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THE MAKING OF

VIRGINIA AND THE MIDDLE COLONIES

1578-1701

BOOKS BY SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE

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LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

THE MAKING OF

VIRGINIA AND THE MIDDLE COLONIES

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BY

SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE

"Histories make men wise"—BACON

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1893

Trow Directory
Printing and Bookbinding Company
New York

PREFACE

AS in "The Making of New England," and "The Making of the Great West," this book aims to meet, so far as it may, the want for brief, compact, and handy manuals of the beginnings of our country. And though primarily designed for school or home instruction, in the study of history, pains have been taken to make it of interest to adult readers, more especially to teachers, by the addition of copious explanatory notes, or by reference to first-hand authorities, as aids to fuller investigation.

To so fill out the bare outlines of the school history as to give the pupil something more than the dry bones; to so condense the exhaustive narrative as to put its essence, without loss of vitality, in a few words, are objects that have been kept steadily in view in preparing these volumes. It is not enough to state that, in such or such a year, war broke out between two countries. Every intelligent person demands a reason, and is entitled to it. Many times I have heard teachers giving, or attempting to give, verbal explanations of some obscure statement in the text-book from memory. Not seldom teachers are asked questions in the school-room

that they are unable to answer. A manual, from which short selections might be read, would have satisfied the pupil, and have saved the teacher's credit.

The maps being mostly designed as aids to ready and rapid reference from the text, are unencumbered with anything not expressly treated of therein. And instead of being bound by the strict order of chronology, it has been thought better to follow the development of one colony into another, as in Virginia and Maryland, through its legitimate channels.

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I.

THE ENGLISH IN VIRGINIA

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

"I scorn to change or fear."

ELIZABETH had been twenty years Queen of England before any step was taken toward colonizing America.[1] At that epoch men's minds were more set upon discovery than founding colonies. Indeed, it is known that the Queen herself had a very strong bias that way. The reason is plain. Bold deeds have ever been a stronger spur to human effort than peaceful ones, and thirst for glory more potent than all besides. Men would rather be Columbus in chains than not be Columbus at all, and so it was that the real worth of the New World, either as a source of national wealth or as a home for overcrowded Europe, was lost sight of in the more dazzling scheme of finding a short way to China.

This was where Columbus had failed; this was what the Queen had set her heart upon; and this also was what all the learned geographers[2] of the time were talking about. Whoever should perform this great feat would bring renown to his country, and fame and fortune to himself. But there was something in the way.

Hitherto England had been playing a little, an ignoble part. Instead of taking the lead in voyages of discov-

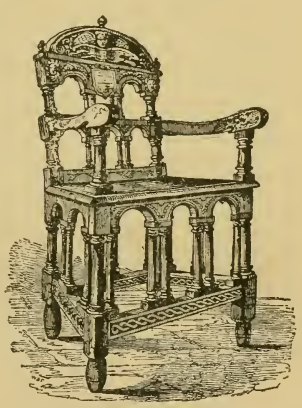
ery, as she might and should have done, her ships and sailors—and hers were the best of both—had turned to plundering the treasure-fleets of Spain. What if high honors were showered on those who followed this base business? Our age looks back in wonder at the morality of that, when the arm of power was raised, not to punish, but to reward, what was piracy then and is piracy now. But no very high moral aims actuated the crowned heads of that day, nor were the people themselves free from a lingering trace of barbarism. Court and people alike exulted over the bringing home of a captured galleon; Drake became the popular idol, and was cheered to the echo whenever he went abroad; even Elizabeth herself was not ashamed to visit his ship, or, if report be true, to share in the ill-gotten plunder; gold silenced all complaints, though we are told that it grieved Drake much because "some prime courtiers refused the gold he offered them as gotten by pyracie." This was Elizabeth's England.[3]

SIR H. GILBERT.

And so we find that, nearly a century after its discov-

ery, the North American continent had been weakly occupied only at its extremities, but by a Spaniard at one, and a Frenchman at the other. As yet all the actual colonizing had been done in Florida and Canada. Drake and Hawkins were busy burning the Spanish settlements at the south, while at the north the French remained unnoticed, possibly because they were not thought worth plundering. There was no gold there.

Through the efforts of a few public-spirited men, who had their country's good more at heart than gain, yet desired glory with honor, there came such a change that, from being most backward, Englishmen suddenly grew most forward in setting forth both discovery and colonization. Must it be told that these ardent champions of their country's glory were left to raise their own colonists, and to fit out their own ships, precisely as the titled buccaneers had been doing? Elizabeth gave gracious permission, and no more. But that was enough. Perhaps national pride had been humbled at seeing Spain and France so much more active in the New World. Perhaps jealousy may have had something to do with bringing about the change, or possibly the time had only just grown ripe for it. In any case, it was thought a shrewd thing to have let the Spaniards and French beat the bush for other men to catch the birds.' That was England's way of looking at it.



CHAIR MADE FROM DRAKE'S SHIP.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was the first Englishman who undertook to bring English colonists to these shores. It was he again who offered to be their leader. In 1578 the Queen granted him a royal charter for six years. It was five before he could get his fleet ready. In vain the Queen tried to turn him from his purpose. His resolve was not to be shaken.[5]

What manner of man was this who could thus brave the displeasure of his royal mistress? Of gentle blood, yet nobler far by nature; neither corsair nor adventurer, yet of lofty courage; he was, perhaps, a little of a dreamer —an enthusiast. In him greatness of mind and greatness of soul were strikingly combined. Take, for instance, this plea of his for the dreaded Arctic voyage: "He is not worthy to live at all that, for fear or danger of death shunneth his country's service, and his own honor, seeing death is inevitable and the fame of virtue immortal." This was Sir Humphrey's creed, and we shall soon see how nobly he lived up to it.

Gilbert's first dream had been of a Northwest Passage. It may well be, therefore, that he still cherished a secret hope of making his colony an aid to that vain search—an outpost whence the better to prosecute it—as he had decided to plant himself on the mainland, next adjoining Newfoundland,[6] where the nearness of that island, then a rendezvous for fishing fleets, promised some support. Yet that alone was a substantial support at need. All this inhospitable coast was then called Norombega.[7] It was therefore for this land, known vaguely through report, that Gilbert set sail with five ships, four of which safely reached Newfoundland. Of this famed island of the sea he then took formal possession in his sovereign's name.

After refitting, Gilbert again set sail for the coast he was fated never to reach alive. His ship foundered in a gale, with all on board, but death had no terrors for him. To the last he nobly sustained the character he himself had set forth—that of a devout Christian soldier. He was last seen, Bible in hand, bidding his terrified com-

FISHING FLEET AT NEWFOUNDLAND.

panions be of good cheer. This was all the word the survivors brought back.

Elizabeth's shrewd remark, that Gilbert was "a man of no good hap by sea," had thus come true, yet there was greater heroism in such a death as his, than in boarding a galleon sword in hand.

So striking an incident hardly could fail of finding its way into verse. Accordingly we find a poet of Gilbert's own time is the first to perpetuate his dying words:

"Heaven is as near from sea, as from the land." [8]

No more fitting epitaph could be found for Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the Father of American Colonization, and its first martyr. All honor be to him for first turning away men's thoughts from buccaneering exploits, to the higher aims of a Christian civilization!

[1] Colonizing America was begun, but not by Englishmen. See what follows.

[2] Geographers had pointed out that, since the discovery of our continent, the problem of a Northwest Passage opened the greatest field for glory.

[3] Elizabeth waged war with Spain, without the name, by permitting her subjects to attack Spanish ports and ships, while the two crowns were nominally at peace.

[4] This figure is used by Sir H. Gilbert in his Discourse, printed in 1576. A copy is in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

[5] See Gilbert's letter to Walsingham (one of Elizabeth's Secretaries of State), giving his reasons why he could not comply with her Majesty's wishes.—*Calendar Br. State Papers*, vol. 159. Raleigh wanted to go with Gilbert, but the Queen positively forbade it.

[6] Newfoundland had been a resort, no one knows how long, for the fishermen of all Europe; but there was no permanent settlement. At the end of the fishing season the island was deserted. Gilbert's voyage is in Hakluyt, vol. iii.

[7] Norombega. See *Making of New England*, of this series, pp. 4, 5, for reference to this name. In the Gilbert grant the country to be occupied is styled "the northerly parts of Atlantis, called *Novus Orbis*."

[8] This line occurs in Fitz-Geffrey's poem on Sir Francis Drake, printed at Oxford, 1596. Longfellow also makes use of it in his verses to Sir H. Gilbert. The original reading is:

"Heaven is as near from sea, as from the land;
What though your country's tomb you could not have?
You sought your country's good, not country's grave."

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

"Fain would I climb, but that I fear to fall."

Though Gilbert had laid down his life, it was not all in vain, as his purpose lived on. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, whom the Queen had forbidden to go on this voyage, now took up the work in something of the same spirit. Though so different in mind, charac-

ter, and purpose, these two men seem to have been bound up together, in a sense, and their work should so stand in history.

At this period Raleigh was rich, powerful, and in high favor with Elizabeth, who had made him, and whom he knew as quickly could unmake him should he dare disobey her, for this haughty princess ruled her court with a rod of iron. No doubt he had been eager to go with Gilbert, but when she said remain, there was no alternative left him but to do as he was bid.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

Raleigh is handed down to us as being a tall, handsome man, with a long face, very high forehead, dark hair, and drooping eyelids.[1] His beard turned up, naturally. His face, on the whole, is what we call intellectual when we mean that nature has set her mark on a man. Though not nobly born he was one of nature's noblemen. By all accounts Raleigh was one of the most distinguished-looking personages of his time. That he was vain, as well as proud, is shown by his going about bedizened with jewels and precious stones, from head to foot.[2] That he was no less sharp-witted than gallant, we know from the story of his having won the Queen's favor by laying down his new velvet cloak at

her feet, so that she might not have to walk in the mire.[3] And that he was aspiring and audacious is evident from the anecdote of his having scratched on a window-pane, with his diamond ring, where the Queen would be sure to see it:

"Fain would I climb, but that I fear to fall,"

to which Elizabeth replied, with her own:

"If thy heart fail thee, then climb not at all."

Men have called Raleigh selfish, ungrateful, untruthful even, but never incapable. His head was full of grand ideas, and he is always at his best when planning or executing some great enterprise. Here he was without a peer. Certainly Raleigh was a many-sided man. He speaks of his youth as a training in the arts of a gentleman and a soldier. At seventeen he was fighting for the Protestant cause in France; at thirty he was one of the first gentlemen of the realm. One time he is foremost in all the follies of the court; again he is found seeking the seclusion of his study. What strange contradictions, we say. Yet this is human nature; this was Raleigh.

In his closet Raleigh became a poet, historian, philosopher. And he could "toil terribly," as his writings show to this day. We wonder, and wonder again, at the inconsistencies of his character, yet through all we see cropping out the strong desire to be a benefactor to his race, and that is something we can and do admire in spite of all his failings. Americans will ever honor the name of Raleigh. He was no Gilbert. Gilbert's was the truer, the nobler type of heroism, yet Raleigh was one of the sort of men who make the world move on—

who are born, not made. He knew every rope in a ship; he knew exactly how to provide for a voyage; he could call to his aid the men most experienced in seafaring life. Finally, he obtained a new charter, in his own name, in place of Gilbert's old one, and this done, he was ready for the great effort of his life.

[1] "Sour-eye-lidded." For personal description see Aubrey's *Corresp.*, vol. ii., Part ii., p. 500.

[2] See *Notes* to Scott's *Kenilworth*. When Raleigh was arrested, 1618, his pockets were found full of diamonds and precious stones, hurriedly removed from his dress.

[3] The incident of the cloak is made use of by Scott in *Kenilworth*. Fuller is the original authority for this, as well as the succeeding anecdote of the diamond ring. True or not, they reflect the prevailing opinion of Raleigh at any rate.

RALEIGH'S FIRST EXPEDITION, 1584.

"Ask the Wingandicoa savages,
They can relate of Grinvile and his deeds."
—Old Ballad.

Raleigh's first step was to look up a suitable situation for a colony. To this end he fitted out two vessels, and on April 27, 1584, Captains Barlow and Amidas[1] sailed out of the Thames. Instead of following in Gilbert's track, they steered the old southerly course, first sailed by Columbus, the sooner to get sight of known landmarks, as it seems they were to begin their search from the southward.[2]

Thus, the Canaries were sighted May 10th, and the West Indies, June 10th; and July 2d they were on soundings off the Florida coast, breathing in with delight the perfumed breezes borne off to them from that land of flowers. But they knew that the Spaniards claimed all that country, and so kept off for some more northerly and safer haven.

In two days more they saw before them the low sands of the Carolina coast, girt with foam. All were now on the alert for open water and a harbor. Finally, they saw an inlet through which they sailed into the narrow seas that trench this coast about. Here they anchored.

They first landed upon an uninhabited island,[3] very

LANDING ON THE ISLAND.

sandy and low, but fruitful, it seemed, for wild grapes hung in thick clusters all along the water's edge. After taking formal possession, first in the Queen's name, and then in Raleigh's, they began exploring this island, finding many trees that were new to them, such as the famous Southern pine, since become so great a source of wealth to North Carolina ; and every now and then fir-

ing off their muskets, like frolicsome schoolboys, just to see the great flocks of cranes rise screaming in the air. Like charmed men they wandered up and down, until the low sun warned them that it was time to go on board their ships again.

Not till the third day did they see any human being. On that day three savages cautiously approached them in a canoe. After some coaxing one even ventured on board. When they gave him meat to eat, and a shirt and hat to cover his nakedness, he was so delighted that he presently brought them a boatload of fish to show his gratitude.

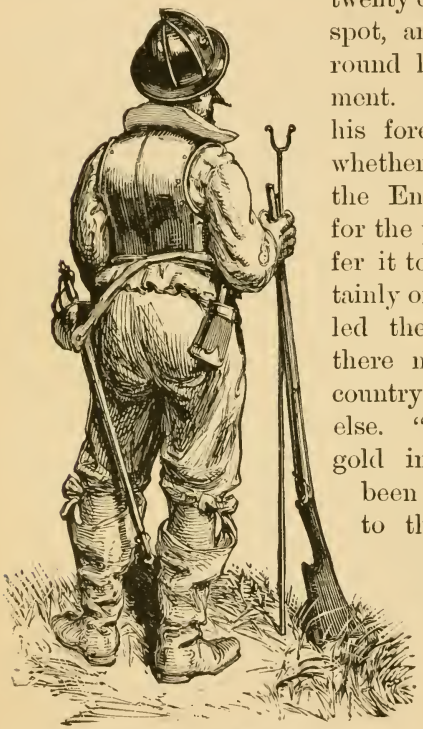
"Surely," said they, "here are peace and plenty."

Next day forty or fifty more natives came to see this wonderful canoe and its bearded men with white faces. The English went to meet them armed and watchful, though the chief of the band often stroked his head and breast in sign of friendship; and though they could converse only by signs, like deaf and dumb men, distrust soon wore off, and then these simple savages, who stood but little above brutes in the eyes of the white men, soon showed themselves by no means wanting in all true hospitality.

This chief, who was brother to the king of that country, was treated by his followers with the greatest respect, none presuming either to sit or speak in his presence without permission. His absolute rule was known in still another way. All showed a more than childish eagerness for the trinkets offered them, but whatever was given to one of his men the chief instantly took away, making signs that all must be his and his alone.

The Indians now came almost daily to the island, bringing with them skins, coral, or other articles to barter

for what the whites would part with. A brisk trade of this sort soon sprung up, by which the Englishmen were the chief gainers. For instance, Granganimeo's eyes were so charmed by a bright tin-dish that he gave twenty deer-skins for it on the spot, and forthwith hung it round his neck as an ornament. This chief wore on his forehead a broad plate, whether of copper or gold the English could not tell, for the prince would not suffer it to be touched, but certainly one or the other. This led the explorers to think there might be gold in the country, and to think of little else. "Find out if there be gold in the country," had been Raleigh's last orders to them. Was not all Europe ringing with the fame of Mexico and Peru?[4]



MUSKETEER, SETTLEMENT PERIOD.

"Gold, yellow, glittering, precious gold," could then lure men to the ends of the earth, as it since has to California and Australia. And quest for gold finally brought Raleigh's proud head to the block.

The Indians seemed to set great store by the seed pearls they wore on their persons, but the English craf-

tily refused to sell their arms for pearls, hoping to find out where they could be had by pretending not to care for them. They saw canoes that would carry twenty men, with paddles made concave, like a modern racing scull, showing that something may be learned even from a savage.

On their part, the Indians were not wholly ignorant of the white race beyond the sea; for Barlow heard from them that a ship, of what nation could not be learned, had been cast away six-and-twenty years before, over against Wococon, on the mainland, called Secotan. The survivors got to Wococon, but what became of them could not be learned.

LORD AND LADY, SECOTAN.

These people called their country Wyngandicoa. The men were tall, stout fellows; the women short, but well formed and comely. Their hair was let grow long, like the whites, but the men's was worn long only on one side, which made them look very odd indeed. The wives of the chiefs wore great strings of seed-pearls, as big as peas, dangling from their ears down to their waists. One of these was secured for Sir Walter Raleigh.

After receiving these visits, Captain Barlow went to see Granganimeo's town, situated at the north end of Roanoke Island,[5] where he and his men met with a most friendly reception. It was only a little village, counting

in all but nine poor cabins, built of cedar and surrounded by a stockade, with some corn-fields near by, yet it served to give the strangers a good idea of how easily those people lived, how few were their needs, and what their means of defence.

Full of what they had seen, the explorers now set sail for England, where they arrived about the middle of September, bringing with them two natives, Wanchese and Manteo, in proof that they had won the confidence of the people. Well might Barlow say "We found the people void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the Golden Age."

So far as can be judged, from their accounts, the explorers had only praise for this new region. But then they had only seen it at its best. They had found a temperate climate, a friendly people, woods and waters alive with game and fish; yet the one needful thing they had not found, and that was a good, safe harbor; nor had they taken time to test the accuracy of their first impressions. The truth of these could only be known by actual trial. This was now vigorously set on foot.

[1] ARTHUR BARLOW and Philip Amidas. To the former we owe the only record of this voyage; Hakluyt, III. Amidas was probably a foreigner.

[2] A DUE WESTERLY course would have carried them to Virginia sooner than to the West Indies, so saving many lives and much food. This West India course was long a stumbling-block to colonizing Virginia. Barlow thought that the Gulf Stream would be dead against him, so he actually doubled the distance to take advantage of its current. So did after-comers.

[3] UNINHABITED ISLAND, supposed to be Wococon. Barlow made it twenty miles long and six broad. Some say Ocracoke, some Portsmouth. On the earliest maps Croatan is placed next south of Hatorask, Wococon next. The explorers probably passed through Ocracoke Inlet into Pamlico Sound. North Carolina has thus the distinction of having been first visited by Raleigh's men, a fact perpetuated in the name of its capital, Raleigh.

[4] MINES of gold or silver were the chief inducements to all adventurers in the New World. All other resources were held cheap, in comparison.

[5] ROANOKE was a kind of wampum, or shell money.

FIRST COLONY AT ROANOKE, 1585-86.

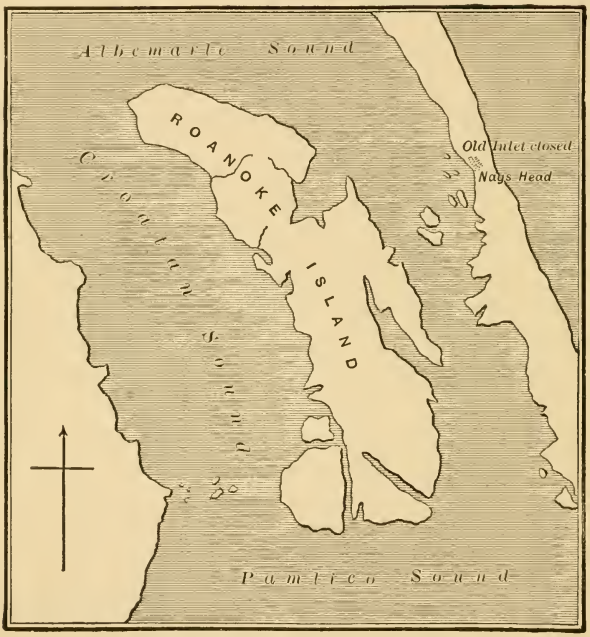
THE glowing reports brought back by his captains decided Raleigh to begin a settlement in earnest. His fame rose higher than ever; and as he had given to his Queen a new country, she, it is said, now gave it the name of Virginia,[1] for herself, the "eternal maiden queen." Raleigh had his arms newly cut, with the legend "Lord and Governor of Virginia." Thus does Virginia stand as a memorial of England's greatest monarch. Never had country more pleasing name, or princess a more noble namesake.

By the next April seven ships, with one hundred and eight colonists were ready for sea. Raleigh gave Sir Richard Grenville,[2] a valiant sea-captain, command over the fleet, and Ralph Lane,[3] a soldier of fortune, charge over the colony, when it should have landed.

If ever man deserved success Raleigh did, for he spared neither himself nor his purse. Certainly, this colony was well equipped. Besides Captain Amidas, who was now going out to Virginia again, and Manteo, the Indian, who went back too, Raleigh sent out John White,[4] a clever artist, and Thomas Hariot,[5] a capable mathematician, to survey and study the country, make maps and drawings, mix with and observe the people, and so be able to give a full account of all they saw. The fleet was of good strength to resist the Spaniards, if they attacked it—and England and Spain were now nearly at sword's points—besides being ably commanded. As for the emigrants themselves, they were, perhaps, not the best in the world, yet in sufficient numbers for a beginning. They were no true colonists if they did not load

themselves with much useless trumpery. In short, Raleigh so threw himself into this effort that in seven short months after Barlow's return his colony was ready to hoist sail and away.

Grenville weighed from Plymouth in April, 1585,



ROANOKE ISLAND AND APPROACHES.

touched at the West Indies in May, and sighted the Florida coast June 20th. Just escaping shipwreck at Cape Fear,[6] the fleet cast anchor at Wococon on the 26th, after a voyage of eighty days from port to port.

Before deciding where to settle, an exploring party went over to the mainland, and travelled as far south as the Indian village of Secotan, where they met with good

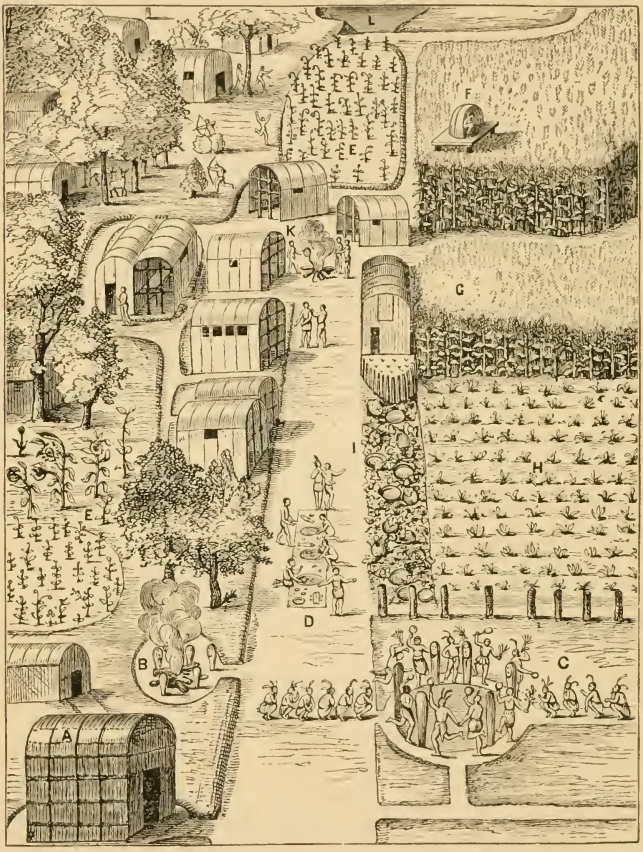
treatment from the people. But because a silver cup had been stolen from them, the explorers cruelly revenged it by setting fire to a village, on their return, so sowing an enmity for which the colonists afterward paid dear. This was the Spaniards' way of dealing with the Indians, and a very short-sighted way it proved. Raleigh was wiser, for he had strictly charged his captains by all means to gain the good-will of the Indians; but they thought they knew better than he, if indeed they gave the matter a thought beyond that of chastising the Indians in a way they would not soon forget. And the Indians did not forget, we may be certain.

The northeast corner of Roanoke Island was finally chosen for a site, very possibly because it commanded the passages leading through into the great sounds, east and west, besides being safer from attack, and more easily defended than a site on the mainland, where they would be only a handful against thousands. So here they set to work. This being settled, Grenville sailed for England, and Lane took charge as directed.

These people were rather gold-seekers than colonists, in any true sense, for upon Barlow's report Raleigh believed gold would be found among the natives here, as in Mexico. He therefore charged Lane to look for it. So, like De Soto before him, Lane forthwith set to work hunting for riches before he had even found a way to live, without aid, at Roanoke.

After building a fort, one exploring party went north as far as a tribe calling themselves Chesepiacs,[8] living about the great bay of Virginia; while another went up Albemarle Sound, to its head, and into both the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers, which fall into it, finding people everywhere, but no gold or silver.

Lured on by idle tales, told to trap him to his ruin, and especially of a passage by this river to the great



INDIAN VILLAGE (HARIOT).

South Sea, Lane rowed up the Roanoke in search of it.[9] As he advanced the Indians abandoned their towns, hid

their corn, and fled before him, thus showing they could practise that kind of warfare as well as civilized nations. In three days' travel Lane did not see an Indian or find a grain of corn. After toiling on against the current a hundred and sixty miles, but two days' food remained. Sensible, at last, that he had come on a fool's errand, Lane left it to his men to say whether they would go on or not. One and all chose to persevere, even if they should have to kill and eat their dogs. So for two days more they tugged at the oar, when, as night was closing round them, the loud blast of a horn, instantly followed by a flight of arrows, brought them to a standstill. The assailants fled, but the explorers having already "come to their dogges porridge," as they say, now thought best to make all haste back to Roanoke, empty-handed as they came.

So long as the Indians could be depended upon to furnish them with food the settlers gave little thought to the morrow. But there came a day when this stay failed them. Of all their mistakes this was the worst, since it led them to neglect providing against what proved their greatest enemy and final ruin. Wingina had indeed given them ground to plant, but they found it hard to live till harvest-time. They describe their situation as like that of the horse starving in the stable with the grass growing outside, as the proverb has it.

For some time the island Indians had shown themselves bad neighbors; and though they refrained from open enmity, they were shrewd enough to see that without their help the wasteful whites would soon come to want. In other words, it would be easier to starve them out than drive them off. So indeed it fell out, as victuals soon ran so low in the settlement that Lane had to

scatter his men abroad to live as they could, though he knew they would be more easily cut off.

But in this time of danger and distress, help came in a most unlooked-for way. The Indians were attacked by a deadly sickness, which exceedingly terrified them, the more because they believed the whites had sent it upon them in revenge for withholding food, through the agency of some kind of charm or witchcraft. All Indians were firm believers in the power of an Evil as well as a Good Spirit, to whom their soothsayer, or medicine-man, offered up prayers—to one to spare them from sickness, famine, or trouble; to the other of thanksgiving for health, plenty, or success in war. This medicine-man was consulted in all matters of importance, as the ancients consulted their oracles, and whatever he said usually guided their actions.

INDIAN CONJUROR.

For a season the Indians were thus kept in awe, but not long after one of them divulged a plot to kill the English, one and all. Wingina, the head chief, was to give the signal by striking the first blow. Lane spoiled this plan by falling upon the island Indians himself, and scattering them before they could put it in execution. Then crossing over to the main, where a still larger force was assembled, he also put these to rout with his

death-dealing musketry. By these bold acts the colonists were saved from destruction, though every Indian was now a declared enemy.

Matters were, however, every day growing worse. Between them and all hope of rescue rolled the wide ocean. On one side was death by starvation; on the other, death by violence. But as food must be had, at all risks, only strong parties could go out in search of it among the sands of the sea-shore or in the waters of the inlets. Strict watch was also kept for passing ships.

While encamped on a neighboring island one of these foraging parties saw a great fleet crowding all sail for this shore. Thinking they were Spaniards coming to attack the settlement, the watchers hastened to give the alarm there. It proved, however, to be no Spaniard, but Sir Francis Drake,[10] whom the Queen had charged to call at Virginia, in order to give the colony any aid it might be in want of; and never was aid more welcome, we may be sure.

Drake generously offered either to take off the colonists, or if they preferred to stay, to leave them victuals and a ship, till they could receive further help from home. Lane at first decided to remain, but the courage of the colonists failed them at the pinch, and all finally embarked on Drake's ships.

Hardly had they left the coast when a supply-ship hove in sight of Hatteras. After making a vain search for the colony, she sailed home again. Only a fortnight later Grenville himself arrived with three ships. Finding Roanoke deserted, he left a few men to hold it till relief should reach them. So perished this colony, when help was almost within its grasp. If Lane could have held out just a little longer, perhaps Raleigh's efforts

might not have gone for naught. But it seemed fated that one colony should rise only on the ruins of its predecessor.

[1] It is not clear whether Elizabeth or Raleigh proposed this name.

[2] Sir Richard Grenville stood, with Drake and Hawkins, in the front rank of naval heroes. He had helped Raleigh about his patent, and to fit out Barlow. An iron soldier, better fitted for war than the council.

[3] Ralph Lane had seen much service in the wars. If conquest only had been aimed at, he was the very man for the purpose; for peaceful employments he was less fitted.

[4] John White's Drawings are in the British Museum (Sloane Collection). Some were engraved for De Bry's Voyages, a rare work, printed in Dutch in 1590.

[5] Thomas Hariot was a pensioner of Raleigh's, not as a needy dependant, but according to the custom of the time, when great men kept little courts of their own. Hariot printed "A Briefe and True Report of Virginia," London, 1588.

[6] Cape Fear is named thus early, but whether by these colonists is not clear. The account says: "The 23d of June we were in great danger of a wreck on a breach called the Cape of Feare." Some think this was Cape Lookout.

[7] Roanoke Island is mostly low, marshy ground. It was the scene of a severe battle between the Union and Confederate forces in 1862. Lane calls it "My Lord Admiral's Island," referring to Grenville.

[8] Chesepiacs or Chesapeakes, Captain Smith says, were seated on a stream of that name, emptying into the great bay, which took its name from this people. But on White's map they are placed just inside of Cape Henry. Lane extols the country highly.

[9] Lane's views are thus given in his own words: "The discovery of a gold mine, or a passage to the South Sea, or some way to it, and nothing else, can bring this country in request to be inhabited by our nation." Hakluyt, iii., 316.

[10] Drake was on his way home from a raraud in the West Indies, and had just burned St. Augustine, Fla.

TOBACCO.[1]

"Tobacco is the worst of things, which they
To English landlords as their tribute pay."— Waller.

In general, it is the white man who has carried his vices among savage races, to their ruin. In the case of tobacco, the world owes its use, not to civilized man, but to the untutored savage.

According to Camden, tobacco was first brought to

England by the Roanoke colonists, in Drake's ships. Probably those ignorant settlers little thought that this unregarded weed, which they had learned to smoke from the Indians, would prove the life of the colony at last, and one of the great commodities of a great country.

TOBACCO PLANT.

That both Raleigh and Drake smoked tobacco is well known. When Hariot wrote, not only men, but "women of great calling," had taken up the habit. Two anecdotes of Raleigh's use of this fragrant weed have come down to us from his own time. One runs that, as Raleigh one day sat quietly smoking his pipe, his servant entered the room with a flagon of spiced ale, and, aghast at seeing smoke issuing from his master's mouth, as if he were on fire, instantly dashed the contents of the flagon in his face. The other story has more point, if not greater probability. Being in conversation with the queen, Raleigh asserted that he could exactly tell the weight of the smoke in every pipe of tobacco he burned. The

queen at once laid a wager of twenty angels that he could not. Raleigh first carefully weighed a pipeful of tobacco, and, after he had finished smoking it, then as carefully weighed the ashes. "Your majesty cannot deny," said he, "that the difference hath gone up in smoke."

It is sad to think that tobacco may have been Raleigh's chief solace for all his failures in Virginia. Four venerable yew-trees, under whose shade he is said to have smoked his first pipe, are still pointed out at Youghal, Ireland. A few steps farther on is the spot where the first Irish potato was planted by him. Of this invaluable gift from the New World to the Old, Heine[2] quaintly said: "Luther shook Germany to its foundation, but Drake pacified it again; he gave us the potato."

[1] Tobacco, the name, is supposed to have been first given by Hernandez de Toledo, who first sent it to Spain and Portugal about 1560. The generic name, "nicotiana," comes from Jean Nicot, ambassador of Francis II., in Portugal, who brought some tobacco from Lisbon and gave it to the queen. Catherine de Medicis, as a valuable herb. Some think the name tobacco is derived from Tabaco, a province of Yucatan, where the Spaniards first found it; others derive it from the island of Tobago; and Humboldt says it belongs to the ancient language of St. Domingo. When Raleigh brought it from Virginia, fields of it were already growing in Portugal. The "juice of cursed hebanon," by which, according to Shakespeare, the King of Denmark was poisoned, is supposed to have been the essential oil of tobacco:

"Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole,
With juice of cursed hebanon in a vial,
And in the porches of mine ear did pour
That leperous distilment."

[2] Heine, Heinrich, German poet, is here quoted.

SECOND COLONY AT ROANOKE, 1587.

We may be sure that Raleigh called his servants to a strict account for letting his colony fall to pieces. Men commonly lay the blame of their failures upon everything but themselves. Yet it was not so now with Lane

or Hariot, for they praised Virginia just as highly as ever. The fault, then, was not with the country. Most men would have given up the whole thing at once, but difficulties seem only to have strengthened Raleigh's purpose to succeed. So he at once set about fitting out a still larger expedition, over which he put John White as governor.

Raleigh planned this colony with more form than before, by naming twelve men who were to be White's advisers, and together be a corporation, like that of a city. He furthermore directed White to look up a situation in Chesapeake Bay, as the Carolina coast was condemned by all sea captains, who had been there, on account of its shallow waters and unsafe harbors.

Instead of sending out only men, as before, of the one hundred and fifty settlers who went at this time, seventeen were women. There was wisdom in this step, as it had been found that men soon grew discontented and homesick without companions of the other sex. To such as were married the new country became a home, instead of a place of exile from home. Then, too, the colonists were to have some share in ruling themselves. So, in this colony, we see some beginning toward planting the seed of a commonwealth; whereas Lane had merely commanded a sort of military post.

Reaching Hatteras[1] July 2d, White went on shore to look for the men Grenville had left. When he came to the fort no living thing was to be seen. Some few houses were still standing, but weeds grew rank and tall about them, and both they and the fort were fast going to decay. As the newcomers searched here and there, they came across the bones of a man bleaching among the grass. The sad story was easily read in these perishing

HARIOT'S MAP OF VIRGINIA, 1588.

relics. The forlorn hope had either been all slain or driven off the island. And nothing more was ever heard of them.[2]

A strange chance led White's people again to this doomed spot, where their comrades had so miserably perished. Against his orders—and it would seem also against his own judgment—White was persuaded to resettle Roanoke. So the old houses were repaired. But the colonists soon had reason to repent this decision, for within a few days one of their chief men was found by the shore riddled with arrows. What they had sowed, the English were now reaping. It was they who now sued for peace. An embassy was sent to conciliate the Croatan Indians, their next neighbors. This was effected through their old friend and ally, Manteo, who on many occasions served them well and faithfully. It is well to keep this treaty in mind, as it would seem to account for what happened later on.

Unfortunately, these colonists, too, seem to have thought that blood called for blood. A party therefore crossed over to the mainland, where their most implacable enemies dwelt, and in the darkness of night fell upon those they found there, who proved, after all, to be their new-made allies from Croatan, the real offenders having made good their escape.

It was now plain that the great body of Indians would use every possible means to destroy them, never engaging in open conflict, but, by harassing them day and night, force them out of the country.

One bright spot shone out through the dark clouds around them, though we know not whether it was hailed with more joy or sorrow. This was the birth of a daughter to Eleanor Dare. She was christened Virginia, as

seemed most fitting for the first-born child sprung from the soil.

By and by want began to be felt in the colony. Contrary to his own wishes, it seemed best that the governor himself should go to England in order to lay its condition and needs before Raleigh. White therefore sailed the last of August, reaching England in November, after a very long voyage.

But now the dreaded Spanish invasion hung over all England like a storm-cloud. The whole island was up in arms. And when every Englishman was called to defend his own fireside, we may be sure few would be found to listen to appeals for succoring poor Virginia. If England fell, Virginia would be but a mouthful for the Spaniard. Yet in April, 1588, Raleigh sent White back with two small relief vessels, though both returned, stripped and crippled, when life and death depended on their haste.

Raleigh had now sunk forty thousand pounds in his Virginia schemes. Even he seems to have despaired at last. In March, 1589, he therefore assigned his rights to Sir Thomas Smith and others, who strangely delayed sending out relief for a whole year.[3] When at last it did arrive, not a soul was found alive at Roanoke. The colonists had vanished ; the place was a solitude. From the rank growth that had sprung up in its midst it seemed to have been long deserted ; how long, no one could guess. Yet there was proof that some had escaped ; for what they could not carry off, the fugitives had buried, and White found some of his own chests lying where they had since been dug up and rifled of their contents, probably by prowling savages.

After close search the word CROATAN was discovered

cut on a post of the fort, evidently as a token to those who might come after. For Croatan the rescuers accordingly made sail; but never to reach it, for, beaten back by winds and waves, they gave over the search, and sailed away without more tidings of the lost colony.

[1] HATTERAS is mentioned in the earliest English accounts. It was therefore among the first localities to be known by its Indian name.

[2] Grenville's men are thought to have fled to Hatteras after being surprised by the natives, in revenge for Wingina's death. The Indians feigned ignorance of what had become of them.

[3] There was a tradition among the Croatan tribe that these colonists became incorporated with it, and went with it when it left the coast, first to follow the course of the Roanoke, and next across to some point on the Neuse. The colonists of 1608 heard of them, and tried in vain to rescue them. They were probably held as captives and removed inland as a precaution against their escape. Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, of Johns Hopkins University, thinks their descendants are still to be found in North Carolina.

INDIAN WORSHIP.

Master Hariot tells some curious things about the religion of these Virginia Indians. He says that they believed in one great supreme Creator, who, in turn, made other gods to serve him; that woman was created before man; that the soul of man was immortal, and went either to eternal happiness or to a bottomless gulf filled with endless flames, according as he had lived a good or bad life. To prove this, the Indians told Hariot a story, which was a tradition among them, of two men who, after being dead and buried, had come to life again, each one bringing back strange tidings from the other world.

After the first lay in the ground a whole day, the earth over him being seen to move, he was taken up alive. He told his wondering friends that he was near going to the bottomless pit, when one of the gods took pity on him, and gave him leave to go back to his people again, and teach them how to live so as to avoid such torments. The other man, taken up like the first after burial, said that, though his body was dead, he had travelled far in a long, broad way, where, on both sides, there grew more wondrous great trees and juicy fruits than he had ever seen before. Coming at last to a most exceeding fair house, he met his own father, long since dead, who gave him a solemn charge to return among his kindred, and show them how, by doing good, they might inherit all these blessings.

Thus these ignorant savages had their belief in the return of the Son of Man; only he was not a divine being, though divinely inspired.

Hariot tried to make them understand the white men's belief in the one ever-living God. He first showed them his compasses, telescopes, books, and manuscripts, with all of which they were wonder-struck. Having tried to reach their ignorant minds by means of these things, as so many proofs of what Christianity had done for his race, and could do for them if they would but listen, he then showed them his Bible as the most precious thing of all, seeing it was God's own Word.

Conceiving this to be all the secret of the white men's superiority, the Indians would eagerly crowd round to touch, or kiss, or hug the sacred volume; and some would even rub their bodies with it, as if they thought its virtues could be thus imparted to them like that of the loadstone to the dull iron.

But all Englishmen were not Hariots. On the contrary, it was the policy of the colonists, as of those who sent them, to make themselves appear to the Indians as superior beings: not simply men, but favorites of heaven, whom it was vain to think of harming.

VIRGINIA REVIVED.

Twelve years went by before any further step was taken to colonize Virginia. Most people thought it a foolish, if not criminal, waste of time, money, and human life. A few—and they, fortunately, were men of high purpose—still clung to the idea; but they had not yet got over their defeat.

Raleigh, however, had by no means lost all hope of finding his colony. In 1602 he sent one vessel to Vir-

ginia, which did nothing. Another, which belonged to him, but which either sailed without leave or disobeyed his orders, struck the New England coast,[1] where a cargo of cedar and sassafras wood, both then valuable commodities in England, was secured. This ship carried out a few colonists, who, however, soon lost heart and went home. Her master was Bartholomew Gosnold,[2] an experienced sailor, who will presently be heard of again.

JAMES I.

This voyage, with that of Pring in 1603, and still more that of Weymouth in 1605,[3] did much toward putting new life into colonization, as all went to prove that at whatever point the Virginian coast was struck it held out the same wonderful promise. Enough could not be said in praise of it.

But with the new century great changes had come in. Elizabeth was now dead, and James I. was King of England. Drake was dead, Hawkins and Grenville were dead, Raleigh lying under sentence of death. With them died that romantic heroism which so long had defied the might of Spain. It really seemed when Elizabeth breathed her last as if the spirit of her age passed with it.

James was known as "the wisest fool in Europe," the "crowned buffoon," and perhaps by other equally uncomplimentary titles. It so happened, however, that

while Elizabeth, great as she was, only gave to Virginia a name, James, fool or no fool, gave her a place in history.

Following close upon Weymouth's voyage, some of the first men in England determined to take up the lifeless Virginia enterprise again. All were men of mark; some had had a little experience; and one was chief justice of the realm.[4] In 1606 the king licensed them to begin two colonies, each to run a hundred miles on the coast, and as much more inland, but not to be settled within a hundred miles of the other.[5] The first colony became better known as the London Company, and the second as the Plymouth Company, from the places where the members mostly resided; though neither name has any legal sanction. As both owed their life to one and the same charter, they were to all intents one. The London Company was to follow up the old attempts; the Plymouth Company would begin entirely anew.

These colonies were to be governed, first, by a supreme body in England, called the Council for Virginia; and, secondly, by a local council in the colony, subject to the first. As the controlling body was appointed by the king, he thus held all power in his own hands.[6] And, save the natural right all men have alike of defending their lives or property if attacked, little power remained with the colonists themselves. In the language of our day, the company was a joint-stock concern. Those who put in money were called adventurers; those who went out at the company's cost were to be fed and lodged until they should have worked out the debt.

To induce emigration, the company did just what men do now when it is desired to boom an enterprise. Truth was made to fit the object in view. They overpraised

the country. They said that men could live there without labor. They hinted at gold as a thing not valued there. England was swarming with vagabonds, who would not work when at home, and who asked for nothing better than to go and pick up gold in the streets of the New World. The rich and timid were appealed to for aid to rid the cities of this dangerous class—to make Virginia the dumping-ground of the realm. Even the poet Drayton [7] wrote verses in praise of the good cause, of which this is a specimen :

> "Cheerfully at sea
> Success you still entice
> To get the pearl and gold,
> And ours to hold,
> Virginia, earth's only paradise."

But there were skeptics, too, who did not fail to turn into ridicule all these fables about untold wealth. In the play of "Eastward Hoe," [8] brought out at this time, *Scapethrift* is made to say : "But is there such treasure there, Captain, as I have heard ?" And *Seagull*, who is supposed to have made the Virginia voyage, replies : "I tell thee, gold is more plentiful there than copper with us. . . . And for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holy days and gather them by the seashore."

Of the one hundred and forty-three emigrants whom the company got together, the greater part were, by all accounts, fit for anything but colonists. The company took, however, such as offered, good or bad, with seeming indifference.[9] Just as men, good for nothing else, are said to be food for powder, just so the refuse and outcasts of society were sent to die in Virginia. As one lot were mowed down by disease, another and another

were sent to take their places. The results speak for themselves.

An obstacle now appeared to the company. The Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, protested that these people had no right to settle in Virginia. That belonged solely to the subjects of Spain. Though James was now currying favor with Spain, he declined to interfere. The colonists could go at their own risk. He would neither own nor disown them. This course is a ready clew to James's real character. He was not brave, like Elizabeth. He was only a common despot, not a great one, like her. Fortunately, Spain had been too much crippled to think of making war at this time, though her will was good to have served these colonists as she had served the French in Florida.

Now and here died Spain's extravagant pretensions to own all the New World. Had she been able to make them good, she would have done so now. Not to do so was to confess defeat. From that day forth Spain watched and waited, but dared not strike.

Late in December three vessels sailed for Virginia in command of Captain Christopher Newport.[10] He carried sealed orders, not to be opened till Virginia should be reached, giving the names of the first council and their instructions.[11] Their authority would then begin and his own cease.

By sailing in winter the colonists should have had a long season before them in which to get settled in their new home, yet, by taking the old route, so much time was wasted that the Virginia coast was not sighted till April 26th. Not less than two good months had thus been lost. Food for all that time had been spent to no purpose. The colony was thus the loser by just so

much lost time, labor, and victuals. We must not lose sight of this fact, for time was money then as always.

Their first land-fall was named Cape Henry, in honor of the Crown Prince of England. Without knowing it, Newport was standing into Chesapeake Bay. Accident had thus led them to the place that Raleigh had destined White's ill-fated colony for. By chance they now held

ENTRANCE TO CHESAPEAKE BAY.

the great gate leading into the very heart of their grant from the crown. After setting up a cross here [12] with due ceremony, search began for a suitable place to moor their ships and land their goods in. They had been told to look for a site far enough up some navigable river to be out of danger from passing marauders.

Not finding what they were seeking on that side of the bay, they crossed over to a point of land opposite, where deep water ran close to the shore. This discovery put

them in such spirits that they immediately called that place Cape Comfort. Next day the ships were brought up to it; and here they met with some Indians, with whom Captain Newport made friends, and by whom he was feasted till he could eat no more at their village of Kecoughtan,[13] near by, pipes and tobacco being handed round after meat, while the Indians danced for him.

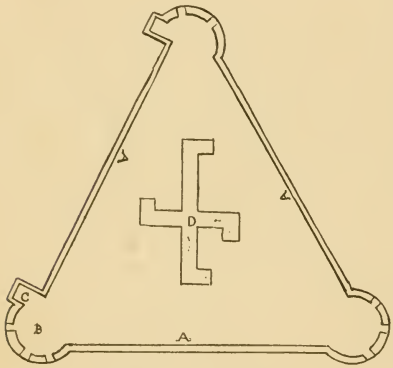
Finding himself at the mouth of a great river, Newport set about exploring it. In one of their excursions, an exploring party broke in upon some wandering savages who were busy roasting native oysters on the coals, but who fled at sight of the white men. The explorers brought sharp appetites, the oysters were done to a turn, so a hearty meal was made at the expense of the savages. In this chance way was this delicious and valuable shell-fish first discovered to the whites, who little thought it would one day become a source of greater wealth to them[14] than the gold they were so eager to find.

After spending some time in exploring the river; in paying ceremonious visits to various chieftains, who were not over-friendly at first, but who showed the whites a sort of rude courtesy, notwithstanding their long speeches fell on dull ears—choice was made of a point of land projecting out into the river from the east bank, where ships could be moored to the cypress-trees growing at the water's edge and thrusting their snake-like roots into the fat ooze of the bottom. More important still, the Indians could be shut out on the land side by merely stretching a stockade across the point, at the base, so that two quite important considerations were thus provided for. It is true that it was not just such a spot as they were directed to find; but time was slipping away, and all were

no doubt impatient to get settled somewhere, and this seemed, on the whole, the best place they had so far seen.

Here, then, on the fourteenth day of May, 1607, they fell to work building their fort, first called by them James Fort, then Jamestown. Here was laid the corner-stone of the American nation, and this was its birthday.

The peninsula lying between the York and James Rivers was thus the first ground to be explored and settled. It has the further distinction of being the battle-ground on which the colonists, led by a Virginia general, finally won their independence as a nation.



FORT AT JAMESTOWN.

While most of the colonists were employed about the fort, a party went up the river as far as the falls, where the city of Richmond now stands. Thus far into the land they found that the tide ebbed and flowed. Here they raised a second cross, as if the country, in which they travelled only by consent of the savages, were already theirs. They called this noble river the James.

On the fifteenth of June, James Fort was completed. Its form was a triangle, with half-moon or crescent-shaped outworks at each of the angles, on which guns were mounted. The base fronted the land side. This done, Captain Newport sailed for home, according to the

tenor of his orders, leaving Jamestown but scantily provisioned against his return, which he promised would be in twenty weeks at most.

By Newport the council wrote home their first letter. It is dated "at Jamestown in Virginia, June 22, 1607." In it they say: "We are set down eighty miles within a river, for breadth, sweetness of water, length navigable up into the country, deep and bold channel so stored with sturgeon and other sweet fish as no man's fortune hath ever possessed the like. . . . Within seven weeks we are fortified well against the Indians. We have some good store of wheat; we have sent you a taste of clapboard; built some houses; spared some hands to a discovery; our easiest and richest commodity being sassafras." Of this wood they shipped home about two tons by Newport, besides the clapboard mentioned in their letter. Here, at last, seemed fair promise of success.

Their civil government being settled beforehand, it only remains to speak of the religious, and we shall then have done with the outward or formal make-up of this colony.

When these people sailed, the Puritans were making some head against the Established Church of England, and were being persecuted. Worship according to the State church was therefore prescribed by the Virginia charter, no other being permitted. That church, therefore, took early and deep root in the colony as part and parcel of its very being, and long distinguished it among the sister colonies, some of which were as strongly Puritan. A minister, Rev. Mr. Hunt, came out with these colonists, whom he served well and faithfully.

[1] The N. E. coast was struck in Massachusetts Bay. See *The Making of New England*, pp. 8–19, for an account of this voyage.

[2] Bartholomew Gosnold commanded one of the ships of Newport's fleet; he was also one of the council.

[3] Weymouth's Voyage led to the

choice of the Kennebec for the Second Colony's plantation. This also is treated of in *The Making of New England*, p. 30.

[4] This was Sir John Popham, who became chiefly interested in the Northern Colony, referred to in Note 3.

[5] The First Colony was to choose between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of north latitude; the second between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees.

[6] See the Charter in *Charters and Constitutions*, compiled by B. P. Poore. Washington, 1878.

[7] Michael Drayton was poet-laureate of England.

[8] "Eastward Hoe," written by Chapman and Marston, assisted by Ben Jonson, all of whom were put in prison for casting some slur on the Scots in the play.

[9] Virginia was long looked upon as the asylum for men who left their country for their country's good, or whose pride or folly drove them abroad in search of means to repair their broken fortunes. Better could not be obtained in the beginning, as hope of gain was the animating principle with all, high or low. The first colonists may be properly classed as adventurers.

[10] Newport's Part in this colonial work is remembered in the name of Newport News.

[11] The Names were Edward Maria Wingfield, John Smith, John Martin, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Ratcliffe, and George Kendall. Wingfield was chosen president by the rest.

[12] Setting up Crosses with the arms of the reigning sovereign attached was considered evidence of possession, as against all later comers as if the king had put his own seal upon the country. Cape Charles was named at about this time, from the other prince of the royal family.

[13] Kecoughtan is the same as Hampton.

[14] The Virginia Oyster industry is chiefly carried on to-day in this very section of the James River, notably at Norfolk.

INDIAN ARCHERY.

Of all primitive peoples the bow has ever been the favorite weapon. Yet none have ever been more skilled in its use than the American Indians. Their bows were made of tough hazel, strung with leathern thongs; their arrows of stout reeds or hazel wood, cut nearly four feet long, headed with sharp stones or horn, and feathered in a most skilful manner. The case or quiver containing the arrows was slung across the right shoulder, so that the archer could draw forth a fresh arrow as fast as one was shot off.

Their manner of attack was to creep upon their enemy

on all-fours, carrying their bows between their teeth. When they were come near enough to do execution, they fitted their arrows, leaped to their feet, and quickly let fly at their mark, which was seldom missed; then they as quickly dropped out of sight again.

Arrows made of reeds with stone points did not at first seem very dangerous things. At the same time, however, the English, who vaunted their own weapons so highly, were carrying the same round targets, made of tough bull's hide, and the identical spears, to which only the new name of pikes had been given, as the ancient Greeks had carried centuries before. By many a sharp lesson did they come to know the efficacy of a well-aimed Indian arrow.

One day, when the fort was thronged with Indians, they were asked to show their skill with the bow. An English target was set up for them to shoot at. The colonists crowded round to witness the sport, one and all expecting to see the arrows strike and fall harmlessly off the shield to the ground. A warrior stood forth, carefully chose an arrow from his quiver, bent his bow strongly, and sent his arrow a foot through the target, to the wonder of all the beholders. Trickery was then resorted to, and a steel target put in place of the first. Of course, the arrow of the unsuspicious Indian was shivered in pieces. Upon seeing that they had been making sport of him, he ran off in a great rage.

For hand-to-hand fighting the Indians also carried heavy wooden war-swords, set at the edges with sharp stones. In the hands of those who knew how to use them these clumsy-looking weapons could inflict worse wounds than the keen-edged swords of the English.

Often, while making boat excursions, the explorers

would be shot at from the banks. They soon learned, therefore, to cover themselves, by placing a row of targets round the bows of their boats, after the manner of the ancient Greeks and Norsemen, behind which they took shelter. Frequently, too, to cheat the Indians in regard to their numbers, the English would set up sticks, with hats on them, between the targets. The guns of that day were but clumsy affairs at best, yet such was the fear of them that one man with a gun could easily hold twenty Indians at bay.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIFE, 1608-10.

After hearing of all this plenty it is amazing to read that by August the colonists were in actual want, and by September starving. Again, as in Lane's time, they were depending upon the Indians to feed them against Newport's return. They had, indeed, planted some corn, but the harvest could not be gathered till harvest-time. When what they brought with them was gone, want stared them in the face. Added to this they were now to learn that they had chosen an unhealthy place; but it was too late to remedy that mistake.

Newport left one hundred and four persons at Jamestown. In three months there were but sixty. Bad water, bad food (and not enough of that), bad lodgings, with standing guard night and day, brought on dysentery, dropsy, and malarial fevers. The contagion baffled the skill of Thomas Wotton, their surgeon. Three and even four died every day, and, under cover of the night, were dragged out of the pest-smitten fort to a hasty

burial in unmarked graves. In August, Gosnold, the adventurous sailor to New England, fell a victim to the scourge. Things went from bad to worse. Famine aggravated the suffering, and fear did the rest. Men drooped and died in their wretched hovels, untended and uncared for. Alarms from without could not rouse the sufferers from their despair. Master Percy[1] tells us that, at one time, not five well men could be mustered to man the fort.

CAPTAIN SMITH.

There was yet one among them whose spirit was proof against even all this misery. This was Captain John Smith,[2] who, thus far, had been slighted through envy or dislike, but who now showed himself the man for the crisis. As he was no courtier, his affairs did not speed in prosperous times. As he was fearless and outspoken, he made many enemies. But he had met with many a rude experience in other lands, and was not the sort of man to give up in despair now. Men have called him vain, self-glorifying, a braggart. If he was a braggart, he was a brave one. If conceited, we must allow him some reason to be so. Censure may assail, but can never blot out what Smith did for Virginia. What we know is that destruction menaced the colony. Smith saved it. And this will be in all time his ample vindication.

If, in this time of sore distress, the Indians had not been brought to aid them, by fair means or foul, it is doubtful if one of the colonists would have been left to tell the tale. They knew there was plenty of corn

DEPOSITION OF WINGFIELD.

among the Indians, yet those people now held aloof from them, and mocked their distress, hoping thus to rid the country of them. Smith was determined not to starve if food could be had. His way was to buy corn if he could; if he could not buy it, to take it by force: but

to get it at all risks. If this conduct seems wrong, it may be said that starving men are seldom nice moralists, and that self-preservation is the first law of nature; but among the proverbs of Solomon there is one which says: "He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him; but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it."

To make matters worse, in their misery the colonists fell to quarrelling among themselves. Suspecting that Wingfield[3] was planning to desert them, they now deposed him, and put Ratcliffe, an indolent man, in his place. One man was hanged for mutiny. Discontent is not to be wondered at in men who believed themselves abandoned. Like sailors in a sinking ship, they could hardly be brought to exert themselves for their own safety.

Ratcliffe willingly turned over to Smith the task of feeding the colony. Kecoughtan was nearest, the need pressing, so to Kecoughtan Smith went. When he first spoke with the Indians there, they mocked him with offers of a handful of corn for the swords and guns of his six or seven men. Smith then landed and drove them pell-mell from their village; beat them off when they tried to retake it, and finally put their great, hideous idol to ransom, for as much corn as he could carry away in his boat. Turning back to the Chickahominy,[4] Smith met with equal success there. His decision had averted the threatened famine.

Smith's next venture was less fortunate. While exploring far up the Chickahominy River this winter, he was attacked, two of his men killed, and he himself taken, after making a brave defence. His captors straightway led him in triumph before Powhatan, who, after keeping

him some time at Werowocomoco,[5] very honorably set him at liberty. Smith's own story of his release is more romantic. He says that he was first condemned to die but at the moment when the executioner's club was lifted

POWHATAN HELD THIS STATE AND FASHION WHEN CAPTAIN SMITH WAS DELIVERED TO HIM PRISONER, 1607.

to strike, Pocahontas, the king's twelve-year-old daughter, threw herself upon his body, so saving his life.

Whether this story be true or not, it is certain that from this hour Pocahontas became the fast friend of the English ; and many a time did she bring food to Jamestown, or secretly warn the settlers against her father's

treachery; for with winter want came again, and Powhatan was at best a faithless ally. Thus, starvation was kept off until Newport's return, in the winter, with supplies. He also brought out some colonists, who had scarcely landed when a fire broke out, by which all the buildings in the fort, including the storehouse, and all in it, were consumed. This was a heavy calamity to bear with all the rest. Newport's arrival, however, put some life into the enfeebled settlers, to whom this disaster might otherwise have been as a death-blow. Most of them lost what little they possessed. Master Hunt, their preacher, whose good words had often stilled their quarrels, lost all his books. Some wrote home to England, begging for cast-off clothing from their friends.

Having restored order, Newport went with Smith, first to Powhatan's village, and then to his brother Opecancanough's,[6] to trade for corn, in which errand they had good success. Newport then sailed for England, leaving the colony much better off than he had found it, and in much better spirits, too, since his coming showed that the company had not forgotten it.

Shortly after, the ship Phœnix came in with more colonists, making a hundred or more in both ships. Smith spent most of this summer of 1608 in exploring the noble Potomac,[7] thus greatly enlarging the colony's resources for trade. At his return he found the settlers in revolt again, on account of Ratcliffe's bad management, to which they would no longer submit. So Ratcliffe was removed, and Smith became president. Later on he discovered the Susquehanna River,[8] making friends with the powerful people who dwelt on its banks, though Smith's report of their stature surely smacks of exaggeration.

Again Newport sailed into the James, with supplies,

and seventy more people, among whom were a gentlewoman and her maid, the first to come over to this colony. Not long after, Anne Burras, the maid, was married to John Laydon. We may be sure this first marriage was an eventful day to the colonists. So far the company had denied them the society of women. So far they were treated not as men, but more as soldiers sent to occupy an enemy's country.

ENGLISH GENTLEWOMAN, 1626.

Newport also brought a basin, ewer, bed, and crown for Powhatan, from the council in England, who made much of securing his friendship, and thought to do it with gifts or flattery, or both. So, by their command, Newport went through with the farce of crowning the savage; though no entreaty could make him kneel down to receive the crown, nor could he help shaking with fright when a volley was fired in his honor. Smith thought it all a piece of folly. Crowning Powhatan did not make him any more a king, or less a savage, or break his resolve to destroy the English if he could. They had sought to cheat him by pretending that they were come only as gold-seekers, traders, or sojourners, not as settlers; so suspecting falsehood, the old king gave them craft for craft. It may well be questioned whether he ever made any proper use of the ewer and basin.

The council also ordered Newport to find a lump of gold, a way to the South Sea, or Raleigh's lost colonists. They had tasted tobacco and hoped to find gold. He

failed to do either, after much searching, so that bubble was burst at last.

The company had now sent over about three hundred colonists. It had received next to nothing in return. The plan of government had led to anarchy, anarchy to wasted effort. The Virginia voyage, as it was generally spoken of, had grown decidedly unpopular. Those who had been sent home for bad behavior, or had stowed themselves away in returning ships, explained that what with Indians, fevers, and famines, Virginia was not fit for Christians, though for savages it might be. Those again who had put in money were either angry or disgusted at receiving no returns. In fact, the props of the colony were tottering to their fall.

The sagacious men in the company saw their mistakes. To remedy them it was decided to begin wholly anew. To this end a new charter[9] was asked for and obtained, granting far more ample privileges than the old in every way. The boundaries were extended to two hundred miles north and south of Point Comfort, so as to take in the newly discovered countries. Under this grant, too, the colonist was something better than a bond-servant, which was about what he had been under the old. He was to be better governed. One able and absolute governor was to reside in the colony. There was to be now but one council, namely, in England, which should appoint all colonial officers. The king gave up his former exclusive control over this council to those whose means were invested in the enterprise. So far there was decided reform.

Lord Delaware,[10] a distinguished nobleman, was made governor. Men of mark put their hands to the work. Moneys were solicited from the great London corpora-

tions or guilds. Appeals were made to the idle people of the cities to go out to Virginia and begin life over again. All the old arguments, and some that were new, were brought to bear to induce emigration. The state approved these measures because they promised to relieve it of a restless, and therefore dangerous, class. The cities were only too willing to get rid of their vagabonds. So in every quarter there was seen combined and energetic action, even if selfish interests did control it in a measure.

By these means five hundred emigrants were obtained. As Lord Delaware could not go with them at present, Sir Thomas Gates was sent out to be acting governor in his stead, with Sir George Somers as admiral, and Captain Newport as vice-admiral of the fleet. As they could not agree as to who should have precedence, all three embarked in the same ship. This novel way of settling their disputes came near ruining the whole enterprise, as we shall soon see.

To meet the old difficulty, arising from the length and danger of the passage out, Captain Argall [11] was also despatched in a smaller ship to make trial of a shorter way across the Atlantic. In nine weeks this ship brought news to Jamestown of the solid relief that was coming. Captain Smith kept her till the expected fleet should arrive.

At this time Smith's vigorous, yet just, way of dealing with the Indians had so far removed all fear of them that one party of settlers was living at the oyster banks, another at Point Comfort, and still another at the Falls, near a hundred miles from Jamestown, in perfect security.

Meanwhile the fleet put to sea. One vessel carried

twenty women and children. Another took out six mares and two horses. One of the smallest, the little Virginia, had been built in the North Colony, in what is now the State of Maine, had crossed the Atlantic safely, and was now on her way back to the land of her birth, the happy herald of shipbuilding in these colonies.

BUILDING THE PINNACE.

A hurricane scattered the fleet. On the 11th of August four ships got into James River. Two more came in later, partly dismasted. One sank at sea, and the one which, by a strange chance, carried all three leaders, was driven upon the Bermudas.[12] Here, out of the wreck of their ship, they built two small barks, in which, after a ten months' detention, they set sail afresh for Virginia, with one hundred and forty men, women, and children on board.

The arrival of the bulk of the colonists, without their

chiefs, proved a misfortune rather than a benefit, as the newcomers would neither acknowledge any other head nor be ruled by the old settlers. Smith was discouraged. His bitter enemy Ratcliffe had now come back. To cap the climax, Smith himself was disabled by an accident, which compelled his return to England. In him the colony lost an active, intelligent, and resolute leader, whose knowledge of Indian character had held those uncivilized beings firmly in check. At his going, Percy was left in charge.

Utter lawlessness ensued. Want and sickness carried off the new arrivals by scores. Those who strayed abroad were cut off by the savages, who grew bolder every day. Ratcliffe, with thirty men, was thus decoyed, and all were slain, by Powhatan's men.

This was the condition of affairs at Jamestown when, in May, 1610, one whole year after leaving England, Gates and Somers arrived there. Of four hundred colonists, no more than sixty were alive. Gates were thrown down, ports flung open, houses in ruins. Even the palisade had been burned for firewood. In a word, the whole new emigration, save those now brought by Gates, had melted away.

Instead of receiving aid and comfort from the colony, the newcomers were now called upon to give both. Fortunately, they had stored their two pinnaces with salted hog's-flesh, for their own use. But this would not last longer than sixteen days. Most reluctantly, for we have seen that they were not the men to give up while a ray of hope remained, Gates and Somers decided to break up the colony. In their joy at the thought of getting away from this doomed spot, some of the colonists would have set the town on fire, if not prevented, and sailed

away by the light of its flames. Perhaps we get our most striking impression of what the colony had suffered from the fact that three little pinnaces could carry off the whole of what it had taken so many ships to bring.

But Virginia was not to be thus deserted after all. While these things were taking place up the river, Lord Delaware himself had just cast anchor at Point Comfort with three ships. The colonists kept an outpost on shore there to watch for coming ships. From its officer Lord Delaware heard what had happened above. "Much cold comfort," he calls it. He instantly sent his long-boat to stop the pinnaces. They were met and turned back at Mulberry Island, and that same night anchored again at Jamestown.

[1] MASTER GEORGE PERCY'S "Discourse" is in Hakluyt, III.

[2] CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S reputation for veracity has been assailed; and some writers have not hesitated to discredit him, even while admitting the story of Pocahontas to their pages. I find much of his own story of his colonial work supported by other authorities. My own conclusion is that of all those who wrote of Virginia, at that day, Smith carried the most practical common sense in his head.

[3] WINGFIELD was suspected of a design to seize their pinnace, and make off with it to Newfoundland.

[4] THE CHICKAHOMINY waters the middle and upper sections of the Virginia peninsula. It has become celebrated as the line of military operations 1862–64. It enters the James at Dancing Point, about eight miles above Jamestown. so-called from a certain ghostly tradition current among river men.

[5] WEROWOCOMOCO, variously spelled, was situated on the Pamunkey, now York, River.

[6] OPECANCANOUGH'S country lay along the Chickahominy.

[7] THE POTOMAC gets its name from the nation inhabiting its banks. It is uncertain just how far Smith ascended it.

[8] THE SUSQUEHANNA is similarly named. Smith described the people as giants, dressed in the skins of wild beasts, and armed with French hatchets, which must have come from Canada.

[9] FOR CHARTER OF 1609, refer to Poore's "Charters and Constitutions."

[10] LORD DELAWARE'S name became permanently attached to the bay, river, and colony next north of the Chesapeake. See Delaware.

[11] SAMUEL ARGALL, subsequently governor of Virginia, is the same person who broke up the French settlements at Mt. Desert, Me., in 1613; who kidnapped Pocahontas, and did many other bold and lawless acts, for which he has been justly censured.

[12] THE BERMUDAS, so called from John de Bermudas, came later within the Virginia charter, and hence were sometimes called Virginiola, or Little Virginia. Sir Thomas Gates's shipwreck is thought to have given Shakespeare the idea of his play "The Tempest" (1611),

in which the "still-vex'd Bermoothes" are referred to. From Sir George Somers, who died at the islands, they took the name of Somers' Islands, but the old name was gradually resumed. Their value, as a vantage-ground from which to annoy the Spaniards was quickly perceived. In 1612 the Virginia Company sold the islands to a colony.

THE ERA OF PROGRESS, 1610-24.

"Mother of states, and unpolluted men."—Lowell.

Speaking of the bad news that met him at his arrival, Lord Delaware said: "If it had not been accompanied with the most happie news of Sir Thomas Gates, his arrival, it had binne sufficient to have brooke my hart."

He found Jamestown in a most wretched state. The colonists had killed and eaten all their live stock, even to the horses; the country round had been swept clean; the Indians were hostile; and gaunt want seemed stalking only one step behind them.

For the first time, perhaps, he clearly realized the greatness of the task before him. But there he was at the post of duty, with the hopes of the company resting upon his wisdom and strength of character. Could he shrink from it like a craven? All power was given him. He could be a despot, or he could be a mild, yet firm, ruler.

But order is no less the first law of men, than of nature. The new governor set everyone to work. To husband his own stock of oatmeal and peas the river was daily dragged for fish. Somers, "the good old gentleman," went back to the Bermudas for a cargo of live hogs, which had once before saved the lives of his companions. Two small forts, named Henry and Charles,

after the two princes, were begun at Point Comfort, and ground was broken to plant there, under their protection. Martial law was put in force. The code was severe, but was, perhaps, none too strict for men whom Delaware says no punishment could keep "from their habitual impieties or terrify from a shameful death."

LOWER JAMES SETTLEMENTS.

Though cast down at first, as we have seen, Lord Delaware's first report to England was, on the whole, favorable. Gates and Newport arrived there in September, with the first news of the wreck at the Bermudas. Gates, too, like all who knew Virginia truly, urged the company not to relax its efforts.

Lord Delaware wrote home what Smith had written before him, almost his very words. It had been well if better heed had been paid to his advice. They would not settle this country, he told them, without "men of quality, and painstaking men of arts and practices, chosen out and sent into the business." The company could only plead its want of

money to get them. In a word, money was the prime lever of this as of every enterprise.

Within the year the governor fell sick, and had to return to England. Meantime, Sir Thomas Dale, who had been in the service of the Netherlands, and now had leave of absence to go to Virginia, was fitted out with three ships, carrying three hundred men, and some kine and goats, and domestic fowls. Dale was called Knight-Marshal, by which we understand he was to have the military command under Lord Delaware. In his absence Dale became the head of the colony. He found the colonists fallen into their old ways. Nobody worked. Jamestown was become a fool's paradise again, where no thought was taken beyond the wants or pastimes of the hour.

Dale's energy soon restored order. Looking at things as a military man would, he was full of projects for subduing the Indians, and so making it safe to plant other settlements abroad, instead of living cooped up, as they now did, in one or two forts. To this end he proposed the sending over of all the criminals then lying under sentence of death in the jails of England. This would be equivalent to turning Virginia into a penal colony.

In August Sir Thomas Gates followed Dale out with three hundred more settlers, as governor. With good reason the leaders had long been dissatisfied with Jamestown, and Dale had been looking up a better site to remove to. This was found at a point some fifty miles higher up, on the same side as Jamestown, since known as Dutch Gap.[1] The most important step yet taken by the colony itself was now begun. With three hundred and fifty picked men, Sir Thomas Gates made a settle-

ment there, to which he gave the name of Henrico,[2] in honor of Prince Henry. In this river, at least, the reigning family had been most liberally remembered.

Some of Gates's men were veteran soldiers from Flanders, who were much relied on, should the Spaniards pay the colony a visit, as there was reason to fear, from the fact that three Spanish spies had been taken at Point Comfort. By looking at the map, it will, at once be seen that, at Henrico, the colonists might easily bar the river to an enemy's shipping, because at that point the James nearly doubles on itself. It was, therefore, strong by nature against a fleet, and Gates soon made it strong against the Indians, by a stout palisade.

In this vicinity a group of flourishing settlements presently arose. About Christmas time Dale crossed over to the Appomattox country, drove off the Indians, and settled another plantation between the Appomattox and James, called New Bermudas, after the islands just annexed to Virginia by the charter of 1612.

All these settlements may be looked upon as military encampments. Lands obtained by force could only be held by force. A day of reckoning was sure to come whenever the Indians felt strong enough to try to recover their own again. And they were now but biding their time.

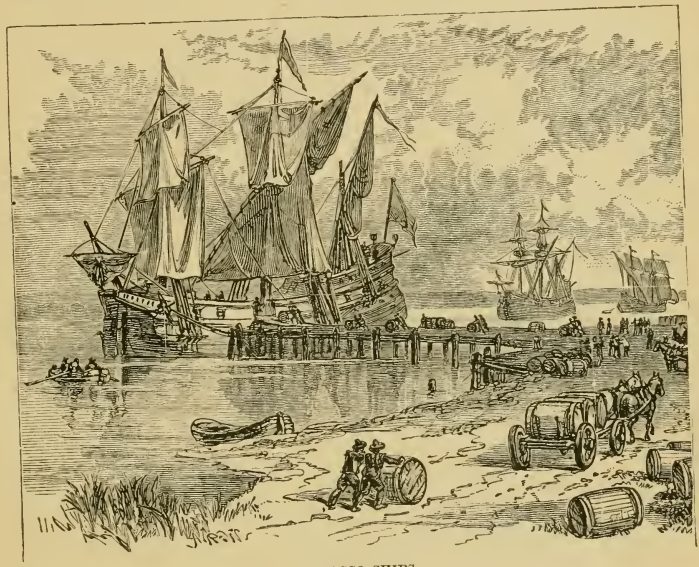
Powhatan's enmity now received an effectual check. This subtle savage was as bold and defiant as ever, and just as treacherous. When the English were weak he was ready to assail them ; when strong he could be artful and temporizing ; but the English found there would be no true peace with him unless they could devise some means to get him in their power, or, at least, get such a hold upon him as would be a pledge for his good faith.

In Argall the colonists had a crafty and unscrupulous tool, who speedily brought Powhatan to terms. It was done in this way. Argall heard that the princess Pocahontas was visiting the king of Potomac. He instantly laid a plan to carry her off as a hostage for Powhatan's good behavior. By means of promises or threats the king of Potomac's brother[3] lent himself to the plot. Pocahontas was easily enticed on board Argall's vessel, only to find herself a prisoner.

POCAHONTAS.

The English kept Pocahontas for a year. Meantime, Powhatan tried to redeem her by sending back some captives, but the English knew her value too well, and would not give her up. At the end of the year she willingly took upon herself other bonds to be the Englishmen's life-long friend, by making their God her God, and their people her people. She had been converted, and she had been wooed for a wife. She was first baptized by the name of Rebecca, and then married to Master John Rolfe,[4] a young Englishman, with whom she went to live at Henrico, or, to be more precise, at Varina.[5]

In truth, as Pocahontas had never been other than a friend to the English, to kidnap her seems but a poor way of requiting the many favors she had done them; yet, as it may be that the colonists believed it to be a matter of life and death with them, we hear of no voice



TOBACCO SHIPS.

raised against it—so far as Powhatan was concerned there was peace.

Seeing these things come to pass the warlike Chickahominies also sued for peace. Gates then went back to England, leaving Dale in sole command. It had been found that the cod-fishery to the north of Cape Cod was better than Virginia would afford. While on a voyage there Argall broke up a French settlement at Mount Desert Island. Dale sent him back to complete his

work by destroying Port Royal, another French settlement of some years' standing, situated in what was then called Acadia, but now better known as Nova Scotia.

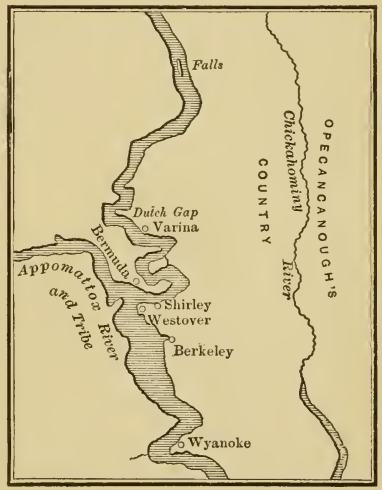
Up to this time little is heard of tobacco, though we know that more or less must have been sent home, because the importation of it was denounced in 1614, in the House of Commons, for pretty much the same reasons as it has been ever since, namely, as tending to bad and extravagant habits.

We may now look at Virginia a moment as she appeared to unfriendly eyes, in short, to a Spaniard. Don Diego Molina[6] was one of those Spaniards who had been taken prisoners. In spite of the close watch kept upon him, he seems to have found means to send his employers a report upon the state of the colony in the year 1613. "Last year," he begins, "there were seven hundred people here, and only half remain, because the hard work and scant food kills them and increases their discontent, seeing themselves treated like slaves, with great cruelty. Hence, a good many have gone to the Indians, who have killed some; others have gone out to sea, being sent out to fish, and those who remain do so by force."

Having described the colonists, Molina goes on to describe the settlements: "At the entrance (to the river) there is a fort ten hands high, with twenty-five soldiers and four iron guns. Half a league from here there is another, but smaller, with fifteen soldiers, without artillery. There is still another smaller one, all of which are inland, half a league off, against the Indians." Don Diego contemptuously adds that these forts (one at Point Comfort and two at Hampton) were such paltry affairs that a kick would level them with the ground.

"Twenty leagues higher up," he continues, "is this

colony (Jamestown) with one hundred and fifty persons and six guns. Twenty leagues higher is another, to which all of them will be taken when the time comes, because there they put their hopes. Here there are a hundred more, and among them, as among the people here, there are women, boys, and field-laborers, so that there remain not quite two hundred effective men, badly disciplined."



UPPER JAMES SETTLEMENTS.

In three years more the colony had greatly expanded. The young giant was beginning to stretch his limbs. Besides Jamestown and Kecoughtan and Henrico, there were new settlements at Bermuda, at West, and at Shirley Hundreds, as every hundred settlers were called, with a captain appointed over each, and a minister in most of them. There was no more talk of scarcity, as the colony now raised more than enough for its own wants. Its real weakness lay in the wide separation of the two principal groups of settlements. In time of danger they could afford each other little assistance.

Up to the year 1616 about sixteen hundred and fifty persons had been sent to Virginia. Dale and Molina agree that only three hundred and fifty were left; of the

remainder some, doubtless, had gone back to England; and some died on the voyage out. But the great majority had fallen in the battle with famine, disease, or Indians.

Dale returned to England in 1616. He said that he had left the colony in great prosperity and peace. His had been an iron rule, under which men groaned, even while they acknowledged the master-hand. Despotic he may have been, nay, was; yet, at last, Virginia stood on a solid foundation. A new body had risen from the ashes of the old. The company had asked him for a miracle, and he had performed one.

With Dale went Pocahontas, Rolfe, and Molina, the prying Spaniard. Yeardley[7] took charge of the colony meantime. His rule was mild and uneventful. Tobacco culture rapidly increased. Except a quarrel with the Chickahominies, peace was unbroken. After a year Yeardley was superseded by Argall, who had been active enough if his lawless propensities could have been restrained, but he was more than half a buccaneer and wholly unfitted for the pursuits of peace. It was decided to remove him, but Lord Delaware's death, while on his way back to resume charge of the colony, left Argall in office until another appointment could be made, and before Yeardley could arrive to supersede him, Argall quitted the colony in disgrace.

By the company's order Governor Yeardley now called upon the several plantations[8] and hundreds to send delegates to Jamestown, with the view of giving one voice to what concerned the public good. Each county and hundred sent two. They met July 30, 1619, in the little church there, so forming the first legislative body in the colonies. It was the first step, too, toward popular gov-

ernment in Virginia, though only a step. This assembly took the name of Burgesses, or freemen of boroughs, by which title they continued to be known while Virginia was a colony.

Though but the creatures of the company, the Burgesses could make and execute their own local laws, by means of which they freed themselves from the odious one-man power. They had also the right of petition. There was much even in being able to meet, discuss, and formulate their wants or grievances. The colony now had what it never had before—a voice. And that voice became a power in the land.

Lands were allotted and moneys raised for founding a college, partly for missionary work, partly for the benefit of the colony. Iron-works were begun at Falling Creek, in its aid. But the colonists took little interest in projects for improving the Indians, so these benevolent schemes fell to the ground.

Twice had the city of London, jointly with the company, sent out a hundred poor boys to swell the colony. About this time a number of young women, of humble birth, but good character, were sent over to be sold to such of the planters as would take them for wives, in payment of their passage-money, the price to be paid in tobacco.

In 1620 a Dutch ship arrived at Jamestown from Africa with twenty negroes, who were sold to the colonists, thus beginning negro slavery in the English colonies. These Africans made excellent field-laborers, as they could bear the summer heats when the whites could not. Moreover, they were docile and easily and cheaply maintained.

By a general rising of the Indians in 1622, long known

as "The Massacre," [9] until one still more dreadful cast it into the shade, prosperity was checked for a time. Opecancanough led this rising. It was managed with Indian secrecy and cunning. The settlers were lulled in security. The blow fell swiftly, unexpectedly, merci-

DESERTED HOMES.

lessly. Separated as they were into two large bodies, and scattered about again in numerous farms, the settlers fell an easy prey to their bloodthirsty assailants. Jamestown was warned in season, and escaped the massacre, but in the other settlements three hundred and forty-seven persons were slain.

The completeness of this massacre was owing to the desire of planters to hold large tracts of land for raising

tobacco. The larger these holdings the more remote the settlements. Each planter, with his own house and farm servants, lived isolated from his neighbors. This made it possible to cut off one from the other. Yet in spite of the lesson of the massacre, the plantation system, by which every planter became a little potentate, continued to be the prevailing feature of Virginian life.

Though the English took swift revenge, it was long before the colony fully recovered its lost ground. In the very next year the king took away the company's charter, thus making the colony again dependent upon the crown, or a royal colony, in which condition it remained, except while England was a commonwealth, until its subjection to princes and potentates was severed for all time.

[1] Dutch Gap, so called, according to Bishop Meade, in his *Old Families and Churches of Virginia*, on account of evidences of a canal begun here, across the narrow neck of Farrar's Island, by the first Dutch settlers, but not completed. It was nearly opened again in 1864, to facilitate the operations against Richmond, and finished in 1879, so saving a circuit of seven miles.

[2] Henrico is now the name of the county covering the same territory, and also including the city of Richmond. Though of large intentions, the town was abandoned after a few years.

[3] Japazaus, the king's brother, was won over, after appeals to his friendship had failed, by the promise of a copper kettle.

[4] John Rolfe was at one time secretary of the colony and a leading planter.

[5] Varina is said to have been given this name from a place of the same name in Spain, where tobacco, of a similar kind was grown. It was for a long time the county seat of Henrico.

[6] Molina's despatch is in Mr. Brown's *Genesis of the United States*. Spanish intrigues against Virginia may have hastened the overthrow of the company, for James's ears were always open to them.

[7] Sir George Yeardley was governor in 1616; 1619–21; and again in 1625.

[8] Plantations. The word was first used much in the same sense as colony is now used; not as restricted to the holdings of individuals. Virginia, for instance, was a plantation.

[9] The Massacre of 1622 took place while Wyatt was governor. Some twenty or more places are enumerated in the accounts of it. Their relative importance is indicated to some extent by their losses; thus at Sheffield's Plantation 15 were killed; at Henrico's Island, 17; at Berkeley Hundred, 17; at Westover, 33; at Wyanoke, 21; at Martin's Hundred, 79. This last was seven miles from Jamestown, or James Cittie, as it had come to be called in the colony. In 1777 there was but one family residing in Jamestown to show for all the lives and money spent in building it up. In the early history of Virginia it is merely a fort, to hold the ground.

II.

THE ENGLISH IN MARYLAND.

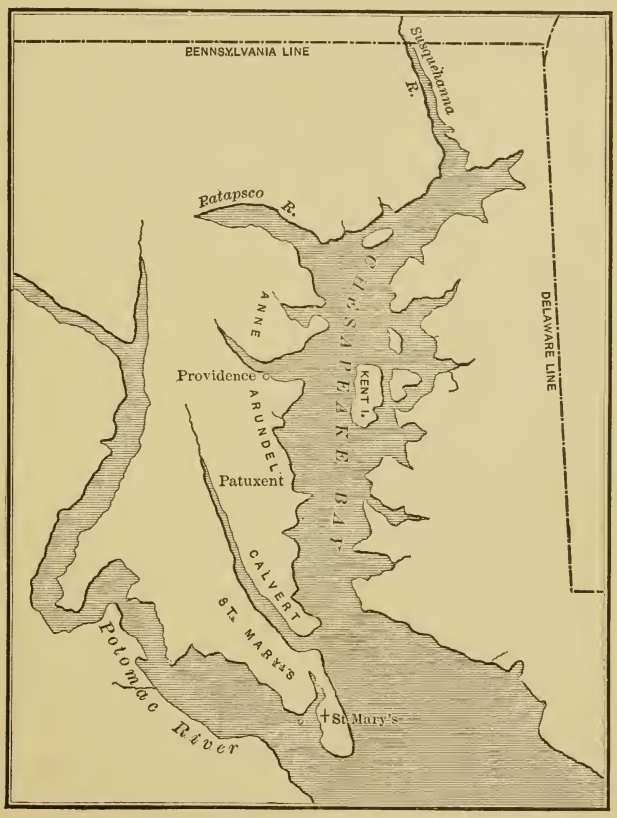
THE FOUNDING OF MARYLAND, 1634.

THE founding of Maryland is largely the history of a family — of the Calverts. For over a hundred years a Calvert was at the head of this colony. When one died another took his place. Therefore, when the story of these Calverts is told, all is told, for besides being next to absolute rulers they were the owners of the soil as well.

For faithful service, in various public employments, George Calvert was made an Irish peer by James I., with the title of Lord Baltimore. We do not know, nor is it very material to discover, what first turned his attention to colonization. The idea may have dwelt in his mind a long time, or it may have grown up there all at once. He had some share in the Second Virginia Company, and probably knew its history by heart. He had become a Catholic, which was as good as giving up public life in Protestant England. That this step did not prevent his holding the good will of his sovereign, we know, because what James did for any Catholic would be certain to give offence to a large part of his subjects. And all of Baltimore's projects ran counter to the views of other colonizers, who strongly demurred against send-

ing out Catholics to the new colonies at all, let alone making rulers of them.

Let us give an instance of this feeling. When Lord



EARLY MARYLAND SETTLEMENTS.

Delaware was about to set sail for Virginia, a sermon was preached to him, by a leading London clergyman, in which his lordship was entreated, or rather warned, to

"suffer no Papists; let them not nestle there; nay, let the name of the Pope or Poperie be never heard of in Virginia." They were heard of in Virginia, and very soon too. This fear that English Catholics might look to the colonies for that freedom of worship denied them at home, puts us in touch with the intolerant spirit of that age.

But the smothered fires of religious hate were about to break forth, that were to deluge the land in blood. We know that Baltimore was wise, calm, prudent; why not far-sighted, too? He may have felt some warning of the coming storm. At any rate, he decided to cast his lot in the New World.

HENRIETTA MARIA.

His first move surprises us. In truth, it was a strange choice. We find him following on in the old, abandoned path of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and in the delusions of his time, instead of profiting by the better judgment of Raleigh and his followers—taking a backward step, as it were. Back in 1620, the year that the Pilgrims were making their way to bleak New England, Baltimore had bought up a grant at Newfoundland. In 1623 the king gave him a royal patent, with almost unlimited privileges. Afterward Baltimore went out himself to take his first practical lesson as ruler of a colony on the spot; but between the climate and the French he was forced to admit he had come on a fool's errand.

He then sailed to Virginia, trusting to the king's favor for permission to transfer his colony to some unsettled part of that country. But cold welcome awaited him at Jamestown. The Virginians suspected his errand, resented what they felt to be doubly an intrusion, on account of his religion, and adroitly got rid of him by calling on him to swear loyalty to the king, as the only true head of the church. As no Catholic can do that without renouncing his faith, Baltimore was driven to leave the colony.

CECILIUS CALVERT.

This episode informs us fully as to the temper of Virginians toward Romanists and intruders. None of that faith were wanted.

Back to England Baltimore went, probably with the fixed purpose of returning in triumph, as we next find him in possession of a grant of lands, lying on both shores of Chesapeake Bay, and taking in most of the peninsula between that bay and the ocean. But before his patent was sealed Lord Baltimore died, so that his son's name was substituted for his in the instrument. This was in 1632.

The country thus granted was named Maryland, in

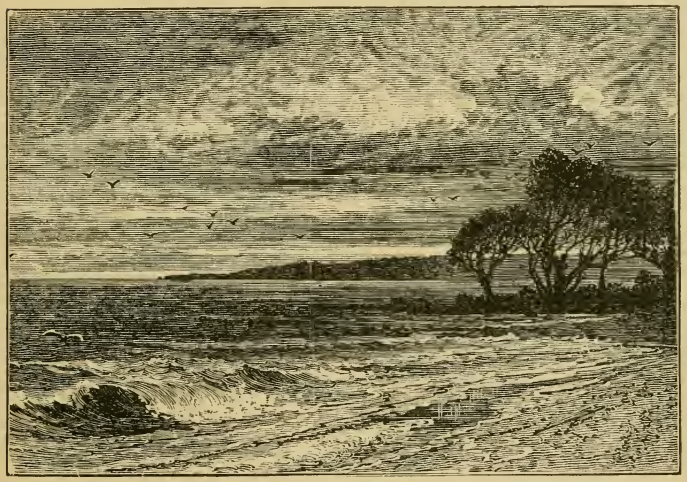
honor of the French queen[1] of Charles I., now king, and was thus the second colony to be called after a queen of England.

We have seen that neither failure nor rebuff could turn Lord Baltimore from what he had once set his mind on; and his son and heir, Cecilius, seems to have inherited what we may call this Calvert trait.

In a lesser way, his patent gave Calvert as much power as a king, and much more than some kings enjoy —saving only the title. It was to be his colony and his people. Yet he was much more than a great landlord, because the colonists could have no more liberty than he chose to yield them. He might truly say, "I am the State." He could have his own flag and coin. The colonists were, indeed, called freemen, and could meet for the purpose of assenting to Calvert's laws, or of proposing others of their own making, but he could set them aside at his own will and pleasure, just as if Maryland had been a royal colony and he king of England. In other words, they had the name without the deed—the shadow without the substance. Lands, waters, trade, power to punish or pardon, all belonged to the proprietor. The good of the colony rested, therefore, solely on his wisdom to govern. He was absolute lord-proprietor, and is properly so called. Yet, in many ways, this government by one man was better than that by many, as was shown in Virginia.

Having to contend with strong opposition at home from the old Virginia Company, Calvert sent out his younger brother Leonard as governor, with three hundred and twenty colonists, of whom twenty are described as gentlemen, and the rest as laborers. These gentlemen, we may be sure, would fill all the offices. With

them went two Jesuit missionaries, but no ministers of any other sect. Their two vessels, quaintly called the Ark and the Dove, entered the Chesapeake late in February, 1633, and, after looking into the Potomac, came to anchor under an island, presently named St. Clements,[2] on which the colonists first landed and began work, March, 1634. Meantime, signal fires had been



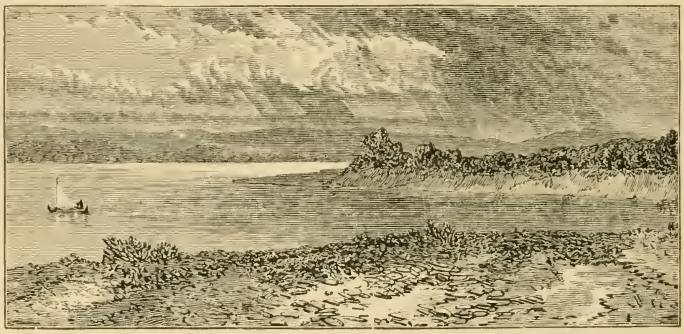
IN THE CHESAPEAKE.

lighted by the Indians in every direction, to give warning of the white men's coming.

Leaving the colonists and ship here, Calvert next went up the river to visit the king of the country, at his town called Piscataway, in order to find out this king's disposition. About five hundred men, with their bows, stood with their chief on the shore. When Calvert asked him whether he would be willing to have the English settle there, his wary reply was that "he would

neither bid him go nor stay, but that he might do as he pleased."

Calvert seems, however, to have been satisfied with even this cold welcome, as he began looking for another situation, St. Clements being too small for a settlement. They found the site of an Indian village most to their liking; and as the native owners were willing to remove, the governor struck a bargain with them for wigwams, corn-fields, and all, so getting temporary shelter, as well



FIRST LANDING-PLACE.

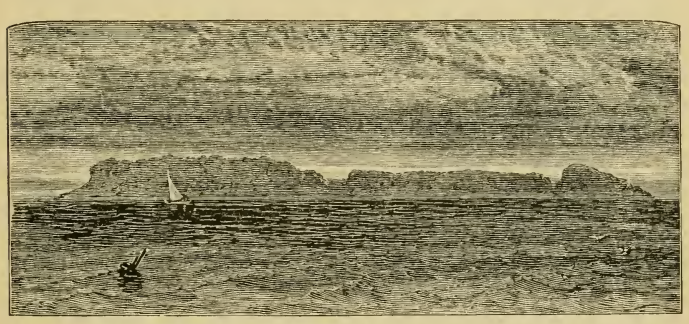
as ground ready cleared and tilled for planting. A treaty of peace was also made with these neighbor Indians.

The site of this settlement lay on the banks of a small stream, flowing into the Potomac, about twelve miles from its mouth, for which St. George's Island is the landmark, and on the eastern shore of that river. It presently took the good Catholic name of St. Mary's, as the stream did that of St. George's.[3] The two missionaries set up their first chapel in a wigwam.

All this was the work of one man, laboring unaided.

So far as is known, there were no appeals to the public for help. Some of the colonists, indeed, came out at their own expense, or as contributors to the common stock, but most were probably indented men, who, in return for the cost of feeding and transporting them, were to work a certain term, say five years, for the proprietor, and then be freemen, or full citizens.

Coming, as they did, at a most delightful season of the year, finding much of the hard work incident to getting



ST. GEORGE'S ISLAND, MD., OFF ST. MARY'S.

settled ready done to their hands, these Maryland settlers were not called upon to battle with want, disease, or savage ferocity, like the Virginians; yet before they could get accustomed to the climate there was much sickness.

They had been strictly charged to keep the peace toward their Virginia neighbors, at least for a year, and for good reason, too, since the Maryland patent took in a large tract of country first granted to Virginia, and first explored by Smith and Argall. Of itself this was quite enough to breed bad blood between them. Moreover, Baltimore knew that the Virginians would look upon him as a trespasser, patent or no patent, because some of

them had already made a settlement far up the Chesapeake, at Kent Island,[1] which now lay within his grant; so he told Leonard Calvert to notify these Kent Islanders that they now belonged to Maryland, though he was not to use force to bring them under his government till the prescribed year should expire.

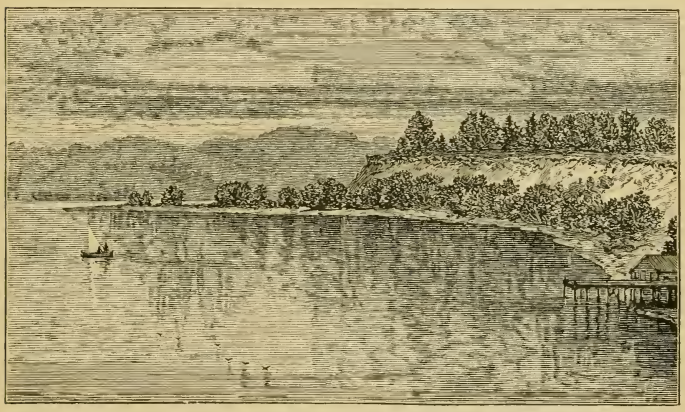
All this shows us that Baltimore was shrewd enough not to pick a quarrel with his neighbors, until his colony should be firmly seated. Then he would know what to do next.

Calvert was also told to plant corn for bread first of all. So well was this advice followed that out of their excess the Dove was freighted with corn that same autumn, for Boston, to be exchanged there for dried fish and other commodities; and Calvert wrote by her to Governor Dudley, offering to open a trade between the two colonies. So we see that Maryland had first to look to New England for a market.

It chanced that the Bostonians already had some trade with Virginia, by which means they knew of the arrival of this Maryland colony, and of its being in part composed of Roman Catholics. Though not unwilling to buy with them and sell with them, the Puritans hated the very name of Catholics. Lord Baltimore, himself, could not have lived in New England any more than in Virginia. Bad blood immediately showed itself. Complaint was made against the Dove's crew for using abusive language toward the Bostonians, who attempted to have the offenders arrested and punished. As the crew kept close on board their vessel this could not be done, but the master was told not to bring any more such unruly men to that colony.

We have now gained some insight into what was

thought of Maryland in Virginia and in New England at its founding. Public opinion declared it a Catholic colony. And no wonder. The proprietor was a Catholic, the governor was a Catholic, and so were the ministers; so that all power, both lay and church, was firmly secured to that sect. By its charter the colony was Protestant; in spirit and intent, Catholic. The mass was said at its first landing, and in the name given to the first



THE BLUFF, ST. MARY'S, MD.

settlement we find strong evidence of the religious preferences of the founders.

Admitting that both sects could enjoy their religion together without quarrelling, the colony was well balanced for toleration. Each sect had a check on the other. The Protestants had the charter and the Catholics the rulers. Yet it is safe to say that these Protestants could have been neither very strong churchmen, nor very bigoted Puritans, or they never would have joined hands lovingly with Catholics. Many were,

doubtless, men of low condition, whose religion sat rather loosely upon them.

It pays to dwell a little upon this question of religion, because it is the most striking phase, not only in the history of Maryland, but of all these colonies. How Protestants and Catholics, who were everywhere persecuting each other, could be brought to live here in peace and good-will is surprising to all who know the history of the time. That Baltimore should ever have conceived such an idea is perhaps the strangest thing of all.[5] But he did it, and he solved the problem. To establish full and free toleration as between men who brought all their antipathies with them, and were ready at a word to fall upon each other, was, indeed, a rude course to steer; yet moderation with firmness certainly did bring about in Maryland what the wisest statesmen of that day would have treated as the wildest dream ever conceived by man. Baltimore showed that the two rival forms of religious belief could live and let live. It was but a little colony, yet the lesson was as broad as the whole world.

[1] The French Queen was Henrietta Maria, duchess of Orleans, and aunt of Louis XIV. According to popular belief she fell a victim to the terrible reign of the poisoners in the time of Louis.

[2] St. Clements, now Heron Island, where they planted a cross and celebrated a solemn mass, March 25, 1634. Father White's report, in Force's collection, Vol. IV., is the best authority concerning the settlement of this colony. This, with *A Relation of Maryland*, London, 1635, is the foundation for later accounts.

[3] St. George, the patron saint of England, had been similarly honored by the settlers of 1607 on the Kennebec.

[4] Besides Kent Island there were stray settlers on the eastern shore.

[5] To escape persecution the Puritans were flocking to New England. Nothing is easier than to see why leading Catholics should have caught at the same idea; but a mixed colony few would have faith in, much less have attempted.

POLITICAL STRIFES BEGUN AND ENDED.

For the next twenty years Maryland was a house divided against itself.

The year being up, in which Calvert was not to meddle with the Virginians in Maryland, civil strife began by his seizing a craft of theirs, for unlawful trading. Claiborne, the head man of Kent Island, then fitted out an armed sloop to do the like by Calvert. She met two Maryland vessels in the bay, they fought together, some were killed on both sides, and Claiborne's sloop was taken. From this time forth, in season and out of season, now in England, now in Virginia, Claiborne was Calvert's implacable enemy.

Awed, perhaps, by the loss of their vessels, the Kent Islanders seem to have kept quiet for a time, and even to have received a captain appointed over them by Calvert, but it was not long before they were again stirred to revolt by Claiborne, and having, in the summer of 1637, secured Palmer's Island, higher up the bay, which, they claimed, lay outside of Baltimore's jurisdiction, Calvert now thought it high time to put a stop to these proceedings. His resolution was probably quickened by the knowledge that Palmer's Island would, practically, cut off the Indian trade of the upper country from the colony.

Calvert, therefore, sailed to Kent Island[1] with thirty musketeers, landed without opposition, took Smith and Boteler, the two ringleaders, prisoners, and received the submission of all the rest, who, by his account, numbered as many as one hundred and twenty men able to bear arms, besides women and children. He next took pos-

session of Palmer's Island, thus finally putting down all opposition within the colony.

Small things become great by their results, or by their influence upon results. To-day, such disputes as arose in Maryland would probably be settled by a sheriff's posse; but to the men of that day, the yielding up of a foot of ground meant a surrender of their chartered

CLAIBORNE'S POST AT KENT ISLAND.

rights; and no question could well be of higher importance to any state, great or small.

When the first colonists came over, Baltimore gave his brother Leonard set instructions how to govern. Among other things, in due time, he was to call the freemen together for the making of laws agreeably to the charter. So in 1634–35 the first Colonial Assembly met at St. Mary's. All freemen were eligible to a voice and vote in it, yet we have seen that not all the colonists were freemen.[2] Probably not half of them were. Could we but know them, the acts of this first legislative body would

be the outgrowth of the colony's first trials and experiences, and therefore deeply interesting. But they are not known to exist. If any such laws were passed they were annulled by Baltimore. In room of these he sent out a body of laws of his own making. These were in turn rejected by the Assembly, who enacted others more to their own liking. But when they were laid before Lord Baltimore, he refused to sign them. So for some years there were as good as no laws at all. To remedy the evils arising to the colony from this state of things, Baltimore wisely delegated his power of approval or veto to his governor, reserving, however, the right to overrule the governor's acts if he saw fit. If it did not assure greater liberty to the colonists, this act was at least one step toward it.

By 1638, the colonists had spread themselves out across the St. George in sufficient numbers to form another hundred.[3] By this time, too (1638–39), the Assembly shaped itself somewhat more formally. Instead of summoning all the freemen to it as before, two burgesses were now elected from each hundred, to represent them. This brought on an election by popular vote. Previous assemblies had probably been quite like the modern town-meetings, but now rules were adopted, and legislation proceeded in a more orderly way.

Maryland was not ten years old when civil strife shook her with angry hand. All England was up in arms—king against parliament, people against their oppressors. Though they could have no hand in deciding it, the colonies could not well avoid being dragged into this quarrel. The cry was raised that Maryland favored the king. Old enemies quickly laid hold of this pretext for renewing their attacks, Claiborne being especially ac-

tive. In February, 1644, one Richard Ingle, a sea-captain and parliament man, seized upon St. Mary's in

RETURN FROM A HUNT.

Governor Calvert's absence. Kent Island then threw off her allegiance. Thus was the major part of the colony brought under subjection to the parliament. For two years the proprietary government was suspended. At

the end of that time Calvert raised a force in Virginia,[4] with which the colony was regained.

In 1647 Leonard Calvert died. Great changes were taking place. On both sides of the ocean men were stirred as never before. King Charles, who had stood Baltimore's fast friend, was a prisoner, and a Puritan parliament ruled in his stead. A Catholic colony, just rescued from their rule by the king's party too, could not feel safe a single day. If ever man had need of the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove, it was Baltimore now. He therefore appointed William Stone, a Protestant, to succeed his brother Leonard, trusting by this act to disarm his enemies, for in England Papists were expressly excluded from the toleration extended to others.

Equally radical changes were taking place within the colony. Some Puritans[5] who had been driven out of Anglican Virginia now sought and found the freedom to worship, denied them there, in Roman Catholic Maryland. Lands were granted them on the Severn, and thankfully accepted. They called their town Providence,[6] possibly in memory of that founded by Roger Williams, and their county Ann Arundel, in Lady Baltimore's honor. Other settlers of this faith presently took up lands on the Patuxent.

This distinctively Puritan settlement, which soon grew strong within itself, marks the rise of two parties in Maryland, in whom all the animosities then existing in England between Catholic and Protestant were sharply aroused. It is vain to talk of how this might have been avoided, or was avoided, in more peaceful times. There was an "irrepressible conflict," ready to break forth whenever men's passions should be stirred, as now they

were, by the appeals of a misguided and fanatical zeal. Providence, therefore, became the rallying point for all of that faith, soon drawing the line between itself and St. Mary's, where the Catholic party held sway.

Meantime, in 1649, a law was passed, commonly known as the Act of Toleration, by which liberty of conscience and of worship was guaranteed to all forms of Christian faith whatsoever. This was an open declaration to men and nations that toleration was to be the fixed policy of this colony.

There is an old proverb which says that when drums beat laws are silent; and drums had been beating all over England. Charles I. had been deposed and beheaded. His son and queen were fugitives. To have been a royal favorite or supporter was to be put under a ban. In the face of such momentous changes, Baltimore's dexterous policy of yielding to the revolution step by step, regardless of what his private feelings might be, was overthrown by the rashness of the royalist faction in Maryland. In defiance of the ruling power in England, Greene, the acting governor, now proclaimed Charles II. king. His act was quickly disavowed, but the mischief was done.

Having settled the government in England, Parliament next sent out commissioners to bring the refractory colonies to obedience. Claiborne, Baltimore's old enemy, was one of them. They had strong support from the anti-Maryland party in Virginia, and from the anti-Catholic party in Maryland. As Stone hesitated to submit, they deposed him, and set up a provisional government at first, but afterward restored him his office until further orders should come from England, though, in fact,

he was only a sort of keeper, whom the commissioners tolerated during good behavior.

Having thus tied Stone's hands, the seat of government was removed from St. Mary's to Patuxent, where the Puritan party was in a majority.

Stone now roused himself to restore the proprietors' rule. Upon this, the commissioners again deposed him, and put William Fuller over the colony. They then called an Assembly, from which all Catholics were excluded. More than this, an act was passed disfranchis-

SITE OF JESUIT CHAPEL, ST. INIGOES.

ing Catholics. This was a complete overturning of the letter and spirit of Baltimore's plan of government. As against his broad and liberal policy, it set up a narrow and selfish one.

When these doings came to Cromwell's ears he promptly disowned them, and sharply rebuked the commissioners for going beyond their authority. At the same time he sent out orders that Lord Baltimore's officers should not be interfered with. Thus strengthened, Baltimore forthwith directed Stone to resume the government, using force if necessary to bring about submission.

An angry and feverish feeling prevailed, to which these orders were as the match to the train. Baltimore's party were exultant; his opponents determined not to yield. It could not be, they said, that Puritan England would not stand by them. Acting under his orders, Stone marched against Providence, with a force from St. Mary's. The Providence men tried to make terms for themselves, but Stone haughtily refused to treat with them. They then prepared to resist him. Two armed vessels were then lying in the river, the captains of which promised their aid. So when Stone's flotilla came within shot, it was stopped by the fire of these vessels. Stone then landed and drew up his men for the attack. Meanwhile, Fuller, who led the Providence men, sallied out upon Stone's flank and rear. The rival forces rushed upon each other, Fuller's men displaying the banner of the Commonwealth, Stone's that of Maryland. Stone's men were routed and many taken, among them Stone himself. Four of the leaders were shot as rebels. Force had been employed, and it had failed. Baltimore had been too eager to punish his opponents; Stone had miscalculated their strength and his own.

Stone being wounded and a prisoner, Baltimore made Josias Fendall governor, a man who had served him well in these troubles, but who served him very badly as governor. Fuller remained at the head of the Providence party, both sides refraining from further hostile acts till the Lord Protector's pleasure should be known.

Cromwell restored Baltimore to his own again, under a pledge of amnesty toward those who had risen against him. He also pledged himself never to consent to the repeal of the Act of Toleration. This agreement took effect in March, 1658, and thenceforward poor distracted

Maryland, after her long struggle for separate existence, passed to her rightful owner.

Did Lord Baltimore aim to advance the cause of religion or only his own interests? In reading the early history of Maryland we are sometimes of one mind, sometimes of the other. Either he was before his age, or else he was one of the most adroit men who ever undertook a seemingly impossible task.

We are also struck with the fact that neither in Virginia nor in Maryland did the first settlers hit upon the fortunate spot intended by nature for the metropolis of the future.

[1] KENT ISLAND has been called a mere trading-post, not under cultivation. There were at least two plantations, Smith's and Botcler's, and the number of people, well housed and provided for, could hardly have been maintained by trade alone.

[2] THIS name of Freemen reflects the social conditions then existing in England, where the franchise was restricted to those having holdings of above forty shillings. Baltimore established the distinction as between those who were bound out to labor and those who were not.

[3] WITH an increasing number of plantations larger crops of corn and tobacco were being raised every year. By a law passed in 1638, everyone who planted tobacco was obliged to plant two acres of corn. As in Virginia, tobacco speedily came into use the same as money, in the payment of salaries, fees, debts, taxes, etc. For these purposes it was made a legal tender.

[4] GOVERNOR SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY actively aided Calvert in getting possession of Maryland again.

[5] SOME Puritans had gone into Virginia quite early, where they had been tolerated until they set up churches and preaching. In 1642 seventy-one persons living at "Upper Norfolk" wrote to Boston for ministers to be sent them. One of the writers was Daniel Gookin, afterward very prominent in New England. He, however, lived at Newport News. The letters were read in the churches, and three ministers, Knowles, Thompson, and James, were dismissed by their churches in order that they might go to Virginia. They were silenced, however, by the authorities, so far as open public worship was concerned, though they continued to hold meetings in private houses for some time. Knowles and James, however, soon returned.

[6] PROVIDENCE was afterward called Arundelltown, and lastly Annapolis, in honor of Queen Ann, who had been a benefactress.

COUNCIL WITH THE IROQUOIS.

Held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1744.

[Showing how treaties were made with them.][1]

"FRIENDS AND BRETHREN OF THE UNITED SIX NATIONS:

"We, who are deputed from the Government of Maryland by a Commission under the Great Seal of that Province, now in our Hands (and which will be interpreted to you) bid you welcome; and in Token that we are very glad to see you here as Brethren, we give you this String of Wampum."

Upon which the Indians gave the Yo-hah.

"When the Governor of Maryland received the first Notice, about seven years ago, of your Claim to some Lands in that Province, he thought our good Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations had little Reason to complain of any Injury from Maryland, and that they would be so well convinced thereof, on farther Deliberation, as he should hear no more of it; but you spoke of that Matter again to the Governor of Pennsylvania, about two Years since, as if you designed to terrify us.

"It was very inconsiderately said by you, that you would do yourselves Justice, by going to take Payment yourselves: Such an Attempt would have entirely dissolved the Chain of Friendship subsisting, not only between us, but perhaps the other English and you.

"We assure you, our People, who are numerous, courageous, and have Arms ready in their Hands, will not suffer themselves to be hurt in their Lives and estates.

"But, however, the old and wise People of Maryland immediately met in Council, and upon considering very

coolly your rash expressions, agreed to invite their Brethren, the Six Nations, to this Place, that they might learn of them what Right they have to the Land in Maryland, and, if they had any, to make them some reasonable Compensation for it; therefore the Governor of Maryland has sent us to meet and treat with you about this affair, and the brightening and strengthening the Chain which hath long subsisted between us. And as an Earnest of our sincerity and Good-will towards you we present you with this Belt of Wampum."

On which the Indians gave the Yo-hah.

"Our Great King of England, and his Subjects, have always possessed the Province of Maryland free and undisturbed from any Claim of the Six Nations for above one hundred Years past, and your not saying anything to us before, convinces us you thought you had no Pretence to any Lands in Maryland; nor can we yet find out to what Lands, or under what Title you make your Claim: For the Susquehannah Indians, by a Treaty above ninety Years since (which is on the Table, and will be interpreted to you) give, and yield to the English Nation, their heirs and assigns forever, the greatest part (if not all) of the lands we possess, from Patuxent River, on the western, as well as from Choptank River on the eastern side of the great bay of Chesapeake. And, near sixty years ago, you acknowledged to the Governor of New York at Albany, 'That you had given your lands, and submitted yourselves to the King of England.'

"We are that great King's subjects, and we possess and enjoy the province of Maryland by virtue of his right and Sovereignty thereto; why, then, will you stir up any quarrel between you and ourselves, who are as one man, under the protection of that great King?"

Canassatego spoke as follows:

"Brother, the Governor of Maryland:

"You tell us, that when about seven years ago you heard, by our brother Onas,[2] of our claim to some lands in your province, you took no notice of it, believing, as you say, that when we should come to reconsider that matter, we should find that we had no right to make any complaint of the Governor of Maryland, and would drop our demand. And that when about two years ago we mentioned it again to our brother Onas, you say we did it in such terms as looked like a design to terrify you; and you tell us further, that we must be beside ourselves, in using such a rash expression as to tell you, we know how to do ourselves justice if you still refuse. It is true we did say so, but without any ill design; for we must inform you, that when we first desired our brother Onas to use his influence with you to procure us satisfaction for our lands, we, at the same time, desired him, in case you should disregard our demand, to write to the great king beyond the seas, who would own us for his children as well as you, to compel you to do us justice: And, two years ago, when we found that you had paid no regard to our just demand, nor that brother Onas had conveyed our complaint to the great king over the seas, we were resolved to use such expressions as would make the greatest impression on your minds, and we find it had its effect; for you tell us, that your wise men then held a council together, and agreed to invite us, and to inquire of our right to any of your lands, and if it should be found that we had a right, we were to have a compensation made for them: And likewise you tell us, that our brother, the Governor of Maryland, by the advice of these wise men,

has sent you to brighten the chain, and to assure us of his willingness to remove whatever impedes a good understanding between us. This shows that your wise men understood our expressions in their true sense. We had no design to terrify you, but to put you on doing us the justice you had so long delayed. Your wise men have done well; and as there is no obstacle to a good understanding between us, except this affair of our land, we, on our parts, do give you the strongest assurances of our good disposition towards you, and that we are as desirous as you to brighten the chain, and to put away all hindrances to a perfect good understanding; and in token of our sincerity, we give you this belt of wampum."

Which was received, and the interpreter ordered to give the Yo-hah.

[1] This extract is introduced to show how adroitly the Iroquois could manage affairs of this nature. The council was held at Lancaster, Pa. It was called to settle disputes between the Iroquois and Maryland, and incidentally with Virginia also, about the title to certain lands. Commissioners from both those colonies were, therefore, present. The Indian deputies were first treated to wine, punch, pipes, and tobacco. The whole proceedings may be found in *Colden's Five Nations*, p. 89.

[2] Onas was the name the Iroquois gave to Penn and his successors, as Assarigoa was that given to the governors of Virginia.

III.

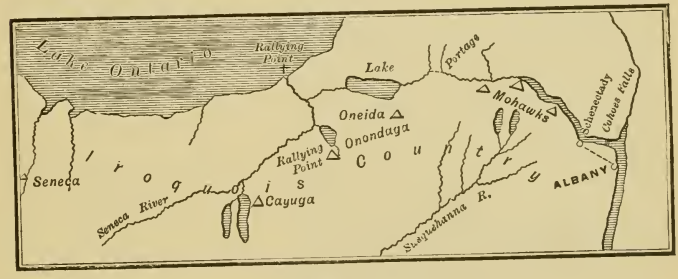
THE GREAT IROQUOIS LEAGUE.

THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY AND NATIONS.

THE first entry of a European upon the soil of New York was made in warlike sort. In July, 1609, the noted Samuel Champlain, founder of Quebec the year before, fell in with some Hurons who were going to fight their bitter enemies, the Iroquois. To please them Champlain caused some muskets to be fired off, at which they set up loud cries, for they had never heard the like before. One and all besought the great white chief who carried the lightning in his hand, to go with them, for with his aid they felt that they would be invincible; and he, partly to strengthen his power over them, partly to gratify his desire to explore the Iroquois country,[1] consented, and went.

Seldom has the coming of one man into a country had so much to do with shaping its history. From the Iroquois River, now the Richelieu, the party passed up into the great fresh-water lake, with mountain banks, to which, at this time, Champlain gave his own name.[2] While paddling southward he was told that just beyond this lake there was another,[3] which fell into it, and that a short day's journey beyond this again a noble river ran south to the salt sea.

This was indeed great news. Thus to have found a great inland water route stretching from the St. Lawrence to the south Atlantic coast, and by the merest chance, too, must have filled this born explorer with keen delight. Champlain also learned that these lakes and this river, with Lake Ontario at the north, set the bounds, at large, of the Iroquois country, and he had seen quite enough already to get some idea of its vast extent. As for his allies, that they were more than half afraid to meet the Iroquois had been evident all along. Here, then, was



THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY.

food for reflection. If it was easy for him thus to invade the Iroquois, at their eastern door, what was to prevent their doing the like by him whenever they should choose to retaliate?

The Iroquois, also being out for war, were met on the lake. Both sides were marshalled for battle at the lake-side,[4] Champlain keeping himself well hid until the moment of attack. The Iroquois then raised their war-cries and confidently rushed to the onset, but when Champlain, at one shot, struck down three plumed chiefs, terror mastered the rest, and they fled like deer before the hunter.

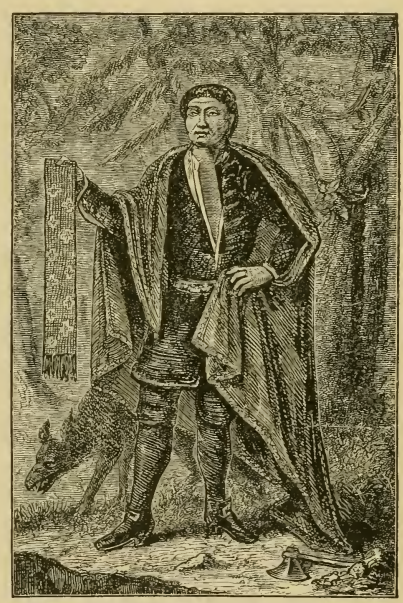
This memorable defeat was the direct means of bringing down upon all Frenchmen the undying hate of the whole Iroquois league, and what that meant they had yet to learn. The Iroquois never forgot or forgave it. They became a wall against which advancing French power beat in vain, while behind it the English grew and waxed strong. It may truly be said that the English of New York grew up under Iroquois protection. Champlain had done this with a charge of powder.

SAYA YEATH QUA PIETH TON, KING OF THE MAQUAS, A MOHAWK, OR BEAR, CHIEF.[5]

It is true that this wall was in time broken down. Gradually the Iroquois wasted away, for the English were at all times as lavish of the blood of these faithful allies as they were sparing of their own —so much so that it is a wonder how the Iroquois could remain true as long as they did. But, sometimes, even Indian patience was exhausted. Once, when the Governor of New York was urging them to give the French no rest, saying, "You must keep them in perpetual alarm," he was reproachfully asked, "Why don't you say '*We* will keep the

enemy in perpetual alarm?' Brother Corlaer,[6] you desire us to do this that they may have no rest till they are in their graves. Is it not to secure your own frontiers? Why, then, not one word of your people that are to join us?" It was a home thrust.

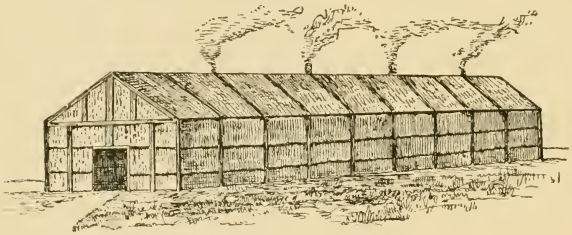
Who and what, then, were these strange people, whom the French called Iroquois[7] and the English the Five Nations? Some think they were, at first, but one nation; others doubt this. It is certain, however, that the Oneidas and Cayugas called the others "fathers," as if these could claim to be an older people.[8] But at this time they were to all intents five nations in one. Then, again, though they themselves claimed to have come up out of the ground, where the Europeans found them, some believe that long ago they all came in a body from the far West, along with the Lenäpes or Delawares, and that after conquering their new homes from the rightful owners, they fell to fighting among themselves for the spoils. But this is all tradition. Without letters, the Iroquois really have no



TEE YEE NEEN HO GA RON, EMPEROR OF THE SIX NATIONS.

history going back of the coming of the whites, who, again, may have put down many fables.[9] All we know is that at some remote period, not now easily fixed, these five nations, at the prompting of Hiawatha,[10] a sage and patriarch among them, ceased from warring together and bound themselves by a solemn league ever after to stand one for all and all for one.

These five savage republics were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. In that order they lay in groups between the Hudson and Genesee, all along



LONG HOUSE OF THE IROQUOIS.

the central portion of New York. To specify their union, in their way, they very aptly called themselves the *Long House;* and words could not have done it better, since all were as one family, under one roof, to the defence of which all rallied as one man. They being in the centre of the line, the Great Council, or Long House, was intrusted to the care of the Onondagas, who thereby gained peculiar honor as "keepers of the council brand."[11]

The Mohawks, who were so terrible to their foes, lay along the south side of the Mohawk, nearly to its head, with their principal castle at Canajoharie. It was probably they who had fought with Champlain. The Oneidas[12] lived at the head of this valley, with their chief castle ten

miles northwest of Whitestown; the Onondagas where Syracuse and its salt springs now are; the Cayugas on the shores of that lake; and the Senecas, who were much the most numerous, savage, and intractable of all, in the valley of the Genesee and that neighborhood. Here were five or six thousand active fighting men who, at need, could be drawn in at the Long House, as the arms are to the body, or quickly be rallied to one another's help upon any sudden emergency.

First of all, the league was a warlike one. The allies held what may be called the strategic command of the great lakes in front, and of the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Ohio valleys behind them, by means of which they could overrun their neighbors at will.[13] Nature had thus put power into their hands; their own valor had held it fast. Each nation had its palisaded towns or castles,[14] to which all might fly at the approach of danger. On account of their long valley the Mohawks had three.

Masters of a region set apart by nature as the highway of the continent, where merely scraping the earth produced a rich harvest, abounding in fish and game, commanding all the waters flowing to the north and to the south, the Iroquois were alike in a position to be courted as friends or dreaded as enemies. Then, their whole country was seamed by connecting lakes and rivers. Sun never shone on one more beautiful. One glance at this network of waters, finding its main outlet at Oswego, will show how quickly the confederates could bring a great power to Onondaga, either to sally forth upon an enemy or resist his attack. It was an admirable system of intercommunication, prepared beforehand by nature, but seized upon with a true military insight.

Being warriors before all, physical training was given

the highest value, and began as soon as a boy could walk. His first plaything was a bow and arrow, his greatest vanity to be told he would some day be a warrior. He was taught to run, to wrestle, to swim, to fight his own battles, to endure cold, hunger, or pain uncomplainingly; and he even was allowed to join in torturing prisoners, to the end that his heart might be hardened to suffering. Every warrior, therefore, grew up a trained athlete. If he failed to do all expected of him there was no hope left for him. Noble stature, strength and symmetry of limb, grace of gesture or movement were, therefore, so common, that when the painter West first saw, in Italy, a statue of the Apollo Belvedere, he exclaimed: "How like a young Mohawk warrior!"

ECON OH KOAN, KING OF THE RIVER NATION.

Intellectual training came next, not from books, but through contests in debates at the council or in the wigwam. The first thing taught was self-control. Think before you speak, was their maxim. There were no off-hand retorts, no interruptions, no talking against time.

Every word had its due weight, every speaker a respectful hearing.

Though utter savages in their way of life, and thorough pagans in their belief, the natural gifts of the Iroquois put them on a level with the very best among the whites. Not seldom, indeed, when it came to a trial of wits, the civilized white man had to yield to these wild men of the woods; and though their memory was all their books, yet their way of cultivating and disciplining it was so thorough that when called upon to do so, the keepers of their wampum belts [15] could rise and repeat the substance of any treaty the nation had ever made, as well as if all had been set down in black and white.

Against their own race they were considered invincible and with good reason. They had fought with and conquered the Hurons of that lake, the Illinois of the far West, the Delawares of Pennsylvania, the Tuscaroras of North Carolina, who, after 1714, joined them, thus making Six Nations. So completely had they overawed the New England Indians that at the cry of "A Mohawk! a Mohawk!" these people would run like sheep before wolves.

In the extent of their conquests, therefore, the Iroquois strongly remind us of the ancient Romans, as both seem to have aimed at universal dominion, only, we think, the Iroquois showed the more wisdom in holding the conquered as vassals and exacting tribute of them, instead of weakening themselves by armed occupation of conquered countries, as the Romans did. Fear proved an all-sufficient check to rebellion. A story is told of a Mohawk warrior who went alone among the Long Island Indians to demand the customary tribute. This being refused or evaded, the Mohawk, though but one man in

the midst of many, instantly, with one blow of his tomahawk, laid the offending chief dead at his feet, replaced the bloody weapon in his belt, and stalked from the place unharmed, for none dared question an act done by order of the great league.

So in regard to any and all acts of their tributaries. Here is another sample of their imperious way of dealing out justice. There was a dispute between Pennsylvania and the Delawares about land. The former appealed to the Five Nations, who, in turn, cited the Delawares to a general council, where, the matter being heard, and the Delawares clearly proved in the wrong, Canasatego, the speaker for the Five Nations, stood up and said to them: "Cousins, let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaked severely till you recover your senses and become sober. . . . But how came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women and can no more sell land than women; nor

HO NEE YEATH TAN NO RON, KING OF THE GENE-RECHGARICH.

is it fit you should have the power since you would abuse it. . . . We charge you to remove instantly; we don't give you liberty to think about it. You are women. Take the advice of a wise man and remove instantly."

After passing this severe sentence Canasatego abruptly ordered the Delawares out of the council. "We have some further business to transact with our brethren here," he scornfully said. Could anything imply a more complete assertion of master over servant?

Of the prisoners taken, such as were spared were adopted in place of those who had fallen in battle. What seems strange is that an adopted enemy became in time a thorough-going Iroquois, though he was not fully trusted till time had proved his fidelity. In general, the prisoner so received would be turned over to some family who had lost one of its own members, and given the dead man's name, as it was a point of honor not to let a great name die out. The women prisoners were given to the warriors in marriage, so that a Huron mother might live to see her Iroquois sons grow up to fight against her own brothers.

From their allies they demanded great show of respect as their due. On one occasion a party of Mohawks who were marching forth for war sent word to an English fort that they expected the usual military honors as they passed it. The soldiers were accordingly paraded outside, arms were presented, and the drums beat a march as the Indians went by in single file and in deep silence. As each in turn passed the officer he took his gun from his shoulder and fired it into the ground near the officer's feet. With less attention, the officer said, they would have been displeased. In short, their vanity was so excessive that they called themselves the Ongwee-Honwe, or men

surpassing all others. Great deeds might be expected from men who thus believed in themselves.

[1] IROQUOIS COUNTRY. Ever since Champlain's coming up the St. Lawrence the Indians had been talking to him about this country and people. His curiosity to see both was fully aroused.

[2] LAKE CHAMPLAIN, of many names, was called Corlaer's Lake by the Five Nations, for the first Dutch settler of Schenectady, whom the Mohawks greatly esteemed, and who was drowned by the oversetting of his canoe there. This is the tradition: "There is a rock in this lake on which the waves dash and fly up to a great height when the wind blows hard. The Indians believe that an old Indian lives under this rock who has the power of the winds; and therefore as they pass it in their voyages over, they always throw a pipe or some other small present to this old Indian, and pray a favorable wind. The English that pass with them sometimes laugh at them, but they are sure to be told of Corlaer's death. 'Your great countryman, Corlaer,' say they, 'as he passed by this rock, jested at our fathers' making presents to this old Indian, but this affront cost him his life.'"—*Colden's Five Nations*, p. 32.

[3] BY ANOTHER LAKE AND RIVER, Lake George and the Hudson are meant.

[4] THIS fight took place near Ticonderoga. See *Making of New England*, pp. 40–48.

[5] MOHAWK CHIEF. Five Indian chiefs went to England, 1710, were presented to the Queen, and sat for their portraits, from which the four pictures in this chapter are copied.

[6] CORLAER: refer to note 2. From the high place this upright man held in their esteem, the Five Nations were, for more than a century, accustomed to call every English governor of New York Corlaer, a name signifying with them the highest excellence.

[7] IROQUOIS. This was what the Hurons of the Lakes called the Five Nations; not what they called themselves. It was adopted by the French, who heard it from their Indians; hence the name, now in general use, was given this people by its enemies.

[8] OLDER PEOPLE. No people took greater pride in their antiquity. Though all the members of the league called each other "brothers," the Oneidas and Cayugas were also called "children" by the others, as if their history had been more recent, or as if they had been at some time dependents.

[9] IT is not likely that these questions will ever be cleared up. Most of the ancient traditions have died out. The remnant of this people are mostly of mixed blood, and even the language itself, with the lapse of time, has lost its purity.

[10] HIAWATHA. This is the same whom Longfellow commemorates. The Iroquois believed him immortal, whereas Tododaho, the terrible Onondaga, was only a superior man. Both have, or did have, living representatives among the surviving Iroquois.

[11] KEEPERS OF THE COUNCIL BRAND. "Now, before the Christians arrived, the General Council of the Five Nations was held at Onondaga, where there has, from the beginning, a continual fire been kept burning; it is made of two great logs whose fire never extinguishes."—Sadakanahtie, an Onondaga chief's account. —*Colden's Five Nations*, p. 167.

[12] ONEIDA. This name is said to mean a stone, or an upright stone.—*Kirkland's Memoirs*, 205. The figure of a stone or rock was often used by the other nations when speaking of the Oneidas: "It is true that above a hundred years ago the Dutch came here in a ship. . . . We, from the affection we bore them, again removed the rope and tied it to a big and

strong rock." [Here the interpreter said they mean the Oneida country.]—*Canasatego's Speech.*

[13] A CAREFUL study of the map will make this statement clear.

[14] INDIAN castles were not what the name usually implies, but were only villages inclosed by stout pickets, set in the ground in the form of a square, without bastions or outworks. Champlain shows one he attacked in 1615. This, however, was a hexagon.—*Voyages*, iii., 130.

[15] KEEPER OF BELTS. The keeper of a belt was supposed to have committed to memory that part of a treaty assigned him in council, of which the belt was the symbol or keepsake.

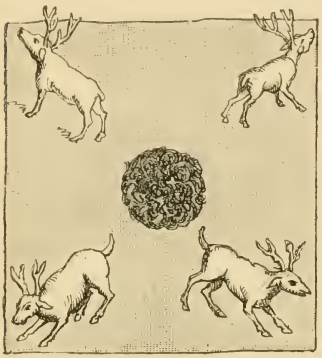
THE IROQUOIS AT HOME.

WE now see how much to the interest of all the English colonies it was to be on good terms with the Iroquois; how even the Governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania had to come all the way to Albany to treat with them, since none knew better than these English Governors did, that without peace no white settlements could safely be extended back into the wilderness country. Iroquois dominion was thus a thing admitted. We have also seen something of their fighting capacity, numbers, and conquests. But to hold such a mass of unruly peoples in awe surely required something more than brute courage or mere numbers; behind this there must be a directing head and hand.

As war was their chief business, so bravery was their first virtue; but though trained to be warriors, the Iroquois also had broad views of statecraft. Before they would fight they must reason together; and as this proves that they gave the mind its due superiority over force, so wisdom was among their first virtues. We must admit them, then, to have been not the mere creatures of sudden passion, but reasoning, reflecting beings.

Then, again, they had a national policy, shaped by

what they believed their true interests to be. And no people ever knew them better or gave better advice in time of need. Had the English been as much alive to their own wants, the French would have been driven out of Canada long before they were. The Iroquois had a natural turn for affairs.



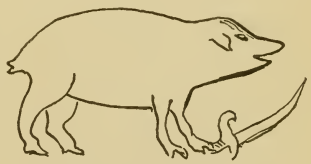
TOTEM, FIVE NATIONS.

Their plan of government was at once so simple, so ingenious, so original, as to show deep and earnest thought in its every part. In the first place, all were equal. There was neither an aristocracy of blood nor of riches; no orders of nobility or any of that absolute rule found among the Virginian or New England Indians, where a Powhatan or a King Philip gave the law to his unresisting subjects, but entire equality.

Far back, when the league was first formed, it was provided that fifty head chiefs, drawn from among the Nations, should be the Great Council or Long House. This was only called, however, to consider what affected the whole body, or settle disputes arising between the Nations, as in a congress of independent States. Beyond this, each was left to settle its domestic concerns in its own way, and thus each was a little republic in itself. The Great Council had no power to enforce its decrees, or the league to coerce one of its members. There was absolute liberty of action. Each confederate might go out on the warpath alone, or might refuse to go out with the rest, or it might make peace for itself, without put-

ting in peril the general good understanding.[1] The government, if we may call it such, rested solely on the free consent of the governed. Yet what the Council agreed upon was usually adhered to. In this way there was a compact strong enough to secure the common weal, while jealously guarding the individual rights of each Nation. And this is probably the clearest idea of a pure democracy ever thought out by human minds.

Such confederacies have often been likened to a rope of sand, yet these barbarians hit upon a way of making their rope strong, simply admirable. For want of any records among them we know less about it than we should; but this much we do know. It had been common for the people of the different Nations to intermarry, from an early time. A Mohawk brave might marry an Oneida girl, and their grown-up children might marry into an Onondaga, a Seneca, or a Cayuga family. Pride of race was very strong among them. Hence, all of that Mohawk strain of blood would thenceforth form a tribe by itself, known by a distinguishing mark or totem of its own;[2] so that in course of time there arose in all the Nations these tribes within tribes, that came to be, as it were, little threads of blood-kindred, running through all, by means of which the rope was made strong.



BEAR TOTEM, INDIAN DRAWING.

In adopting a uinque family symbol these untaught Iroquois merely followed in the lead of the cultured Athenians, whose national symbol was a grasshopper, and whose banners bore an owl. It flattered their pride to say that they were an original people—that they came

up out of the ground, like the grasshopper. The Iroquois did even better: they chose something which stood for the embodiment of wisdom, bravery, or rugged strength.

In all there were eight of these clans, as the Bear, Wolf, Tortoise, Deer, Heron, Snipe, Beaver, Hawk. Some writers add a ninth, the Potato. It seems plain, however, that the Bear, Wolf, and Tortoise had the greatest repute, the Tortoise coming first in dignity because of its high antiquity, as the Iroquois believed that the earth was first built on the back of a tortoise, and had ever since been upheld by one. These three leading clans were, perhaps, originally found only among the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagas. The novelist Cooper makes great use of the tortoise totem in his "Last of the Mohicans," though it is there a Delaware symbol. We have just intimated how proud the tribesmen were of their race. A Mohawk, for instance, said of his tribe, "We are of the race of the bear, and a bear, you know, never yields while one drop of blood is left. We must all be bears."

TORTOISE TOTEM, INDIAN DRAWING.

The wise men of the Iroquois turned all this to political account. That is, they made it the groundwork for a national feeling; and it was this that really held their confederacy together. A Seneca could not be struck without hurting a Mohawk. An injury to one was an injury to all. From these tribes, and not from the Nations, as such, the fifty head sachemships were originally taken, and *made hereditary in that clan.* When a sachem died he was succeeded by the next of kin, on the female side. And thus a governing body was always in existence. It

was not an hereditary aristocracy, it sprang from the people; but it was perpetual.

These fifty head chiefs were not expected to lead their people to war. They were counsellors. Besides them there were many inferior chiefs, raised by merit or bravery to that rank; but a title so gained ceased with the life of him who held it. There were chiefs who were great orators, and there were chiefs who were great warriors. Intellect and courage were alike esteemed in their place.

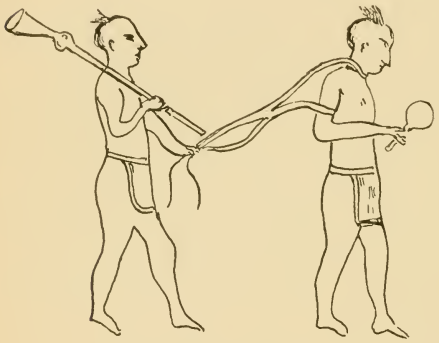
BEAVER TOTEM, INDIAN DRAWING.

When matters of moment were before the Great Council, members from each Nation resorted to the place of meeting, there to discuss the affair in hand, and thereby to exert what politicians of this day term an "outside pressure" upon the council. They were not admitted to its debates, however, though inferior chiefs would sometimes push their way in as a means to this end.

Great decorum marked all its proceedings. There is no instance known either of abusive language, threatening speeches, or violent assault being offered. For one speaker to break in upon another, or show temper, would have shocked the assembly. The greater the cause for excitement, the more passion was curbed. In council wisdom asserted itself; it was only when a decision had been reached that the pent-up passions of young and old were given free rein. Parties they had, but not for the advancement of demagogues. No Iroquois could have understood what is meant by "filibustering," or why rational men should waste the nation's time at the nation's expense. While one spoke the rest pondered his words

long and deeply, or signified their assent by exclaiming Ho! ho![3] from time to time. Though in action so swift, in council their rule was to make haste slowly.

In ordinary conversation their answers were always short and to the point. Babbling was considered womanly. They could talk together over their pipes, and in telling of their exploits were wordy enough; yet loquacity was not often found, because there was nothing a warrior so much feared as being called a woman. La Hontan has told us that all a savage would say to his family after returning from a long hunt would be: "I have come: I wish you all much honor." Then all present would light their pipes and smoke in silence, without asking a single question. After finishing his pipe, the new-comer would, perhaps, say, "Listen: I have come from such a place; and have seen such and such a thing."



IROQUOIS AND PRISONER.

In communicating bad news they were in the habit of beating the bush considerably. For instance, a warrior would stalk into a wigwam and seat himself without a word. Indian etiquette prescribed that all should wait till he got ready to speak. Presently he would begin by saying to the father that his son had distinguished himself in war. To this the father would reply, "That is good," without asking for particulars. After another

long pause the messenger of evil tidings would add that his son had been slain. The stoical parent would dismiss the subject by saying "That is nothing." They were great economists of words, those Iroquois.

Their higher attributes were love of liberty and love of country, thirst for glory, contempt of death, hospitality, fidelity to friends and treaties. And though their filthy habits excite our disgust, their cruelties our indignation, we can and do find much in them to admire and commend.

To their foes they made themselves so terrible that Iroquois cruelty became proverbial in France, and even throughout Europe. In one of Voltaire's letters he writes of a young man, of only fifteen, who had been condemned, "by those Iroquois of Abbeville," to lose his hand, have his tongue cut out, and then be burned alive for offering some slight to the clergy.[4] Voltaire then asks pardon of the Iroquois for comparing them with these abominable judges. Indeed, barbarians are more easily excused than civilized men. The French actually burned some Iroquois prisoners alive at Quebec, and sent many others to perish in the galleys by order of the Most Christian king.

[1] The Mohawks, for instance, proceeded to clear themselves from the charge of making war against the Virginians, and to rebuke the other Nations. —*History of the Five Nations*, p. 48. The Onondagas at one time made a separate peace with the French.—*Ibid.*

[2] If, for instance, the Mohawk totem was a bear, every descendant of those first parents would wear the figure of a bear tatooed on his breast. This mark would be put to every public paper, and often set up in the wigwam.

[3] "Ho! ho!" was good—something like hear! hear! "Yo-ha!" was an exclamation of assent, like the affirmative ay! in our way of expressing it; it also conveyed thanks.

[4] Voltaire says the sentence was confirmed by the Parliament of Paris.

IV.

THE DUTCH ON MANHATTAN

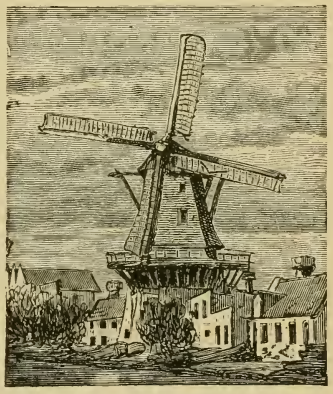
A GLANCE AT HOLLAND.

THE coast of North America had now been struck at three points—Florida, Virginia, and Canada—and by three different nations—Spanish, English, and French. They were, however, too far apart either to help or hurt each other much. Long ago Spain had laid her mailed hand on this continent, and sternly said, "Let all who touch beware!" But Spain had not been able to make good her threat of keeping all others away. To do so she must first have subdued the whole world, and she had tried that to her cost. First she had fallen on England. As soon as England had beaten her Invincible Armada all Europe took courage. Certainly that defeat opened the seas Spain had so arrogantly declared closed. And after this victory England had gone on, in Virginia, as if there had been no Spain.

There is still another, and, if possible, still more wonderful, story to tell. It is this: When the Armada had come sailing into the British Channel it was to have been joined by thirty-five thousand Spanish soldiers from the ports of Flanders. The combined English and Dutch fleets kept them shut up where they were, otherwise the

story might have been different, for it was a veteran army, led by the ablest captain in all Europe.

But how, it will be asked, came a Spanish army in Flanders? For sixteen long years Spain had been trying to subdue the Dutch provinces to her rule. Seven of them united to resist her to the death. With splendid courage they had withstood a war unexampled in ferocity and determination. The spirit they had shown had won the admiration of all Christendom. For eleven years more they kept up the unequal conflict. Worn out at last by her own efforts Spain sullenly and reluctantly acknowledged their independence and granted a truce for twelve years. This, in brief, is the story of the rise of the Dutch Republic or United Netherlands. And this happened in the year 1609.



DUTCH WINDMILL.

Before Spain would grant either peace or truce she insisted that the Hollanders should not trade with either Indies, East or West. This was firmly refused. Not trade to far countries when not a sixth part of the people could be fed from the soil! Give up the ocean! Never! The King of Spain, they quaintly and forcibly said, had not yet enclosed the ocean with a rail fence.

This incident shows us what a value the Hollanders set upon their foreign trade. "And what a trade it was!" exclaims the historian Motley. The foreign trade of no other nation could be compared with it, he says. Twenty

ships traded regularly to Guinea, eighty to the Cape de Verde Islands, twenty to America, and forty to the East Indies. Truly they might as well have owned themselves conquered at once as have given up their main resource at the command of the Spanish king.

DUTCH COSTUMES.

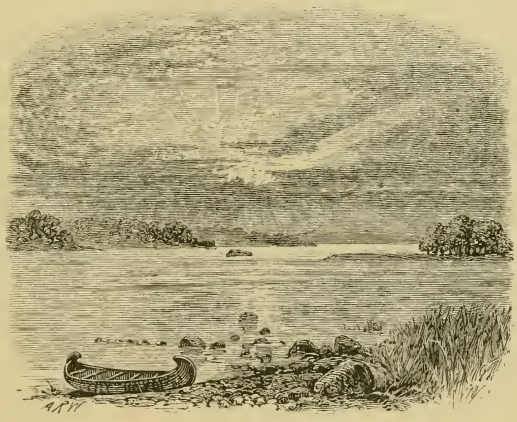
Why, at that very moment their ships were sailing on the most distant seas. In the Far East, Batavia, in Java, was being founded. In the Far West, a ship was seeking a short way to China. Let us follow that ship.

HUDSON'S VOYAGE, 1609.

"All roads lead to India."

CHAMPLAIN had scarce turned back, victorious, from writing his name in blood on the gate of the north, when a Dutch discovery-ship approached it from the south.

Since spring this ship had been vainly searching the coasts, north and south, for a passage through to India.[1] Her master, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, was just now in the Dutch East India Company's service. He had seen the passage he was looking for laid down on a map, which we, of course, know to have been false, though Hudson did not. Hope had not entirely left him when a break in the coast line caused him once more to bear up for it, and here began a new voyage into wonderland.



ROBYN'S RIFT, MOUTH OF THE KILLS.

Having anchored, the whites landed and met the Indians, who looked with wonder at the strange visitors and their monster canoe; yet, seeing no harm was meant them, they soon got over their fears, though suspicion may well have lurked in their breasts that the visit of these pale and bearded men boded them no good. Presently they plucked up the courage to go on board, carrying with them a present of tobacco, for which the sailors gave knives, beads, and clothing in return.

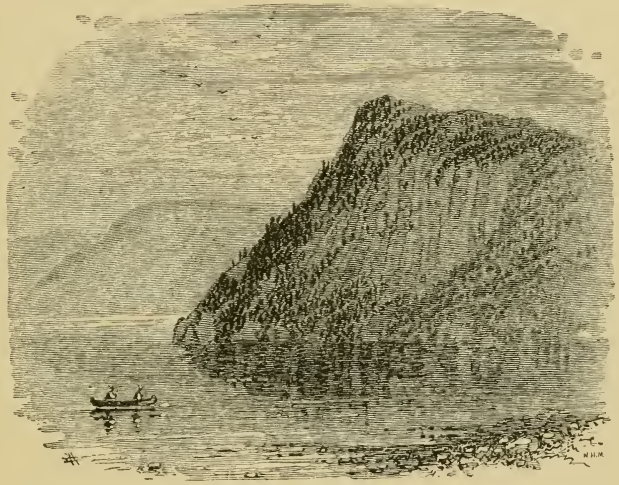
Here is what the Indians themselves afterward said about this first meeting. They said that they had learned from their ancestors that the first ship surprised them exceedingly; that they were curious to know what was in its huge belly.[2] They found Christians in it, who brought with them knives, hatchets, guns, and many other things, which they gave to the red men. Their ancestors were so well pleased with these Christians that they tied the ship to bushes on the shore; and afterward, liking them still better the longer they stayed, removed the rope and tied it to trees; and, as trees were liable to be blown down, they again removed the rope to a big and strong rock; and, finally, not content with this, to a big mountain. This was the Indians' way of expressing the renewal, from time to time, of a perpetual friendship.

Hudson next set his crew to sounding out the channel. They were returning to their ship, when they were suddenly set upon by two canoes, filled with Indians, who sent a flight of arrows among them, killing John Colman outright and wounding two more. After that, Hudson would not let the natives come on board the ship, though they continued to flock round her, with their gifts, as before.

Finding himself in the outlet of a large river, Hudson came up into it, after some six days, and it was then that he first got sight of the low, flat, woody island, fast locked between two great arms of water, which nature had prepared as the metropolis of this western world. Yet no evidence is found that Hudson or his men foresaw its greatness. What they saw there they saw on all sides of them—a solitude, except for a stray canoe here and there; a wilderness, except for the thin smoke of some half-

extinguished camp-fire curling up through the tree-tops. This was New York in 1609.[3]

No: Hudson was far too intent upon his first object to dream of what changes time might bring to some leagues of rough woodland. India was his goal; the river his path. Should it prove what he hoped for, all the wealth of the opulent East would be poured into the



BELOW THE HIGHLANDS.

coffers of his employers, and he be the peer of Columbus, the great Genoese. It was with impatience, then, that he waited for time and tide to help him on his way.

At each flood-tide the Half-Moon slowly drifted along with it, helped now and then by her sails, as a puff came down out of the mountains to the west, or a cat's-paw from off some broader reach between; when the tide turned the anchor was let go. At this slow rate it took eight days to reach the head of ship navigation, near

Albany,[4] where Hudson found himself stopped by the shallows above. So that could not be the way to India.

Though baffled in their hopes, the river did not fail to cast the spell of its grandeur over the discoverers. Rude sailors though they were, they must have been more than men if they could look unmoved upon the frowning Palisades or thronging mountains through which this river winds its majestic way. Awed, indeed, must have been the feelings with which they saw the declining sun gild the clustered peaks of the Catskills, or brighten the solid domes of the Helderbergs, or watched it fade into the deep shadows that these great mountains let fall in their path. We are sure of it, because Hudson could think only of the name Great River of the Mountains, to give to it.[5]

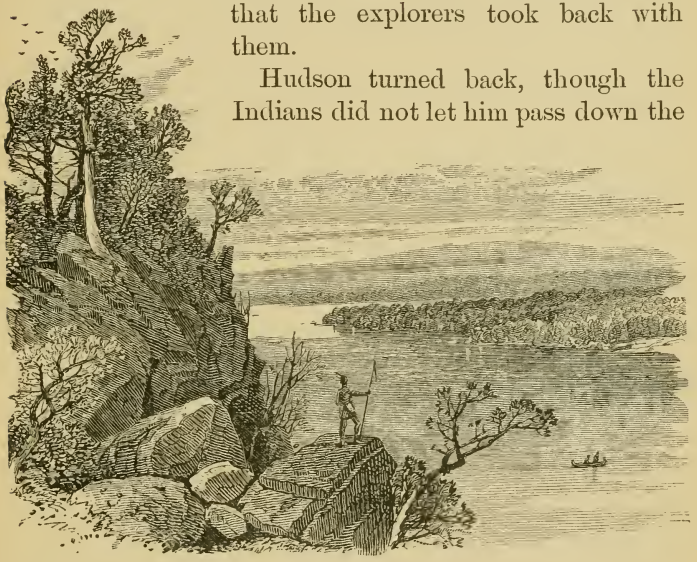
He found the banks well peopled ; a fine climate, a soil yielding well even to the poor tillage of the natives, waters alive with fat salmon, forests with game. Every day the savages would bring off fresh oysters, venison, beans, pumpkins, and wild grapes, for all these were now in their season ; so that the sailors had the evidence of their own stomachs how easily man lived in that land of plenty.

Hudson did one thing here for which he is justly blamed. At his farthest anchorage some of the native chiefs paid him a visit. Before he would trust them, Hudson resolved to try them, and to do so, plied them with liquor till all became helplessly intoxicated. So runs the story. It was a cruel stratagem. It is quite as probable, we think, that the act was prompted by a wicked desire to see how savages would act when under the influence of liquor or for sport.

During their stay the white men got many otter and beaver skins from the Indians, whose only use for them was to wear them, and who would readily exchange them

for trifles. Probably, every common sailor carried back with him a valuable pack of furs bought up for a song. This first opened men's eyes to the great profits to be made by trading in furs, and we now know that there were no keener traders than the Hollanders. It was probably the most interesting fact that the explorers took back with them.

Hudson turned back, though the Indians did not let him pass down the river scathless, for whenever the ship drifted within bow-shot, some lurking savage would let fly his arrows at her. Then the crew would return the fire ; and so they fought their way back to the bay and out to sea again. Clearly, some tribes were disposed to be friendly and some to drive away the invaders.



LIMIT OF HUDSON'S VOYAGE.

In just one month to a day from the time he had first doubled Sandy Hook, Hudson again passed it home-

ward bound, carrying to his employers hopeful tidings of a rich country, pierced by a great navigable river, and only waiting to be peopled. The natives were so simple that even a cobbler's awl would buy a beaver skin worth twenty guilders. There were masts for all navies, timber to last for centuries, farms without dikes—everything, in short, that Holland had not. So said Hudson, and he said truly.

Not in memory of some stay-at-home prince of royal blood or bigot king, but of this bold navigator and man of action, is this noble river named. Yet, not at once, but in after years, Hudson's name was bestowed upon it, for at first it was better known as the North River, to distinguish it from the South River or Delaware, which Hudson had first visited.[6] Even to this day the Hudson is familiarly spoken of as the North River. Hudson and Champlain have thus for us a real meaning and a real history.

[1] Some geographers think that Estevan Gomez, Magellan's pilot, saw New York harbor nearly a century before Hudson did; others as confidently claim that honor for Verrazani, the Florentine, in 1524.

[2] Colden's *Five Nations*, p. 124.

[3] New York Island is described as a heap of sand hills among masses of rock; with sandy beach, broken up by outcropping ledges; wild, rough, and desolate.

[4] Some think the Half-Moon did not get above Hudson.

[5] La Hontan, ed. 1703, calls the Hudson *Riviere de Fer* (Iron River).

[6] On this voyage Hudson made his first landfall near Portland, touched at Cape Cod, sailed thence to the Chesapeake, then, turning back, put into Delaware Bay.

NEW YORK IN THE CRADLE, 1610-26.

Hudson had to put into an English port on his return, where he was detained, but this did not prevent his sending his report to Holland. In that day an English subject could not enter the service of a foreign state without his sovereign's permission, and there were now special reasons why England should look coldly upon Holland.

HELL GATE (DUTCH PRINT).

First of all, the Dutch had started their East India Company in opposition to the English. This was considered a poor return for the help England had given Holland against Spain. Forgetting that there is no friendship in trade, the English merchants now called the Hollanders ungrateful. It was seen that by helping Holland, England had been building up a rival.

Then again, Holland was now become the asylum for those persecuted Puritans who were being driven out of England, and for those Protestants who had been driven out of France, by cruel edicts. Though this persecution had been going on a long time, its

increasing bitterness had brought matters to such a pass that a Puritan could not hear a sermon in his own house without danger of being thrown into prison for it. The intolerant part of England, therefore, looked upon Holland as a sort of Botany Bay, or as the home of all the enemies of true religion.

To the sagacious Dutch merchants Hudson's discovery opened a new avenue to commerce, which they were not

EARLIEST PICTURE OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

slow in following up. Before another year was out, a second ship was back in the Hudson trading for furs. In 1612 two vessels were sent out, and the next year three more, one of which having caught fire and burned at Manhattan Island, Block, the master, forthwith set his men to building some log huts for winter-quarters, at the lower part of the island.[1] They were its first known improvements. He also built a smaller vessel, in which he boldly made the dangerous passage through Hell Gate

into Long Island Sound, and out to the island now bearing his name in remembrance of that exploit.[2]

At about the same time, one Christiansen, who came with Block, ascended the river to Hudson's old anchorage, or even farther. On the west side of the river, on Patroon's Island, which is a little below Albany, he built a trading-house and called it Fort Nassau.[3] No one could have more quickly or judiciously seized upon vital centres of trade or where time has more fully vindicated the first choice. The ocean port, and the distributing depot, had been fixed upon at a glance and for all time.

NEW NETHERLAND SEAL.

The twin settlements had just begun to show some signs of life when Argall, of Virginia, on his way back from breaking up a French colony at Mount Desert, saw the Dutch flag flying at Manhattan. As the Dutch were considered as trespassing on English ground, Argall had the flag hauled down, after which, as the Dutch claimed to be only casual traders, he went his way.[4]

All these were private ventures, but the States General now asserted its sovereignty by granting an exclusive trading privilege to certain Hollanders for four years, and by giving to the country, between forty and forty-five degrees, the name of New Netherland. As regards the country itself, it was ill chosen. But it was the custom. New Spain, New France, and New England do convey, however, the idea of planting love of country by transplanting a beloved name.

The first, perhaps most striking, feature of Dutch oc-

cupation is that they should have dared to separate their two settlements by a hundred and fifty miles. It must mean that Hudson had really laid the foundation of a firm friendship with the Indians.

Meantime, competition for the Indian trade began. The French traders, "those heroic runners after profitable adventures," were first on the ground. Smith saw French knives and hatchets in the hands of the Indians on the lower Susquehanna. That shows us how quickly avenues for trade are opened. From the time it had left the trader's store at Quebec till it reached the Chesapeake that hatchet may have gone through twenty hands. But at a thousand miles from its starting point Smith meets it, and is startled, because he sees English dominion threatened by it.

At first the French were wise enough not to sell firearms to the Indians. But to get more furs the Dutch foolishly sold guns to the Iroquois, who immediately used them against the French, passing the lakes; for the French, led by Champlain, had again attacked them in one of their strong castles, though not with success, as this time Champlain was beaten off and wounded. Hate of the French was thus confirmed and strengthened.[5]

Meantime Christiansen had been killed in some quarrel with the Indians, and Fort Nassau deserted for a better site at the mouth of Norman's Kill, two miles below Albany. Here the Dutch made their first formal treaty with all the neighbor tribes, who, as was their custom, dug a hole, into which they cast a hatchet and covered it up with earth, in sign of perpetual amity.

Nothing of formal government had yet appeared; but now comes the newly-created Dutch West India Company,[6]

clothed with almost unlimited powers over New Netherland, which was to be governed in Holland, as Virginia had been in England, and colonized only so far as would promote the interests of a trading corporation. In 1623 the first colony, chiefly Walloons,[7] arrived out. Some few remained at Manhattan, some were sent to the South (Delaware) River, some to Long Island, and some to the Connecticut. Most, however, went up the

FIRST SETTLEMENT AT ALBANY.

Hudson, to where Fort Orange was being built, on the present site of Albany, so beginning that city. Scattering these colonists, in this way, emphasizes the purpose to draw in trade from many sources. Three great rivers had been tapped already.

Very little concerning the life of the people at this time has come to light. They seem to have had no diarists among them to jot down each day's doings, like Bradford and Winthrop among the Puritans, a band of whom had just settled at the bottom of Massachusetts

Bay,[8] first of all to seek the New World strictly for the sake of their religion. If we do not know their removal to have been a direct result of Hudson's discovery, the two events seem very closely connected; and we do know that accident alone prevented these exiles from settling in New Netherland.[9]

In 1624 the colonists, to use their own words, were getting along bravely. In 1625 a shipload of horses, cattle, sheep, and swine reached them. They then numbered about two hundred persons. In 1626 Peter Minuit was sent out as director-general. Under him the island of Manhattan was bought of the Indians for sixty guilders' worth of trading goods, or about twenty-four dollars of our coin.[10] Minuit, with a council of five appointed to assist him, made up the colonial government or government resident, subject to that at home. In 1627 overtures were made to Plymouth Colony for reciprocal trade, and on going there, subsequently, with some display, Secretary de Rasieres was well treated by those who before had been well treated by his countrymen. Two lay preachers came out to Manhattan, who held services, according to the Dutch Reformed liturgy, in a loft, topped out by some captured Spanish bells. Fort Amsterdam was built on the site of the Battery.

Though Holland would appear more tolerant than her times, she had by no means reached a full and free toleration. Far from it. Intolerance singled out its most illustrious victim, when in 1619 the venerable Barneveldt was unjustly executed for taking sides with Arminius against the rigid Calvinists. And the Synod of Dort approved the sentence. Holland, therefore, could not well be more tolerant to her colonies than to herself.

[1] First Improvements. While digging for the foundations of a new building in Sullivan Street (1892), workmen unearthed two log huts in a fine state of preservation. One was twenty feet square and fifteen feet high, built of squared yellow pine logs, with a flat roof of the same material. The other was smaller. They were supposed to be among the first homesteads erected on New York Island.

[2] For this Cruise of Block's, see *Making of New England*, pp. 56, 57. It founded the Dutch claim to the Connecticut River country.

[3] Fort Nassau was only thirty-six by twenty-six feet, with a stockade fifty-eight feet square and ditch eighteen broad.

[4] Dutch Occupation gave rise to formal complaint by the North Virginia Company. Little, however, came of it, except irritation. At that time the Dutch were considered to have impudently slipped themselves into the gap left open between the two Virginia colonies. In fact, the English title was never wholly abandoned. The Dutch claimed, however, to have been frequenting the regions of the North (Hudson) and South (Delaware) Rivers since 1598.

[5] Champlain's Defeat.—*Voyages*. Prince Soc. ed., iii. 123.

[6] Dutch West India Company, chartered 1621, had exclusive rights over all Dutch dominions in the Western Hemisphere.

[7] Walloons. Descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Netherlands; many fled to England and France to escape Spanish persecution.

[8] Puritans in New England. See *Making of New England*, p. 67.

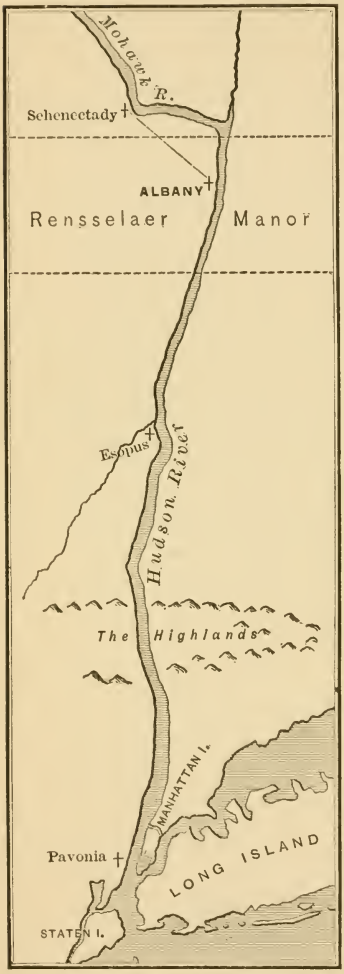
[9] The States-General, April 11, 1620, refused Robinson and his associates permission to settle in New Netherland.

[10] The Delawares have a tradition that their ancestors lived on Manhattan Island at the coming of the Dutch. According to them Man-ă-hă-tonh means *the place where there is wood for bows and arrows*. At the lower end of the island was a hickory grove of peculiar strength and toughness.—*Rev. Albert Anthony, a Delaware.*

MINUIT, VAN TWILLER, KIEFT.

The genius of Washington Irving has turned the whole history of Dutch rule in New York into a jest. And nothing is so effective as ridicule. Since Irving made us laugh, we can hardly believe that history to have a serious side. It is always a comedy. The Dutch governors drink, swear, and swagger about like so many Jack Falstaffs, in the ale-house, until the notion has become more or less deeply rooted that they were a parcel of good-natured but idiotic buffoons. Truth is sometimes spoken in jest. With Irv-

ing it is different. Truth vanishes in the jest. There is only a grotesque likeness left.[1]



HUDSON RIVER SETTLEMENTS.

The great Puritan emigration of 1628–30 soon led to the crowding back of the Dutch from the Connecticut, where they had built a fort, on the site of Hartford.[2] This the English hemmed in first by building another below it, and next by making strong settlements above it, so cutting off its supplies on one side and its trade on the other. The Dutch, indeed, made a show of force, but used none. They had been outgeneralled.

In 1630 Killian Van Rensselaer, a director in the company, bought a large tract of land lying next north of Fort Orange,[3] to which he sent out colonists well provided with cattle and farming tools. His purchase was called Rensselaerwick,[4] and the title he then took of patroon soon extended to other great landholders.[5] Other purchases were made for him

on both sides of the Hudson, thus including much of the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, and Columbia. In 1631 Michael Pauw, another director, bought up the whole of Staten Island, as well as what is now Jersey City. These patroons were rich men, whom the company encouraged by liberal inducements to plant colonies within the colony. The company soon had reason to repent its liberality, as these patroons grew to be like little lords of little states, and to behave as such toward the company. Their tenants were mostly ignorant peasants, picked up in country villages at home; their system of landholding similar to that of the old feudal times. This plan founded a landed aristocracy, which continued two hundred years or more.

Instead, then, of prosperous villages being pushed forward by their own citizens, we see here two or three forts, over which the company exercised a semi-martial rule, and two or three feudal manors, with tenants grouped around a proprietor, whose word, within his own estates, was also law. Farms were, indeed, granted or let, but the owners or lessees were expected to bring their rents to Manhattan, as the company preferred scattering the population in this manner to bringing it together in villages. We have seen a similar plan pursued in Virginia with like results. Here it was done to save trouble and expense, in carrying on many local governments. As the government itself was purely arbitrary there was no going behind it. In short, it was an attempt to build up a huge commercial concern, regardless of the fact that the whole structure rested upon labor, and that sooner or later labor would assert its power.

Director Minuit gave way in 1633 to Director Van Twiller. The same ship brought Everard Bogardus, the

first clergyman, and Adam Roelandson, the first schoolmaster.

The farmers, who were forbidden to trade in furs, first began planting tobacco, which all Dutchmen, as well as all Indians, freely used; but short trial soon showed wheat to be by far the surest and best crop. Of this cereal the company, or the patroons, took a tenth as quit-rent. There were no better farmers than the Dutch, and in New Netherland they kept up their old reputation for economy and thrift.

So we see that while the fur trade was certainly a monopoly, farming, as managed by the patroons, was practically another. By and by, these cunning patroons pretended to a right to trade for furs themselves in spite of the company. Therefore, as a whole, the colonists were dependent upon one monopoly or another. Men who work to enrich others seldom put forth their best efforts. It was so here. The patroons' tenantry raised only surplus enough to feed the company's dependents—that is to say, all those who gave their labor for their bread.

Here then, every spring, we should find vessels unloading at Manhattan (just christened New Amsterdam out of love for that more famous seaport of the fatherland), goods suitable for the Indian trade—such as blankets, woollens, spirits, guns, powder and shot, hatchets, knives, beads, etc.; and for the colonists, clothing, tools, dried and salted meats, seeds, guns, beer, spirits, etc. We should see a fleet of boats busily engaged in carrying these goods up the river to Fort Orange. At the same time a long string of canoes would be coming down the Mohawk with the winter's catch of beaver, each canoe having on board forty packs, weighing fifty pounds, and actually worth a hundred French crowns

each. On arriving near the Cohoes Falls, which block the mouth of the river, the canoes would land on the south bank, each savage shoulder his pack, the squaws load themselves down with the camp utensils, and all take the well-worn path across the scrubby plain to Fort Orange, about one day's march away. In time this solitary landing-place grew to a trading-post and straggling hamlet, the hamlet to a village, the village to the city of Schenectady; this path in the wilderness became in turn a military road, a turnpike, and finally the pioneer railway of the State.

Peter Esprit-Radisson, a Frenchman, who had lived with the Mohawks, and who made this trip in their company, says of it: "The fourth day we came to the fort of Orange, wher we weare very well received, or rather our castors (beavers), every one courting us; and was nothing but pruins and reasins and tobacco plentifully, and all for 'ho, ho,' which is thanks, adding '*nianounha*,' thanke you."

The beaver skins found ready sale, not for ready money, which had no value to an Indian, except to hang in his own or his squaw's ears, but for some of the trading goods in this list. It is at least doubtful if there ever was such a thing as an honest Indian trader, and as he fixed the price both of what he bought and what he sold his profits were very great. They were so large that every out-settler who could entice an Indian into his cabin became a contraband fur-trader.

On their home voyages ships went to the West Indies for sugar or to New England for dry fish. For some years the Plymouth Pilgrims supplied New Netherland with tobacco obtained from Virginia ships calling at Plymouth on their way home. This lasted only until the

masters found out the way to Manhattan for themselves. The Pilgrims also furnished the Dutch with cows and sheep until the jealousy of those who imported Dutch cattle broke off that trade also.

Under Van Twiller a plain wooden church was built at New Amsterdam. Sundry other improvements were planned by him. Patroon Pauw's rights to Staten Island were secured to the company and the South River establishment was strengthened.[6] Van Twiller is represented as being greedy, arbitrary, obstinate, and full of the insolence of office. His removal, therefore, in 1637 caused little regret, though those who said that any change must be for the better, soon found out their mistake.

When Van Twiller went out William Kieft came in. Van Twiller was slow, but Kieft far too hasty. The colony, however, began to throw out vigorous shoots here and there. For instance, the year 1639 saw De Vries settle his colony at Staten Island and Thomas Belcher take up land where Brooklyn stands to-day. Yet, as the policy of the directors had been to grant farms rather than to lay out towns, few of these were even begun until a dear-bought experience proved that to scatter the population was to invite its destruction. In fact, the colony owed most of its later misfortunes to this same unwise dispersion.

There seem to be two opinions about Kieft. Outside the colony he was thought both wise and prudent; inside the very opposite. He had been a merchant whose reputation for probity was none of the best. To a company of merchants it seemed most fitting, no doubt, to put a merchant over a trading colony. Kieft showed that governing was not his trade. His ten years' rule was stormy,

both within and without. He made enemies by wholesale. He treated the Indians wickedly. He cheated the people abominably, so that to them he was always a little despot. Under Kieft the people first began to stand up for their rights—a sure sign that he was trampling them under foot. Kieft could be temperate or he could be ferocious, but always avaricious. Kieft did some things deserving of praise, yet in his case the bad seems to outweigh the good tenfold.

Yet the settlers were not without blame, since neither positive prohibition nor the dictates of common prudence could stop their selling guns to the Indians. They also sold them rum; so that when the Indian was infuriated with the white man's drink he revenged himself with the white man's weapon. Rum made him a maniac, and he did right to call it a devil. If he turned his weapon against friend or foe alike it was the fault of those who made him "put an enemy in his mouth to steal away his brains."

Director Kieft was no sooner settled in his place than he began to show himself in his true colors. Hitherto a conciliatory policy had been pursued toward the Indians, as was most wise. Kieft, to raise money, now took it into his head to exact tribute of them, or tax money, as if they had been citizens, and began with the Raritans. The Raritans resisted, and some were killed. They retaliated by raiding Staten Island. Kieft then put a price upon their heads. This did not stop them. A blacksmith was killed at his own door. Kieft was eager to chastise these insolent savages, who thus set his proclamations at naught, but for want of men and money his hands were tied. The colonists, he reflected, could furnish both; so he called them together, and they chose

twelve good and true men to act for them. It was the first time a director had deigned to consult the popular will. The people saw their opportunity. Here was a principle at stake, and it was now first asserted. The twelve demanded a voice in the government, if they were to fight or pay for it. To this the shifty Kieft agreed, though he never kept his word, if, indeed, he had ever meant to.

FATHER ISAAC JOGUES.

Up to this time the colony may be called exclusively Dutch. It can be called so no longer, for many who had found New England too intolerant, or too hard to get a living in, now sought for easier homes in New Netherland. Some, like Anne Hutchinson, Captain John Underhill, and Lady Deborah Moody, had played no unimportant part in the religious disputes of those times. Southampton, on Long Island, was settled by these New England emigrants in 1640.

Let us see what sort of place Manhattan, or New Amsterdam, had become. Isaac Jogues,[7] a missionary, escaped from the Iroquois, says that at Manhattan he found "a dilapidated fort, garrisoned by sixty soldiers, and containing a stone church and the director-general's house, together with storehouses and barracks. Near it were ranges of small houses, occupied chiefly by mechanics and laborers; while the dwellings of the

remaining colonists, numbering in all four or five hundred, were scattered here and there about the island and the neighboring shores. The settlers were of different sects and nations, but chiefly Dutch Calvinists. Kieft told his guest that no less than eighteen different languages were spoken at Manhattan."

The stone church referred to in this account, together with a stone inn and a distillery, was Kieft's work. It will be seen that the infant metropolis already assumed something of its cosmopolitan character. It could not be a unit in thought, feeling, or interest. Besides these material things the colony received an important addition this year by the coming of Domine Magapolensis[8] to Rensselaerwick, of which place he became the spiritual head and venerated guide.

Stormy times were at hand. As usual, Kieft dealt with them in his hot-headed way. One day, in 1643, Van Voorst, a Dutchman, was slain, while quietly at work in his field, by an Indian, who had just been robbed by another Dutchman. Kieft instantly demanded the murderer of his tribe.

With the Indians homicide was not a public, but a private, crime, for which the murdered man's friends might take revenge in their own way. The tribe, therefore, refused the demand, though offering instead to pay a certain sum by way of vicarious atonement. This is quite in line with the usage of the most civilized nations of to-day.[9] But Kieft would have nothing but the slayer himself.

It so happened that some river Indians had fled from the Mohawks to the protection of the Dutch. These fugitives lay in the neighborhood of Manhattan Island. Kieft determined to make the innocent suffer for the

guilty. In vain the more prudent De Vries warned him to "let this work alone." In vain he told Kieft that he would only murder his own people. Kieft was bent on making a bloody example. An indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children ensued, eighty at one place and forty at another. This dark deed banded the neighbor tribes together for revenge. First one settlement, then another, was ravaged. Very soon it was unsafe for a Dutchman to stir outside the forts, and what De Vries had predicted Kieft saw come true.

THE PATROON, DE VRIES.

A hollow peace was followed by a new outbreak. The Indians on the river were still angry and dissatisfied. They began firing on the boats passing between Manhattan and Fort Orange. Then the reoccupied places were again visited with fire and slaughter.

Kieft could raise but not still this tempest. Again he was obliged to ask help of the people. It was a common danger, so the call did not go unheeded. It was met by the election of eight deputies, who, for a brief time, were as good as law-makers, and whose measures for carrying on the war were promptly approved. Moneys were raised and soldiers enrolled. Some fifty

of these were all English, under that Captain Underhill who had fought so valiantly in the Pequot war. A timely reinforcement of regular troops also arrived from the West Indies.

Meantime, the New England colonies, fearing this outbreak might reach them also, formed a combination for mutual protection.[10] It was first of all a military league. There had been more or less ill feeling all along between English and Dutch, which a spark might fan into a flame. The English thought the Dutch had no business to have crowded themselves into the very centre of the continent in the first place. That they should go on strengthening themselves there was hardly to be borne. Each accused the other of encroaching on what did not belong to them; and, in withstanding the Dutch, Connecticut claimed only to be defending the common cause. Still, they had bought and sold with each other until a stop had been put to the sale of English cattle in New Netherland, at the demand of the local merchants. This act naturally aroused quick resentment. There being, then, neither good-will nor friendly commerce between the rivals, the league had the Dutch also in view.

Two years of fighting made Kieft as eager for peace as he had ever been for war. Utter ruin stared the colonists in the face. So did famine. Trade had been stopped, farming stopped, many lives lost, much property destroyed, and to all appearance the Indians were as unsubdued as ever. So it was Kieft who had to sue for peace. This was finally had through the agency of the Mohawks, to whom, it is understood, the hostile Indians dared not deny a request equivalent to an order. Here again we see the influence of the great Iroquois league.

But before peace came progress had been put back many years by Kieft's headlong folly.

The cause of this unholy war [11] was traced to the getting of an Indian drunk so that he might be the easier robbed of his furs. Its destructive character was due to arming him as well as the whites themselves.

None too soon for the public weal Kieft was removed. He was drowned while on his way home to Holland, with a fortune of 400,000 guilders. When the ship was going to pieces Kieft turned to some of his fellow passengers and said: "Friends, I have been unjust toward you; can you forgive me?"

[1] KNICKERBOCKER'S *History of New York*, published in 1808. Irving borrowed his *nom de plume* from the Knickerbockers of Schaghticoke, N. Y.

[2] DUTCH TROUBLES with the Plymouth and Boston colonists are treated of in *Making of New England*, pp. 187, 191, 192 (note).

[3] FORT ORANGE, named for the Prince of Orange; a rude structure of logs on the site of the Phœnix Hotel, Albany; it was to New York what Montreal was to Quebec.

[4] RENSSELAERWICK, first two miles above Fort Orange, now part of Albany.

[5] PATROON, a title meaning a great landed proprietor, like that of seignior in Canada, or lord of the manor in England. It was continued in the Rensselaer family down to the Revolution, perhaps later, but was too aristocratic for the independent spirit brought about by that event.

[6] THE SOUTH RIVER will be treated of under New Jersey. See Index references.

[7] ISAAC JOGUES was probably the first white to pass Lake George, which he did (1642) as a captive. The story of his captivity is told in his letters (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*); his description of New Netherland is in the *Documentary History of N. Y.*; reprinted by J. G. Shea, 1862. In 1646 Jogues again passed Lake George on his way to the Mohawks, never to return. At this time he named it *Lac St. Sacrament. Morse's Gazetteer*, article Lake George, says that the French "were at the pains to procure this water for sacramental uses in all their churches in Canada."

[8] DOMINE JOHN MEGAPOLENSIS is the author of *A Short Sketch of the Mohawk Indians*, in Hazard, i., 517–26. He later removed to New Amsterdam.

[9] THE UNITED STATES has paid a money indemnity to Italy for her citizens killed by a mob at New Orleans, and taken one from Chile (1892) for American sailors killed at Valparaiso.

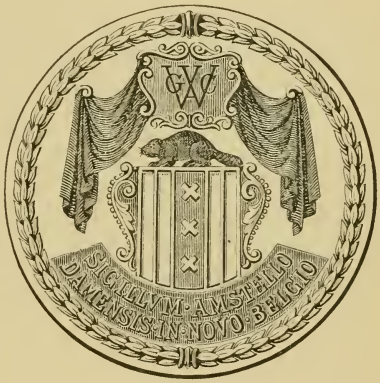
[10] NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY. *See Making of New England*, p. 242.

[11] THE CAUSE of this war is given by Winthrop, *History of N. England*, ii., 116, 117.

STUYVESANT, AND END OF DUTCH RULE, 1647-64.

KIEFT'S mismanagement was a heavy blow to those honest burghers in Holland who were finding nothing but losses where they had been looking for profits.

Having failed with a merchant the company decided to try a soldier. Peter Stuyvesant had been governor of Curaçoa, had shown himself both brave and able, and had lost a leg in its service before being called to this post. Much was, therefore, expected of him.



SEAL OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

Stuyvesant was a far better man for the place than Kieft, though he, too, despised the rabble and all its yearning after more liberty. As a soldier he had been in the habit of saying to one man do this, and to another do that, so, though kind-hearted, he was imperious, flew into a passion whenever crossed, believed the people were better off when minding their own business and letting the company's alone; and, in short, quite as sternly set his face against any and every innovation. Still, for all that, the cause of popular government was making progress.

There were now, perhaps, two thousand persons in the colony who lived in constant fear of their lives. So long

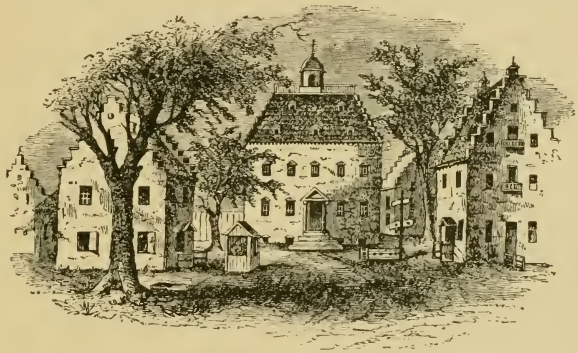
as the Indians could drive them into their two or three forts at will, how could they pretend to be masters? This might well be a source of anxiety, since in thirty years the Dutch had not been able to do what the New Englanders had done in four—subdue their savage neighbors. Some allowance should be made for the claim that the Dutch got along with their Indians better than their neighbors. In Kieft's time all the river tribes, besides those of Long Island, were leagued against them. If the Mohawks had not come to their rescue — Indian against Indian — the Dutch could hardly have held their own. Peace with the terrible Mohawks proved their only true safeguard. Yet it was about the only sagacious thing in Dutch-Indian policy that we have met with so far.

GOVERNOR'S HOUSE AND CHURCH, NEW YORK.

Bad management had led to a loss of faith in the company, too. As nothing could be had from it except what was extorted by the fear of losing all, the people had come to look upon it as their oppressor. To transfer their dislike to the governor was quite natural, because to them the governor was the company, and had he not cheated them time and again? They were continually comparing themselves with the New Englanders, who, at least, had a voice in their own affairs.

They decided to appeal to the States General for redress,

although they well knew there was nothing that would make Stuyvesant half so angry; yet there was no one else to whom they could appeal. The company was both deaf and dumb; Stuyvesant mocked them. Were they still citizens of the great republic, or only subjects of the avaricious Dutch company? Would the republic continue to permit its citizens to be held in this sort of bondage?



THE STADT HUYS.

In 1649 the settlers, therefore, made a vigorous stand against the monopoly. In convention assembled they made their petition direct to the States General to grant them suitable burgher government, more like that of the Fatherland, with other relief from oppressive restrictions upon trade. Their appeal was heard and sent down to the company, with certain recommendations looking to their relief. The reply was angry, contemptuous, insolent. Yet it is instructive. After saying that they had "already connived as much as possible at the many impertinences of some restless spirits," Stuyvesant was strictly charged to punish all who should presume to hold "clandestine

meetings," or, in other words, should dare assemble to discuss their grievances together "in proportion to their crimes." Armed with these orders Stuyvesant became harder than ever.

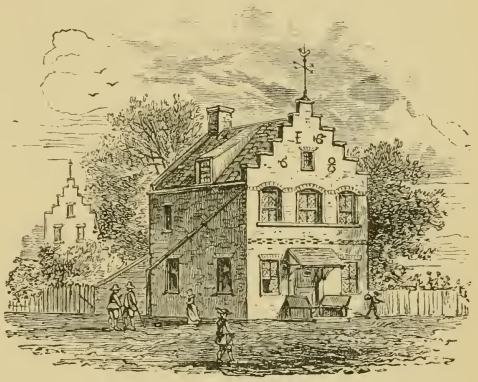
Within two years the people were clamoring for Stuyvesant's removal. They prayed the States General to take the government into its own hands. Out of these complaints came some unwilling concessions; New Amsterdam was allowed burgher government, or home rule, instead of being exclusively under that of the company, as before; the duty was taken off tobacco, and African slaves were allowed to be brought in.

Stuyvesant went about his duties like an honest but headstrong man, who has been used to breaking down all opposition by the mere force of his own will. The colony was in want of everything and its treasury empty. To raise money the people must be taxed. Submit to this without representation they would not, and so declared. They were, therefore, allowed to choose nine deputies, who should advise with the governor and council, and on certain occasions act as judges. But again they found they had given up the substance for the shadow. Stuyvesant wanted their assistance, not their advice.

Other disturbing causes there were. As the State church the Dutch Reformed Church had been protected and fostered. But other Christians desired the privilege of public worship too. Stuyvesant forbade their assembling until the company laid down this noble and golden rule for him: "Let every one remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government." He also forbade the mustering

of the burgher guard at New Amsterdam, resenting, it would seem, their appearing under arms without his order.

War having broken out between England and Holland (1653), New Amsterdam was made secure against surprise from the land side by carrying a stockade twelve feet high, in which there were two block-houses for gates, across the island. It extended along the present line of Wall Street. This fortification enclosed what was as yet only a little village, in spite of its great name, as by walking a mile one might have gone all the way round it. Outside of this were the farms. Stuyvesant's fears were by no means groundless. First he saw Fort Good Hope,[1] at Hartford, seized by the English; then Fort Casimir,[2] on the Delaware, surprised by the Swedes. Collision between the Dutch and English colonists was, however, averted by peace. But war also broke out with the River Indians, who slew or took captive hundreds of people. Even New Amsterdam did not escape.



OLD HOUSE, NEW YORK, BUILT 1668.

This war at last awoke the scattered colonists to the need of living in villages for self-protection. Jamaica, Bergen, Esopus,[3] and New Harlem were begun, or estab-

lished. Still later, in 1661, that Arendt Van Corlaer whom the Iroquois held in such high esteem as the just white man, settled at the great flats of the Mohawk, which presently took the name of Schenectady.[4]

In December, 1653, another convention of the people, in disregard of the prohibition, met at New Amsterdam to lay their many grievances before the States General. Chief of these was the making of laws without their consent. Hot words passed between the delegates and director, who, after venting his spleen, abruptly ordered them to disperse.

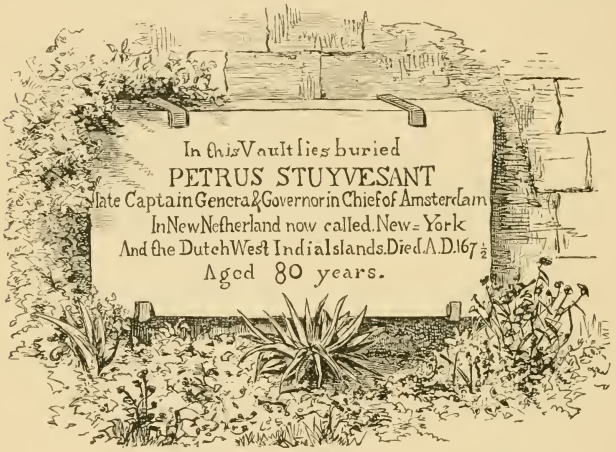
A new trouble arose out of the claim that Long Island belonged to the Duke of York.[5] And that claim, if allowed, would put an end to Dutch rule there, unless the Dutch were ready to go to war about it, which nobody believed.

Stuyvesant now had his hands full. Long Island was a house divided against itself. At the east end it was all English; at the west, all Dutch. More or less English lived also in Jamaica, Middleburg, and Heemstede. Now in all the disputes with Connecticut, the Long Island English mostly sided with their own countrymen, as was natural. Their remoteness enabled them to assert and hold a sort of independent position. So, when it was claimed that the island belonged to the Duke of York the English there at once threw themselves upon the protection of Connecticut. Stuyvesant knew not which way to turn.[6] If he tried force, all New England would fall upon him. It was therefore agreed to leave the matter to the home governments. But all unknown to Stuyvesant, the days of Dutch dominion were already numbered.

To enforce this claim, not only to Long Island, but all New Netherland, the Duke had been secretly fitting

NEW NETHERLAND IN 1656.

out a fleet in England. As admiral of the royal navy he could do this unsuspected. Besides, who would have believed such an attack on a friendly power possible? Rumors, indeed, reached Holland, but passed unheeded.[7] The fleet crossed the Atlantic. Levies were making in New England to assist it. Stuyvesant heard of its near approach, but would not believe its purpose was hostile



STUYVESANT'S TOMB.

until it was actually in the bay and the port blockaded. On August 29th he was summoned to surrender. Stuyvesant wanted to fight, but the people did not. The surprise had been so complete that no time was left for preparation. Satisfied that resistance would be folly, Stuyvesant sadly yielded up the fort, though he said he would rather have been carried out of it dead.

The Dutch soldiers were shipped off to Holland, the inhabitants required to take an oath of allegiance to Great Britain. In the Duke's honor New Amsterdam was offi-

cially named New York. Fort Orange fell soon after and was rechristened Albany.[8] Long Island was now permanently annexed, the vexatious Connecticut boundary settled, a code of laws prepared, liberty of conscience guaranteed, and in all things Dutch rule as completely set aside as if it had never been.

At New York a mayor and aldermen took theplace of burgomaster and schepens, though the difference was more in name than in fact. Thomas Willett,[9] formerly of Plymouth Colony, was made first mayor.

No government could well be more despotic than that now set up in New York, it being now a one-man power both within and without. From the Duke himself little, indeed, was to be hoped for, except that in choosing his governors he should choose wisely. The people had no voice whatever. The country was looked upon as a conquered province, subject to the grace of the conqueror. All the slow steps by which the inhabitants had secured a foothold in the government had actually led to nothing.

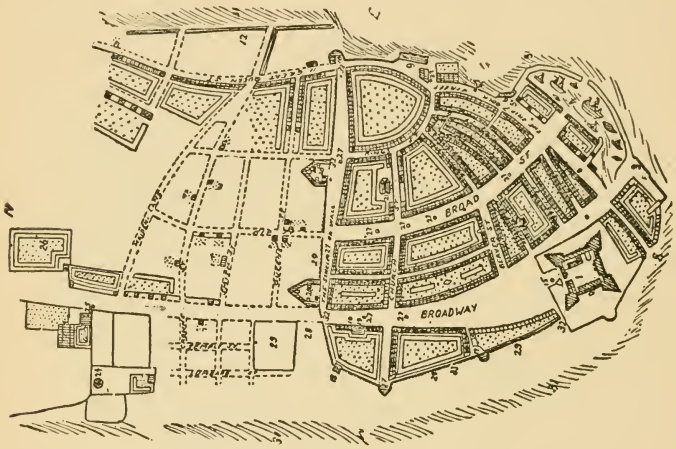
New York is estimated to have had, at the conquest, from six to eight thousand inhabitants, no very great showing, certainly, for the work of fifty years.

In four years Governor Nicolls, who had led the invading forces, went back to England. He was succeeded by Francis Lovelace, younger brother of the author of the famous lines,

> "Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage."

But the fate of war now took a sudden turn in favor of the Dutch. Early in August, 1673, a Dutch fleet, of seven ships, learning that New York was in no state to resist, sailed up to the city. The Dutch inhabitants could

not hide their joy. When appealed to to fight they answered by spiking their own cannon. Resistance was therefore vain. Yet the English captain, one Manning, could not bring himself to yield without firing a shot. Broadsides were exchanged between fleet and fort. Then six hundred men were landed, whom the citizens, to the number of four hundred, speedily joined, and all marched



MILLER'S PLAN OF NEW YORK IN 1695.

to the fort. To this imposing display of force Manning was obliged to submit.

The conquerors hastened to undo everything that the English had done. A sort of military rule was set up, with Captain Colve as acting head, until the home government should be heard from. All the important towns joyfully renewed their old allegiance. But their triumph was as short as it had been easy, for in October, 1674, Colve received an order to restore the colony to the English, who, thenceforth, remained undisputed masters.

By this time the population of the whole province had risen to about twelve thousand, mostly Dutch, but liberally mixed with English, Scotch, French, Germans, Swedes, and Blacks. The English, of course, had established the Church of England as State church, when they came into power. Those who were already in the province were mostly Congregationalists or Presbyterians. Then there were Dutch Calvinists and French Calvinists, besides Lutherans. In New York City the French held worship in their own language. There were four hundred houses there. The government was there; the courts were there; and it was already cosmopolitan.

[1] CONNECT the history of this fort by the Index references.

[2] SEE Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware.

[3] ESOPUS, now Kingston, was the most important post between New York and Albany. Its position drew to it much of the Indian trade, and that made it the scene of frequent quarrels between the settlers and the Indians.

[4] SCHENECTADY. By the intervention of Cohoes Falls to free navigation of the Mohawk, a portage across the angle formed by this river with the Hudson became necessary. See previous chapter. Look at your map. Schenectady was long the frontier town. It bore a strategic relation, either peaceful or warlike, to the country west of it, as all traders' goods and all military supplies had to be collected here.

[5] ROYAL GRANT from Charles II. to the Duke of York, covering Long Island, Hudson River, and the country between the Connecticut and Delaware, was made in 1664. See *Poore's Charters*.

[6] STUYVESANT tried to reconcile these differences. It is certain that he made all the advances; it is equally true that the New England governors treated his advances coldly. Their answers were extremely diplomatic. Many letters may be found in the Massachusetts archives of this period.

[7] IT is said that Stuyvesant also had notice of this fleet.

[8] ALBANY, another title of the Duke of York, had also been called Beaverwick, or Beavertoun. Its original Indian name of Scagh-negh-ta-da (end of the pine woods) was transferred to the town by the Mohawk—Schenectady.

[9] THOMAS WILLETT had lived in Leyden. The Pilgrims put him in charge of their trading-house at Penobscot, until the French drove him away. He left New York for Rehoboth, Mass., when the Dutch took that place, 1673. His grave is in East Providence, R. I.

LANDMARKS OF LONG ISLAND.

According to very old tradition, the Indians of Manhattan could once cross over to Long Island on the rocks of Hell Gate. If we scan the chain of islands now stretching off from Long Island toward the Connecticut shore, and note its direction, it is difficult not to believe that this, too, was once unbroken until the sea, in its rage, broke through. And this theory leads to the conclusion that Long Island once formed part of the mainland.

The changes human history has to record are scarcely less violent or startling, for here one race has disappeared at the coming of another. As the ocean has swallowed up the land, so the white race has rolled over and engulfed the red.

For a quarter of a century Long Island was a bone of contention between English and Dutch. Some two-thirds of the island was in English hands, one-third in Dutch; and even this small section was not always loyal to the Dutch interests or Dutch rule. Political as well as geographical reasons would seem, therefore, to have pointed to a union with New England rather than New York.

Long it lay untouched by either English or Dutch. For both there was land enough and to spare on the main. And, as compared with the main, this land was mostly poor. For the English it lay too far off; and though it nearly touched Manhattan, at the west, the Dutch seem, at first, not to have looked that way.[1]

Peopled the island was, and in spots even populous, yet the natives were much feared as being both cruel and

treacherous, until time proved that, like other men, they also could be friends or foes, according as they were well or ill used. And yet they were not precisely like other men, because they were so quick to resent an injury, and so revengeful by nature, that so long as the Indians were powerful the whites never felt quite at their ease among them.[2]

Living mostly on what nature provided, for they despised manual labor, their numerous villages were usually pitched as near as might be to the great oyster or

LONG ISLAND SETTLEMENTS.

clam beds, which furnished them abundant food both summer and winter, and also with the blue and white cockle-shells which made their wampum so highly prized for its exquisite workmanship. Deer roamed the woods, sea-fowl haunted the marshes, fishes swarmed in the creeks and bays; so that these rude and simple beings had only to go to the woods, the sands, or the waters for their daily food.

Very little more was known of the island except that the summers were cooler and the winters warmer than at Hartford or Boston. Less snow fell. At any rate, the climate was better than the bleak New England coast.

And it was reasoned that where red men could live well without labor, white men could live better with it.

Yet for a long time none except traders ventured to go on the island, probably because of the bad name that the Indians had gained. It is hard to believe that their doing so, at last, arose from their feeling too much crowded in towns not yet a dozen years old. Yet this was the reason they gave.

Settlement began in earnest, at both ends of the island, at nearly the same time, by both English and Dutch, for though one man is found here and another there at an earlier date,[3] the Dutch had not built a single town up to the year 1640. The reason for this has been pointed out elsewhere. The reason for English migration is as follows: In New England, where the people had been, on the contrary, crowded into towns, hard times and scant room had turned the thoughts of many to removal. In New England there were no large bodies of good land contiguous to the towns, except in the Connecticut Valley. And in large towns all the best lands had been so quickly taken up that late comers fared but badly. These reasoned that a poor man must always be poor, as in the Old Country. A craving for more land seems to have grown up from the moment these immigrants first stepped on shore and looked around them, as if every man's ambition to be a landholder was kindled by the very air he breathed.

Many had formed views now called socialistic. These advocated the idea of a community where all should share, and share alike, rich and poor. As that could not be in New England, they looked about them for another home. Some of Lynn, in Massachusetts, made choice of Long Island (which they supposed good English ground yet

unoccupied), and after agreeing with the alleged proprietor's agent for a suitable tract of land there, a party was sent off to locate it, erect buildings, and so smooth the way for the coming of the rest.

The Massachusetts government did not like to see their people leaving them in this manner, and tried hard to turn them from their design; but the spirit of unrest was abroad, and it could not be stayed. Indeed, it soon became an epidemic.

These pioneer settlers first went to the west end of the island, and had even set up a house or two, when the Dutch came and drove them off as trespassers. Some were imprisoned, but soon liberated.[4]

Now, as the Dutch themselves were regarded as intruders by many, this act caused great indignation. It strengthened the secret dislike already felt for the Dutch by both high and low; and the governors of the New England colonies held sharp language with the Dutch governor about it. Yet neither dared go further than words.

Instead of giving up their design, however, the Lynn men then went to the extreme east end of the island, as far away as possible from the Dutch, there to begin the settlement of Southampton.[5] Perhaps they had been told to go ahead and fear nothing. At any rate, they behaved as if they felt sure of support should it be needed. When they got to their destination, they found Lion Gardiner,[6] a former commandant of Saybrook Fort, and a tried soldier, at work making himself a home on the island now bearing his name, to which he had but lately removed. Thus strengthened, they fell to building at once.

Before leaving Lynn these people had agreed upon

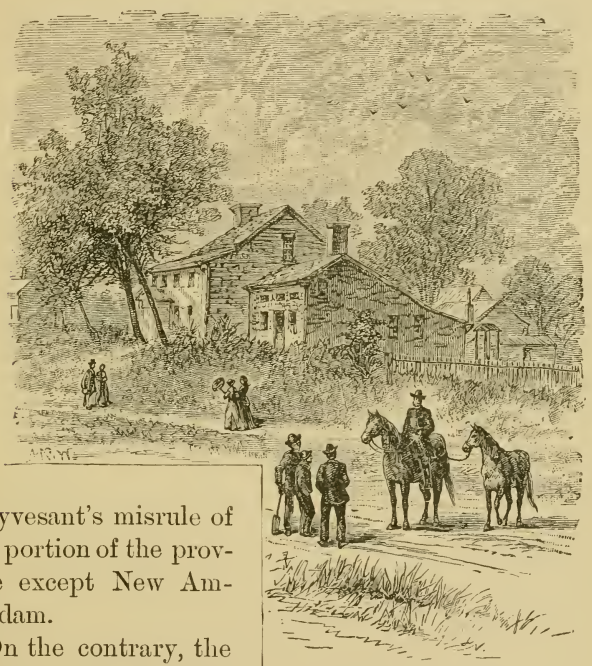
certain rules of government, to be put in force when they should be settled. These will be referred to by and by. Soon after they were joined by the Reverend Abraham Pierson, their pastor. In this remote corner of the island the settlers could now snap their fingers at the Dutch. They were now as much a body politic as the Pilgrims had been at Plymouth, and quite as free of care for the great world without.

These Lynn men had been driven from their first choice, because the Dutch lay claim not only to this island, but also to everything between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers. How, then, came the English to go there? They went under an English grant to Sir William Alexander,[7] by which Long Island, as well as Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, was included in a royal grant of Nova Scotia. This looks something like attaching Bermuda to Virginia. Whether it happened through ignorance or design is not clear, but, at any rate, it saved the island to the English in the end, as it drew the line between those who submitted to the Dutch claim and those who did not. And Kieft and Stuyvesant thought twice before provoking a conflict.

Southold[8] was immediately settled, thus forming with Southampton the two long claw-like arms of Gardiner's Bay. We now have the kernels from which sprung the two bodies of settlers, English and Dutch. The Dutch got all the best land and the English all the poor, though they soon acquired more than two-thirds of the whole island.

Close upon these came the settlements at Gravesend,[9] Flushing, Jamaica, and Hempstead at the west end, mostly by English, and at Flatbush, Flatlands (New Amersfort), and New Utrecht, by Dutch alone. The first have

importance as being one step toward making New York an English colony. Though living under Dutch laws, in speech and manners they remained Englishmen. And these towns showed the strongest front against Kieft and Stuyvesant's misrule of any portion of the province except New Amsterdam.



OLD HOUSE, SOUTHOLD, L. I.

On the contrary, the settlers of Southampton and Southold did not consider themselves under Dutch jurisdiction. In buying their lands they had not acknowledged it, and did not purpose doing so now. Their title came from the king of England, and to him they were willing to leave the question of sovereignty. In taking this stand, they knew they had the moral aid of the New England

colonies, and believed they would have physical aid too if the Dutch attempted to drive them away. Hence, they asked to be taken under the Connecticut and New Haven governments, making, meanwhile, their own rules, holding their own town-meetings, and in all things acting independently of the Dutch at the other end of the island.

In settling a Dutch town the way was this: The Gravesend settlers, for instance, were promised liberty of conscience, so far as it was allowed in Holland. This put religion on the same footing as our English exiles had found it in Holland. They had leave to make their own local rules and regulations and have them enforced by their own sheriff; could choose justices to try petty cases; enjoy the same privileges of trade as other inhabitants did, and no more, with freedom from taxation for ten years. On their part they were to be true subjects of Holland, and at the end of ten years to pay over to the company a tenth of their produce—grain, if that was raised, or butter and cheese, if grazing only was followed.

This was the plan on paper. The rest depended on the settlers themselves. Those who came with Lady Deborah Moody [10] to Gravesend in 1643, all of whom were English, seem to have got on far better than those who began New Utrecht, all of whom were Dutch. These towns grew up side by side. One prospered, while the the other languished, chiefly through the neglect of its founders to live up to their own rules.

At New Utrecht twenty two-acre lots were first laid out to as many proprietors, who pledged themselves to build within a fixed time. Jacob Swart had the first house up, Fiscal de Sille the best. His was the only one to be roofed over with red tiles, or fenced in with pali-

sades, so that it could neither be easily forced or burned. It therefore became the garrison, until the settlers built one of their own. In time, by the help of negro labor, the whole village was thus enclosed.

Then, as now, there were land speculators, who put their names to the agreement for no other purpose than to sell out at an advance. These fellows hung like millstones round the necks of actual settlers. Then there were earlier settlers all along this shore, mere squatters, who had no title to the land except possession, yet gave trouble. Besides the town land-grant the company also granted a proportion of meadow, for which the lot-holders drew lots. This was for grazing only.

Two overseers with the sheriff had general charge of town affairs, but where they failed, as they often did, to keep good order, the governor himself stepped in. This had a tendency to bring the general government into contempt. If a man's pigs broke into his neighbor's enclosure, the case would often have to be carried before the governor and council. Their unfitness for self-government being assumed, the people naturally threw all responsibility upon their rulers.

Some penalties to evil-doers seem rather severe. For stealing or breaking down fencing, it was whipping and branding for the first offence and hanging for the second. The sheriff was empowered to arrest anyone who by word or act should disturb the public peace. So there was no such thing as free speech. There was a town sergeant, a sort of military policeman, appointed by the governor, who carried a halberd around with him as his staff of office, and whose business it was to summon and set the watch, without which no one could lie down in peace. Surrounding trees that would obstruct a fair

shot at a skulking Indian were cut down. So that each village was at least half a camp. Among the first wants were a pound, a grist-mill, and a block-house. One by one these were provided for. At Gravesend they had a water-mill; at New Utrecht an old horse-mill was brought over from New Amsterdam and set to work grinding again.

Having adopted their code of rules before coming to the island, those English who did not come under Dutch rule really formed so many little colonies, knitted together by previous knowledge of one another, with a code ready framed out of previous experience. Hence, we hear of fewer disputes among them. In political and religious sentiment, too, they were one. Hence, the way of social order was at once established. At Southampton the original proprietors took the disposing of all lands into their own hands. Each man's rights were strictly defined. He had his house lot, his planting lot, or his farm lot laid out to him, no part of which could be sold without the other. A house lot must always be a house lot; so with a planting or farm lot; and no man could build more than one dwelling on the home lot. It was forbidden to encroach, by so much as a hair's breadth, upon the great pasture laid out for the common use of all. This was the origin here of that peculiar system of commonage,[11] so called, which continued on this and the adjacent islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard long after it had died out on the mainland. As a custom it was centuries old. Shares in the common pasture descended from father to son long after the owner had ceased to keep his cattle or fold his sheep therein.

These regulations looked to making a compact, yet not overcrowded settlement. They were meant to put a

stop to disorderly building, to indulgence in speculation, and to the greed for getting more land than one's neighbor. In but one way could a man sell his lands. Here, certainly, was to be equality; here was to be an equal chance for all. Yet there is seen also the distinct idea of keeping out unwelcome intruders.

These English seem also to have carried with them the Puritan plan of making Church and State one, or as all were expected to become church members, the church was the town and the town the church. This was the Puritan ideal government, but it never would long stand the test of actual trial, because sooner or later it led to jealousies between the civil and religious authority. Human law being derived from the Scriptures, the elders considered themselves its true and only expounders. No magistrate would long consent to this view. Hence the difficulty of fixing a limit to the authority of the one and the other. But, at first, the annual town-meeting, or, as they called it here, their general court, had to deal mostly with actual wants, while questions of a strictly moral kind were left for the judgment of the church.

When the Indians rose against the Dutch, in Kieft's time, all their settlements on Long Island were early marked for destruction. So determined were the Indians upon exterminating all Dutchmen that the towns at the west end of the island were practically depopulated. Warriors would even search the houses of Englishmen who were suspected of giving shelter to a Dutchman. In vain the Hollanders besought Kieft's help. "We could and would earn a livelihood if we could be protected against the Indians," said they. And again, those who lived at Gravesend warned him that, "if we leave this spot, then Long Island no longer has Dutch people for inhabitants."

At length the red men fell with fury upon Lady Moody's house, at Gravesend, thinking to destroy her as they had Mrs. Hutchinson, at Throg's Neck,[2] but Lady Moody so stoutly withstood them that after successive assaults had failed the assailants withdrew. Of all the out-settlements Gravesend stood alone in its heroic resistance, and Lady Deborah Moody, with her forty stout English hearts, will some day be the theme of poet and painter.

When war broke out between England and Holland there was great uneasiness, because the English towns showed sympathy for their own nation and flag. Doubts were even raised whether the Dutch could lawfully claim them. In 1663 some of them prayed Connecticut to take them under her government. This led to a combination of the English towns for mutual protection, though the Dutch towns remained loyal.

[1] PART of the colonists of 1623 (see *ante*) settled on the west shore of the island, though just where they went or how long they remained is not learned. Some few Dutch, however, seem to have crossed the East River at an early day. Thus, it is said that a solitary settler, called George Jansen de Rapelje, planted himself at Wallabout Bay, in what is now the city of Brooklyn, about 1625, and that Rapelje's daughter Sarah, born in that year, was the first child of white parentage born on the island.—*Thompson's Long Island; New York Historical Society's Collections.* There were also a few scattered settlers at New Utrecht and Gravesend before those towns were laid out, though it is hard to fix a date for their coming.

[2] THE Long Island Indians were subdivided into many tribes, whose names are preserved in the various localities they inhabited, as the Montauks, for whom the great eastern headland is named; the Shinnecocks, after whom the most prominent landmark is called; Accabaug (Riverhead), etc.

[3] READ Note 1. Brooklyn had municipal government in 1646.

[4] THIS attempt took place at Cow Neck, near the head of Cow Bay, afterward called Howe's Bay, from Lieutenant Daniel Howe, leader of the evicted party, and sometimes Scout's Bay, from the officer sent to remove them. The locality is now in the township of Oyster Bay.

[5] THE Southampton people's first grant from Sir W. Alexander's agent of eight miles square is dated April 27, 1640. Being unable to confirm them in peaceable possession, Farrett, the agent, gave them a new deed at New Haven, June 12th, but they had gone upon their new location before this. They called it Southampton in memory of the English port out of which they last sailed.

[6] Lion Gardiner was a military engineer who had been sent out to build this fort. He was the first Englishman, so far as known, to settle on Long Island. His patent is dated March 10, 1639. September 14, 1641, his daughter Elizabeth was born at Gardiner's Island, she being the first native of English blood. This island was first made a separate and independent plantation.

[7] Sir William Alexander's grant was from James I. in 1621; afterward confirmed by Charles I. in letters patent.

[8] Southold (Indian Yennycook). Richard Jackson had a cottage here in October, 1640, under a grant from Farrett (August 15, 1640). No proper settlement is found before the next year. July 29, 1641, the colony of New Haven took a mortgage of the Southold lands from Farrett. The title lapsed to that colony in 1644 and was by it turned over to the town of Southold in 1649. New Haven thus began and sustained this settlement.

[9] Gravesend. Settlers are claimed here previous to 1640; in another place in 1636.—*Thompson's Long Island*, ii., pp. 168, 182. Flushing. First planters English, who probably had lived in Holland; they located here in 1645; Kieft's patent is dated October 19, 1645.—Ibid., ii. 69. Barber says it was settled in 1644 by English from Flushing, Holland.—*New York*, p. 453. Jamaica, called Rusdorp by the Dutch, settled by people from Milford, Conn., and Heemestede, in 1656, by permission of Governor Stuyvesant.—Ibid, p. 458. The Indian deed stipulated "that noe person is to cut downe any tall trees where Eagles doe build theire nests." Hempstead (Dutch Heemestede), settled by people from Wethersfield and Stamford in 1643.—*Thompson's Long Island.* The same authority says that "in the spring of 1644 the company crossed the Sound and began settlement on the present site of the village of Hempstead." Hempstead was divided 1784. Flatbush, first called Midwout (Middlewoods), begun 1651 (*Thompson's Long Island*, ii., 200); Flatlands in 1636 (?) (ibid., ii. 182) (Governor Van Twiller had a farm here); New Utrecht in 1654 by twenty families from Holland and a few Palatines (ibid. ii. 190). These statements are, in general, so loose and conflicting that the earliest dates given should be accepted with caution.

[10] Lady Deborah Moody was a gentlewoman of wealth and refinement, who had first settled in Lynn, Mass. For refusing to accept the doctrine of infant baptism her church (Salem) expelled her. She would not recant, so in 1643, with a considerable following, she founded Gravesend, and became most helpful to the Dutch in time of need.

[11] Original proprietors only, or those inheriting from them, could pasture their animals on the commons. The peninsula of Easthampton and Montauk was longest so held. Hempstead Plain, a tract sixteen miles long, unenclosed, was so used within fifty years. Boston Common is the most noted example of land so held to this day. See *Sir H. Maine's Village Communities; Johns Hopkins Historical Studies*, vol. i.

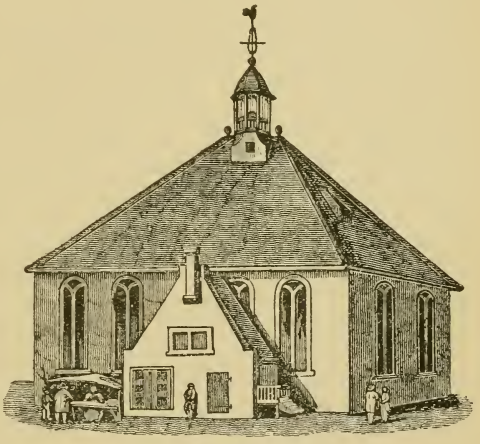
[12] Throg's Neck, short for John Throgmorton, the first English settler's name. He first followed Roger Williams into banishment, then removed to this place. It was near here that the unfortunate Mrs. Hutchinson had sought a safe retreat for her own, Throgmorton's, and one Cornhill's families, forming together a secluded little neighborhood. But all, except a few women and children who succeeded in getting off in a boat, were slain without mercy.

DESCRIPTION OF ALBANY.[1]

[BY MRS. ANNE GRANT, OF LAGGAN.]

THE city of Albany stretched along the banks of the Hudson; one very wide and long street lay parallel to the river, the intermediate space between it and the shore being occupied by gardens. A small but steep hill rose above the centre of the town, on which stood a fort, intended (but very ill-adapted) for the defence of the place and the neighboring country. From the foot of this hill another street was built, sloping pretty rapidly down till it joined the one before mentioned that ran along the river. This street was still wider than the other. It was paved only on each side, the middle being occupied by public edifices. These consisted of a market-place, or guard-house, a town-hall, and the English and Dutch churches. The English church belonged to the Episcopal persuasion, and in the diocese of the Bishop of London; it stood at the foot of the hill, at the upper end of the street. The Dutch church was situated at the bottom of the descent, where the street terminated; two irregular streets, not so broad, but equally long, ran parallel to these, and a few even ones opened between them. The town, in proportion to its population, occupied a great space of ground. This city, in short, was a semi-rural establishment; every house had its garden, well, and a little green behind; before every door a tree was planted, rendered interesting by being coeval with some beloved member of the family. Many of their trees were of a prodigious size and extraordinary beauty, but without regularity, everyone planting

the kind that best pleased him, or which he thought would afford the most agreeable shade to the open portico at his door, which was surrounded by seats and ascended by a few steps. It was in these that each domestic group was seated in summer evenings to enjoy the balmy twilight or the serenely clear moonlight. Each family had a cow, fed in the common pasture at the end of the town. In the evening the herd returned all together, of their own accord, with their tinkling bells hung at their necks, along the wide and grassy street, to their wonted sheltering trees, to be milked at their masters' doors. Nothing could be more pleasing to a simple and benevolent mind than to see thus at one view all the inhabitants of a town which contained not one very rich or very poor, very knowing or very ignorant, very rude or very polished, individual—to see all these children of nature enjoying in easy indolence or social intercourse



OLD DUTCH CHURCH, ALBANY.

"The cool, the fragrant, and the dusky hour,"

clothed in the plainest habits, and with minds as undisguised and artless. At one door were young matrons, at

another the elders of the people, at a third the youths and the maidens, gayly chatting or singing together, while the children played round the trees, or waited by the cows for the chief ingredient of their frugal supper, which they generally ate sitting on the steps in the open air. This picture, so familiar to my imagination, has led me away from my purpose, which was to describe the rural economy and modes of living in this patriarchal city. At one end of the town, as I observed before, was a common pasture where all the cattle belonging to the inhabitants grazed together. A never-failing instinct guided each home to her master's door in the evening, where, being treated with a few vegetables and a little fat, which is indispensably necessary for cattle in this country, they patiently waited the night; and after being milked in the morning they went off in slow and regular procession to the pasture. At the other end of the town was a fertile plain along the river, three miles in length and near a mile broad. This was all divided into lots, where every inhabitant raised Indian corn sufficient for the food of two or three slaves (the greatest number that each family ever possessed), and for his horses, pigs, and poultry. Their flour and other grain they purchased from farmers in the vicinity. Above the town, a long stretch to the westward was occupied first by sandy hills, on which grew bilberries of uncommon size and flavor, in prodigious quantities; beyond rose heights of a poor, hungry soil, thinly covered with stunted pines or dwarf oak.

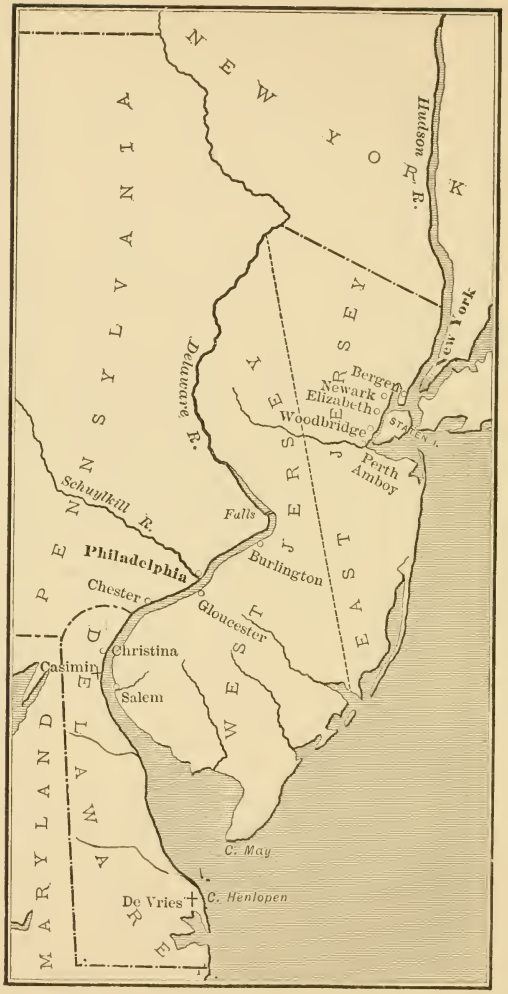
[1] This was written from the memory of a child only thirteen years of age, but is by far the best picture of Albany, in about 1760, extant.

EAST NEW JERSEY.

Just at what time settlement began on the Jersey side of the Hudson is not clear. Probably Michael Pauw's establishment at Pavonia, such as it was, was one of the earliest, if not the very first. We know this to have been a combined farm and trading-post. Yet this goes no farther back than 1630, at most. More is not certainly known. But great or small, we find in Bergen[1] the seed of the planting of New Jersey.

By the time of the English conquest some half-dozen Dutch hamlets had grouped themselves around New York island, to which, indeed, they mostly owed all their life. After the conquest a cluster of new and stronger settlements grew up along the coast, chiefly between the Passaic and the Raritan, all owing their life to its new impulse. Most of them were vigorous offshoots from the older New England colonies. Later on, New Jersey received a sprinkling of several nationalities; but the men and women who first came seeking new homes and new fortunes here were no strangers to the trials and hardships of a pioneer life. New Jersey has no more flourishing communities to-day than they founded.

First of all some Long Island people had removed to lands at Middletown, Shrewsbury, and Elizabethtown, or what were later so called. It is said that after these people had bought their lands of the Indians, and then had their purchase confirmed by a deed from Governor Nicolls, of New York, the craze to remove caused something like a depopulation of the west end of Long Island. Nicolls could not then know, however, that the duke, his master, had already given away not only these same



THE JERSEYS, DELAWARE, AND PENNSYLVANIA.

lands, but the whole of what is now New Jersey, then first called Nova Cesarea,[2] thus setting up a separate and distinct government from that of New York. The gift had been made even before it was the duke's to give—before its conquest from the Dutch.

The new proprietors[3] immediately set about planning how best to settle and govern their new province. Their first ship-load of emigrants came over in 1665, landing at what is now Elizabeth, but was first called Elizabethtown, in Lady Carteret's honor. With them came Philip Carteret,[4] as deputy-governor, who is said to have landed with a hoe on his shoulder. He established the seat of government at this place. As those whom he found there claimed the land as theirs, and as the proprietors insisted that it was not, a long and bitter quarrel ensued, which has become historical.

In the same autumn agents were sent into New England, from town to town, circulating the inducements held out by the proprietors, praising the country, and soliciting recruits. They had good success, especially in those places where the Quakers had suffered persecution shortly before. These terms or privileges were called "Concessions." Religions liberty was promised. All lands in the province were to be divided into parcels, of which six-sevenths were to go to actual settlers, free of cost, except quit-rents of a half-penny an acre, while the proprietors kept the remaining seventh for themselves. Those who came out with the first emigration received larger portions than those who came later. To give time for a settler to clear, plant, and build, quit-rents were not to begin till the year 1670. So, any man possessing common industry could secure a homestead. If he owned a hundred acres, his yearly rent would amount to

but fifty pence, a small enough sum one would think. Yet these quit-rents proved the rock upon which all the proprietary governments finally went to pieces.

As to government, absolute power passed from the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret, with the gift of the province. They had, of course, the naming of their own governor and council, who in turn appointed or removed all local officers. This kept the executive authority exclusively in their hands. They, however, did grant an assembly of twelve representatives, to be chosen by the freemen, in each year. This assembly could make laws subject to the approval of the lords proprietors. All power, therefore, flowed back into their hands; the public welfare depended wholly upon the wisdom of these absentee lords.[5]

Following close upon the news that New Jersey had been thrown open to settlement, one body of emigrants removed from the Piscataqua settlements of New Hampshire to the banks of the Raritan, where they founded Piscataway Township; another, from Newbury, Mass., settled Woodbridge, the name being given in compliment to the beloved pastor they left behind them; a third, from Milford, Guilford, and Branford, in New Haven Colony, having bought of the Elizabethtown owners that part of their lands lying on the other side of what has ever since been known as Bound Brook, called their new town, on the Passaic, Newark. There is a pretty story running to the effect that Elizabeth, daughter of "Leftenant Samuel Swaine," was the first to leap on shore here, and that Josiah Ward, whose helping hand she took, became her future husband.

The first assembly met at Elizabethtown, in May, 1668. It was composed of two freeholders from each town.

There was a second session in November, but disputes which then and there arose over the concessions, put a stop to the calling of another assembly for some years.

For many years there was no other way to the settlements on the Delaware except by the old Indian paths, which preceded and pointed the way for the white man's roads. The main trail led from Elizabethport, *via* New Brunswick, straight across the country to near Trenton Falls. Without rod or level these untaught engineers easily traced out the shortest line for the journey. Even the railway has not disdained to follow in their guiding footsteps.

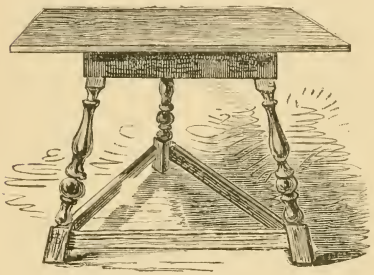
In 1673 Lord Berkeley sold out to John Fenwick and Edward Billing, English Quakers, for a thousand pounds. Having quarrelled over their respective shares, they submitted their difference to William Penn,[6] one of the most influential of their sect, who gave to Billing nine-tenths and to Fenwick one-tenth. But Lord Berkeley had sold what he could not deliver, his province being then in the enemy's hands.

The retaking of New York by the Dutch, in 1673, brought back the old state of things, for the year that they held the province. New Jersey again became part of New Netherland, and as such her towns were required to submit to that rule. Another year restored English rule by formal treaty.[7] Public tranquillity had been little disturbed, though the authority of the proprietors was necessarily much weakened.

Upon the restoration to him of his province of New York, the duke sent out a new governor in the person of Edmund Andros, who treated New Jersey much as the Dutch had treated it when they became conquerors. He

seems to have assumed that the rights of the old proprietors to govern had ceased then and there, though their authority had been derived from the same source as his own and was merely suspended by the act of war.

But Andros was at all times a law to himself. Finding that Governor Carteret would not yield up his rights, Andros had him arrested by a file of soldiers at dead of night, and brought over to New York, for usurping power that was not his. By this act Andros was doing neither more nor less himself. Carteret was put on trial, Andros sitting as judge. The jury found the prisoner not guilty, and he went back to Elizabethtown in triumph.[8]



COLONIAL TABLE.

Hitherto all New Jersey had been considered as one province under one head. Though there seems to have been an agreement between the proprietors looking to a division, it was not till 1676 that such division took effect. By a northwest line, drawn from Little Egg Harbor, on the Atlantic, to near Minisink Island, at the Delaware, two provinces were formed, respectively known as East and West New Jersey. East Jersey fell to Carteret's share and West Jersey to the Quaker proprietors, of whom we shall have more to say presently.

Sir George Carteret died in 1679, leaving East Jersey in trust for the payment of his debts. The trustees (1682) sold to twelve proprietors, who, in turn, took in twelve

others, thus making a body afterward known as the Twenty-four Proprietors. These proprietors now took full control of the affairs of the province. One step was the removal of the capital to Perth Amboy.[9]

The new proprietors chose Robert Barclay,[10] one of their number and a noted Friend, their governor for life. Barclay did not come out himself, but sent Thomas Rudyard, a London attorney, in his stead, who wrote home very flattering accounts of the country and people.

ANDREW HAMILTON.

It is computed that there were about five thousand people at this time in East Jersey, of whom four hundred were in Shrewsbury, five hundred in Middletown, four hundred in Piscataway, six hundred in Woodbridge, seven hundred in Elizabethtown, five hundred in Newark, and three hundred in Bergen. These numbers are supposed by the historian Whitehead to represent a total of not far from a thousand families. At Shrewsbury Colonel Lewis Morris, father of several distinguished sons, had established ironworks.

East New Jersey had her Pilgrims, too, in the Scottish

Presbyterians, who fled from cruel persecution, in Charles the Second's reign. At home these people were called Covenanters, and sometimes Cameronians. Their covenant embraced the solemn declaration, "This will we do, as in the sight of God." These people mostly settled in Somerset County, the three communities of Bound Brook, Baskingridge, and Lamington.

In 1690 Barclay died. The proprietors then elected Andrew Hamilton[11] governor, and he was succeeded by Jeremiah Bass in 1698. Troubles broke out between the proprietors and people over the collection of quit-rents. Though small, the payments were evaded or openly refused. The proprietors saw their rule drawing to an end. Their only remedy, as they thought, lay in a surrender of their power to govern. This they did (1702) in the hope of better security for their property than they themselves could give it.

[1] All, or most, of the Dutch settlements lay in what is now Bergen County.

[2] Nova Cesarea. This name was given to honor Carteret, it is thought, on account of his valiant defence of the Island of Jersey, in the English Channel, against the Parliament forces. Jersey is a rather far-away corruption of Cesarea, that being the name given by the Romans to the island.

[3] New Proprietors were Sir John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both intimate friends of the Duke of York.

[4] Philip Carteret. The Carterets were of good French descent. Philip married (1681) Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Smith, of Smithtown, Long Island.

[5] Absentee Lords, who looked to building up their own estates, soon lost all terrors to the colonists. Here several towns were in open revolt against the proprietary government for a time.

[6] William Penn's name here appears for the first time in connection with American affairs.

[7] The Treaty of Westminster, signed February 19, 1674, restored all places taken during the war.

[8] Carteret's Arrest. Andros continued, however, to commission both civil and military officers.

[9] Perth Amboy was named for James, Earl of Perth, one of the Twenty-four Proprietors.

[10] Robert Barclay, like Penn, was one of those men of culture who, having embraced Quaker doctrines, ably and zealously vindicated them with his pen. His *Apology* attracted wide attention, as well as warm controversy, on account of its assertion of the necessity of immediate revelation. When

such men took an active part in the work of colonizing as a means of freeing the bodies and consciences of their fellow-believers, we see a controlling purpose in the rise of each little community.

[11] Andrew Hamilton, after serving well in East Jersey, became Penn's deputy. Having devised a postal service for the colonies, he was made deputy postmaster for all the plantations.

WEST NEW JERSEY.

In some respects the founding of this province resembles the founding of New England. Persecution gave it being, piety gave it strength, and wisdom length of days.

Exactly at what time the English Quakers began to cast their eyes toward New Jersey, as their appointed asylum and refuge, does not appear; but the buying up of a separate interest, and the arrangements for a partition, as related in the last chapter, would seem to fix the motive, if not the moment, for action. In a word, there was a movement so strong as to rival the Puritan exodus of 1630. And in both cases the mass of English people unquestionably thought their going a good riddance to the kingdom.

For in Christian England, be it said, as well as in all her colonies, a Quaker was an object of scorn, of derision, and of abuse. By the churches he was looked upon as a firebrand, by the law as an outcast, and by the unreasoning multitude as a fool and a fanatic. In England he had been imprisoned and even transported.[1] In the colonies he had been scourged, cropped, banished, and finally hanged. Still, the sect strangely seemed to thrive upon persecution. Like a strong tree, its strength lay at the root. Its numbers increased; men of mark, like William Penn and Barclay of Ury, joined it. Live it would, and

it would not be silenced. We can now form something like a correct judgment as to the temper of the older colonies toward one founded by Quakers.

A purely religious revolt had peopled New England. But the Quaker went a long way beyond the Puritan. The Puritan said he would have no bishops, no printed prayers to be read from a book, and no bowing of the head or other ceremonies common to the service of both the Roman Catholic and English churches. By so much he would restore simplicity to his worship of God. The Quaker said he would have no clergy at all, that a hired preacher could have no authority to speak for God; but that any man who felt the prompting of the Spirit within him might and ought to speak out before his fellow-men, for their edification. This was simplicity itself. But this was not all. The Puritan did not so much aim to reform society and manners. The Quaker did. To live on the simplest food; dress in the plainest clothes; give no man a title; but say "thee" and "thou" to all alike; keep on his hat, were it even in the king's own presence, as William Penn once did; shun lawsuits; never give back a blow or take an oath, were all parts of his creed. He declared for equality, brotherly love, and the Bible. Hence, he called himself simply a Friend. And so great a thinker as Voltaire believed that the Quaker came nearest the ideal Christian, and the perfect philosopher.

In the rise of this new sect we find the seed of the planting of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. If the Quaker could not be tolerated in England, the next best thing was for him to go where he would. So reasoned the thinking men of this persuasion. And if the experiment could be fairly tried anywhere, it must be where it

would be wholly left to itself. For this the way had already been cleared.

We have seen how a little thin stream of humanity had come trickling down out of the hills and valleys of New England into East New Jersey there to found a cluster of prosperous towns and villages. There were some Quakers among them. This little stream was shortly to be swollen into a flood, pouring with ever-deepening channel into West New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

In 1674, we remember, the Dutch finally gave up New Netherland. At this time all the country between Amboy and the Delaware was a wilderness, traversed only by Indian paths, seldom trod by a white traveller. When Governor Andros came out he immediately took possession of the fort at Newcastle, on the Delaware, agreeably to the treaty. Though located on the west side, this post afforded some protection also to the east. Besides this, there were the old settlers, Swedish and Dutch, who had seen three different flags raised over them. These, too, would be some support to new-comers. But in all West Jersey itself there was only Fort Nassau,

now of little account, besides the deserted hamlets of Elsingburg, at Salem Creek, and Swedesborough, at Raccoon Creek.[2]

Well-chosen sites, as they were, they were certain to be revived sooner or later.

The first-comers were a ship-load of people who came over with Fenwick in 1675. They landed at a place called by him Salem.[3] Fenwick brought his two daughters and many servants. A second and larger emigration took place in 1677. These people came from London and Yorkshire, and were mostly Quakers. It is said that as their ship lay in the Thames, King Charles II. came alongside in his barge, and after asking if all were Quakers, he gave them his blessing. Strange to say, this frivolous king had befriended this people, not that he loved Quakers more, but Puritans less. After touching at Newcastle, they first landed at Raccoon Creek, where the Swedes had built some scattered huts, and cow-houses, in which the emigrants, for want of better, were fain to take up their first lodgings. They afterward went higher up the river to a tract bought of the Indians, on which they began their town of Burlington.[4]

Their mode of laying out and building their town was as follows: The site was an island, round which the tides flowed freely. One wide street was first staked out. Ten acres were allotted to each settler for his house, orchard, and garden. On one side of the main street the Yorkshire men built and on the other the Londoners. We may fairly presume that emulation helped on the work. Burlington received large accessions from England. Shrewd men came out, looked at the country, and showed their faith in it by selling out in England and re-

turning to New Jersey to live. Before many years two substantial bridges, called respectively York and London Bridge, connected the island with the mainland. Salem below, and Gloucester above, began to show like signs of prosperity as the volume of migration increased.

Almost immediately (1677) the West Jersey settlers agreed to a code drawn up by William Penn, which was to be their organic law or constitution. It provided for an assembly to be chosen by the people. Other provisions were in the spirit of the principles we have just laid down, now for the first time put into a written compact. All, or nearly all, the signers were Quakers.

However, there could be no settled government so long as Andros claimed control in both Jerseys, as has been said. Upon trial of the cause in England judgment was given against this claim. His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, who had held out until this decision was made against him, then gave the proprietors a new deed under which they were at last freed from all question of right to govern as they saw fit. Immediately they elected Billing governor, who appointed Samuel Jennings his deputy. Jennings called the first assembly together at Burlington, in November, 1681. It began by declaring its own powers and defining those of the governor and council, or enacting what is called a bill of rights. There was to be entire liberty of conscience. All offices of public trust should be nominated and elected by the assembly. It should levy all taxes. It should not be prorogued or dissolved without its own consent, nor should the governor refuse to sign such laws as might be made under pain of being considered an enemy of the public. As nearly as might be this was a free representative democracy. There

had been nothing like it in the history of the colonies before. Would this experiment succeed?

The first-comers wrote home very favorable accounts of the country, spiced with homely truths. They said "it would not produce corn without labor; nor could cattle be got without something to buy them; nor bread with idleness." They told what great crops of wheat the virgin soil would produce. Strawberries, whortleberries, and cranberries (a novelty to these settlers) grew wild abundantly. By 1680 there were many good apple and peach orchards among them. In time peaches became so plenty that the hogs were fed on them. With his gun a settler could go out and kill a wild turkey or deer, if he wanted meat; or if fish, by casting his net in the Delaware he could take herring enough to keep his family all winter. Improvements kept pace with wants. So we learn that by 1680 they had one grist-mill grinding at Rancocus Creek and another at Trenton Falls. By 1681 they had opened a road between Burlington and Salem, so that travel by land was no longer restricted to

CORNBURY.

the old Indian paths, as it had been. With roads came vehicles, shortening distances and enlarging the lives of the settlers by more frequent communication with each other.[5]

Four counties were formed, taking their names from the chief towns. Of these Burlington was chiefly engaged in the fur trade, Gloucester in making pitch and resin, Salem in raising wheat and cranberries, and sandy Cape May in getting oil and whalebone from her fisheries.

But the proprietary government lacked strength. Possibly it had given away too much. At last, Dr. Daniel Coxe, of London, bought out all of Billing's interest; he then took upon himself the management of the province. Burlington grew rapidly under his patronage, as it was there that his deputy's residence was fixed. As a spur to business he caused a large ship to be built there. Though there was growing prosperity on the surface, discontent was beneath. By this time the feeling against the payment of quit-rents had raised up a strong party against the proprietors—in some cases strong enough to defy the officers of the law, who tried to enforce the collection of those unpopular rents. More than this, the English proprietors found that their own agents took advantage of this state of things to cheat them or to put them off. Realizing that their own power had failed them, the proprietors of both provinces joined in giving it up to the crown. This act brought East and West Jersey under the same royal governor as New York had at this time—Lord Cornbury.[6] The proprietors, who called themselves the West New Jersey Society, then became only a body of associated land-owners. All this happened in the reign of Queen Anne—in the very first year of her reign, indeed, 1702.

[1] Fifty-five Quakers were ordered transported to America in 1664. It was some time before any master could be found to carry them. As the Friends would not walk on board or the sailors hoist them, soldiers from the Tower were employed. In 1665 the vessel sailed, but was captured by the Dutch, who set the prisoners at liberty.

[2] The rise and fall of these settlements is treated of in the next chapter, they being mostly offshoots from New Sweden. Perhaps there may have been a few people at Elsenburg (Salem) when Fenwick arrived.

[3] Salem. As early as 1642 emigrants from New Haven, Conn., bought of the Indians a tract here called by them Asamohaking, and settled on it. The Dutch and Swedes combined to drive them away. Salem was therefore the first place in New Jersey settled by English people. See Note 2.

[4] Burlington is fully described in Gabriel Thomas' account of *West New Jersey*.

[5] Fairs. "I have recently been at Burlington at the fair, where there was a great concourse of people and great abundance of English merchandise that we could get for a reasonable price, for this country is full of goods."—*Letter of* 1683. Fairs were provided for, as in England, to check extortion, promote business, and prevent adulterations, by exposing everything in open market. They were governed by rules carried out by regularly appointed officers. In sparsely settled regions they took the place of the great stores of to-day.

[6] Edward, Lord Cornbury, eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, early deserted James II. to join William of Orange. Though so highly connected, he was not very highly esteemed. James, when Duke of York, had married Anne Hyde, also daughter of Clarendon, and William had married James' daughter Mary. Cornbury received the government of New York as a reward for taking arms for William. He behaved most indecorously, sometimes parading in women's clothes for his own diversion.

V.

THE DUTCH, SWEDES, AND ENGLISH ON THE DELAWARE

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SWEDEN.

IN New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, too, as we first find it, lay those weaker threads of commercial rivalries, Dutch, Swedish, and English, that when twisted together, by the strong hand of Anglo-Saxon power, grew to a unit of enduring strength. Whenever three such widely different peoples have met on disputed ground, the experiment of merging all in one must be watched with interest. It had on the Delaware its first trial.

Mention has been made of the sending of some colonists to the South River in 1623. As this was the first ship-load brought to New Netherland, it takes settlement on the Delaware nearly as far back as on the Hudson. And if it be borne in mind that Hudson saw the Delaware first, and that his doing so founded the Dutch claim to both banks of that great river, we shall feel no surprise at the haste shown by that nation to grasp this great artery of a great region. One glance at the map, indeed, will show us how vast was the region that these two rivers drained, how nature seems to have destined them as the boundaries of one great compact country, and how important it was to the nation occupying this country that the whole

course of these rivers, from their source to the sea, should be under its control. The story of this chapter might well be entitled "A struggle for the possession of the Delaware."

The name of South River explains itself. It was but a makeshift and soon fell into disuse. The name of Delaware comes from the governor of Virginia, Thomas West (Lord Delaware), who visited it in 1610. We do not know just when it took his name, though ten years later it was in pretty general use among the English, who, of course, did not want to see a Dutch name attached to a river they said the Dutch had no right to. But with it also the name of an English nobleman was thrust upon the ancient nation peopling its banks; and so, ever after, the great Lenni-Lenape[1] took the name of Delawares among the English. This, too, was a makeshift, and a poor one at that.

The earliest permanent name we find here is that of Cape May, given by the Dutch explorer, Cornelis Jacobsen May, in 1620, while sailing southward.

The little company sent to the Delaware in 1623 landed near what is now Gloucester, on the Jersey shore, there building, most likely, a strong log-house, inclosed by palisades, to which was given the warlike name of Fort Nassau,[2] though its whole garrison was only four young married couples. The place where it stood is within sight of the city of Philadelphia. Lonely, indeed, must have been life there—as lonely as that at any one of the little stockades of later times on the great Western plains. But even this weak post could not be maintained, and it was soon abandoned.

These acts aroused strong resentment in England, for no Englishman would admit that the Dutch had any

right whatever to settle or build forts in Virginia.[3] So Charles I. strongly protested against them. The States as strongly disowned what had been done, laying the whole blame upon their West India Company. Had Charles not just then been in great trouble with his own subjects he might have pressed this matter farther. Either Holland did not care to offend England, or she did not hold her sovereignty over New Netherland as a

SWEDISH COSTUMES.

thing to be openly declared and defended. As it was, the crafty Dutch company, finding no one to molest them, went on using the Delaware as their own.

Eight years went by. Traders visited the Delaware, but no colonists. The tide of European migration then takes us across the Delaware, to that fertile little peninsula inclosed between it and the Chesapeake. In 1631, with an eye to controlling this river, De Vries took up lands at Lewiston Creek,[4] Delaware, in right of a grant to him as a patroon, and he had built there a brick house for his thirty colonists, which he poetically called Swan-

endael, "the Vale of Swans." His people loyally erected a column bearing the Dutch arms. A thievish Indian stole the plate for an ornament. The Dutch settlers made such a stir about it that the thief was put to death by his tribe. In revenge, his clansmen fell upon the settlers, slew them all, and gave Swanendael to the flames. This happened in 1632.

These disasters left the Delaware the solitude it was before. Of course, intruders could not be kept out. Maryland was beginning to be settled. In 1635 a roving party from Kent Island, finding Fort Nassau deserted, took possession of it, until the Dutch came and turned them out again, neck and heels. From this time a regular garrison was kept up there. And with this effort the Dutch contented themselves for the present.

Evidence is found of a design to hem in the Dutch here, by building up one English colony in Maryland, and another at Cape May, for which a grant was made to Sir Edmund Plowden[5] (1634), who called it New Albion, and himself Lord Palatine. Maryland grew up and prospered, but New Albion came to nothing at all. If it had succeeded, the Delaware would inevitably have fallen under English control much sooner than it did.

From Holland the idea of planting colonies in America spread to Sweden. Both in commerce and politics the relations between these two countries were very close. The advantages first drawn by Spain, then by France and England, and lastly by Holland, were so clearly seen that even Sweden now fell in with the great march of civilization to the hopeful West. Sweden then had a great king. Mighty in arms, Gustavus Adolphus towered high above all the crowned heads of Christendom. He turned to the work of planting an American colony with

his accustomed vigor. He called for the organization of a West India Company in his dominions. He made large and liberal offers, yet the project would not move; Sweden was drained of money by war. Gustavus, himself, was again called to the field, where he fell fighting in 1632. Rightly was he called by some "the Lion of the North," and by others "the sower of swift war-chariots."

Christina,[6] the king's daughter, being only six years old, the care of the kingdom fell to the prime minister, Axel Oxenstiern,[7] as great a statesman as his master had been king. Even in the midst of war, the minister had never lost sight of the king's favorite project, though his first mind had been to send a colony to the Gold Coast, where riches were supposed to abound. It so happened that Minuit, whom we have seen a managing director in New Netherland, now came to Oxenstiern's notice. His experience was admitted, his plans were approved, and it was decided that he should lead the new colony. Great secrecy was kept for fear the Dutch West India Company should take the alarm and put a stop to the scheme which Minuit had planned, all regardless of the claims of his old employers.

Half the money needed was raised in Holland, half in Sweden. Two ships, the Key of Kalmar and the Griffin, were manned with Dutch sailors. They sailed in the fall of 1637; but bad weather drove them into port again, so that it was early April before they could reach the Delaware. The people were first put on shore at or near the same spot where DeVries' colony had so miserably perished six years before. Its evil memories seem to have haunted it still, for Minuit lost no time in looking up a better location. This was found higher up the river,

just inside one of its western tributaries, where there was good ground and good anchorage. Thither these colonists went, and after firing their cannon, to see if there were any Christians to dispute possession with them, they there began their town.

These things done, Minuit set up the arms of Sweden. A fort was begun on a point of land situated at about two English miles from the Delaware. Inside this were built two log-houses for the garrison. With a salute of cannon the work was loyally named Christina, for the young queen; and the river running by it, first called the Elbe, later took this name also, which it still retains. Minuit gave the colony its name of New Sweden. Its site was near the present city of Wilmington.[8]

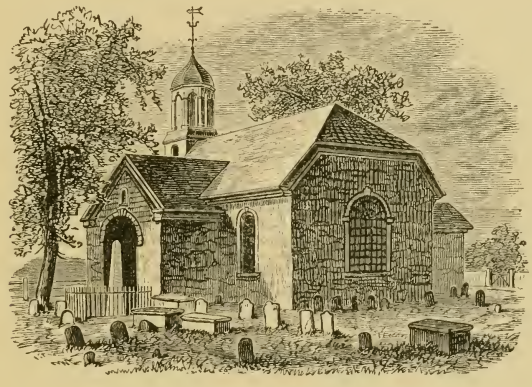
The Dutch commissary at Fort Nassau did not fail to protest against this occupation of Dutch territory, nor did Kieft lose any time in informing his employers. The new-comers were not, however, to be frightened away, and held their ground. They had already obtained a quantity of furs, which were now shipped home. Though full of wrath, the Dutch left the unwelcome intruders to themselves for the present.

Having put the colony on its feet, Minuit himself sailed for Sweden, by way of the West Indies, leaving behind him twenty-three men, nearly all Dutch, in command of both a military officer and a civil one. Minuit is supposed to have been lost in a hurricane in the West Indies, as he is known to have reached there safely.

Peter Hollander having been appointed Minuit's successor, more Swedes were sent out in 1640, with some cattle and farming-tools. They found the colony in good condition. More Dutch also arrived this year for this colony, who settled a few miles below Christina. There

being two parties to this enterprise—one in Holland and one in Sweden—each seems to have worked to secure emigrants of its own nation, and there appears to have been some rivalry between the Swedes and the Dutch in the colony also.

Hollander bought lands of the Indians as far up as the falls.[9] He complained that the colonists were not only too few, but that a more stupid lot could not be



EARLY SWEDISH CHURCH, WILMINGTON.

found in all Sweden than those whom the company had sent out.[10]

Hollander served only until the arrival of John Printz, a cashiered officer, whose coming strengthened the colony considerably, as he brought both men, arms, and supplies. With him came John Campanius [11] as a missionary. They landed at Christina in February, 1643.

By this time (1642) the English began to come into the river, to the great annoyance of both Swedes and Dutch. They had bought lands of the Indians on both sides of the river. At first the Indians had refused to

sell them any, yet, by the aid of a friendly Pequot, the purchase was made. One party went up to the Schuylkill, another to Salem Creek, on the Jersey shore, where some twenty families settled. These people all came from New Haven Colony,[12] which extended its protection over them. But its authority availed them nothing, for all were forcibly expelled. The Swedish governor, after burning their trading-house, bade them begone for a parcel of "runnagates." The Swedes then held the place for themselves.

Printz's coming put new life into the colony. His main purpose was to shut out the Dutch from the river, and he now felt strong enough to set about it. His first step was to plant another settlement above Christina, where he could better tap the Indian trade that went to Fort Nassau. To this end he chose an island lying just north of Darby Creek, good either for attack or defence, but better still for intercepting the trade of all that region. Here Printz could snap his fingers at the commissary of Fort Nassau. He immediately set about building a fort, a house for himself, and a church. This was Tinicum Island. The settlement was called New Gottenburg, and soon all the principal inhabitants had their dwellings and plantations here.

Printz built still another fort at Salem Creek, whence the English had just been driven, calling it Elsenburg. This was designed to bring to all vessels passing into the river. A blockhouse at the mouth of the Schuylkill closed that feeder to the Dutch; so that from thence to Cape Henlopen the Swedes had everything their own way, and, owing to their superior numbers, had grown as arrogant as the Dutch were submissive.

Meantime (1643) a little plantation had been formed

near by Tinicum, called Upland, from that Swedish province in which the great chancellor and founder of New Sweden, Oxenstiern, was born.

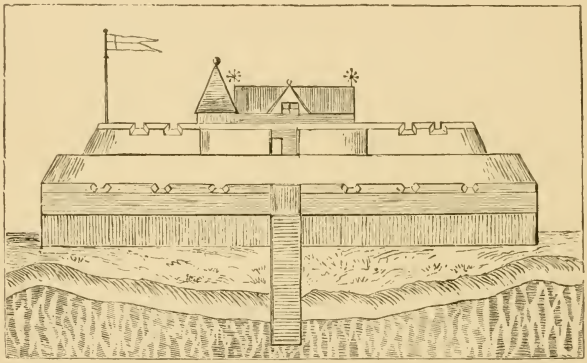
When Stuyvesant came into power he had positive orders to get rid of the Swedes. The grim veteran resolved on a bold stroke. Unmoved by Printz's bluster, he brought matters to a crisis by building another fort just a little below and on the same side of the river as the Swedish one at Christina. It stood on the site of New Castle, and was called Fort Casimir. This was both a challenge and an affront. And it was like putting the astonished Swedes under lock and key. Fort Casimir made Elsenburg useless; so that place was dismantled and abandoned.

At about the time things looked darkest for the colony Printz left it. John Rising came out in Printz's place; but the days of New Sweden were numbered. Rising showed some vigor. He took Fort Casimir from the Dutch, and changed its name to Trinity. In his turn Stuyvesant came with a great force, besieged and took both forts, carried off the officers to New Amsterdam, made the rest swear fidelity to Holland, and thus completely broke up the Swedish colony, after a troubled life of only seventeen years. All this happened in the year 1655.

The next year (1656) the colony on the Delaware was strengthened by the removal to it of a number of families from New Amsterdam, who had grants of land for a new town to be called New Amstel. This was the beginning of New Castle.

The same year Lord Baltimore sent an officer to inform the conquerors that they belonged to Maryland. That colony was, in fact, bounded by the fortieth par-

allel, but we know that it had no existence when the Dutch first came into the Delaware. It will be seen, by and by, how persistently this claim was kept alive. Stuyvesant's wrath was aroused at being thus crowded to the wall on all sides. Instead, however, of coming to blows about it, the contestants wisely agreed to refer their dispute to their home governments, and that was the end of it for the present.



TRINITY FORT, FROM CAMPANIUS.

After this most of Delaware was sold to the city of Amsterdam, which undertook to rule with governors of its own ; but their tyranny so enraged the people that they removed, almost in a body, over the line into Maryland (1658), and Stuyvesant was only too glad to coax them back again. The next year Governor Beekman threw up a fortification on the neglected site of De Vries' colony at Whorekill. At this time the population on the Delaware was computed to be twelve hundred persons.

Dutch rule ceased on the Delaware with the fall of New Netherland in 1664. Governor Nicolls sent a

force to take possession, which the Dutch resisted, with the loss to them of three killed and ten wounded before they would surrender.[13] In the spring of 1672 New Castle, or New Amstel, was made a corporation, governed by a bailiff and six assistants. English laws were established, as well as English titles in room of Dutch, such as sheriff, for schout, and free trade was guaranteed. Their isolation left the Delaware settlements somewhat a prey to predatory plunderers; but they, at last, rested on a solid base, and were soon to be a prop and stay to their neighbors.

[1] LENNI-LENAPE; that is, Indian Men: in their own tongue they called themselves Woapanachy or a people living toward the rising sun.—MORSE. The same authority says the native name for the Delaware River was Chihohocki.

[2] FORT NASSAU.—One large house was built here in Van Twiller's time. FERRIS, *Ancient Settlements*, p. 52. It stood an English mile below Gloucester Point.

[3] MINUIT curiously dates his letter to the company "from Virginia."

[4] THEIR first landing-place was called Paradise Point; same as Lewes, often called Hoarkill or Whorekill (Harlot's Creek) in old accounts, opposite the Delaware Breakwater.

[5] SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN. Winthrop says (1648) that Plowden had been in Virginia about seven years. "He came first with a patent of a County Palatine for Delaware Bay, but, wanting a pilot for that place, he went to Virginia, and there, having lost all the estate he brought over, and all his people scattered, he came hither [Boston] to return to England." *New England*, ii, 396.

[6] CHRISTINA began well, but ended badly.

[7] OXENSTIERN sent his son to visit the different courts of Europe with the parting word, "Go, my son, and see by what fools the world is governed."

[8] CHRISTINA, or Christianaham, was laid out by the surveyor, Peter Lindstrom. Printz moved the seat of government to Tinicum, and Rising moved it back again. It takes the name of Wilmington from Joshua Willing, a Quaker, who laid out the town first called Willingstown for him, his being the first house built there.

[9] BY THE FALLS, Trenton Falls is meant.

[10] PARTICULAR EFFORTS were made to enlist the roving Finns. One criminal is said to have had the choice given him of being hanged or transported to New Sweden. There was the usual mixture of good and bad.

[11] CAMPANIUS wrote an interesting account of the colony. Cromwell was urged to make this a pretext for seizing the Delaware, but refused.

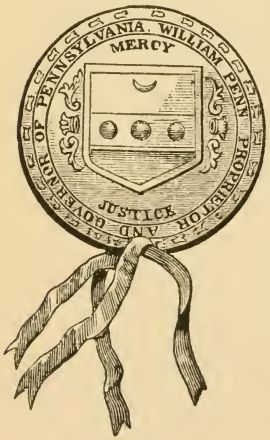
[12] NEW HAVEN COLONY was nearly depopulated by successive emigrations.

[13] THE DUKE OF YORK'S government was in charge of commissioners till Penn's arrival.

PENN FOUNDS PENNSYLVANIA, 1681.

Few characters in history have better merited the proud title of public benefactor than William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania. There are fewer still about whom the world's opinion is so well settled. That he was not perfect need not be denied; and though he did not escape calumny, his fame has outlived if not silenced it. There could be no truer index to his character than the story of what he did, out of his own great heart, for the oppressed and down-trodden among his fellow-men.

Admiral Sir William Penn, of much renown in the Dutch wars, was William Penn's father. The two had never been on good terms since young Penn had turned Quaker, to his father's deep disgust. The proud old man felt himself disgraced. He was gouty, irascible, and violent; and William was quietly stubborn. So the breach widened between them. Once the son had been sent off to Paris to see if the follies of that gay city would not cure him. Twice, in a fit of rage, his father had turned him out of doors. But all would not do. The son stood as stoutly up for his adopted faith as ever the father had faced the battle from his quarter-deck. On the admiral's death-bed, however, these two strong but warring natures were reconciled to one another. The admiral died rich; so William Penn



PENN SEAL.

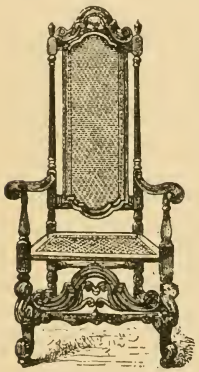
fell heir to a great estate. How he used it is the lesson of his life.

Soon after his father's death Penn was called upon to settle a dispute between the New Jersey proprietors. It was here that he served his apprenticeship at colonization. For some years he was closely identified with New Jersey affairs: first as mediator, then as counsellor, and finally as co-worker; so that he was by no means without knowledge or experience of what that work called for.[1] Out of this preparation grew Penn's resolve to found a colony of his own.

Among other things the admiral had left an unsettled claim of £16,000 against the state. Penn knew there was nothing the king would not sooner part with than money; so he asked for a large tract of American lands instead. The chosen tract was then mostly a wilderness, peopled by savages. To some, the idea of sending out Quakers, who would not fight, among savages, whose trade was war, seemed much like a jest. Penn found getting his charter no easy task; but after waiting nearly a year his perseverance won the day. The scheme promised to clear the kingdom of a great many discontented people. Poor England! She was fated to see her most flourishing colonies peopled by those she had turned from her doors. Penn's grant covered forty thousand square miles, west of the Delaware.[2] By a scratch of the pen he found himself the greatest landed proprietor the world ever saw. Then there arose a discussion over the name. Penn wanted it to be Sylvania, as descriptive of a wooded country. To this the king aptly prefixed Penn, in the late admiral's honor, so making the name an enduring record of the debt and its payment. So Pennsylvania it was, in spite of Penn's earnest objec-

tions. And so it chanced that his was the only American colony to bear the founder's family name.

The charter of Pennsylvania did not give the proprietor such ample privileges as did that of Maryland. The day for that had gone by; for even the Stuart kings had learned something by experience. Penn had full power to govern given him, but his laws were to be approved by the crown. With the aid of trusted friends he drew up a constitution for his province. Its two main principles were civil and religious freedom. There was to be an executive council of seventy-two, of which the proprietor or his deputy was to be the president. This body prepared all laws. And there was to be an assembly of two hundred. This body assented to or amended them. Both bodies were to be chosen by universal suffrage.[3] All Christians, except bound servants and convicts, who should take up land or pay taxes, could vote. Penn's mind, in drawing up this liberal contract with his people, is best set forth in his own words: "Any government is free to the people under it, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws." Without doubt Penn's liberality toward the people sprang from the belief that if he dealt fairly by them they would by him. This doctrine of governing through love, rather than fear, shows us what a high-minded man Penn was, though it half convinces us that he was not as deeply read in human nature as he might have been. However, progress in governments has only come through many failures. Penn wanted to try his experiment, and it was



PENN'S CHAIR.

right he should have the chance. Montesquieu, the great political scientist, calls him the modern Lycurgus. At any rate, Penn did this: He broke clear away from the old trammels that had bound down the people, for so many centuries, in mean servility to kings, lords, and princes. He bade them hold up their heads, and be

INDIAN FORT, SUSQUEHANNA. (OLD PRINT.)

men. So far, then, he was a lifter-up of men, an apostle of manhood.

There is an anecdote told of him, said to be true, too, illustrating this independent spirit. Shortly after James II. became king, Penn was given an audience. He found the king standing in the middle of a group of courtiers, who vied with each other in trying who should do him most honor. Of course, all except the king were

uncovered. Penn, however, came toward the king with his hat on his head. Instantly, with mock deference, the king took off his own. "Why dost thou take off thy hat?" asked Penn. "Because it is the custom of the place for only one man to remain covered," James replied. Whether Penn took the hint or not is not stated.

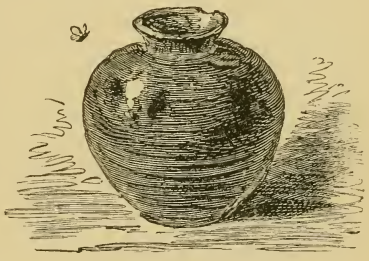
One of Penn's laws—and it should be in every statute-book—punished bribery at elections, first by disfranchising the receiver, and then by prohibiting the giver from holding office. Vice and immorality were as severely treated, plays, games, and masquerades as strictly prohibited, as they had ever been among the Puritans. Where there was so much to do Penn seems to have thought there should be no foolish waste of time.

There was still another thing for which Penn deserves great credit. In the very first paper he drew up the Indians were promptly taken under the protection of his laws. "No man," he says, "shall by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he shall incur the same penalty as if he had committed it against his fellow-planters." This was all the more wise because Penn knew how quickly the Indians would resent an injury; and he also knew, from travellers who had been to their great Susquehanna Fort,[4] that they were both numerous and powerful. Indeed, the whole instrument shows Penn to have carefully studied how Christian principles could best be applied to human government. Punishments he knew there must be. Yet even these are excused by the wise declaration that "Liberty, without obedience, is confusion; and obedience, without liberty, is slavery."

The next step was to take legal possession of the country; as for the people, there were but a handful scattered

along the banks of the Delaware, from Upland to the Schuylkill. Penn chose his relation, William Markham, as his deputy. Markham first went to New York, saw the governor, showed his credentials, and got an order to the Duke's officers to turn over their authority to him. He then sailed for the Delaware, where he held his first court at Upland, September 13th. After looking the country over, Markham wrote home in warm praise of it, as well he might.

All summer preparations to send out colonists had been quietly making. Three ships sailed this autumn. Two only reached the Delaware, where the new settlers mostly wintered among the Swedes, at Upland or elsewhere. Penn says the winter of 1681 was very mild, scarcely any ice forming at all. They found willing hearts and helping hands, so that there is no story, like that of Virginia or Massachusetts, to sadden the page of history.



PENN'S BREWING-JAR.

Penn, himself, was ready to follow these pioneers, when he found that he had overlooked one most important fact. His charter did not give him control of the Delaware to the sea. Virginia had the James, Maryland the Chesapeake, and New York the Hudson, but he could have nothing to say about what his ships should pay, or how long be stopped, or on what pretexts, on entering the Delaware; and the Delaware was his only road. New Castle was already the seaport, and New Castle belonged to the Duke of York. Penn knew he could not afford to

leave matters in this wise; so again he set himself to work, and again he was successful in getting from the Duke all of what had been New Sweden down to Cape Henlopen. Having now shaped his province to his liking, Penn, himself, set sail for it in August, 1682, thirty-eight years old, well, strong, and resolute. Late in October he arrived at New Castle. With feelings no man but himself could know, William Penn, then and there, first set foot on the soil of Pennsylvania.

On the 28th of October Penn received his new territory from the Duke's officers resident. The ceremony itself is instructive, as showing how antiquated forms hold sway over the minds of men—forms going back even of title-deeds or written records. Says one of the Duke's officers: "We did give unto him, the said William Penn, Esq., actual and peaceable possession of the fort at New Castle by giving him the key thereof, to lock upon himself alone the door, which being opened again by him, we did deliver also unto him one turf with a twig upon it, a porringer with river water and soil, in part of all what was specified in the said indenture or deed from his royal highness."

Leaving Markham to receive the settlements below, Penn then went up to Upland, where he was joyfully welcomed, the Swedes declaring it the best day they had ever seen. Here Penn called a meeting of his first assembly for December 4th. At this time, too, the name of Upland was changed to Chester,[6] so effacing one more evidence of Swedish rule. After renewing the commissions of local officers, Penn went on his way, well satisfied with his reception by the old settlers.

[1] See chapters on the Jerseys.

[2] The tract was "bounded on the east by Delaware River, from twelve miles distant from New Castle towne,

unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude."—*Charter*.

[3] Both bodies were too large. The Council was afterward cut down to eighteen, the Assembly to thirty-six members.

[4] Susquehanna Fort is mentioned in a letter to George Fox of 1660. Coates, the writer, had been there.

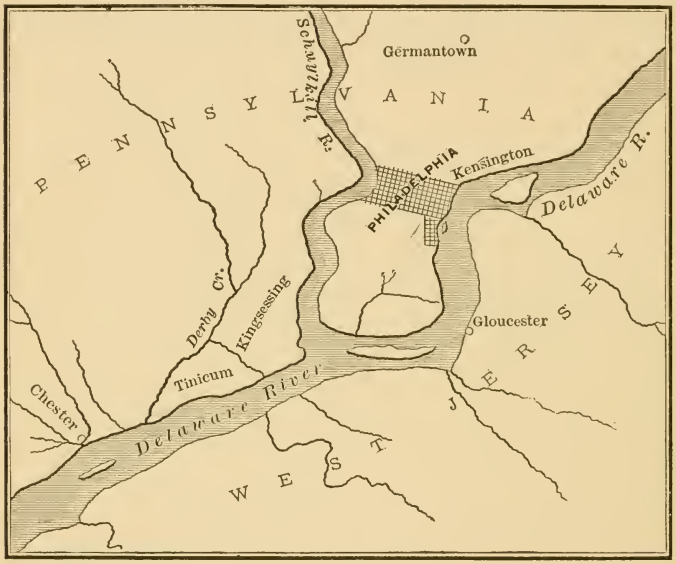
[5] Chester. The tradition is that this name, from English Chester, was adopted at the suggestion of a fellow-passenger of Penn's, named Pearson. Penn went to Robert Wade's house, which stood about two hundred yards from Chester Creek, near the Delaware. Wade, who came out with Fenwick (see W. Jersey), moved across the river to Upland in 1675. He owned all the land on that side of the creek opposite Chester, Robert Sunderland, a Swede, owning on the Chester side. The first meeting of Quakers for religious worship in Pennsylvania was probably held in Wade's house.

THE BUILDING OF PHILADELPHIA.

These formalities completed, Penn next visited the spot where his capital city was being laid out, in accordance with plans made before it was known where it was to be.[1] He had decided to call it Philadelphia, after one of the Seven Churches of Asia, to which the Apostle was commanded to write. This name, meaning Brotherly Love, embodied, in one word, all Penn's philosophy of government. His agents already had found a suitable site, some miles above Upland, on a high, flat, wooded peninsula formed by the entrance of the Schuylkill into the Delaware. The ground enclosed by the two rivers was shaped something like an hour-glass. It was decided to begin building at the narrowest part, or neck; and here, from river to river, in straight streets, crossing each other at right angles, nine across and twenty-three lengthwise, the coming city was just beginning to show some signs of life.[2]

If not too far from the ocean, the site was splendidly adapted to commerce by its long, deep water frontage. Indeed, it was thought that the fronts of both rivers

would be first improved, and that building would gradually extend back from each until the two divisions should meet. This was certainly looking a long way ahead when the site was covered with trees, yet we know that it has been more than realized. Penn's agents,



PHILADELPHIA AND VICINITY.

therefore, did wisely in choosing for the future, as well as for the present.

The site had one more advantage in being already occupied by a Swedish hamlet. It does seem strange to speak of a city as beginning that was already begun. Yet, in this case there is a clear distinction to be made.

We already know that the neighborhood of Penn's Philadelphia, or that part now known as Southwark, had been occupied, since Printz's time, by some few Swedes,

who called their pretty little hamlet Wicaco. They had since turned the block-house he built into a church.[3] When Penn got there he found the land was claimed by these proprietors, with whom, however, he readily agreed for their holdings,[4] and who long formed a little colony by themselves, preserving their own speech, worship, and manners, on the skirt of their more pushing neighbors.

These Swedes then were, at least, the first inhabitants of Philadelphia, if not its founders. They led very easy, comfortable lives, because their wants were few and easily supplied. They had their gardens. They planted a little corn and tobacco. And they spun their own flax for their own wear. The men were strong, healthy, and industrious; the women good housekeepers. Yet we are told that until the English came among them their clothes were very mean indeed, though they then bestirred themselves to look as well as their neighbors. We may be sure they had never dreamed of their secluded little hamlet growing to be a great, prosperous city of a million inhabitants.

These old settlers now showed the new ones how to fell trees and build houses. Their own were put together with very little iron-work. All they wanted was an axe. With this they would cut down a tree and chop it into logs of proper length in less time than two men would have taken in sawing it. Then, with the aid of only some wooden wedges, they would very handily split up a log into boards or clap-boards. This was the sort of work now going on all along the line, and it was no small help, we may be sure, to find such active and intelligent, as well as economical, laborers ready to the work.

As the first thing to be done was to get a roof over one's head, the first houses were such as could be quickly

put together—log frames, roughly jointed with the axe, fastened together with hand-made treenails, and covered with clap-boards, split as just described. They seldom had more than two rooms, or any other floor than the bare ground. It is true that a few better buildings were

LETITIA COTTAGE.

going up here and there, one for Penn among the rest, which has lasted until now.[5] For these the materials were mostly brought from England. But for some years to come Philadelphia was to be a city of log cabins.

During this fall and winter (1682–83) twenty-three ships arrived crowded with settlers—a fleet, an army consecrated to fair peace. There were men of all occupations and all conditions, for Penn would discourage

none from coming because they were poor, if they were only honest, sober, and industrious. Many horses, cattle, sheep, and swine also came in these ships.

Philadelphia was now all bustle. Not to every one's lot has it fallen to see a city being built, but we can well imagine it. With ships unloading against the banks, great heaps of merchandise would be every hour rising higher and higher, amid the cries of the sailors or shouts of the landsmen. At short intervals we should hear some tall tree come crashing down before the woodman's axe. Out of the woods would come a great noise of axes and hammers. We should hear the neighing of horses and bleating of sheep; should see, behind the axeman, broad vistas in the forest, to show the direction of coming streets. Men would be pointing to this or that vacant spot of ground, and saying, "This is mine." This would continue as long as daylight lasted, and begin again with the rising sun. When darkness fell many a little group of men and women would be seen taking their evening meal around their camp-fire. Here all the talk would be of how soon the house would be finished. And here many a silent prayer was put up before the weary toilers slept their first sleep on a bed of green boughs under the broad canopy of heaven.

But the time was much too short to provide such shelter for all against the winter. So many were forced to live in caves, dug out of the high banks along the river, as the Swedes had done before them. In this Crusoe-like life there was a spice of adventure, a calling forth of every man's best energies and true character, an incentive to patient trust in the future. As Penn well said: "It is even one step toward heaven to return to nature."

Penn saw his city rising around him. Looking over

the country round, laying out townships, making out deeds, hearing reports or settling disputes, kept him a busy man we can well believe. The temper of the people was everything, and that appears to have been most excellent. God could be praised without fear of a prison. Here every man was most truly the architect of his own fortunes. And, above all, he was what he had never been in England, a free man in every sense of the word.

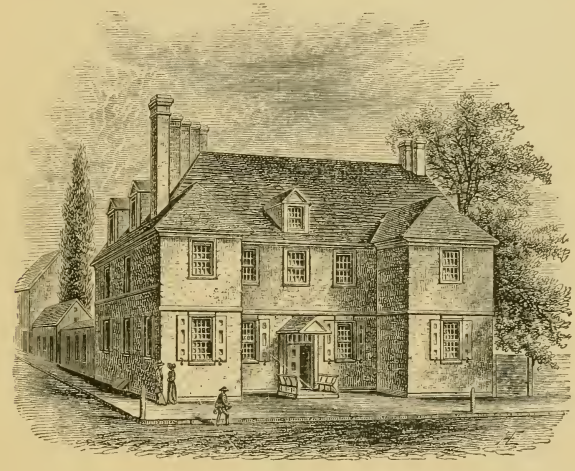
As the soul of the enterprise, Penn gave himself up to it without stint. He was a man who could toil terribly, and he did not now spare himself. Early in December he was back at Chester, holding his first assembly. New Castle was annexed to Pennsylvania, his laws were adopted and put in force, and all foreigners naturalized. This meeting gave Penn an excellent opportunity to see the people at their best, especially the Swedes, of whom he speaks only in praise. In short, he was so well pleased with the behavior of his first legislature as to say that "such an assembly, for Love, Unity, and Concord, scarcely ever was known in these parts."

From Chester Penn went to Maryland, where he and Lord Baltimore talked over their differences about their respective boundaries. Neither would abate anything of his claims. If Baltimore was right, Penn's grant of the Lower Counties would be worthless. If Penn was right, Baltimore would be cut off from the Delaware. As they could come to no agreement, the matter was left to a future day; but in it lay the germ of much future trouble.

With spring came renewed activity. The cave-dwellers came forth from their dismal retreats. By July eighty houses had been built at Philadelphia, and before the year was out twice as many. In October of this year

(1683) some German families founded the suburb of Germantown,[6] a name accurately describing itself.

In those days there was little difference between country life and city life. Yet men must and would push out into the wilderness, away from their fellows. One such says: "I have rented a house for my family during this winter, and have built a little house on my land for



PENN MANSION, PHILADELPHIA. LATER RESIDENCE.

my domestics. I live on the banks of the Schuylkill, near enough to the city of Philadelphia, and I have already cleared six acres. The woods are full of oaks, very high and straight. Many are two feet thick, and some even more, and yet a Swede will cut down for you a dozen of the largest in a day." This man's lands are, perhaps, within the city limits to-day.

Again he says: "I can truly say that since I left Bristol I have never wished to return there. For the most part,

men eat here rye bread, not because they have not wheat, but because they have more rye. They have also as good butter and as good cheese as in most places in England."

Some English had also gone into the upper country with many cattle. They had been able to prepare the new ground so as to sow forty or fifty bushels of wheat against the winter. Some had gone to live among the Swedes in the older settlements, preferring, it would seem, to buy houses ready built and lands ready tilled, to breaking up new ground for themselves. These are but incidents of the general course of things.

The great influx of people caused the early casting of the new settlements into three counties—Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks—and of the older ones into three more—New Castle, Kent, and Sussex.[7] These counties were again divided into townships, of about 5,000 acres, one of which became the county-seat, or political centre, of each. Unlike New England, where the town was the political unit, complete in all its parts, in Penn's province the county was the political unit.

The principle of paying the Indians for their lands had been more or less followed in the older colonies; so that it did not originate with William Penn. The colonists soon found out that any other course was fraught with peril to them. It was, therefore, the part of wisdom as well as justice. But too often the rule had been to take the land first and pay for it afterward. All just men were agreed that the Indians were the rightful owners; but all men were not just. It is true that their lands had usually been bought for a mere trifle; but the Indians were satisfied with having their rights recognized by the white man, and besides they had no very clear ideas of values, title-deeds, or freeholds.

Penn started out with this rule of even-handed justice fully admitted. He instructed Markham to buy lands as they were needed; and when he came out himself to the colony he established it, as his policy, that no lands were to be occupied until the Indian title had been extinguished. This conciliated the Indians. This enabled the

TREATY GROUND, KENSINGTON.

settler to lie down in his lonely cabin without fear. And there was peace, harmony, and good will between them.

There is a tradition, which has hardened into history, though without actual record, but which men would rather believe than not, that Penn held a great treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, in November, 1682, at which time and place he laid before them his plans and his wishes. It is not only a tradition of the whites, but of the Indians also. This treaty has become historic. Men do not so much ask whether

this event took place at the exact hour claimed for it, as whether the great principle of equal rights was laid down some time.

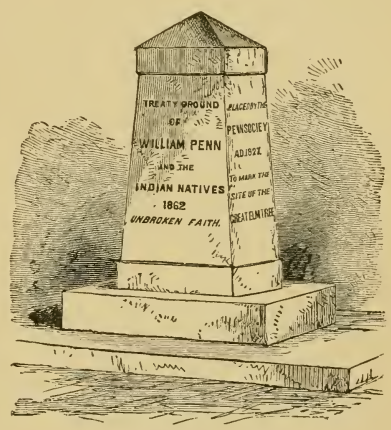
This alone makes the event worth remembering, and of this we think there can be no reasonable doubt. Men do not pay respect to the day of the week or month or year, as such, but to some grand idea. We know that the Pilgrims did not land on any particular day, but the fact that they did land is commemorated on a day fixed only by general consent. So with this treaty.

There was a treaty made in 1682, but not by Penn; Markham made it for him. The date on the memorial monument may, therefore, be a slip of the chisel. It is more likely to have been as late as the next year before he was able to get the principal chiefs together at Shackamaxon. But they came at last in all their savage finery; and there, under the shade of a stately elm,[8] Penn spoke to them, not as the strong to the weak, but as man to man. Then and there he proffered them a true and lasting friendship, calling on the Great Spirit of both the white man and the red to bear witness to his words. The Indians believed him, and they never repented of their trust, or ceased to speak of him as the great and good Onas, which, strangely enough, meant, in their tongue, a quill or pen.

Thus a simple act of justice has become the most memorable thing in all Penn's career. It was his proudest legacy to posterity; and posterity has built upon it as the corner-stone of his character.

Matters of public concern now began to be looked to. The wants of a population thus suddenly thrown together in a wilderness can be best measured by glancing at the rise of remote cities of the West in our own time.

But step by step the commonwealth began to knit itself together. Soon Philadelphia had a meeting-house and public school; Chester a mill, in which Penn was a partner. The school was not free, but the time had not yet come for that. A weekly post was being carried between Philadelphia and the river towns. Wherries took people from one to the other to buy or sell; wharves began to be run out into the stream; carts to be seen in the streets; men to ply their various trades: and still the tide of immigration flowed steadily in. In Philadelphia the number of houses had more than doubled in twelve months. Penn had, himself, set the example of better building. In size and looks the houses now going up showed steady improvement; so that, with her three hundred and fifty buildings, Philadelphia was looking more like a city every day.



TREATY MONUMENT.

By August, 1685, about six hundred houses had gone up. Robert Turner claims to have built the first brick house, bricks being easily and cheaply made on the ground, to encourage others to build of like durable materials. In a letter to Penn, Turner mentions that "Arthur Cook is building him a brave brick house near William Frampton's, on the Front; for William Frampton hath since built a good brick house by his brew-

house and bake-house, and let the other for an ordinary." Turner himself was putting up another brick house of three stories, with an arched underground passage-way to the river. John Day was building a good house after the London fashion, mostly of brick, with a large frame of wood in the front for shop-windows. And so he goes on enumerating the builders by name. We can well imagine how interesting these particulars must have been to Penn.

We also learn that most of the new houses had balconies. Town lots were in brisk demand, or, as Turner puts it, "Lots are much desired in the town; great buying of one another."

We can almost see rising before us the foundation of that "large, plain brick house for a meeting-house (sixty foot long and about forty broad)," Turner hopes will soon be up, "there being many hearts and hands at work that will do it;" and that other large meeting-house, "fifty foot long, and thirty-eight broad, also going up on the river front for an Evening Meeting."

[1] PENN'S SURVEYOR and assistant in laying out the new city was Thomas Holme, who was also a member of the first provincial council.

[2] THE NORTH AND SOUTH streets were named after trees, native to the vicinity. This original instance has since been followed in many cities of the United States—Cincinnati and St. Louis, for example.

[3] SWEDISH BLOCK-HOUSE was first used as a place of worship in 1677, it being no longer needed as a place of defence. The Swedes have here a burial-ground. In 1700 this first church was taken down and another erected on the same site, partly with materials taken from Printz's church at Tinicum. Ferris' *Early Settlements*, 156. In the choir is the inscription, "The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light."

[4] THE SWEDES had bought from the Indians; Penn bought from the three sons of Swan Swanson the land to lay out Philadelphia.

[5] LETITIA COTTAGE, as it is called, from Penn's having given it to Letitia, his daughter by his first marriage, was taken down on its old site, a few years ago, and carefully rebuilt in Fairmount Park, each timber and brick being carefully put back in its original place. Penn also built for himself a fine brick country house, which he designed to be the proprietary residence, and called Pennsbury Manor. It was in Bucks County, on a peninsula jutting out into a broad bend of the Delaware, opposite Bordentown.

Penn employed two Frenchmen to plant a vineyard for him. This was his residence after his return to Pennsylvania in 1699, though he had another in Philadelphia, popularly known as the Slate-Roof House, in which he lived part of the time. This stood on the corner of Second Street and Norris' Alley; taken down in 1868.

[6] GERMANTOWN SETTLERS were Mennonites, whose creed forbade its followers from holding civil offices, going to law, taking an oath, fighting, or taking interest for money. This was the mother church of that sect in the United States. A severe battle was fought here, Oct. 4, 1777. See *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vols. 4, 5, 6, for an interesting account of this place, now within the corporate limits of Philadelphia.

[7] THE THREE LOWER Counties, now the State of Delaware, had previously borne the names of New Castle, Whorekill, and St. Jones.

[8] THE TREATY ELM stood on the Van Duzon estate in Philadelphia. It was uprooted by a gale in 1810. Some say it was pulled down to escape the depredations of relic-hunters. At this time the tree was believed to be two hundred and eighty years old. In 1827 the Penn Society placed the monument, referred to in the text, on the historic spot. A scion of the old tree was, however, preserved by removal to another spot, and after growing fifty years is to be transplanted to the original ground again. The painter West, a native of Pennsylvania, has perpetuated the treaty in his well-known historical picture. His portrait of Penn was for many years the standard one, until a more satisfactory likeness was found in England, copied in 1874, and the copy placed by the side of West's Treaty in the National Museum, Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

RISE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1684-1701.

Two reasons now urgently called Penn back to England. One concerned his province, and one himself. The first was his controversy with Lord Baltimore, which must be settled in England, if at all, as both now admitted; the other was to defend himself against the falsehoods his enemies had been spreading during his absence. At one time they said he was dead; at another a Jesuit; and some good men really believed he had pretended to be a Quaker only to better serve his own ends.[1] Penn was nothing if not courageous. To attack him was to attack his province. But here his hands were tied. He therefore sailed for England in August, 1684, to meet his accusers face to face.

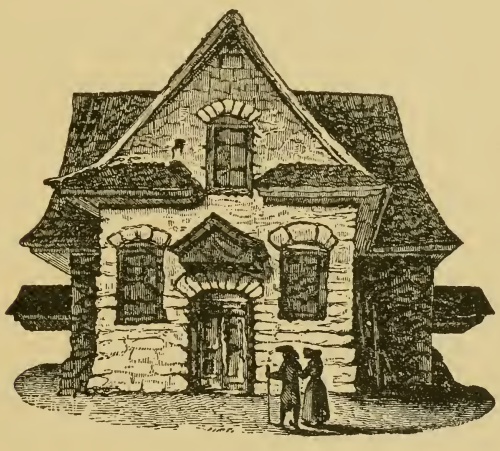
King James settled the boundary question in what seemed to him the easiest way. He divided the peninsula between the two claimants, giving to Penn the half bordering on the Delaware, and to Baltimore that lying next the Chesapeake.[2]

Meantime Penn was kept busy refuting the calumnies of his accusers. To some he wrote private letters, which breathe a noble spirit. In one of these he says, "I dare not deny others what I crave for myself, I mean *Liberty* for the exercise of my religion."[3] He printed tracts, also, in which, over and over again, he repeated his well-known opinions. But those opinions, also, were unpalatable to the great majority. If he was right, they were wrong; and it was far too soon for a free and fair discussion of all the questions at issue. The world has, at length, come over to Penn's side. Could ever man have a more sufficient vindication?

We have seen that Penn had made universal toleration the corner-stone of his new commonwealth. If we keep this in mind, his later acts seem consistent enough. If he had any principle on which his mind was fully settled, it was this one. But Penn was far in advance of his age. England was torn by the quarrels between Episcopalians, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics, though all alike were united in their hatred of universal toleration. Each believed the other so much in the wrong that passive endurance was a crime against conscience. Penn's known convictions were quite enough, therefore, to bring upon him the suspicions of all three.

One should, therefore, read English history, from the death of Charles II. (1685) to the abdication of James II. (1688), to see how these contentions, embittered by the unspeakable folly of a despotic king, at length brought

about a revolution, in which the Stuart dynasty disappeared. William and Mary were called to the vacant throne, and England became Protestant England again. In these exciting events Penn bore a more or less active part as the friend of James. To be a friend of James was to be an enemy of the State; hence Penn was suspected, accused, and imprisoned.[4]



FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE.

Penn left Pennsylvania, prosperous and contented. He was able to say of it, "We are the wonder of our neighbors, as in our coming and numbers, so to ourselves in our health, subsistence, and success;" and of himself, with equal truth, if a little boastfully, "I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us." This was strictly true, and it seems amazing that any one man should have conceived and carried out such a project, almost alone.

Besides England and Germany, people were coming in from Virginia, Maryland, New York, and New England. This shows us that an impression had gone forth favorable to Pennsylvania. No doubt, Quakers everywhere looked to Philadelphia as their city of refuge, and to Pennsylvania as their own pet experiment of government. But Penn had invited in all, of every Christian sect, without exception. Numbers came, and when they came they quickly fell in with those of their own communion. Soon there were respectable bodies of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, German Lutherans, with a sprinkling of French Huguenots. These people had by no means left their prejudices behind them; so that religious distinctions, perhaps, were as closely drawn here as elsewhere.

Then, again, with increased population men began to draw themselves together into parties. The Englishman considers this mode of expressing his will as his birthright. So the infant colony had scarce burst its shell, before parties began forming. First, there was a party opposed to Quaker rule, as such—to Quaker speech, manners, and garb. The Church of England man could not bear to be thee'd and thou'd by a Friend, or to see him keep his hat on before a magistrate, or refuse to take an oath in court. No matter what William Penn might think about it, it could not be right. Two dissatisfied men, in a corner, form an opposition. This was simply an opposition.

Then there was another party, in the Lower Counties, already jealous of the growing power of the province. So long as they had held this power themselves they were satisfied, but when they saw it like to pass away from them they seem to have preferred their old condition, be-

fore the union, to being a minority in it. This party had a settled object in view. It became an obstructionist party, and finally won separation by this means. Lastly, there were those worthless adventurers who find their way to all new countries, as scum drifts with the tide. When the first settlers moved out of their caves, these vagabonds moved in, and ere long became a scandal to their neighbors.

While Penn had felt so sudden a change of fortune in England as to fall from the highest favor to the lowest, discontent began to show itself in the province. There began to be grumbling about quit-rents. A few paid unwillingly, some not at all, and many of easy consciences would not pay because others did not. Some said it was a perpetual tax; others a perpetual mortgage. At the bottom was the idea that no man has the right to tax posterity. It is never difficult to create a feeling against the payment of a tax, and this quit-rent was not only a tax but an incumbrance. With Penn out of the way, it did not seem so difficult. Instead of getting the handsome income he expected, Penn found himself without money when he most needed it. So a party grew up against quit-rents; and where this party was strong, officers of the law could not, or would not, enforce payment. Demagogues were not wanting to stir up strife, and strife began.

The first quarrels broke out between the Council and Assembly. It was understood that the Council was for Penn, while the Assembly was against him, or, at least, would pass no laws enforcing the collection of the obnoxious quit-rents.

When Penn heard of these things he felt deeply mortified, if not discouraged. He now put the executive

power in the hands of commissioners, called for the repeal of all laws made in his absence, and complained of the non-payment of his quit-rents and other dues. He appointed John Blackwell, an old soldier, deputy-governor. Blackwell, after a short trial, threw up the office in disgust—not, however, till he had told Penn, in so many words, that his boasted constitution was a failure. Penn's friends warmly urged his immediate return, but Penn was no longer free to come and go; moreover, he was deeply in debt.

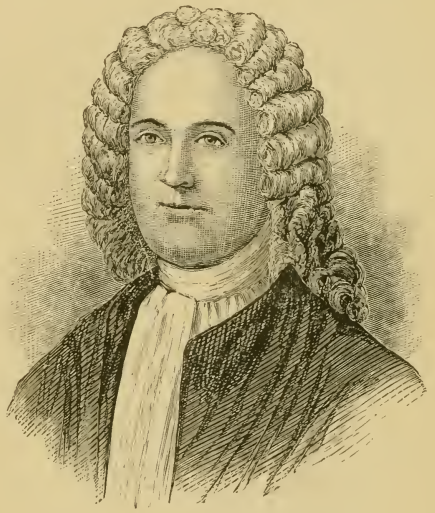
Outwardly, however, the province steadily prospered. In 1685 William Bradford set up the first printing-press at Philadelphia.[5] By Penn's direction the Friends' Public Grammar School was opened there in 1689. The next year saw a paper-mill started on the Schuylkill. Improvements in buildings, improvements in farms, in roads, in public works of every sort, showed confidence in the stability of the country at any rate, whatever might happen to the government.

Penn's enemies at length triumphed over him for a brief season. By representing that the country was worse than misgoverned—and matters had indeed steadily gone on from bad to worse—the king was induced to take the government out of Penn's hands (1692), and put it back into those of the governor of New York. So here was history repeating itself.

The next year, however, Penn fully cleared himself from the charges brought against him. Once more a free man, he was soon able to get justice done him at court. His province was restored. To return to it was an imperative necessity, yet it was five years more before he did so. Was Penn just a little sluggish, except when roused to action by some pressing need? During these five years

he travelled, preached, and wrote much, mostly in defence of Quaker principles. He brought back with him James Logan as his secretary.

Penn's welcome back was warm and sincere, yet after fifteen years' absence he no longer knew the people or they him. He could not but be struck by the changes around him. Brick and stone had mostly taken the place of log-cabins and dark caves. Above two thousand houses, largely brick, and often of three stories, like those of London, extended from Front to Second Street. There was a fine town-house, a handsome market-house, and a secure prison. The narrator from whom these facts are taken points with pride to the thirty carts or more that the city could then boast.[6] There were several churches, that built for the Church of England being the finest of all. There were wharves, timber-yards, and ship-yards; warehouses and docks, with a crane for unloading vessels. There were rope-walks, malt-houses, breweries, and bake-houses. Besides paper, some druggets, crapes, camlets, and serges were being made. The Germans were making excellent linen of



JAMES LOGAN.

home-raised flax. Formerly people went to the fairs at Burlington to buy or sell, now they had three in a year of their own. Men were growing rich by trade. The gentry were already erecting fine houses outside the city, and to Penn, who had just landed, its growth must everywhere have seemed a wonder indeed.

The province exported horses, pipe-staves, salted meats, bread, flour, grain, potatoes, and some tobacco. These commodities went to the other colonies, to the West Indies, to Newfoundland, and to England. From the West Indies it took in exchange rum, sugar, molasses, salt, and also negroes; for domestic slavery was now firmly established in Pennsylvania, though strong effort was making to render it as little oppressive as possible. Even then, good men were trying to awaken the public conscience to its evils.

All trades were represented in the metropolis; and all earned better wages than in England; but the best-paid mechanics were carpenters, bricklayers, and masons, who received from five to six shillings per day, a sum nearly equal to thrice as much at the present time. Seamstresses and washerwomen received exorbitant wages, because of the scarcity of that kind of labor. So with those who took in spinning, knitting, or household sewing.

Wheat was the great farm crop. Iron ore had been found, but not coal, though old miners believed it would be. Some veins of asbestos, then little known and much wondered at, had been discovered near the Brandywine. Its popular name was Salamander Stone.

The population of the province at this time was roughly estimated at 20,000. It had easily outstripped all competitors, with an even, steady growth that was doubtless owning to its freedom from wars, pestilence, or famine.

Here men had not been starved, frozen, or massacred in cold blood. Compared with Virginia, compared with New England, or even New York, the rise of this commonwealth was exceptional. Yet there was grave discontent among the people.

PENN'S TOWN RESIDENCE.
(Just before being taken down.)

Penn did his best to reconcile their differences. He went among them, he heard them patiently, he argued with them in the best spirit. One day he was missionary, the next politician, the next law-maker again. They were irreconcilable, and he had to submit. It was hard to find that his province had grown away from him, yet such was the fact; still harder to have to admit that the

power his own hands and brains had raised up was become too strong to be longer ruled by him; yet this was too true. Within his own breast Penn could but own himself a defeated man. Yet he prepared to meet defeat valiantly, as became him.

He first agreed to give the Lower Counties a separate government. This quieted their chronic grievance of being always outvoted. He then (1701) approved a new constitution, in which this right is expressed. He appointed an executive council of eight, and after making Andrew Hamilton his deputy, and granting Philadelphia a city charter, he left Pennsylvania never to return.

[1] See *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. 6, II., A Vindication of William Penn.

[2] THIS BOUNDARY was not definitely fixed until 1732, when Penn's heirs and the first Lord Baltimore's great-grandson joined in a deed for that purpose; or completed until 1768, by the surveyors, Mason and Dixon, whose line, as long as slavery existed, was popularly spoken of as dividing the free from the slave States.

[3] SEE PENN'S CORRESPONDENCE with Bishop Tillotson, *The Universal Magazine* for November, 1750.

[4] LORD MACAULAY (*History of England*, Vol. III., 524) exerts all his great skill to prove Penn a Jacobite, as the friends of James were then called, meaning one who favored this king's restoration.

[5] BRADFORD'S PRESS was the first set up in the Middle Colonies. His first issue was an almanac.

[6] GABRIEL THOMAS'S *Pennsylvania and West New Jersey*, Edition of 1698.

[7] SLAVERY in Pennsylvania; see *Memoirs of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 1, Part II.

[8] Asbestos was known to the Egyptians, who made cloth of the fibre.

[9] The Separation did not actually take place till 1776; it was a legislative separation, the Three Counties remaining subject to the same governor.

TRADITION OF THE LONG WALK.

WE close our account of Pennsylvania with a story going to show by what unfair means great bodies of land were sometimes obtained of the Indians. On page 98 mention is made of the peremptory way in which the

Delawares of Pennsylvania were ordered off certain of their lands by the Iroquois. There is little room to doubt that the Delawares had been cheated in the first place by the whites, and unjustly punished in the next; and the following account of The Long Walk is introduced to show why, in later years, the Delawares became so bitterly hostile to those who not only had so wickedly overreached them, but caused them such deep humiliation besides. It shows, too, that Penn's noble policy of exact justice to the Indians did not long stand against human greed. But let the story speak for itself:

Moses Marshall, in his eightieth year, gave the following particulars which he had from his father, who was one of the persons employed to walk out the purchase made by William Penn himself, as the tradition has it.

His father had told him that Penn, soon after his arrival in this country, purchased a tract of the Indians to be bounded by the Delaware on the northeast, and the Neshaminy on the northwest, and to extend as far back as a man could walk in three days. Penn and the Indians began to walk out this land at the mouth of the Neshaminy, going up the Delaware. It was said by the old people that they walked in a leisurely manner, after the Indian fashion, sitting down sometimes to smoke their pipes, eat biscuit and cheese, and to drink a bottle of wine together.

In a day and a half they got to a spruce-tree, near the mouth of Baker's Creek, when Penn, thinking this would be as much land as he would then want, had a line run across to the Neshaminy, leaving the rest to be walked out when it should be wanted.

In the year 1733 public notice was given that the remaining day-and-a-half was to be walked, and that five

hundred acres of land and £5 in money would be given to the person who should walk the farthest within the limit of time expressed.

By previous agreement three white men and three Delawares were selected, who were to walk in company, and see it all fairly done.

Accordingly, in September of that year—the account says the 20th, because on that day the days and nights were of equal length—the pedestrians met at sunrise, at the old chestnut-tree below Wrightstown meeting-house, together with a great number of spectators, who had come to see them start. The walkers all stood with one hand against the tree till the sun rose, when they started off together at a brisk gait. In two hours and a half they reached Red Hill, in Bedminster, where Jennings and two of the Indians gave out. The third Indian continued with them to near where the road forks at Easton, where he lay down a short time to rest, but on getting up again was unable to proceed. Marshall and Yates went on, arriving at sundown at the north side of the Blue Mountains. At sunrise they started on again. While crossing a stream at the foot of the mountain Yates became faint and fell. Marshall turned back with him until help was found, when he pushed on alone, arriving at noon on a spur of Broad Mountain, estimated to be eighty-six miles from the starting-point.

He said they walked from sunrise to sunset without stopping, provisions and refreshments being previously prepared all along the line that had been marked out for them to the top of Blue Mountain; and persons also attended on horseback, by relays, with several kinds of liquors.

When they got to the Blue Mountains they found a

great many Indians collected in the expectation that the walk would end there, but when it was found that it was to go half a day's journey farther on, they were very angry and said they had been cheated. Penn had got all their good land away from them, but, said they, in the spring every Indian was going to bring him a buckskin, and then they would have their own again, and he might go to Hobomoko with his poor land. One old Indian said of this walk: "No sit down to smoke, no shoot squirrel, nothing but lun, lun, lun all day long."

Marshall further related that the Indians always insisted that the walk should have gone up the Delaware, along the nearest path, which was also his opinion; and that they had been cheated out of their land, though he thought that they would have said nothing if the walk had not been extended beyond the Blue Mountains.

The sequel is soon told. When, in 1756, the Delawares were asked why they had struck the whites, their head chief made this reply: "This very land that is under me (stamping his foot) was mine by inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud. Indians are not such fools as not to know when they are imposed upon, or not to bear it in remembrance."

When asked what he meant by fraud in relation to the sale of lands, he answered: "All the land, extending from Tohickon over the great mountains to Wyoming has been taken from me by fraud; for when I had agreed to sell to the old proprietary (Wm. Penn), by the course of the river, the young proprietary had it run by a straight course, by the compass, by that means taking in double—(he might well have said five times)—the quantity intended to be sold."

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