshipful master, John Whitson, then mayor of the city of Bristol, and one of the chief adventurers. Finding a pleasant hill adjoining, we called it *Mount Aldworth*, for Master Robert Aldworth's sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage, as well with his purse as with his travel. Here we had sufficient quantity of sassafras."

In another part of this journal Whitson Bay is thus described: "At the entrance of this excellent haven we found twenty fathoms of water, and rode at our ease in seven fathoms, being land-locked, the haven winding in compass like the shell of a snail; and it is in latitude of forty-one degrees and twenty minutes. We also observed that we could find no sassafras but in sandy ground."\*

\* The following note is by *Peleg Coffin*, Esq. "The haven here described must have been that of Edgartown. No other

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Though this company had no design to make a settlement in America, yet, considering that the place where they found it convenient to reside was full of inhabitants, they built a temporary hut and enclosed it with a barricade, in which they kept constant guard by day and night, while others were employed in collecting sassafras in the woods. The Indians frequently visited them in parties of various numbers, from ten to a hundred. They were used kindly, had trinkets presented them, and were fed with English pulse, could with propriety be represented as winding or land-locked, as is truly the harbour of Edgartown, generally called Oldtown."

To this I subjoin an extract of a letter from the Rev. *Joseph Thaxter*, minister of Edgartown, dated Nov. 15, 1797. "It is evident to me, and others better acquainted than I am, with whom I have consulted, that Pring, as soon as he passed the sandy point of Monumoy [Malebar], bore to the westward, and came through what is called Butler's Hole; that he kept the North Channel till he got as far as Falmouth, and then crossed over into Oldtown Harbour, which corresponds in every respect to his description except in the depth of water at the entrance of the harbour; there are now but fourteen fathoms; in the harbour there are seven and a half. I would suggest an idea, whether there is now the same depth of water at the entrance as in 1603. It is certain that the shoals shift, and that Cape Poge, within the memory of man, has been washed into the sea thirty or forty rods. From this circumstance the difference in the depth of water may be easily accounted for. There are several pleasant hills adjoining to the harbour, and to this day plenty of sassafras."

their own food being chiefly fish. They were adorned with plates of copper; their bows, arrows, and quivers were very neatly made; and their birchen canoes were considered as great curiosities, one of which, of seventeen feet in length and four in breadth, was carried home to Bristol as a specimen of their ingenuity. Whether it was bought or stolen from them is uncertain.

The natives were excessively fond of music, and would dance in a ring round an English youth who played on an instrument called "a gitterne."\* But they were greatly terrified at the barking of two English mastiffs, which always kept them at a distance when the people were tired of their company.

The growth of the place consisted of sasafra, vines, cedar, oak, ash, beech, birch, cherry, hazel, walnut, maple, holly, and wild plum. The land animals were "stags and fallow deer in abundance, bears, wolves, foxes, lusernes,† porcupines, and dogs with sharp

\* *Guittara, Hispan. Cithara, Lat. Guittare, Fr. Ghittar, Ital.*—Vide Minsheu and Junius.

† "Luserne, Lucern, a beast near the bigness of a wolf, of colour between red and brown, something mayled like a cat, and mingled with black spots; bred in Muscovy, and is a rich furre."—Vide Minsheu in verbum Furre.

Could this animal be the racoon? Josselyn gives the name of luserne to the wildcat.

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and long noses."\* The waters and shores abounded with fish and shellfish of various kinds, and aquatic birds in great plenty.

By the end of July they had loaded their bark with sassafras, and sent her to England. After which they made as much despatch as possible in lading the ship, the departure of which was accelerated by the following incident :

The Indians had hitherto been on friendly terms with the adventurers ; but, seeing their number lessened and one of their vessels gone, and those who remained dispersed at their several employments, they came one day about noon, to the number of one hundred and forty, armed with bows and arrows, to the barricado, where four men were on

\* As the existence of this species of animal has been doubted, I must remark that it is several times mentioned by the earliest adventurers, and twice in Pring's Journal. Josselyn, who was a naturalist, and resided several years in the eastern parts of New-England, gives this account of it :

" I know of but one kind of beast in New-England produced by equivocal generation, and that is the Indian dog, begotten between a wolf and a fox, or between a fox and a wolf, which they made use of, taming them and bringing them up to hunt with ; but, since the English came among them, they have gotten store of our dogs, which they bring up and keep in as much subjection as they do their wives."—Josselyn's Voyages to N. E., 1673, p. 94.

guard with their muskets. The Indians called to them to come out, which they refused, and stood on their defence. Captain Pring, with two men only, was on board the ship; as soon as he perceived the danger he secured the ship as well as he could, and fired one of his great guns as a signal to the labourers in the woods, who were reposing after their fatigue, depending on the mastiffs for protection. The dogs, hearing the gun, awoke their masters, who then, hearing a second gun, took to their arms and came to the relief of the guard. At the sight of the men and dogs the Indians desisted from their purpose, and, affecting to turn the whole into a jest, went off laughing, without any damage on either side.

In a few days after they set fire to the woods where the sassafras grew, to the extent of a mile. These alarming circumstances determined Pring to retire. After the people had embarked and were weighing the anchors, a larger number than ever they had seen, about two hundred, came down to the shore, and some in their canoes came off to the ship, apparently to invite the adventurers to a longer continuance. It was not easy to believe the invitation friendly, nor prudent

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to accept it. They therefore came to sail, it being the ninth of August. After a passage of five weeks, by the route of the Azores, they came into soundings, and on the second of October arrived at King Road, below Bristol, where the bark had arrived about a fortnight before them. This whole voyage was completed in six months. Its objects were to make discoveries, and to collect furs and sassafras. No instance of aggression on the part of the adventurers is mentioned, nor on the part of the natives, till after the sailing of the bark.

At the same time that Martin Pring was employed in this voyage, BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT went on a farther discovery to the southern part of Virginia, having it also in view to look for the lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh.\* He sailed from Plymouth May 10, 1603, in the bark Elizabeth, of fifty tons, and went by the way of Madeira to the West Indies, where he touched at several of the islands, taking in lignum-vitæ, tortoises, and tobacco.

On the sixth of July he quitted the islands and steered for Virginia. In four days he got into the Gulf Stream, and was becalmed five days. After which the wind sprang up, and

\* Purchas, v., 1656.



on the 20th he saw land in the 40th degree of latitude. His object was to fetch the mouth of Chesepeag Bay; but the wind being adverse, after beating against it for several days, the necessity of wood and water obliged him to come to anchor about a mile from the shore, where there was an appearance of the entrance of a river.

On Friday, the 29th of July, Captain Gilbert, accompanied by Thomas Canner, a gentleman of Bernard's Inn, Richard Harrison, mate, Henry Kenton, surgeon, and Derrick, a Dutchman, went on shore, leaving two boys to keep the boat. Immediately after they had entered the wood the savages attacked, pursued, and killed every one of them: two of them fell in sight of the boys, who had much difficulty to prevent the Indians from hauling the boat on shore.

With heavy hearts they got back to the ship, whose crew, reduced to eleven, including the boys, dared not make any farther attempt, but steered for the Western Islands; after passing them, they arrived in the River Thames about the end of September, when the city of London was "most grievously infected with the plague."

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with Spain in 1604, when the passion for the discovery of a Northwest Passage was in full vigour, a ship was sent from England by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour, with a view to this object. The commander of the ship was GEORGE WEYMOUTH. He sailed from the Downs on the last day of March, 1605, and came in sight of the American coast on the 13th of May, in the latitude of 41 degrees 30 minutes.

Being there entangled among shoals and breakers, he quitted this land, and, at the distance of fifty leagues, discovered several islands, to one of which he gave the name of *St. George*. Within three leagues of this island he came into a harbour, which he called *Pentecost Harbour*, and sailed up a noble river, to which it does not appear that he gave any name, nor does he mention any name by which it was called by the natives.

The conjectures of historians respecting this river have been various. Oldmixon supposes it to have been James River in Virginia, while Beverley, who aims to correct him, affirms it to have been Hudson's River in New-York. Neither of them could have made these mistakes if they had read the original account in Purchas with any atten

tion. In Smith's History of Virginia an abridgment of the voyage is given, but in so slight and indefinite a manner as to afford no satisfaction respecting the situation of the river, whether it were northward or southward from the land first discovered.

To ascertain this matter I have carefully examined Weymouth's Journal, and compared it with the best maps; but, for more perfect satisfaction, I gave an abstract of the Voyage, with a number of queries, to Captain JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS, an experienced mariner, and commander of the revenue cutter belonging to this port, who has very obligingly communicated to me his observations made in a late cruise. Both of these papers are here subjoined.

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“*ABSTRACT of the VOYAGE of Captain GEORGE WEYMOUTH to the Coast of America, from the printed Journal, extant in Purchas's Pilgrims, part iv., page 1659:*

“A.D. 1605, *March 31.* Captain *George Weymouth* sailed from England in the *Archangel* for the northern part of Virginia, as the whole coast of North America was then called.

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" *May 13.* Arrived in soundings—160 fathoms.

" 14. In five or six leagues' distance shoaled the water from one hundred to five fathoms; saw from the masthead a *whitish sandy cliff*, W.N.W. six leagues; many breaches nearer the land; the ground foul, and depth varying from six to fifteen fathoms. Parted from the land. Latitude 41 degrees 30 minutes.

" 15. Wind between W.S.W. and S.S.W. In want of wood and water. Land much desired, and therefore sought for it *where the wind would best suffer us.*"

QUERY 1. As the wind then blew, must not the course be to the north and east?

" 16. In almost *fifty* leagues' run found no land, the charts being erroneous.

" 17. Saw land, which bore N.N.E.; a great gale of wind, and the sea high. Stood off till two in the morning, then stood in again. At eight A.M. saw land again, bearing N.E. It appeared a mean highland, being, as we afterward found it, an *island* of no great compass. About noon came to anchor on the north side in forty fathoms, about a league from shore. Named the island *St. George.*"

QUERY 2. Could this island be *Segwin* or *Monhegan*? or, if neither, what island was it?

"While we were on shore on the island our men on board caught thirty large cod and haddock. From hence we discerned many islands, and the mainland extending from W.S.W. to E.N.E. A great way up into the main, as it then seemed, we discerned *very high mountains*, though the main seemed but low land. The mountains bore N.N.E. from us."

QUERY 3. What mountains were these?

"May 19. Being *Whitsunday*, weighed anchor at twelve o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in *the road directly to the mountains*, about *three* leagues from the first island, found a safe harbour, defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burden, in six, seven, eight, nine, ten fathoms, upon a clay ooze, very tough, where is good mooring even on the rocks by the cliff side. Named it *Pentecost Harbour*."

QUERY 4. Do these marks agree with *Sagadahock* or *Musqueto Harbour*, or *St. George's Island*? or, if not, with what harbour do they agree?

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ing from springs down the rocky cliffs, and dug pits to receive it. Found, at no great depth, clay, blue, red, and white. Good lobsters, rockfish, plaice, and lumps. With two or three hooks caught cod and haddock enough for the ship's company three days.

"24. The captain, with fourteen men armed, marched through two of the islands, one of which we guessed to be four or five miles in compass and one broad. Abundance of great muscles, some of which contained pearls. One had fourteen pearls in it.

"30. The captain, with thirteen men, departed in the shallop, leaving the ship in harbour.

"31. The shallop returned, having discovered a *great river* trending far up into the main."

QUERY 5. What river was this?

"June 1. Indians came and traded with us. Pointing to one part of the main, eastward, they signified to us that the *bashabe*, their king, had plenty of furs and much tobacco."

N.B. Here Weymouth kidnapped five of the natives.

"June 11. Passed up into the river with our *ship* about twenty-six miles."

*Observations by the Author of the Voyage,  
James Rosier.*

“The first and chief thing required for a plantation is a bold coast, and fair land to fall in with. The next is a safe harbour for ships to ride in.

“The first is a special attribute of this shore, being free from sands or dangerous rocks, in a continual good depth, with a most excellent landfall as can be desired, which is the first island, named *St. George*.

“For the second, here are more good harbours for ships of all burdens than all England can afford. The river, as it runneth up into the main very nigh *forty* miles towards the *Great Mountains*, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three fourths, and half a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have less than four or five fathom hard by the shore, but six, seven, eight, nine, ten at low water. On both sides, every half mile, very gallant coves, some able to contain almost one hundred sail of ships; the ground is an excellent soft ooze, with tough clay for anchor-hold; and ships may lie without anchor, only moored to the shore with a hawser.

“It floweth sixteen or eighteen feet at high water. . . .

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“ Here are made by nature most excellent places, as dockes to grave and careen ships of all burdens, secure from all winds.

“ The river yieldeth plenty of salmon, and other fishes of great bigness.

“ The bordering land is most rich, trending all along on both sides in an *equal plain*, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a green border of grass, which may be made good feeding-ground, being plentiful like the outward lands, with fresh water, which streameth down in many places.

“ As we passed with a gentle wind in our ship up this river, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy; many who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous rivers, affirmed them not comparable to this. I will not prefer it before our River of Thames, because it is England's richest treasure; but we did all wish those excellent harbours, good depths, continual convenient breadth, and small tidegates to be as well therein, for our country's good, as we found them here; then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large, secure harbouring river that the world affordeth.”



“*June 12.* Our captain manned *his shallop* with seventeen men, and ran up to the *codde* of the river, where we landed, leaving six to keep the shallop. Ten of us, with our shot, and some armed, with a boy to carry powder and match, marched up the country *towards the mountains*, which we descried at our first falling in with the land, and *were continually in our view*. To some of them the river brought us so near, as we judged ourselves when we landed, to be within a league of them; but we found them not, having marched wellnigh four miles, and passed three great hills. Wherefore, because the weather was hot, and our men in their armour not able to travel far and return to our pinnace at night, we resolved not to travel farther.

“We were no sooner come aboard our pinnace, returning down towards our ship, but we espied a canoe coming from the farther part of the *codde of the river, eastward*. In it were three Indians, one of whom we had before seen, and his coming was very earnestly to importune us to let one of our men go with them to the *bashabe*, and then the next morning he would come to our ship with furs and tobacco.”

N.B. They did not accept the invitation,

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because they suspected danger from the savages, having detained five of their people on board to be carried to England.

“June 13. By two o’clock in the morning, taking advantage of the tide, we went in our *pinnace* up to that part of the river which trendeth *west* into the main, and we carried a *cross* to erect at that point (a thing never omitted by any Christian travellers). Into *that* river we *rowed*, by estimation, twenty miles.

“What profit or pleasure is described in the former part of the river is wholly *doubled* in this; for the breadth and depth is such that a ship drawing seventeen or eighteen feet of water might have passed as far as we went with our *shallop*, and much farther, because we left it in so good depth. From the place of our ship’s riding in the harbour, at the entrance into the sound, to the farthest point we were in this river, by our estimation was not much less than *threescore* miles.” [That is, as I understand it, from Pentecost Harbour they went *in the ship* forty miles to the *codde* of the river, and thence in the shallop or pinnace twenty miles up the west branch.]

QUERY 6. What is meant by *codde*? It appears to be an old word.

“We were so pleased with this river, and

so loth to forsake it, that we would have continued there willingly for two days, having only bread and cheese to eat. But the tide not suffering it, we came down with the ebb. We conceived that the river ran very far into the land, for we passed six or seven miles altogether *fresh water* (whereof we all drank), forced up by the flowing of the salt water.

“ June 14. We warped our *ship* down to the river's mouth, and there came to anchor.

“ 15. Weighed anchor, and, with a breeze from the land, came to our watering-place in Pentecost Harbour and filled our cask.

“ Our captain, upon a rock in the midst of this harbour, made his observation by the sun of the height, latitude, and variation, exactly, upon all his instruments, viz., astrolabe, semi-sphere, ring, and cross-staff, and an excellent variation compass. The latitude he found 43 degrees 20 minutes north, the variation 11 degrees 15 minutes west.”

N.B. In this latitude no part of the American coast lies except Cape Porpoise, where is only a boat harbour. The rivers nearest to it are on the south, Kennebunk, a tide-river of no great extent, terminating in a brook; and on the north Saco, the navigation of which is obstructed by a bar at its mouth, and by a

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fall at the distance of six or seven miles from the sea. Neither of these could be the river described in Weymouth's Journal. His observation of the latitude, or the printed account of it, must have been erroneous.

Captain Williams will be so obliging as to put down his remarks on the above abstract in writing, for the use of his humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

*Boston, August 4, 1797.*

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*Captain WILLIAMS's Answer:*

“The first land Captain Weymouth saw, a whitish sandy cliff, W.N.W. six leagues, must have been Sankoty Head [Nantucket]. With the wind at W.S.W. and S.S.W. he could have fetched into this bay [Boston], and must have seen Cape Cod had the weather been clear. But

“The land he saw on the 17th I think must be the island Monhegan, as no other island answers the description. In my last cruise to the eastward I sounded, and had thirty fathoms about one league to the northward of the island. The many islands he saw, and the mainland, extending from W.S.W.

to E.N.E., agree with that shore ; the mountains he saw bearing N.N.E. were Penobscot *Hills* or *Mountains* ; for, from the place where I suppose the ship lay at anchor, the above mountains bear N.N.E.

“ The harbour where he lay with his ship, and named Pentecost Harbour, is, I suppose, what is now called *George’s Island Harbour*, which bears north from Monhegan about two leagues ; which harbour and islands agree with his descriptions, I think, tolerably well, and the name, *George’s Islands*, serves to confirm it.

“ When the captain went in his boat and discovered a great river trending far up into the main, I suppose he went as far as Two-Bush Island, about three or four leagues from the ship ; from thence he could discover Penobscot Bay.

	Miles.
Distance from the ship to Two-Bush Island is about . . .	10
From Two-Bush Island to Owl’s Head . . . . .	9
From Owl’s Head to the north end of Long Island . . .	27
From the north end of Long Island to Old Fort Pownal . .	6
From the Old Fort to the head of the tide or falls in Penobscot River . . . . .	30
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“ I suppose he went with his ship round Two-Bush Island, and then sailed up to the

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westward of Long Island, supposing himself to be then in the river, the mountains on the main to the westward extending near as high up as Belfast Bay. I think it probable that he anchored with his ship off the point which is now called the Old Fort Point.

“The *codde* of the river, where he went with his shallop, and marched up in the country towards the mountains, I think must be Belfast Bay.

“The canoe that came from the farther part of the *codde* of the river eastward, with Indians, I think it probable came from Baga-duce.

“The word *codde* is not common, but I have often heard it; as, ‘up in the *codde* of the bay,’ meaning the bottom of the bay. I suppose what he calls ‘the *codde* of the river’ is a bay in the river.

“The latitude of St. George’s Island Harbour, according to Holland’s map, is forty-three degrees forty-eight minutes, which is nine leagues more north than the observation made by Captain Weymouth.

“*Boston, October 1, 1797.*

“SIR,—I made the foregoing remarks while on my last cruise to the eastward. If any

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farther information is necessary that is in my power to give you, you may command me.

"I am, with respect, sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS.

"Rev. Dr. Belknap."

Weymouth's voyage is memorable only for the discovery of Penobscot River, and for the decoying of five of the natives on board his ship, whom he carried to England. Three of them were taken into the family of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. The information which he gained from them, corroborated by Martin Pring, of Bristol, who made a second voyage in 1606 (and prosecuted the discovery of the rivers in the District of Maine), prepared the way for the attempt of Sir John Popham and others to establish a colony at Sagadahock in 1607, an account of which attempt, and its failure, is already given in the Life of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.\*

In the early accounts of this country we find the names of *Mavoshen* and *Norumbega*. *Mavoshen* was a name for the whole District of Maine, containing nine or ten rivers, the

\* Vol. ii., p. 52.

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westernmost of which was Shawakotock (written by the French Chouakoet, and by the English Sâco). The easternmost was Quibesson,\* which I take to be eastward of Penobscot, but cannot say by what name it is now called. Norumbega was a part of the same district, comprehending Penobscot Bay and River, but its eastern and western limits are not described.†

It is also to be noted that the River Penobscot was sometimes called Pemaquid, though this latter name is now restricted to a point or neck of land which lies about six leagues to the westward. Penobscot is called by the French Pentagoet.

This confusion of names occasions no small perplexity to inquirers into the geography and early history of this country.

\* Purchas, v., 1873.

† *Ib.*, v., 1625, 1638.



## XVII. JOHN ROBINSON.

THE first effectual settlements of the English in New-England were made by those who, after the Reformation, dissented from the establishment of the Episcopal Church, who suffered on account of their dissent, and sought an asylum from their sufferings. Uniformity was insisted on with such rigour as disgusted many conscientious ministers and people of the Church of England, and caused that separation which has ever since subsisted. Those who could not conform to the establishment, but wished for a more complete reformation, were at first distinguished by the name of *Puritans*; and among these the most rigid were the *Brownists*, so called from Robert Brown,\* “a fiery young clergy-

\* [Brown was descended from an ancient and honourable family in Rutlandshire, and born, I think, at Tolethorp, in that shire, and was nearly related to William Cecil, the lord-treasurer. He was educated at Cambridge, where, says Fuller (Church History of Britain, book ix., § vi., 2), “the vehemency of his utterance passed for zeal among the common people, and made the vulgar to admire, the wise to suspect him.” He afterward passed some time in Zealand, whence he returned “with a full cry against the Church of England, as, having so much of Rome,

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man," who in 1580 headed a zealous party, and was vehement for a total separation. But

she had nothing of Christ in her discipline. In 1580 he "perched in the city of Norwich," in Norfolk. Here he soon became obnoxious to the ecclesiastical authority, and was committed to the custody of the sheriff of Norfolk, but was released at the instance of his kinsman Cecil. Vaughan, who says he settled there in 1581, is probably in error, as Cecil's letter to the Bishop of Norwich is dated April 21st, 1581. Being thus harassed at home, he fled to Middleburgh, in Zealand, where he collected a church, and published a treatise on Reformation. The design of this publication was to persuade the people to act on their own views of church-polity, without tarrying "till the magistrate command and compel them." In 1585 Brown appeared again in England, where he was not long without calling for the renewed vigilance of the bishop's pursuivants. Cecil once more interceded with Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and procured the release of his disorderly relative, who for some three or four years after remained silent, though still resolute in his nonconformity. Resuming his itinerant labours at the close of that period, and still vehement in his invectives "against bishops, ceremonies, ordination of ministers, and what not," he was publicly excommunicated by the Bishop of Peterborough. He is said to have been so much affected by this sentence as earnestly to have implored absolution, which he obtained on easy terms, probably through the influence of Lord Burleigh. He was even preferred to a valuable living in Northamptonshire, which he retained till his death; and, "though against them in judgment, was perchance pleased to take the tithes of his own parish." The last forty years of his life were passed in obscurity and contempt. He used to boast that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons. Fuller, who in his youth had often seen him, says "he was of an imperious nature; offended if what he affirmed but in common discourse were not received as an oracle." He adds that he was rather free both in judg-

his zeal, however violent, was void of consistency, for in his advanced years he conformed

ment and practice, having a wife "with whom for many years he never lived, and a church wherein he never preached." When above eighty years old, he in a passion struck a constable, who required the payment of a tax of him, and, being stubborn before the magistrate, "as if ambitious to renew his ancient acquaintance with the prison," was carried on a feather-bed in a cart to the jail in Northampton, where he died in 1630.—See Vaughan's Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty, vol. i., p. 304-306, and Fuller's Church History, lib. ix., § 6, 2-8.

Neither by learning, nor weight of character, nor by any historical evidence, can he be considered the *founder* of that sect of ultra Puritans which has borne his name. The sect had existed in much privacy long before him, and were called Brownists not so much from their own choice as from the purpose of their enemies to bring reproach upon them, by identifying, in the popular opinion, the whole body with the excesses and weakness of that restless and unstable man.

The following sketch of their principles is abridged from Vaughan, i., 297, 298, who is not too unfavourably inclined towards them: "They considered every properly-constituted church as a strictly voluntary association, of such only as made a credible profession of the Gospel; and as the object of their union was purely religious, they claimed an entire independence of the magistrate, to whom they looked for protection from injury on account of their religious opinions, and for nothing more. They also claimed to be entirely independent of the jurisdiction of the prelates. They chose from among themselves the pastors who should administer the ordinances of the New Testament, and deacons or elders who should manage their few temporal matters. They discarded forms of prayer, but retained the practice of church censures; and, appealing to the Bible as the only rule of their faith and obedience, they spoke of their peculiarities as those of the first Christians, and sanctioned by the Word of God.

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† Prince

to the Church, while others, who more deliberately withdrew, retained their separation, though they became more candid and moderate in their principles.\* Of these people a congregation was formed about the year 1602, near the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln, who chose for their ministers Richard Clifton and John Robinson.†

Mr. Robinson was born in the year 1575, but the place of his birth is unknown. He was probably educated in the University of Cambridge;‡ and he is said to have been “a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit; pious and studious of the truth; largely accomplished with gifts and qualifications suitable to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ.” Before his election to this office he had a benefice near Yarmouth, in Norfolk, where his friends were frequently molested by the bishop’s officers, and some were almost ru-

They were, in short, with some slight exceptions, what the churches of Protestant Dissenters in England have long been; and the arguments employed by them in vindication of their tenets and conduct will be found to be, in substance, the same with those which the body of professors who have separated from the Established Church still use.”—H.]

\* Neal’s New-England, i., 58, 64.

† Prince, i., 4, 20.

‡ Morton, 2.

ined by prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts.\*

The reigning prince at that time was James I., than whom a more contemptible character never sat on the British throne. Educated in the principles of Presbyterianism in Scotland, he forgot them all on his advancement to the throne of the three kingdoms.† Flattered by the bishops, he gave all ecclesiastical power into their hands, and intrusted sycophants with the management of the state, while he indolently resigned himself to literary and sensual indulgences; in the former of which he was a pedant, in the latter an epicure.‡ The prosecution of the Puritans

\* Neal's Puritans, 8vo, ii., 49.

† *Ib.*, N. E., i., 70.

‡ [The character of James has suffered somewhat in Puritan hands. He had been educated a Presbyterian, and he might well hate that church, for its ministers were somewhat solicitous to control him, and not always in the most respectful manner. "The ministers of Edinburgh," we are told, "used to pray that God would turn his heart: Archbishop Whitgift, at the conference at Hampton Court, falling on his knees, exclaimed that he doubted not his majesty spoke by the special grace of God." The anecdote may not be literally true, but he would seem to have had good reason to prefer the bishops. While James was on his way from Scotland to London, he was waited on by a committee of the Puritan clergy with a petition signed by 825 (Fuller says 750) of their number, and called the *Millenary*, as if it had been signed by a thousand, asking to be relieved from the use of the cross in baptism, the surplice, the ring in

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was conducted with unrelenting severity in the former part of his reign, when Bancroft\*

marriage, and the like unimportant ceremonies, and that non-residences might be abolished, the sanctity of the Sabbath preserved, &c.—Neal, ii., 5, 6. James appointed Jan. 14th, 1604, for a conference, in his presence, between the bishops and four of their principal divines. He doubtless wished to show his own skill in theological discussion, and was pleased with an opportunity of saying “no bishop, no king;” though, in Fuller’s account of this debate (*Church History*, x., 20–29), he does not appear so much at disadvantage as most writers have represented him; and the Puritans, if they had the best cause, had not, in all respects, the best of the argument. He made them a few slight concessions, and March 4th issued his proclamation requiring instant and complete conformity. Hallam, i., 404, calls him, in reference to these matters, “rather a bold liar than a good dissembler.”

The literary attainments of King James have been almost always sneered at, and, I cannot doubt, much underrated by later times, however overpraised by the flatterers of his own. The vanity of being “the most learned clerk in his kingdom” could not make his attainments less, though it served to render him ridiculous. His learning was rare, even if out of place, in a king; and yet a love of studious retirement, and the accomplishment of extensive literary labours, are hardly less praiseworthy in James than in Alfred. His works show in excess the false taste which prevailed in the literature of his day, and contain not a few passages of wit and good sense. He was certainly a sincere lover of learning, and a generous patron of learned men.—H.]

\* [Richard Bancroft was translated from London to the See of Canterbury December 4th, 1604.—Percival, *Apology for the Apostolic Succession*, p. 105. Vaughan, i., 275. A curious account of the policy of the king in this selection for so important an office is related in Sir John Harrington’s *Nugæ Antiquæ*,

was Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot,\* who

ii., 26. "His majesty in his learning knowing, and in his wisdom weighing, that this same strict charge, 'feed my sheep,' requires a pastoral courage of driving in the stray sheep and driving out the infectious, as of feeding the sound, made especial choice of the Bishop of London." The character and conduct of Bancroft fully approved the discernment of his master. He had written against the Puritans with violence and abuse; he had avowed the doctrine of passive obedience and the Divine right of kings; he had been "learned and stout," as well as fawning and obsequious, in the conference at Hampton Court; he was prepared, in the roughness of a temper already imbittered by contest and opposition, to carry on the work of intolerance and persecution. The laws of the former reign, in no way mitigated under James, were carried into execution with unsparring rigour, till the strictness with which conformity was insisted on offended even many zealous adherents of the Church. With all his severity, he was a man of strong mind and much learning. He was born September, 1544, educated at Cambridge, and died of the stone November 2d, 1610.—Kippis' *Biographia Britannica*, and Aikin. Fuller's *Church History of England*.—H.]

\* [George Abbot was born at Guilford, in Surrey, Eng., October 29, 1562. He was a student of Balliol College, Oxford, in 1578, and, after leaving the University, soon attained honourable preferments.—Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* He was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry December 3, 1609, translated to London January 20th, 1610, and to Canterbury April 9th, 1611, and June 23d sworn of the privy council. He was learned and eloquent, and an indefatigable preacher. Fuller says "he was a grave man in his life, and unblameable in conversation." His theological opinions were strongly tinged with Calvinism. Hence, in part, his sympathies with the Puritans, and his exceedingly remiss execution of the laws touching conformity. Perhaps, also, he wished the aid of that party, now growing strong in Parliament, against the papists, to whom he

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succeeded him, was favourable to them ; but when Laud\* came into power, they were treated with every mark of insult and cruelty.

was specially averse. Clarendon says "he inquired but little after the strict observance of the discipline of the Church ; but if men forbore a public reviling at the ecclesiastical government, they were secure from any inquisition from him, and were equally preferred." This is rather an overstatement, though the Non-conformists enjoyed much more quiet and security under him than under either Bancroft or Laud. When King James in 1618 issued his "Book of Sports," and ordered that it should be read from every pulpit in the kingdom, the archbishop had the boldness to refuse obedience.—Vaughan, i., 334. He was suspended from his office for a time by Charles I. for refusing to license Sibthorpe's sermon, which justified unlawful exactions of money. He died in 1633.—Kippis' Biog. Brit., 153, 154.—H.]

\* [William Laud has commonly been regarded as merely a narrow-minded and malignant persecutor. Those who suffered from him and those who executed him have given his character to the world. A truer account of the principle which seems to have influenced him in the harsh measures he thought it his duty to urge is given by Hallam, in his Constitutional History of England, ii., 53, 54, though Hallam has evidently no love for him. "His talents, though enabling him to acquire a large portion of theological learning, seem not to have been above mediocrity. . . . No one can deny that he was a generous patron of letters, and as warm in friendship as in enmity. But he had placed before his eyes the aggrandizement, first of the Church, and next of the royal prerogative, as his end and aim in every action. Though not literally destitute of religion, it was so subordinate to worldly interest, that he became an intolerant persecutor of the Puritan clergy, not from bigotry, which, in its usual sense, he never displayed, but systematic policy." Very similar to this judgment was that of King James. When in 1621 Lord-



Robinson's congregation did not escape persecution by separating from the establish-

keeper Williams recommended Laud to him for the vacant see of St. David's, the king for a long time refused, and remarked, with a clear insight into his character, "I keep back Laud from all place and authority, because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain, which may endanger the steadfastness of that which is in good pass."—Hacket's *Life of Williams*, 63. May, also, in his *History of the Parliament of November, 1640*, a work of singular impartiality for a contemporary history of those times, says, p. 19, "He had few vulgar and private vices, as being neither taxed of covetousness, intemperance, or incontinence, and a man not altogether so bad in his personal character as unfit for the state of *England*." In his theological opinions Laud was a strenuous favourer of Arminianism, the popular theology of the court under Charles I. and during the latter years of James; and was rather repelled by the strict Calvinism of the Puritans: he was fond of ceremonial in religious worship, and could not tolerate with the severe simplicity of their service: he had extravagant notions of the authority of the Church, and they had already begun to doubt and deny it: he was suspected of being inclined to popery, and they distrusted and hated him. That his execution of his plan of church-policy was often harsh, and sometimes tyrannical, cannot be denied; though of the harshest case, that of Prynne, much can be said to justify it. Fuller admits that, being of a quick temper, he used "to infuse more vinegar than oil into all his censures."

Laud was born at Reading, in Berkshire, in 1573, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was consecrated Bishop of St. David's November 18th, 1621, translated to Bath and Wells 1627, to London 1628, and to Canterbury in 1633.—Percival. He was "of low stature, but high parts, admirable in his naturals, unblamable in his morals, and very strict

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ment and forming an independent church. Still exposed to the penalties of the ecclesiastical law,\* they were extremely harassed; in his conversation."—Worthies of England, i., 129. He was tried by the Long Parliament on a charge of high treason, and, though the charge was sustained by the slightest possible evidence, he was condemned, and executed Nov. 10th, 1645.—H.]

\* [It were worth our while to notice the provisions of some of the principal acts of Parliament touching the Puritans, and the manner in which they were executed. The earliest under Elizabeth was the so-called Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz., c. 2, which "prohibited, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and of imprisonment during life for the third, the use by a minister, whether beneficed or not, of any but the established liturgy; and imposed a fine of one shilling on all who should absent themselves from church on Sundays and holydays."—Hallam, Constitutional History, i., 153. This act was aimed chiefly at the papists; but operated with equal effect on the growing class of Nonconformists. "The repugnance felt by a large part of the Protestant clergy to the ceremonies with which Elizabeth would not consent to dispense, showed itself in irregular transgressions of the uniformity prescribed by statute. Some continued to wear the habits, others laid them aside: the communicants received the sacrament sitting, or standing, or kneeling, according to the minister's taste; some baptized in the font, others in a basin; some with the sign of the cross, others without it."—Ib., i., 241, 242; Am. ed. This state of irregularity continued; the laws being not strictly enforced, till 1565, when Archbishop Parker obtained of the queen a proclamation requiring strict obedience to the directions of the Prayer-book in all matters of custom and discipline. Thirty-seven of ninety-eight ministers in London refused, and were suspended from their office and deprived of their livings. Some of the more zealous now set up private meetings, and in 1567 a company were seized in

some were thrown into prison, some were confined to their own houses; others were

their religious exercises, and several of them imprisoned. The Puritans were driven to take new ground; and in 1570 arose Thomas Cartwright, St. Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who, leaving the questions of the cross and the surplice, taught that no form of church-government was lawful except the Presbyterian, and that a separation from the Established Church was the duty of Christian men. See also Vaughan, i., 58. The laws were now enforced with new severity. Preachers who refused to conform were imprisoned, and laymen who listened to their sermons. Prophesyings were forbidden and put down. Catechizing, even in private houses, where any others than the family were present, were declared unlawful. Subscriptions were strictly insisted on, and in six counties two hundred and thirty-three ministers were suspended for refusing to comply. The High Commission Court was established, empowered to punish all persons absent from church, to reform all heresies, by fine, imprisonment, and excommunication, and to examine suspected persons on their oath. In 1593, 35 Eliz., c. 1, an act was passed by Parliament "enacting the penalty of imprisonment against any person above the age of sixteen who should forbear, for the space of a month, to repair to some church, until he should make such open submission and declaration of conformity as the act appoints. Those who refused to submit to these conditions were to abjure the realm, and, if they should return without the queen's license, to suffer death as felons."—Hallam, i., 289. Parl. Hist., i., 863. Multitudes of the Brownists fled to Holland to escape the rigours of this statute. In the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth the Puritans had become a great party, in the State as well as in the Church, and were obnoxious to the government for the liberal principles they avowed no less than for the steady refusal to observe offensive ceremonies.

Under James, who ascended the throne in 1603, new and

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obliged to leave their farms and suspend their usual occupations. Such was their distress and perplexity, that an emigration to some foreign country seemed the only means of safety. Their first views were directed to Holland, where the spirit of commerce had dictated a free toleration of religious opinions; a blessing which neither the wisdom of politicians nor the charity of clergymen had admitted into any other of the European states. But the ports of their own country were shut against them; they could get away only by seeking concealment and giving extravagant rates for their passages, and fees to the mariners.\*

In the autumn of 1607, a company of these Dissenters hired a ship at Boston, in

more odious laws were passed against them, one of which may serve as a specimen, declaring that any one who affirmed any of the thirty-nine articles to be erroneous was by that very affirmation excommunicated, and, by consequence, incapable of being a witness in courts of justice, of recovering debts by legal process, &c.—Hallam, i., 412, *note*. He also published a declaration, May 24, 1618, which, however, was not enforced till the time of Charles I., and required it to be read in the churches, “permitting all lawful recreations on Sunday after Divine service, such as dancing, archery, May-games and morrice-dances, and other usual sports. No one who had not attended the Church-service was entitled to this privilege.”—Hallam, i., 545.—H.] \* Hazard’s Collections, i., 151.

Lincolnshire, to carry them to Holland. The master promised to be ready at a certain hour of the day to take them on board, with their families and effects. They assembled at the place, but he disappointed them. Afterward he came in the night, and, when they were embarked, betrayed them into the hands of searchers and other officers,\* who, having robbed them of money, books, and other articles, and treated the women with indecency, carried them back into the town, and exposed them as a laughing spectacle to the multitude. They were arraigned before the magistrates, who used them with civility, but could not release them without an order of the king and council. Till this arrived, they suffered a month's imprisonment; seven were bound over to the assize, and the others were released.

The next spring (1608) they made another attempt,† and hired a Dutch vessel, then lying in the harbour, to take them on board. The place agreed on was an unfrequented common between Hull and Grimsby, remote from any houses. The women and children, with the baggage, were sent down the river in a small bark, and the men agreed to meet them by land; but they came to the

\* Prince, 23. Hutch., i., 449.

† Mather's Mag., ii., 3.

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place a day before the ship arrived. The water being rough and the women sick, they prevailed on the pilot of the bark to put into a small creek, where they lay aground, when the Dutchman came and took one boatload of the men on board. Before he could send for the others a company of armed men appeared on horseback, which so frightened him that he weighed anchor, and, the wind being fair, put to sea. Some of the men who were left behind escaped; others, who went to the assistance of the women, were with them apprehended and carried from one justice of the peace to another; but the justices, not knowing what to do with so many helpless and distressed persons, dismissed them. Having sold their houses, cattle, and furniture, they had no homes to which they could retire, and were therefore cast on the charity of their friends. Those who were hurried to sea without their families, and destitute of even a change of clothes, endured a terrible storm, in which neither sun, moon, nor stars appeared for several days. This storm drove them far to the northward, and they very narrowly escaped foundering. After fourteen days they arrived at Amsterdam, where the people were surprised at their deliverance; the tempest having been very se-

vere, and much damage having been sustained, both at sea and in the harbours of the Continent.

This forlorn company of emigrants were soon after joined by their wives and families. The remainder of the church went over in the following summer ;\* Mr. Robinson, with a few others, remained to help the weakest till they were all embarked.†

At Amsterdam they found a congregation of their countrymen who had the same religious views, and had emigrated before them.‡ Their minister was John Smith, a man of good abilities and a popular preacher, but unsteady in his opinions.§ These people fell into controversy, and were soon scatter-

\* Prince, 24.

† As nothing more is said of "the aged Mr. Clifton," it is probable that he died before this embarkation.\*

‡ Prince, 19, 24, 26.

§ Mr. Neal says that he refined on the principles of the Brownists, and at last declared for the Baptists ; that he left

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\* [The Plymouth Church Records, copied in Hazard, i., 350, speak of Mr. Clifton as "a Grave and reverend Preacher, whose, by his pains and Diligence, had done much good, and under God, had bin a meanes of the Conversion of many." Prince (in the edition of 1826) says Mr. Clifton fled with his flock to Holland, and that, when they removed to Leyden, he remained at Amsterdam, and died there.—P. 117, 120. The Church Records are quoted for both statements.—H.]

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Amsterdam, and settled with a party at Leyden,\* where, being at a loss for a proper administrator of baptism, he first plunged himself, and then performed the ceremony on others, which gained him the name of a *Sc-Baptist*. After this he embraced the principles of Arminius, and published a book, which Robinson answered in 1611; but Smith soon after died, and his congregation was dissolved.—Neal's Puritans, 8vo, ii., 49.

\* [As early as 1593, the number of the so-called Brownists in England was stated by Sir Walter Raleigh, in a debate in Parliament touching the expediency of getting rid of them all by transportation to the colonies, to have been not less than 20,000 men, besides their families.—Neal's N. E., i., 64. D'Ewes's Journal, p. 517. They were too numerous to be transported; the only alternative was to crush them by severe penalties. To avoid oppression at home, many went abroad to the United Provinces and elsewhere in 1592 and onward. In this or the next year, a church was formed of these exiles at Amsterdam. Their first pastor, who also gathered the church, was Francis Johnson, who had been a Puritan minister in England, and their first teacher Henry Ainsworth, who has been well esteemed in later days for his annotations on portions of the Old Testament, and who published, among other pieces, "An Arrow against Idolatry" and "The Communion of Saints," which have been reckoned among the ablest controversial tracts of an age which abounded in controversy. They put forth an eloquent "Apology and Defence," and a confession of their faith about 1598.—Vaughan, i., 60, note. (Neal says in 1602.—Hist. Puritans, ii., 70, 8vo.) The church was divided in 1599 on account of some difference of opinion, respecting discipline, between the pastor and teacher, and a perhaps indiscreet marriage of the former. Johnson soon after removed to Embden, and his church, made up of the minority of the original one, soon became extinct. Ainsworth remained at

\* [John Cotton says that Smith lived and died in Amsterdam, and never went to Leyden.—Way of Cong. Church. Cleared, p. 7.



Robinson proposed to his church a farther removal, to which, though much to their disadvantage in a temporal view, they consented, and, after one year spent at Amsterdam, they removed to Leyden, where they continued eleven years. During this time their number so increased, by frequent emigrations from England, that they had in the church three hundred communicants.\*

At Leyden they enjoyed much harmony among themselves,† and a friendly intercourse with the Dutch, who, observing their diligence and fidelity in their business, entertained so great a respect for them, that the magistrates of the city (1619), in the seat of

Amsterdam, where he was for a time associated with Smith, and where he died in 1622. He was succeeded by Canno, somewhat famous for his biblical labours.—Vaughan, i., 309–320.—H.]

\* Cotton's preface to Robbins's ordination sermon.

† Governor HUTCHINSON (I presume through inattention) has misrepresented this matter (vol. ii., 451) by saying, "that in the twelve years of their residence in Holland they had *contention* among themselves, *divided*, and became *two* churches." The *two* churches of Smith and Robinson subsisted distinctly and unconnectedly before they quitted England. It was to *avoid* contention that the latter removed from Amsterdam, where the former fell to pieces. Not the least evidence of *contention* in the Church of Leyden appears in any of our first historians, but there is the fullest testimony of the contrary in all of them. No *division* took place till the emigration of part of them to America, when the utmost harmony and love were manifested on the occasion.

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justice, having occasion to censure some of the French Protestants, who had a church there, made this public declaration: "These English have lived among us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against any of them; but your quarrels are continual."\*

The year (1609) in which Mr. Robinson went to Leyden was remarkable for the death of Jacobus Arminius,† one of the Divinity professors in the University of that city. Between his successor, Episcopius,‡ and the oth-

\* Morton, 5.

† [James Harmensen, better known by his Latinized name which is given in the text. He was born at Oude-water, in South Holland, in 1560, studied at Utrecht, at Geneva, under the celebrated Theodore Beza, and at Padua, and was chosen pastor of one of the churches in Amsterdam in 1588. About 1591 he was induced to attempt an answer to a work written against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, which he then believed. In this attempt his own views were changed, and he became a strenuous opponent of that doctrine, and asserter of the freedom of human will. In 1603 he was chosen professor of divinity in the University of Leyden, where his lectures and writings gained many converts to his opinions. He died Oct. 19, 1609. He was a man of an amiable temper and pure life. *Bona conscientia Paradisus*, "a good conscience is paradise," was his motto.—See Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, art. Arminius; also Biographie Universelle, and Aikin.—H.]

‡ [Simon Episcopius (Bisschop) was born at Amsterdam in 1583, and in 1600 entered the University of Leyden, where he became attached to the person and doctrine of Arminius. He

er theological professor, Polyander, there was much opposition,\* the former teaching the doctrine of Arminius, and the other that of Calvin. The controversy was so bitter, that the disciples of the one would scarcely hear the lectures of the other. Robinson, though he preached constantly three times in the week, and was much engaged in writing, attended the discourses of each, and became master of the arguments on both sides of the controverted questions. Being fully persuaded of the truth of the Calvinian system, and openly preaching it, his zeal and abilities rendered him formidable to the Arminians, which induced Episcopius (1613) to publish several theses, and engage to defend them against all opposers.

Men of equal abilities and learning, but of different sentiments, are not easily induced to submission, especially in a country where opinion is not fettered and restrained by the was elected professor of divinity at Leyden in 1612. When in 1618, 1619, the sentiments of Arminius were condemned by the Synod of Dort, he retired to France, where he resided chiefly till the death of Prince Maurice. In 1626 he returned, and became the pastor of a church at Rotterdam. In 1634 he was elected professor of theology in a new Arminian college at Amsterdam, where he died, April 4th, 1643. He wrote many works, chiefly commentaries and controversial treatises.—Bayle. —H.]

\* Prince, 29, 36.

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ruling power. Polyander, aided by the ministers of the city, requested Robinson to accept the challenge. Though his vanity was flattered by the request, yet, being a stranger, he modestly declined the combat. But their pressing importunity prevailed over his reluctance; and, judging it to be his duty, he, on a set day, held a public disputation with the Arminian professor, in presence of a very numerous assembly.

It is usual, on such occasions, for the partisans on both sides to claim the victory for their respective champions. Whether it were so at this time cannot be determined, as we have no account of the controversy from the Arminian party. Governor Bradford, who was a member of Robinson's church, and probably present at the disputation, gives this account of it:\* "He so defended the truth and foiled the opposer as to put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience. The same he did a second and a third time, upon the like occasions, which, as it caused many to give praise to God that the truth had so famous a victory, so it produced for Mr. Robinson much respect and honour from these learned men and others."

\* Prince, 38.

When Robinson first went to Holland, he was one of the most rigid separatists from the Church of England. He had written in defence of the separation, in answer to Dr. *William Ames*,\* whose name, in the petulance of his wit, he had changed to *Amiss*.† After his removal to Holland he met with Dr. Ames and Mr. Robert Parker,‡ an eminent divine of Wiltshire, who had been obli-

\* Dr. Ames was educated at Cambridge, under the famous Perkins, and became Fellow of Christ's College. In 1609 he gave offence to the gentlemen of the University by preaching against cards and dice, and, to avoid prosecution for nonconformity, fled to Holland. He first settled at the Hague, whence he was invited by the States of Friesland to the chair of theological professor at Franeker, which he filled with reputation for twelve years. He was an able controversial writer; his style was concise, and his arguments acute. He wrote several treatises against the Arminians, besides his famous *Medulla Theologicæ*. He afterward removed to Rotterdam; but the air of Holland not agreeing with his constitution, he determined to come to New-England. This was prevented by his death in 1633. His widow and family afterward came over, and his posterity have been respectable ever since. His valuable library became the property of Harvard College, where it was consumed by fire in 1764.—Prince, 29. Neal's Puritans, ii., 47, 265, &c.

† Hubbard's MS. Hist., p. 36.

‡ [Mr. Parker went to Holland, I suppose, about 1603 or 1604, having published a treatise on the cross in baptism, which rendered his residence in England insecure. He stayed awhile at Amsterdam, and removed to Doesburg, and served as chaplain to an English regiment stationed there, and died there in 1630.—Neal's History of the Puritans, ii., 69, 96, 8vo.—H.]

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ged to fly thither from the terrors of the High Commission Court, under the direction of Archbishop Bancroft. In a free conversation with these gentlemen, Robinson was convinced of his mistake, submitted to the reproof of Dr. Ames, and became, ever after, more moderate in his sentiments respecting separation. In a book which he published (1610), he allowed and defended the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of England "in the word and prayer," that is, in the extempore prayer before the sermon, though not in the use of the Liturgy, nor in the indiscriminate admission to the sacraments. Yet he would allow the pious members of the Church of England, and of all the reformed churches, to communicate with his church; declaring that he separated from no church, but from the corruptions of all churches. This book gained him the title of a Semi-separatist, and was so offensive to the rigid Brownists of Amsterdam that they would scarcely hold communion with the Church of Leyden. These were called Robinsonians and Independents, but the name by which they distinguished themselves was a Congregational Church.

Their grand principle was the same which

was afterward held and defended by Chillingworth\* and Hoadley,† that the Scriptures, given by inspiration, contain the true religion; that every man has a right to judge for himself of their meaning; to try all doctrines by them; and to worship God according to the dictates of his own enlightened conscience.‡ They admitted for truth the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, as well as of the reformed churches in France, Geneva, Switzerland, and the United Provinces;‡ allowing all their members free com-

\* [William Chillingworth was born at Oxford, Oct., 1602, and educated at Trinity College, of which he was elected a Fellow June 10th, 1628. He is best known by his famous reply to the Jesuit Knott, entitled "The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation," published in 1367.—Hallam (Const. Hist., ii., 102, 103) styles him "the founder of what has been called the latitudinarian school of theology in England," and ascribes to him "an inextinguishable skepticism, yet a skepticism which belongs to a vigorous, not that which denotes a feeble understanding."—H.]

† [Benjamin Hoadley, a voluminous writer, chiefly on controversial topics, and distinguished for an excess of moderation and liberality. He was born at Westerham, in Kent, 1676; entered Catharine Hall as a pensioner in 1691; was made chaplain to George I.; in 1715 consecrated Bishop of Bangor; in 1721 translated to Hereford; in 1723 to Salisbury; in 1734 to Winchester. He died in 1761.—Aikin.—H.]

‡ Prince, 91-93. Cotton's Preface.

§ The words of Robinson in his Apology, as cited by Neal, are as follow :

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munion, and differing from them only in matters of an ecclesiastical nature. Respecting these, they held, 1. That no church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently meet together for worship and discipline. 2. That every church of Christ is to consist only of such as appear to believe in him and obey him. 3. That any competent number of such have a right, when conscience obliges them, to form themselves into a distinct church. 4. That this incorporation is, by some contract or covenant, expressed or

“*Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus, adeo nobis convenire cum ecclesiis reformatis, Belgicis, in re religionis, ut omnibus et singulis earundem ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in harmoniâ confessionum fidei, parati sumus subscribere. Ecclesias reformatas pro veris et genuinis, habemus; cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, et quantum in nobis est, colimus. Conciones publicas ab illarum pastoribus habitas, ex nostris qui norunt linguam Belgicam frequentant. Sacram cœnam earum membris, si qua forte nostris cœtibus intersint nobis cognita, participamus.*”\*—Neal’s Puritans, 8vo, ii., 49.

\* [We give also Mr. Neal’s translation: “We profess, before God and men, that we agree so entirely with the reformed Dutch churches in matters of religion, that we are willing to subscribe to all and every one of their articles, as they are set down in the harmony of confessions. We acknowledge the reformed churches for true and genuine; we hold communion with them as far as we can; those among us that understand the Dutch language frequent their sermons; and we administer the Lord’s Supper to such of their members as are known to us, and desire it occasionally.”—H.]



implied. 5. That, being thus incorporated, they have a right to choose their own officers. 6. That these officers are *pastors* or teaching elders, *ruling elders*, and *deacons*. 7. That elders, being chosen and ordained, have no power to rule the church but by consent of the brethren. 8. That all elders and all churches are equal in respect of powers and privileges. 9. With respect to ordinances, they held that *baptism* is to be administered to visible believers and their infant children; but they admitted only the children of communicants to baptism. That the Lord's Supper is to be received sitting at the table; while they were in Holland they received it every Lord's Day. That ecclesiastical censures were wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with temporal penalties. 10. They admitted no holy days but the Christian Sabbath, though they had occasionally days of fasting and thanksgiving. And, finally, they renounced all right of human invention or imposition in religious matters.

Having enjoyed their liberty in Holland eight or nine years, in which time they had become acquainted with the country and the manners of its inhabitants, they began to think of another removal (1617), the reasons of

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which were these :\* 1. Most of them had been bred to the business of husbandry in England ; but in Holland they were obliged to learn mechanical trades, and use various methods for their subsistence which were not so agreeable to them as cultivation. 2. The language, manners, and habits of the Dutch were not rendered pleasing by familiarity ; and, in particular, the loose and careless manner in which the Sabbath was regarded in Holland gave them great offence. 3. The climate was unfavourable to their health ; many of them were in the decline of life ; their children, oppressed with labour and disease, became infirm, and the vigour of nature seemed to abate at an early age. 4. The licentiousness in which youth was indulged was a pernicious example to their children, some of whom became sailors, others soldiers, and many were dissolute in their morals ; nor could their parents restrain them without giving offence and incurring reproach. These considerations afforded them the melancholy prospect that their posterity would in time become so mixed with the Dutch as to lose their interest in the English nation, to which they had a natural and strong attachment. 5. They observed, also,

\* Morton, 3-6. Math. Mag., ii., 2.

that many other English people who had gone to Holland suffered in their health and substance, and either returned home to bear the inconveniences from which they had fled, or were reduced to poverty abroad. For these reasons\* they concluded that Holland was not a country in which they could hope for a permanent and agreeable residence.

The question then was, to what part of the world should they remove where they might expect freedom from the burdens under which they had formerly groaned, and the blessings of civil and religious liberty which they had lately enjoyed.

The Dutch merchants, being apprized of their discontent, made them large offers if they would go to some of their foreign plantations; † but their attachment to the English nation and government was invincible. ‡ Sir

\* [Morton (p. 20) adds another reason which weighed much with many of them. "Lastly, and which was not the least, a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or, at least, to make some good way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world."—H.]

† [Morton says, "Although some of them were low in their estates, yet the Dutch, observing that they were diligent, faithful, and careful of their engagements, had great respect to them, and strove for their custom."—H.]

‡ Hubbard's MS. History, 37. [See p. 44, 45, of the printed copy.—H.]

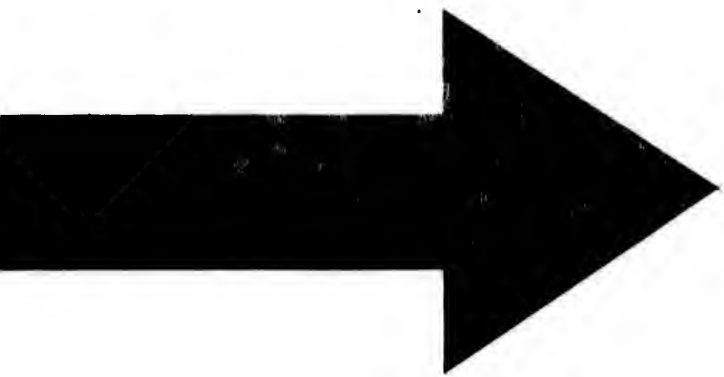
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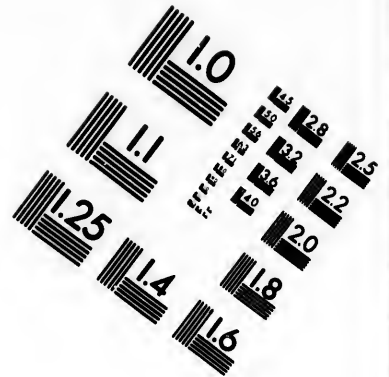
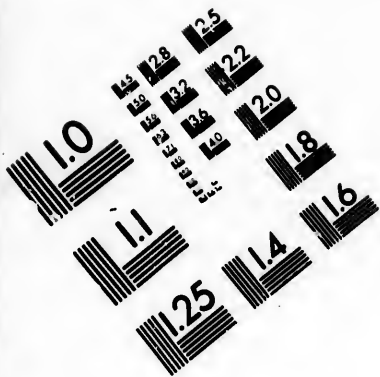
Walter Raleigh had about this time raised the fame of Guiana, a rich and fertile country of America between the tropics, blessed with a perpetual spring, and productive of everything which could satisfy the wants of man with little labour. To this country the views of some of the most sanguine were directed; but, considering that in such warm climates diseases were generated which often proved fatal to European constitutions, and that their nearest neighbours would be the Spaniards, who, though they had not actually occupied the country, yet claimed it as their own, and might easily dispossess them, as they had the French of Florida, the major part disapproved of this proposal.

They then turned their thoughts towards that part of America comprehended under the general name of Virginia.\* There, if they should join the colony already established, they must submit to the government of the Church of England. If they should attempt a new plantation, the horrors of a wilderness and the cruelties of its savage inhabitants were presented to their view. It was answered that the Dutch had begun to plant within these limits, and were unmolested;

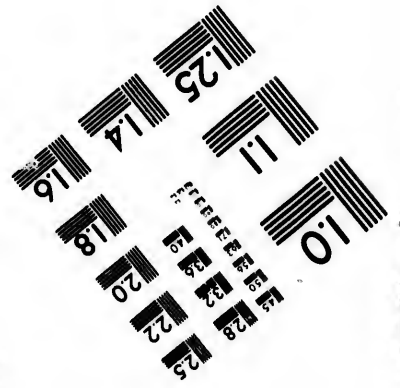
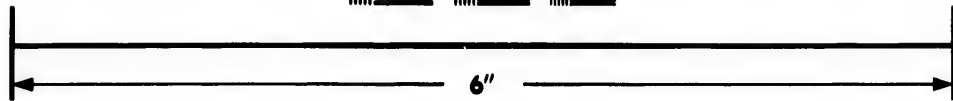
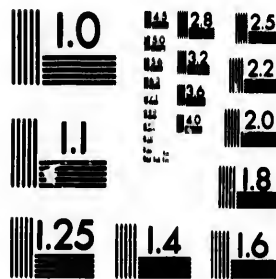
\* Prince, 50. Hazard, i., 359.







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that all great undertakings were attended with difficulties, but that the prospect of danger did not render the enterprise desperate; that, should they remain in Holland, they were not free from danger, as a truce between the United Provinces and Spain, which had subsisted twelve years, was nearly expired, and preparations were making to renew the war; that the Spaniards, if successful, might prove as cruel as the savages; and that liberty, both civil and religious, was altogether precarious in Europe. These considerations determined their views towards the uninhabited part of North America, claimed by their native prince as part of his dominions; and their hope was that, by emigrating hither, they might make way for the propagation of the Christian religion in a heathen land, though (to use a phrase of their own) "they should be but as stepping-stones to others" who might come after them.

These things were first debated in private, and afterward proposed to the whole congregation, who, after mature deliberation, and a devout address to Heaven, determined to make application to the Virginia Company in London, and to inquire whether King James would *grant* them liberty of conscience in his

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American dominions. John Carver and Robert Cushman were appointed their agents on this occasion, and letters were written by Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, their ruling elder, in the name of the congregation, to Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir John Worstenholme,\* two principal members of the Virginia Company.

In those letters they recommended themselves as proper persons for emigration,† be-

\* [For some account of Sir Edwin Sandys, see note to p. 110. Sir John Worstenholme, or Wolstenholme, as the name is now commonly written, was "a wealthy merchant, and a farmer of the customs."—Stith's History of Virginia, 186. He was an influential member of the Virginia Company from 1609 (Hazard, i., 61), and a candidate for the governorship in opposition to Sir Edwin Sandys at the election in 1619, when he received twenty-three out of a hundred votes.—Stith, 159. In 1622 he was one of four persons nominated for that office to the company by King James, and, though sustained by royal influence, again failed of an election. The reason of his unpopularity with the company was his attachment to the faction of the Earl of Warwick.—Ib., 230, 186. He was, after the dissolution of the Virginia Company, one of the commissioners for Virginia, appointed June 27, 1631.—Hazard, i., 312. In Forster's Northern Voyages (p. 352) he is mentioned as one of "the public-spirited gentlemen who had had the former (before 1616) voyages on discoveries (in search of a Northwest Passage) made at their own expense." An inlet, discovered in 1616 by Bylot and Baffin, on the northern side of Baffin's Bay, was named for him Wolstenholme's Sound.—Ib., 254.—H.]

† Hazard, 52.

cause they were "weaned from the delicate milk of their own country, and so inured to the difficulties of a strange land that no small things would discourage them or make them wish to return home; that they had acquired habits of frugality, industry, and self-denial, and were united in a solemn covenant, by which they were bound to seek the welfare of the whole company, and of every individual person." They also gave a succinct and candid account of their religious principles and practices for the information of the king and his council.

The answer which they received was as favourable as they could expect. The Virginia Company promised them as ample privileges as were in their power to grant.\* It was thought prudent not to deliver their letter to the king and council; but application was made to Sir Robert Norton,† secretary

\* Hubbard, 38.

† [Doubtless this name was written Naunton. The second volume, having been printed after the decease of the author, contains many more errors of the press than the first, which he revised. Sir Robert Naunton was of an ancient family in Suffolk, and was a fellow-commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge. He served as secretary to his uncle, William Ashley, her majesty's ambassador to Scotland in 1589. In 1596 he was sent by the Earl of Essex to France, where he remained several years. While there he maintained a correspondence with Es-

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of state, who employed his interest with Archbishop Abbot, and, by means of his mediation, the king promised to connive at their religious practices, but he denied them toleration under the great seal. With this answer, and some private encouragement, the agents returned to Holland.

It was impossible for them to transport themselves to America without assistance from the merchant adventurers in England. Farther agency and agreements were necessary. The dissensions in the Virginia Company were tedious and violent, and it was not

sex and other noblemen, and his letters are among the most curious monuments of the minute political history of that period. The earl's letters show that Naunton held a high place in his confidence and esteem. On the disgrace of that nobleman Naunton retired to Cambridge, where, in 1601, he was chosen Orator to the University. Afterward he returned to political life, and, having passed through several minor offices of trust, he was appointed secretary of state in January, 1618, a place which he is supposed to have owed to the favour of Buckingham. Having incurred the displeasure of that powerful favourite, he lost his place in 1620. He was afterward made guardian of the Court of Wards, which office he held at his death, March 1634, '5. "He was a man of considerable learning, and well qualified for political affairs." He wrote a work, now very curious and valuable, entitled "*Fragmenta Regalia*;" or, "*The true Character of Queen Elizabeth and her Favourites.*" It has been reprinted in vol. v. of the *Harleian Miscellany*.—See *Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, i., 369, 370. *Aikin's Biog. Dict.*, Gorton.—H.]

till after two whole years that all the necessary provisions and arrangements\* could be made for their voyage.

In the beginning of 1620 they kept a solemn day of prayer,† when Mr. Robinson delivered a discourse from 1 Samuel, xxiii., 3, 4, in which he endeavoured to remove their doubts and confirm their resolutions. It had been previously determined that a part of them should go to America and prepare the way for the others, and that, if a major part should consent to go, the pastor should go with them, otherwise he should remain in Holland. It was found, on examination, that, though a major part was willing to go, yet they could not all get ready in season; therefore, the greater number being obliged to stay, they required Mr. Robinson to stay with them. Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, was appointed to go with the minority, who were “to be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that should stay, with this proviso, that, as any should go over or return, they should be reputed as members, without farther dismissal or testimonial.” The others were to follow as soon as possible.

\* [An account of these arrangements may be found in the Life of Carver, in this volume.—H.]

† Prince, 66.

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In July they kept another day of prayer, when Mr. Robinson preached to them from Ezra, viii., 21,\* and concluded his discourse with an exhortation which breathes a noble spirit of Christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine, whose charity was the more conspicuous because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the reformed ministers and churches of that day.

“Brethren,” said he, “we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but, whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.”

“If God reveal anything to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at

\* Neal's New-England, i. 78.

present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw. Whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

“This is a misery much to be lamented; for, though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they *penetrated not* into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light as that which they first received. I beseech you remember, it is an article of your church covenant, ‘That you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.’ Remember that and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it, for it is not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

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“I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of **BROWNIST**. It is a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world.”

Having said this, with some other things relating to their private conduct, he devoutly committed them to the care and protection of Divine Providence.\*

On the 21st of July the intended passengers quitted Leyden to embark at Delfthaven, to which place they were accompanied by many of their brethren and friends, several of whom had come from Amsterdam to take their leave of them. The evening was spent, till very late, in friendly conversation; and the next morning, the wind being fair, they went on board, where Mr. Robinson, on his knees, in a most ardent and affectionate prayer, again committed them to their Divine Protector, and with many tears they parted.

After their arrival in New-England he kept up a friendly correspondence with them; † and,

\* [Morton adds, “The rest of the time (besides that occupied by the sermon) was spent in pouring out of prayers unto the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears.”—Memorial, p. 23.—H.]

† [It is much to be regretted that so few records of this correspondence have been preserved. The few which remain are



when any of them went to Europe, they were received by him with the most cordial welcome. The difficulties which then attended a voyage across the Atlantic, the expense of an equipment for a new colony, and the hardships necessarily incident to a plantation in a distant wilderness, proved a burden almost too great for those who came over. They had a hard struggle to support themselves here, and pay the debts which they had contracted in England, while those who remained in Holland were in general too poor to bear the expense of a removal to America without the help of their brethren who had

but enough to show the greatness of our loss. In a letter to the colonists, dated at Leyden, June 30th, 1621, he thus consoles those who survived for the loss of their fellows: "In a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die: it is thought well for a side if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if not too many or too great. God, I hope; hath given you the victory, after many difficulties for yourselves and others, though I doubt not many do and will remain for you and us to strive with." He adds, in a spirit of wise counsel, "It is a Christian's honour to give honour according to men's places, and his liberty to serve God in faith, and his brethren in love orderly, and with a willing and free heart."—Bradford's Letter-book, in Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 45. The excellent letter which he addressed to the company on their departure from Holland may be found entire in Morton's Memorial, p. 24-29, Davia's edition, and in Neal's New-England. It is too long to be inserted here.—H.]

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come before them. These things prevented Mr. Robinson from gratifying his earnest desire to visit his American brethren, and their equally ardent wish to see him, till he was removed by death to a better country.\*

He continued with his church at Leyden, in good health, and with a fair prospect of living to a more advanced age, till Saturday, the 22d of February, 1625, when he was seized with an inward ague, which, however distressing, did not prevent his preaching twice on the next day.† Through the following week his disorder increased in malignity, and on Saturday, March 1, put an end to his valuable life, in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the height of his reputation and usefulness.

Mr. Robinson was a man of a good genius, quick penetration, ready wit, great modesty, integrity, and candour. His classic literature

\* Morton, in his Memorial (p. 86), says that "his and their *adversaries* had long been *plotting* how they might hinder his coming to New-England." Hutchinson (vol. ii., p. 454) says "he was prevented by *disappointments* from those in England who undertook to provide for the passage of him and his congregation." Whether these disappointments were designed or unavoidable cannot now be determined. Candour would lead us to suppose the latter. But the former supposition is within the limits of credibility.

† Collections of the Historical Society for 1795, p. 40.

and acuteness in disputation were acknowledged by his adversaries. His manners were easy, courteous, and obliging. His preaching was instructive and affecting. Though in his younger years he was rigid in his separation from the Episcopal Church, by whose governors he and his friends were treated with unrelenting severity, yet, when convinced of his error, he openly acknowledged it, and by experience and conversation with good men he became moderate and charitable, without abating his zeal for strict and real religion. It is always a sign of a good heart when a man becomes mild and candid as he grows in years. This was eminently true of Mr. Robinson. He learned to esteem all good men of every religious persuasion, and charged his flock to maintain the like candid and benevolent conduct. His sentiments respecting the reformers, as expressed in his valedictory discourse, will entail immortal honour to his memory, evidencing his accurate discernment, his inflexible honesty, and his fervent zeal for truth and a good conscience. He was also possessed, in an eminent degree, of the talent of peace-making, and was happy in composing differences among neighbours and in families, so that

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peace and unity were preserved in his congregation.\* It is said that "such was the reciprocal love and respect between him and his flock, that it might be said of them, as it was said of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor." Besides his singular abilities in moral and theological matters, he was very discerning and prudent in civil affairs, and able to give them good advice in regard to their secular and political conduct. He was highly esteemed, not only by his own flock, but by the magistracy and clergy of Leyden, who gave him the use of one of their churches, in the chancel of which he was buried. Mr. Prince, who visited that city in 1714,† says that the most ancient people then living told him, from their parents, that the whole city and University regarded him as a great and good man, whose death they sincerely lamented, and that they honoured his funeral with their presence.

This event proved the dissolution of the church over which he had presided at Leyden. Some of them removed to Amsterdam,

\* Hazard, i., 355.

† Annals, p. 160.

some to other parts of the Netherlands, and others came to New-England, among whom were his widow and children. His son Isaac lived to the age of ninety, and left male posterity in the county of Barnstable.

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## XVIII. JOHN CARVER.

WE have no particulars of the life of Mr. Carver previous to his appointment as one of the agents of the English Congregational Church in Leyden.\* At that time he was in high esteem as a grave, pious, prudent, judicious man, and sustained the office of a deacon. In the letters written by Sir Edwin Sandys, of the Virginia Company, to Mr. Robinson, the agents are said to have "carried themselves with good discretion."†

The business of the agency was long delayed by the discontents and factions in the Company of Virginia, by the removal of their former treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and the enmity between him and Sir Edwin Sandys, his successor. At length a patent was obtained under the company's seal;‡ but, by

\* Hubbard's MS., p. 38 [p. 46 of the printed copy.—H.]

† [Sandys' letter is dated November 13, 1617.—Hubbard's New-England, 46.—H.]

‡ [This patent was granted probably in "the autumn of 1619," at which time it was carried to Leyden to be considered by the proposed emigrants. The precise date is nowhere mentioned, so far as I have been able to examine. The records of the

the advice of some friends, it was taken in the name of John Wincob, a religious gentleman belonging to the family of the Countess of Lincoln,\* who intended to accompany the adventurers to America. This patent, and the proposals of Thomas Weston, of London, merchant, and other persons who appeared friendly to the design, were carried to Leyden in the autumn of 1619 for the consideration of the people. At the same time there was a plan forming for a new council in the west of England, to superintend the plantation and fishery of North Virginia, the name of which was changed to *New-England*. To this expected establishment Weston and the other merchants began to incline, chiefly from the hope of present gain by the fishery. This caused some embarrassment, and a variety of opinions; but, considering that the council for New-England was not yet incorporated, and that, if they should wait for that event, they might be detained another year,

Virginia Company have never been printed, and are now in England. Of Wincob I find nothing farther, except that he never came to America. It was thought prudent, probably, to have the patent made out in the name of some one residing in England.—H.]

\* [The family-name of the house of Lincoln was Clinton.—H.]

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before which time the war between the Dutch and the Spaniards might be renewed, the majority concluded to take the patent, which had been obtained from the company of South Virginia, and emigrate to some place near Hudson's River, which was within their territory.

The next spring (1620) Weston himself went over to Leyden, where the people entered into articles of agreement with him, both for shipping and money, to assist in their transportation. Carver and Cushman were again sent to London, to receive the money and provide for the voyage. When they came there, they found the other merchants so very penurious and severe, that they were obliged to consent to some alteration in the articles, which, though not relished by their constituents, yet were so strongly insisted on, that without them the whole adventure must have been frustrated.

The articles, with their amendments, were these :\* "1. The adventurers and planters do agree that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a

\* Hubbard's MS., p. 40 [p. 48 in the printed copy.—H.]. Hazard's Collections, i., 87.



single share. 2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share. 3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership the space of *seven years*, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise, during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the *common stock*, until the division. 4. That at their coming there they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea, employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony. 5. That at the end of the seven years the capital and profits, viz., the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided among the adventurers, if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure—\* 6. Who-

\* Here something seems to be wanting which cannot now be supplied.

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soever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth anything into the stock, shall at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing. 7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person now aged sixteen years and upward a single share in the division; or, if he provide them necessaries, a double share; or, if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division. 8. That such children as now go, and are under ten years of age, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land. 9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or shares at the division, proportionally to the time of their life in the colony. 10. That all such persons as are of the colony are to have meat, drink, and apparel out of the common stock and goods of the said colony."

The difference between the articles as first agreed on and as finally concluded lay in these two points: 1. In the former it was provided that "the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and home-fields, should remain undivided wholly to the planters at the end

of the seven years," but in the latter the houses and lands were to be equally divided. 2. In the former the planters were "allowed two days in the week for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and families, especially such as had them to take care for." In the latter this article was wholly omitted.

On these hard conditions, and with this small encouragement, the pilgrims of Leyden, supported by a pious confidence in the Supreme Disposer of all things, and animated by a fortitude resulting from the steady principles of the religion which they professed, determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence,\* and embark for America.

\* ["Their faith," says Vaughan (i., 438), "knew nothing of chance, nothing of creature power. It filled all places with God; and, regarding all agencies as dependant on him, it induced a fearlessness of man, and of the things that were supposed to be dependant on his favour or his wrath. . . . The elements of nature and the revolutions of time, the pressure of every breeze, and the balancing of every contingency, were, in their apprehension, part of a vast and unalterable apparatus of means, every movement of which was leading to some religious achievement, and was an approach nearer to those great ends in which the Redeemer of the world should obtain his reward and be satisfied. While they meditated on these things, time often disappeared in the vastness of eternity, and the earth, with its transitory interests, faded into vanity before the brightness of a celestial kingdom—an eternal and boundless empire."—H.]

With the proceeds of their own estates, put into a common stock, and the assistance of the merchants, to whom they had mortgaged their labour and trade for seven years, two vessels were provided. One in Holland, of sixty tons, called the Speedwell, commanded by a Captain Reynolds, which was intended to transport some of them to America, and there to remain in their service one year, for fishing and other uses. Another of one hundred and eighty tons, called the Mayflower, was chartered by Mr. Cushman in London, and sent round to Southampton, in Hampshire, whither Mr. Carver went to superintend her equipment. This vessel was commanded by a Captain Jones, and, after discharging her passengers in America, was to return to England. Seven hundred pounds sterling were expended in provisions and stores, and other necessary preparations, and the value of the trading venture which they carried was seventeen hundred pounds. Mr. Weston came from London to Southampton to see them despatched. The Speedwell, with the passengers, having arrived there from Leyden, and the necessary officers being chosen to govern the people and take care of the provisions and stores on the voyage,

both ships, carrying one hundred and twenty passengers, sailed from Southampton on the fifth day of August, 1620.

They had not sailed many leagues down the channel before Reynolds, master of the Speedwell, complained that his vessel was too leaky to proceed.\* Both ships then put in at Dartmouth, where the Speedwell was searched and repaired; and the workmen judged her sufficient for the voyage. On the twenty-first of August they put to sea again, and, having sailed in company about one hundred leagues, Reynolds renewed his complaints against his ship, declaring that, by constant pumping, he could scarcely keep her above water, on which both ships again put back to Plymouth. Another search was made, and, no defect appearing, the leaky condition of the ship was judged to be owing to her general weakness, and she was pronounced unfit for the voyage. About twenty of the passengers went on shore. The others, with their provisions, were received on board the Mayflower, and on the sixth of September the company, consisting of one hundred and one passengers (besides the ship's officers and crew), took their last leave

\* Prince, 71. Morton, 13.

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of England, having consumed a whole month in these vexatious and expensive delays.

The true causes of these misadventures did not then appear. One was, that the Speedwell was overmasted, which error being remedied, the vessel afterward made several safe and profitable voyages. But the principal cause was the deceit of the master and crew, who, having engaged to remain a whole year in the service of the colony, and apprehending hard fare in that employment, were glad of such an excuse to rid themselves of the bargain.

The Mayflower, Jones, proceeded with fair winds in the former part of her voyage, and then met with bad weather and contrary winds, so that for several days no sail could be carried. The ship laboured so much in the sea that one of the main beams sprung, which renewed the fears and distress of the passengers. They had then made about one half of their voyage, and the chief of the company began a consultation with the commander of the ship whether it were better to proceed or to return. But one of the passengers having on board a large iron screw, it was applied to the beam, and forced it into its place. This successful effort determined them to proceed.

No other particulars of this long and tedious voyage are preserved,\* but that the ship being leaky, and the people close stowed, were continually wet; that one young man, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died at sea; and that one child was born, and called *Oceanus*; he was son of Stephen Hopkins.

On the ninth of November, at break of day, they made land, which proved to be the white sandy cliffs of Cape Cod. This landfall being farther northward than they intended, they immediately put about the ship to the southward, and before noon found themselves among shoals and breakers.† Had they pursued their southern course, as the weather was fine, they might, in a few hours more, have found an opening, and passed safely to the westward, agreeably to their original design, which was to go to Hudson's River. But, having been so long at sea, the sight of any land was welcome to women and children; the new danger was formidable; and the eagerness of the passengers to be set on shore was irresistible. These cir-

\* Smith, 230.

† These shoals lie off the southeast extremity of the cape, which was called by Gosnold *Point Care*, by the Dutch and French *Malebarre*, and is now known by the name of *Sandy Point*.

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cumstances, coinciding with the secret views of the master, who had been promised a reward by some agents of the Dutch West India Company if he would not carry them to Hudson's River,\* induced him to put about to the northward. Before night the ship was clear of the danger. The next day they doubled the northern extremity of the cape (Race Point), and, a storm coming on, the ship was brought to anchor in Cape Cod harbour, where she lay perfectly secure from winds and shoals.

This harbour, being in the forty-second degree of north latitude, was without the territory of the South Virginia Company. The charter which these emigrants had received from them of course became useless. Some symptoms of faction, at the same time, appearing among the servants, who had been received on board in England, purporting that when on shore they should be under no government, and that one man would be as good as another,† it was thought proper, by the most judicious persons, to have recourse

\* Of this plot between Jones and the Dutch, Secretary Morton says he had *certain* intelligence.—Memorial, p. 34.

† Mourt's Relation, in Purchas, vol. v., 1843. Prince, 84. Hutch., ii., 456.



to natural law ; and that, before disembarcation, they should enter into an association, and combine themselves in a political body, to be governed by the majority.\* To this they consented ; and, after solemn prayer and thanksgiving, a written instrument being drawn, they subscribed it with their own

\* [The earliest account of the origin of this compact, by Edward Winslow (in Mourt's Relation, Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 205), is this : " This day, before we are come to harbour, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement," &c. It has usually been ascribed to motives more creditable to the body of the planters, and in later days a vast deal of eloquence has been wasted, through inattention to the facts of the case. It may be doubted whether the " symptoms of faction" were confined to " the servants." The instrument of compact, it will be observed, establishes no frame of government. It only settles the doctrines of equality and of the majority ; and they were probably affirmed for their convenience, to secure the power of the orderly and the submission of the evil-disposed, without any foresight of the vast political importance they were afterward to assume. The settlers were no political theorists, and had other matters of more pressing moment to attend to than laws and policies. They elected only one officer, and took no pains to define his powers. The only other reason leading them to the compact that is stated by the early writers, Morton, 37, and Bradford (in Prince, 162), is, that their patent, being designed for another place, was void as to the one where they were. They regarded this arrangement as a temporary one, till a new patent could be obtained (see p. 30 of volume iii.—Hubbard's N. E., 62), and never dreamed of settling natural rights, or establishing eternal principles by it.—H.]

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hands, and by a unanimous vote chose JOHN CARVER their governor for one year.

The instrument was conceived in these terms: "In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour 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 of one 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 and ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James of England, France,

and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620."\*

\* The names of the subscribers are placed in the following order by Secretary Morton; but Mr. Prince, with his usual accuracy, has compared the list with Governor Bradford's MS. History, and added their titles, and the number of each one's family which came over at this time; observing that some left the whole, and others part of their families, either in England or Holland, who came over afterward. He has also been so curious as to note those who brought their wives, marked with a (†), and those who died before the end of the next March, distinguished by an asterism (\*).

Mr. John Carvert . . . . .	8	Mr. Stephen Hopkinst . . . . .	8
Mr. William Bradford† . . . . .	2	*Edward Tilly† . . . . .	4
Mr. Edward Winslow† . . . . .	6	*John Tilly† . . . . .	3
Mr. William Brewatert . . . . .	6	Francis Cook . . . . .	2
Mr. Isaac Allerton† . . . . .	6	*Thomas Rogers . . . . .	2
Capt. Miles Standisht . . . . .	2	*Thomas Tinkert . . . . .	3
John Alden . . . . .	1	*John Ridgdalet . . . . .	2
Mr. Samuel Fuller . . . . .	2	*Edward Fullert . . . . .	3
*Mr. Christopher Martint . . . . .	4	*John Turner . . . . .	3
*Mr. William Mullint . . . . .	5	Francis Eaton† . . . . .	3
*Mr. William White† . . . . .	5	*James Chilton† . . . . .	3
<i>'besides a son born in</i>		*John Crackston . . . . .	2
<i>Cape Cod Harbour, and</i>		John Billington† . . . . .	4
<i>named Peregrine.]</i>		*Moses Fletcher . . . . .	1
Mr. Richard Warren . . . . .	1	*John Goodman . . . . .	1
John Howland [of Car-		*Degory Priest . . . . .	1
ver's family].		*Thomas Williams . . . . .	1
Gilbert Winslow . . . . .	1	*John Allerton . . . . .	1
*Edmund Margeson . . . . .	1	*Thomas English . . . . .	1
Peter Brown . . . . .	1	Edward Dotey } both of	
*Richard Britteridge . . . . .	1	Edward Leister } Stephen	
George Soule [of Edward		Hopkins's family. ———	
Winslow's family].		Total persons . . . . .	101
*Richard Clarke . . . . .	1		
Richard Gardiner . . . . .	1	Of whom were subscribers	41

Government being thus regularly established on a truly republican principle, sixteen armed men were sent on shore, as soon as the weather would permit, to fetch wood and make discoveries.\* They returned at night with a boatload of juniper wood, and made report "that they found the land to be a narrow neck, having the harbour on one side and the ocean on the other; that the ground consisted of sandhills, like the Downs in Holland; that in some places the soil was black earth 'a spit's depth;' that the trees were oak, pine, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, ash, and walnut; that the forest was open and without underwood; that no inhabitants, houses, nor fresh water were to be seen." This account was as much as could be collected in one Saturday's afternoon. The next day they rested.

While they lay in this harbour, which was the space of five weeks, they saw great flocks of sea-fowl and whales every day playing about them. The master and mate, who had been acquainted with the fishery in the northern seas of Europe, supposed that they might in that time have made oil to the value of three or four thousand pounds. It was too

\* Mourt's Relation.

late in the season for cod ; and, indeed, they caught none but small fish near the shore, and shellfish. The margin of the sea was so shallow that they were obliged to wade ashore, and the weather being severe, many of them took colds and coughs, which in the course of the winter proved mortal.

On Monday, the thirteenth of November, the women went ashore under a guard to wash their clothes, and the men were impatient for a farther discovery. The shallop, which had been cut down and stowed between decks, needed repairing, in which seventeen days were employed. While this was doing they proposed that excursions might be made on foot. Much caution was necessary in an enterprise of this kind in a new and savage country. After consultation and preparation, sixteen men were equipped with musket and ammunition, sword and corslet, under the command of Captain Miles Standish, who had William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins,\*

\* [Stephen Hopkins was chosen one of the assistants, from 1633 to 1636.—Farmer's Genealogical Register. He was one in the early expeditions for exploring the bay and country, and accompanied Standish in some of his early interviews with the Indians, and Winslow on his first visit to Massasoit.

“ Stephen Hopkins arrived at Plymouth in 1620. A son of his (Thomas) removed to the colony of Rhode Island. He

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and Edward Tilly\* for his council of war. After many instructions given, they were rather permitted than ordered to go, and the time of their absence was limited to two days.

When they had travelled one mile by the shore they saw five or six of the natives, who, on sight of them, fled. They attempted to pursue, and, lighting on their track, followed them till night; but the thickets through which they had to pass, the weight of their armour, and their debility after a long voyage, made them an unequal match, in point of travelling, to these nimble sons of nature. They rested at length by a spring, which afforded them the first refreshing draught of American water.†

(Thomas) had two sons, Thomas and William. William had Stephen (governor of the colony, and one of the signers of the Declaration of American Independence), Esek (the first commodore, if not the only admiral in the American navy), William, and John. Stephen had four sons, John, Rufus, George, and Sylvanus, and one daughter, Lydia."—The above genealogy, obtained from one of the descendants of Admiral Hopkins, was kindly furnished me by the Hon. William R. Staples, of Providence, R. I.—H.]

\* [Edward Tilly died early in the year 1621.—See the catalogue on p. 308 of this volume. The exploring-party referred to in this sentence set out November 15th.—Prince, 163. Mourt.—H.]

† [Mourt (108) places the finding of the spring on the second, though it may have been the "pond of fresh water" mentioned

The discoveries made in this march were few, but novel and amusing. In one place they found a deer-trap, made by the bending of a young tree to the earth, with a noose under ground covered with acorns. Mr. Bradford's foot was caught in the trap, from which his companions disengaged him, and they were all entertained with the ingenuity of the device. In another place they came to an Indian burying-ground, and in one of the graves they found a mortar, an earthen pot, a bow and arrows, and other implements, all which they very carefully replaced, because they would not be guilty of violating the repositories of the dead. But when they found a cellar, carefully lined with bark and covered with a heap of sand, in which about four bushels of seed-corn in ears were well secured, after reasoning on the morality of the action, they took as much of the corn as they could carry, intending, when they should find the owners, to pay them to their satisfaction. On the third day they arrived, weary and welcome, where the ship lay, and delivered by Morton (40) in the present township of Truro. That it was a welcome discovery we may well imagine. Winslow (in Mourt, l. c.) adds, "we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our only victuals were biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aqua vitæ, so as we were sore athirst."—H.]

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their corn into the common store. The company resolved to keep it for seed, and to pay the natives the full value when they should have opportunity.

When the shallop was repaired and rigged, twenty-four of the company ventured on a second excursion to the same place, to make a farther discovery, having Captain Jones for their commander, with ten of his seamen and the ship's longboat.\* The wind being high and the sea rough, the shallop came to anchor under the land, while part of the company waded on shore from the longboat, and travelled, as they supposed, six or seven miles, having directed the shallop to follow them the next morning. The weather was very cold, with snow, and the people, having no shelter, took such colds as afterward proved fatal to many.

Before noon the next day the shallop took them on board, and sailed to the place which they denominated *Cold Harbour*.† Finding

\* [This party started November 27th.—Prince, 163.—H.]

† Mr. Prince conjectures this place to have been Barnstable Harbour (p. 74). But neither the time nor distance can agree with this conjecture. Barnstable is more than fifty miles from Cape Cod Harbour by land, a distance which they could not have travelled and back again in three short days of November. I rather think, after inquiry of gentlemen well acquainted with



it not navigable for ships, and, consequently, not proper for their residence, after shooting some geese and ducks, which they devoured with "soldiers' stomachs," they went in search of seed-corn. The ground was frozen and covered with snow, but the cellars were known by heaps of sand, and the frozen earth was penetrated with their swords, till they gathered corn to the amount of ten bushels. This fortunate supply, with a quantity of beans preserved in the same manner, they took on the same condition as before; and it is remarked by Governor Bradford that in six months after they paid the owners to their entire satisfaction.\* The acquisition of this corn they always regarded as a particular favour of Divine Providence, without which the colony could not have subsisted.

Captain Jones, in the shallop, went back to the ship with the corn and fifteen of the weakest of the people, intending to send mattocks and spades the next day. The eighteen who remained marched, as they supposed, five or

Cape Cod, that Cold Harbour is the mouth of Paomet Creek, between Truro and Welfleet, and the description given in Mourt's Relation corresponds with this idea. Paomet is a tide-harbour for boats, distant between three and four leagues from the harbour of Cape Cod.—See Collections of Historical Society for 1794, vol. iii., p. 196.

\* Prince, 75.

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six miles into the woods, and, returning another way, discovered a mound of earth, in which they hoped to find more corn. On opening it, nothing appeared but the scull of a man preserved in red earth, the skeleton of an infant, and such arms, utensils, and ornaments as are usually deposited in Indian graves.\* Not far distant were two deserted wigwams, with their furniture and some venison, so ill preserved that even "soldiers' stomachs" could not relish it. On the arrival of the shallop they returned to the ship the first of December. During their absence the wife of William White had been delivered of a son, who, from the circumstances of his birth, was named Peregrine.†

At this time they held a consultation respecting their future settlement.‡ Some

\* Mourt, 1846.

† The following account of him is extracted from the Boston News' Letter of July 31, 1704, being the fifteenth number of the first newspaper printed in New-England: "Marshfield, July 22. Captain *Peregrine White*, of this town, aged eighty-three years and eight months, died here the 20th instant. He was vigorous and of a comely aspect to the last; was the son of William White and Susanna his wife, born on board the *Mayflower*, Captain Jones, commander, in Cape Cod Harbour, November, 1620, the first Englishman born in New-England. Although he was in the former part of his life extravagant, yet he was much reformed in his last years, and died hopefully."

‡ Morton, 42.

thought that Cold Harbour might be a proper place, because, though not deep enough for ships, it might be convenient for boats, and because a valuable fishery for whales and cod might be carried on there. The land was partly cleared of wood and good for corn, as appeared from the seed. It was also likely to be healthful and defensible. But the principal reasons were, that the winter was so far advanced as to prevent coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boats; that the winds were variable, and the storms sudden and violent; that, by cold and wet lodging, the people were much affected with coughs, which, if they should not soon obtain shelter, would prove mortal; that provisions were daily consuming, and the ship must reserve sufficient for the homeward voyage, whatever became of the colony.

Others thought it best to go to a place called Agawam, twenty leagues northward, where they had heard of an excellent harbour, good fishing, and a better soil for planting. To this it was answered that there might possibly be as good a place nearer to them. Robert Coppin, their pilot, who had been here before, assured them that he

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knew of a good harbour and a navigable river not more than eight leagues across the bay to the westward. Upon the whole, they resolved to send the shallop round the shore of the bay on discovery, but not beyond the harbour of which Coppin had informed them.

On Wednesday, the sixth of December, Governor Carver,\* with nine of the principal men, well armed, and the same number of seamen, of which Coppin was one, went out in the shallop. The weather was so cold that the spray of the sea froze on their coats, till they were cased with ice "like coats of iron." They sailed by the eastern shore of the bay, as they judged, six or seven leagues without finding any river or creek. At length they saw "a tongue of land,† being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point; they bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income, or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and two or three in length; but they made right over to the land before them." As they came near the shore, they saw ten or twelve Indians cutting up a grampus, who, on sight of them,

\* [The narrative of this journey is from Mourt.—H.]

† This "tongue of land" is Billingsgate Point, the western shore of Welfleet Harbour.

ran away, carrying pieces of the fish which they had cut. They landed at the distance of a league or more from the grampus with great difficulty, on account of the flat sands. Here they built a barricade, and, placing sentinels, lay down to rest.

The next morning, Thursday, December seventh, they divided themselves into two parties, eight in the shallop, and the rest on shore, to make farther discovery of this place, which they found to be "a bay, without either river or creek coming into it." They gave it the name of *Grampus Bay*, because they saw many fish of that species. They tracked the Indians on the sand, and found a path into the woods, which they followed a great way, till they came to old cornfields and a spacious burying-ground enclosed with pales. They ranged the wood till the close of the day, and then came down to the shore to meet the shallop, which they had not seen since the morning. At high water she put into a creek; and, six men being left on board, two came on shore and lodged with their companions, under cover of a barricade and a guard.

On Friday, December eighth, they rose at five in the morning to be ready to go on

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board at high water. At the dawn of day they were surprised with the war-cry of the natives and a flight of arrows. They immediately seized their arms, and on the first discharge of musketry all the Indians fled but one stout man, who stood three shots behind a tree, and then retired, as they supposed wounded. They took up eighteen arrows, headed either with brass, deer's horns, or birds' claws, which they sent as a present to their friends in England. This unwelcome reception, and the shoal water of the place,\* determined them to seek farther. They sailed along the shore as near as the extensive shoals would permit, but saw no harbour. The weather began to look threatening, and Coppin assured them that they might reach the harbour of which he had some knowledge before night. The wind being southerly, they put themselves before it.† After

\* Morton says, "This is thought to be a place called *Namskeket*" (p. 44). A creek, which now bears the name of *Skakit*, lies between Eastham and Harwich, distant about three or four miles westward from *Nauset*, the seat of a tribe of Indians, who (as they afterward learned) made this attack.\*

† The distance directly across the bay from Skakit is about

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\* Dr. Freeman, in his notes on Mourt's Relation (Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 219), supposes this to be Great Meadow Creek, in Truro.—H.]

some hours it began to rain; the storm increasing, their rudder broke, their mast sprung, and their sails fell overboard. In this piteous plight, steering with two oars, the wind and the flood tide carried them into a cove full of breakers, and, it being dark, they were in danger of being driven on shore. The pilot confessed that he knew not the place; but a stout seaman, who was steering, called to the rowers to put about and row hard. This effort happily brought them out of the cove into a fair sound, and under a point of land where they came safely to anchor. They were divided in their opinions about going on shore; but about midnight, the wind shifting to the northwest, the severity of the cold made a fire necessary. They therefore got on shore, and with some difficulty kindled a fire, and rested in safety.

In the morning they found themselves on a small uninhabited island, within the entrance of a spacious bay.\* Here they stay-

12 leagues; in Prince's Annals it is said they sailed 15 leagues "along the coast," 166.

\* This island has ever since borne the name of *Clark's Island*, from the mate of the ship, the first man who stepped on shore. The cove where they were in danger lies between the Gurnet Head and Saguish Point, at the entrance of Plymouth Bay.

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ed all the next day (Saturday) drying their clothes, cleaning their arms, and repairing, as well as they could, their shallop. The following day, being the Christian Sabbath, they rested.

On Monday, December 11th, they surveyed and sounded the bay, which is described to be "in the shape of a fishhook; a good harbour for shipping, larger than that of Cape Cod; containing two small islands without inhabitants, innumerable store of fowls, different sorts of fish, besides shellfish in abundance. As they marched into the land\* they found cornfields and brooks, and a very good situation for building."† With this joyful news they returned to the company, and on the 16th of December the ship came to anchor in the harbour, with all the passengers, except four who died at Cape Cod.

Having surveyed the land, as well as the season would permit, in three days, they

The rock on which they first stepped ashore at high water is now enclosed with a wharf. The upper part of it has been separated from the lower part, and drawn into the public square of the town of Plymouth, where it is distinguished by the name of *The Forefather's Rock*. The 22d of December (Gregorian style) is regarded by the people of Plymouth as a festival.

† Mourt's Relation in Purchas, v., 1847.



pitched upon a high ground on the southwest side of the bay, which was cleared of wood, and had formerly been planted. Under the south side of it was "a very sweet brook, in the entrance of which the shallop and boats could be secured, and many delicate springs of as good water as could be drank." On the opposite side of the brook was a cleared field, and beyond it a commanding eminence, on which they intended to lay a platform and mount their cannon.

They went immediately to work laying out house-lots and a street; felling, sawing, riving, and carrying timber; and before the end of December, though much interrupted by stormy weather, by the death of two, and the sickness of many of their number, they had erected a storehouse, with a thatched roof, in which their goods were deposited, under a guard. Two rows of houses were begun, and, as fast as they could be covered,\* the people, who were classed into nineteen families, came ashore, and were lodged in them. On Lord's day, the 31st of December, they attended Divine service for the first

\* ["He agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common."—Mourt.—H.]

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time on shore, and named the place PLYMOUTH, partly because this harbour was so called in Captain Smith's map, published three or four years before, and partly in remembrance of the very kind and friendly treatment which they had received from the inhabitants of Plymouth, the last port of their native country from which they sailed.

At this time some of the people lodged on shore and others on board the ship, which lay at the distance of a mile and a half from the town, and, when the tide was out, there could be no communication between them. On the 14th of January, very early in the morning, as Governor Carver and Mr. Bradford lay sick in bed at the storehouse, the thatched roof, by means of a spark, caught on fire and was soon consumed; but, by the timely assistance of the people on shore, the lower part of the building was preserved. Here were deposited their whole stock of ammunition and several loaded guns; but, happily, the fire did not reach them. The fire was seen by the people on board the ship, who could not come on shore till an hour afterward. They were greatly alarmed at the appearance, because two men, who had strolled into the woods, were missing,

and they were apprehensive that the Indians had made an attack on the place. In the evening the strollers found their way home, almost dead with hunger, fatigue, and cold.

The bad weather and severe hardships to which this company were exposed, in a climate much more rigorous than any to which they had ever been accustomed, with the scorbutic habits contracted in their voyage, and by living so long on shipboard, caused a great mortality among them in the winter. Before the month of April nearly one half\* of them died. At some times the number of the sick was so great that not more than six or seven were fit for duty, and these were almost wholly employed in attending the sick. The ship's company was in the same situation, and Captain Jones, though earnestly desirous to get away, was obliged to stay till April, having lost one half of his men.

By the beginning of March the governor was so far recovered of his first illness that

\* The exact bill of mortality, as collected by Mr. Prince, is as follows :

In December . . . 6	Of these, 21 were subscribers to the
In January . . . 8	civil compact,
In February . . . 17	and 23 were women, children,
In March . . . . 13	and servants.
Total . . . 44	44

he was able to walk three miles to visit a large pond which Francis Billington had discovered from the top of a tree on a hill. At first it was supposed to be part of the ocean, but it proved to be the headwater of the brook which runs by the town. It has ever since borne the name of the first discoverer,\* which would otherwise have been forgotten.

Hitherto they had not seen any of the natives at this place.† The mortal pestilence which raged through the country four years before had almost depopulated it. One remarkable circumstance attending this pestilence was not known till after this settlement was made. A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod.‡ The men were saved, with their provisions and goods.§ The natives kept their eye on them till they found an opportunity to kill all but three or four, and divide their goods. The captives were sent from one tribe to another as slaves. One of them learned so much of their language as to tell them that "God was angry with them for their cruelty, and would destroy them and

\* [Still called Billington Sea.—H.]

† See Gorges's Life, p. 57 of this volume.

‡ Mourt in Pur., 1849.

§ Morton, 60.

give their country to another people." They answered that "they were too many for God to kill." He replied that, "if they were ever so many, God had many ways to kill them of which they were then ignorant." When the pestilence came among them (a new disease, probably the yellow fever\*), they remembered the Frenchman's words, and, when the Plymouth settlers arrived at Cape Cod, the few survivors imagined that the other part of his prediction would soon be accomplished. Soon after their arrival, the Indian priests or powows convened, and performed their incantations in a dark swamp three days successively, with a view to curse and destroy the new-comers. Had they known the mortality which raged among them, they would doubtless have rejoiced in the success of their endeavours, and might very easily have taken advantage of their weakness to exterminate them. But none of them were seen till after the sickness had abated, though some tools which had been left in the woods were missing, which they had stolen in the night.

On the sixteenth of March, when the spring was so far advanced as to invite them to make their gardens, a savage came boldly into the

\* See p. 58 of this volume.

place alone, walked through the street to the rendezvous or storehouse, and pronounced the words *Welcome, Englishmen!* His name was Samoset; he belonged to a place distant five days' journey to the eastward, and had learned of the fishermen to speak broken English.

He was received with kindness and hospitality, and he informed them "that, by the late pestilence, and a ferocious war, the number of his countrymen had been so diminished that not more than one in twenty remained; that the spot where they were now seated was called Patukset, and, though formerly populous, yet every human being in it had died of the pestilence." This account was confirmed by the extent of the fields, the number of graves, and the remnants of skeletons lying on the ground.

The account which he gave of himself was, "that he had been absent from home eight moons, part of the time among the Nausets, their nearest neighbours at the southeast, who were about one hundred strong, and more lately among the Wompaneags at the westward, who were about sixty; that he had heard of the attack made on them by the Nausets at Namskeket; that these people were

full of resentment against the Europeans, on account of the perfidy of Hunt, master of an English vessel, who had some years before the pestilence decoyed some of the natives (twenty from Patukset and seven from Nauset) on board his ship, and sold them abroad as slaves;\* that they had killed three English fishermen, besides the Frenchmen afore mentioned, in revenge for this affront. He also gave information of the lost tools, and promised to see them restored, and that he would bring the natives to trade with them."

Samoset being dismissed with a present, returned the next day with five more of the natives, bringing the stolen tools, and a few skins for trade.† They were dismissed with a request to bring more, which they promised in a few days. Samoset feigned himself sick, and remained; but, as his companions did not return at the time, he was sent to inquire the reason.

On the 2<sup>d</sup> he returned, in company with Squanto or Squantum, a native of Patucket, and the only one then living. He was one

\* [This was in 1614.—New-England's Trials, 16. Hunt sold them at Malaga for £20 a head.—Prince, 132.—H.]

† ["But, being the Lord's day, we would not trade, but, entertaining them, bid them come again."—Mourt.—H.]

of the twenty whom Hunt had carried away; he had been sold in Spain, had lived in London with John Slany, merchant, treasurer of the Newfoundland Company; had learned the English language, and came back to his native country with the fishermen.\* These two persons were deputed by the sachem of the Wompaneags, *Mas-sas-o-it*,† whose residence was at Sowams or Pokanoket, on the Narraganset Bay,‡ to announce his coming, and bring some skins as a present. In about an hour the sachem, with his brother *Qua-de-qui-nah*, and his whole force of sixty men, appeared on the hill over against them. Squantum was sent to know his pleasure, and returned with the sachem's request that one of the company should come to him. Edward Winslow immediately went alone, carrying a present in his hand, with the governor's compliments, desiring to see the sachem, and enter on a friendly treaty. Massasoit left Winslow in the custody of his brother, to

\* [Squanto returned with Captain Thomas Dermer in 1619.—Prince, 153.—H.]

† Mr. Prince says that *Mas-sas-o-it* is a word of four syllables, and was so pronounced by the ancient people of Plymouth (p. 101). This remark is confirmed by the manner in which it is spelled in some parts of Mr. Winslow's Narrative, *Ma-sas-o-wat*.

‡ [See Dr. Belknap's note to page 12 of vol. iii.—H.]



whom another present was made, and, taking twenty of his men, unarmed, descended the hill towards the brook, over which lay a log bridge. Captain Miles Standish, at the head of six men, met him at the brook, and escorted him and his train to one of the best houses, where, three or four cushions were placed on a green rug spread over the floor. The governor came in, preceded by a drum and trumpet, the sound of which greatly delighted the Indians. After mutual salutations,\* he entered into conversation with the sachem, which issued in a treaty. The articles were, "1. That neither he nor his should injure any of ours. 2. That if they did, he should send the offender, that *we* might punish him. 3. That if our tools were taken away, he should restore them. 4. That if any *unjustly* warred against him, we would aid him; and if any warred against us, he should aid us.

\* ["Our governor kissing his hand, the king kissed him, and so they sat down."—Mourt, 229. On page 230 of the same, Massachusetts is thus described: "In his person he is a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and sparing of speech; in attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck; and at it, behind his neck, hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank (smoked) and gave us to drink. His face was painted with a sad red like murrey, and oiled both head and face, that he looked greasily. The king had in his bosom, hanging by a string, a great long knife."—H.]

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5. That he should certify his neighbour confederates of this, that they might not wrong us, but be comprised in the conditions of peace. 6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should leave our pieces when we came to them. 7. That in doing thus, King JAMES would esteem him as his friend and ally.”\*

The conference being ended, and the company having been entertained with such refreshments as the place afforded, the sachem returned to his camp. This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Massasoit lived, but was afterward broken by Philip, his successor.

The next day Massasoit sent for some of the English to visit him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went, were kindly received, and treated with groundnuts and tobacco.

The sachem then returned to his headquarters, distant about forty miles; but Squantum

\* [For the events of the first year of the Plymouth colony in New-England, we are much indebted to a work entitled “Mourt’s Journal of a Plantation settled at Plymouth,” written probably by Edward Winslow. It was abridged in Purchas, v., and printed, with notes, in Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 229, seqq.—H.]

and Samoset remained at Plymouth, and instructed the people how to plant their corn, and dress it with herrings, of which an immense quantity came into the brooks. The ground which they planted with corn was twenty acres. They sowed six acres with barley and pease; the former yielded an indifferent crop, but the latter were parched with the heat, and came to nothing.\*

While they were engaged in this labour, in which all were alike employed, on the fifth of April (the day on which the ship sailed for England) Governor Carver came out of the field at noon, complaining of a pain in his head, caused by the heat of the sun. It soon deprived him of his senses, and in a few days put an end to his life, to the great grief of this infant plantation. He was buried with all the honours which could be shown to the memory of a good man by a grateful people. The men were under arms, and fired several volleys over his grave. His affectionate wife, overcome with her loss, survived him but six weeks.

Mr. Carver is represented as a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind.

\* [At a general meeting, March 23d, Mr. Carver was "chosen, or rather confirmed," governor for the ensuing year.—H.]

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He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of sufferings in the service of the colony, who confided in him as their friend and father. Piety, humility, and benevolence were eminent traits in his character, and it is particularly remarked, that in the time of general sickness which befell the colony, and with which he was affected, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending the sick, and performing the most humiliating services for them, without any distinction of persons or characters.

One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years; and about the middle of the present century (1755), he, his son, grandson, and great-grandson were all at the same time at work in the same field, while an infant of the fifth generation was within the house, at Marshfield.

The memory of Governor Carver is still held in esteem; a ship belonging to Plymouth now bears his name, and his broadsword is deposited as a curiosity in the cabinet of the Historical Society at Boston.

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