

Chapter Four:

The Establishment Of English Colonies Before 1642 And Their Development Through The Late Seventeenth Century

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Chapter Four: The Establishment Of English Colonies Before 1642 And Their Development Through The Late Seventeenth Century

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Beginning in the late sixteenth century, England joined Spain and France in creating a new world empire. Late getting started, when compared to Spain, the English monarchy sponsored its first voyages to the New World under Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the 1580s. The first English colony was established on Roanoke Island in 1585 but was unsuccessful; what happened to its residents has remained one of history's great mysteries. However, beginning in 1607, a series of permanent colonies were created under the English flag: Jamestown, Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.

The English came to the New World for many different reasons. Some, like the founders of Jamestown, were adventurers, looking for gold and hoping not to escape from English ideals, but rather to transplant those ideals to a new setting. Historian Daniel Boorstin comments that in the early years of Virginia it was not uncommon "to rise into the ranks of gentry," a goal of those who "believed in the mystique of the gentleman."¹ On the other hand, the New England colonies and Maryland were founded by religious groups, Pilgrims and Puritans in the case of New England, and in Maryland, Catholics, all escaping persecution in the mother country.

When England became embroiled in a civil war and experienced a period of republicanism in the 1640s and 1650s, colonizing efforts stopped; they began again when Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660. Most of the English colonies established between 1585 and 1642 were created by charter companies like the London and Plymouth Companies; only Maryland was proprietary.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace English colonization from the late sixteenth century until the outbreak of Civil War in England in 1642, and to follow the evolution of these colonies through the late seventeenth century.

4.1.1 Learning Outcomes

After completing this chapter, you should be able to:

- Explain the motivation of the English Crown in sponsoring voyages of exploration and colonization in the new world.
- Compare the attitudes of Maryland and New England on the issue of religious toleration and explain why the Calverts of Maryland did not want an official church for their colony.

- Analyze the differences in how the New England and Chesapeake Bay colonists interacted with the Indians.
- Explain the motivation behind the creation of Roanoke Island and analyze why Roanoke Island became a “lost colony.”
- Analyze the impact of Puritanism, including Puritan ideas about predestination and election, on the government and social structure of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Plymouth, and on the development of other colonies such as Rhode Island and Connecticut; compare the relationship of religion and society in Massachusetts Bay to that in Rhode Island.
- Analyze the differences in political, social, and religious structure between the New England and Chesapeake Bay colonies.
- Analyze sources of labor in the English colonies created before 1642 and explain why slavery did not become as entrenched in New England as it did in the Chesapeake colonies.
- Explain the major issues that affected the New England and Chesapeake colonies through the end of the seventeenth century.

4.2 THE ENGLISH BACKGROUND

In 1559, Elizabeth I, youngest daughter of Henry VIII, continued the Tudor dynasty when she came to the throne of England. In a departure from the strict Catholicism of her sister Mary I, known as Bloody Mary, Elizabeth reflected the atmosphere of religious diversity in which she had been raised. Many historians believe that Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, secretly followed the theology of Martin Luther, who broke with the Catholic Church in the late 1510s and early 1520s.

When Elizabeth took the throne, hundreds of Protestants, called the "Marian exiles" because they had left England when Mary intensified persecution of non-Catholics, began to return to their motherland. These exiles had spent the 1550s mainly in Geneva, which was under the control of the ardent Protestant John Calvin; he was more radical in his intent on spreading Protestantism than Martin Luther had been. The Marian exiles were determined to force a religious settlement on Elizabeth that would take the Church of England away from the Catholicism of Mary toward a more Protestant, or Calvinist, direction. Most of the exiles believed that all people were predestined to be saved or damned no matter what they did during their lifetimes, a concept known as predestination; that individuals did not have free will and could not earn salvation through "good works," which was an important Catholic doctrine; that priests should be allowed to marry; and, finally, that "high church," or Catholic, practices like genuflecting, the use of incense and music during services, and kneeling at the sign of the cross, should be removed from church liturgy. According to these Protestants, priests were simply men; they could not perform miracles, could not convert bread into wine during the Eucharist, and should be allowed to marry. All of these reforms, of course, were anathema to orthodox Catholics.

In 1559, pressured by the Marian exiles, Elizabeth agreed to the "Settlement" whose prayer book is still the basis of the Anglican worship in the twenty-first century. The Settlement consisted of two acts of Parliament, one that conferred upon Elizabeth the title Supreme Head of the Church, and a second, the Act of Uniformity, which created the Anglican prayer book and defined the new Church of England. The theology reflected in the *Book of Common Prayer* is a compromise between the Catholicism of Henry VIII, Mary I, and Calvinist theology; it is neither strictly Catholic nor strictly Calvinist. Stained glass, genuflecting, incense, and music during church services were remnants of Catholic liturgy; on the other hand, priests were allowed to marry, they were not thought to be able to perform miracles during the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, free will was modified, and predestination was given credence. In typical Anglican fashion, the *Articles of Religion* stressed the importance of the two Protestant sacraments of baptism and communion, but also acknowledged the remaining five Catholic

sacraments: ordination, confirmation, marriage, the last rites, and penance. Transubstantiation, or the conversion of the elements during the Eucharist by the priest, was put aside. The Eucharist became, in the Calvinist tradition, simply commemorative of the Last Supper.

The Elizabethan Settlement, however, did not go far enough in the direction of fundamental Calvinism to suit the Puritans. This group of reformers insisted that the Anglican church should be “purified” (hence the name) of all Catholic trappings. Puritan protests grew more strident in the early decades of Elizabeth’s reign. Because these reformers also were being elected regularly to the House of Commons, they quickly became a thorn in her side. In addition to the Puritans’ demands, Elizabeth was faced with challenges by her first cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots of the Stuart line. Mary had issues with the Presbyterian leadership in the Church of Scotland. While Elizabeth was a moderate in religion, Mary was a strict Catholic who plotted to take the English crown away from Elizabeth and unite England and Scotland under her own control. Mary was accused of treason, found guilty, and decapitated in 1587, the year before the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

As if conditions in the British Isles were not pressing enough, Philip II of Spain, the avowed leader of European Catholicism and widower of Mary I, Tudor, raised an armada against England in the hopes of ending Protestantism in Europe once and for all. Unfortunately for Phillip, the fleet he raised—and paid for with income from the silver mines of the new world—failed. In the view of Elizabeth, God had come down on the side of the Protestants; a “Protestant wind” had blown, insuring victory against Catholic Spain and the preservation of the Protestant faith.

England’s earliest experience with colonization began in 1578 when Elizabeth gave a grant of land to Sir Humphrey Gilbert; the purpose for colonizing was “to discover, search, find out and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian people.”² She was no doubt encouraged in her continuing patronage by the publication four years later of Richard Hakluyt’s *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*. Hakluyt’s consideration was exhaustive and made much of the advantages to any who either sponsored or participated in voyages of exploration. He insisted that “lasting riches do waite upon them who are zealous for the advancement of the kingdome of Christ and enlargement of our glorious Gospell.”³ The grant to Gilbert excluded lands already controlled by Spain, Portugal, or the Dutch. Gilbert led three expeditions to the Americas; after he was lost at sea during the third, Elizabeth, in 1584, passed the grant to Gilbert’s half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. The first English colony, the “lost colony” of Roanoke, was founded the same year.

4.2.1 The Stuarts of Scotland and England: James I and Charles I

Elizabeth I never married, and her two siblings, Edward VI and Mary I, both childless, had predeceased her. On her death in 1603, the throne therefore went to her nearest living male relative, her first cousin, **James VI** (Stuart), king of Scotland. James I, as he was known in England, was an unfortunate monarch whose character was, according to Historian J.P. Kenyon, “complex, extensive and shallow.”⁴ James came to England thinking that he would be independent of Parliament and automatically receive a generous annual allowance to do with as he wished. A firm believer in the “divine right of kings” as put forth in his book *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, James made the mistake of lecturing Parliament, insisting that “there are no privileges or immunities that can stand against the divinely appointed King.”⁵

Upon hearing of James’s succession, English Puritans at first looked forward to his arrival. James after all was the leader of a country, Scotland, whose official religion was Presbyterianism, based, like Puritanism, on the theology of John Calvin. They were convinced that James would no doubt take seriously their complaints about the remaining Catholic practices of the Church of England. The Puritans could not have been more wrong. Shortly after James came to the throne, a delegation of Puritan clergy presented him with the Millenary Petition. The Petition urged, among other things, that the term “priest” should not be used when referring to the clergy and that confirmation no longer be practiced in the Church. James bluntly refused to consider the petition, commenting that “no Bishops” would mean “no King.” He was resolute in enforcing uniformity.⁶

James I, like his cousin Elizabeth, was interested in the developments taking place in the new world, and in 1606 granted a group of wealthy merchants, who had formed the Virginia Company of London, the right to settle in Virginia or in any area “not now actually possessed by any Christian prince or people.” The purpose of those who participated in the venture would be finding gold and “propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to humane civility and to a settled and quiet government.”⁷ The *First Virginia Charter* granted land to two branches of the Company: the London branch, which was granted land to establish a colony near the Chesapeake Bay, and the Plymouth branch, which was given land in the New England area. The Company was a stock company whose shares cost £12, 10 shillings.

Charles I followed his father to the throne in 1625 and was equally unsuccessful with the English people in general and Parliament and the

Puritans in particular. He made errors that alienated Puritans both in and outside of Parliament. First, he married a Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France, and, second, he allowed the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, to introduce additional Catholic liturgy and theology into the Church of England. Laud even went so far as to deny predestination, a doctrine mentioned in the *Articles of Religion* and a cornerstone of Puritan ideology; this action on the part of the Archbishop was anathema to the Puritans. Charles, whom many of the English, especially the Puritans, thought was an undeclared Catholic, tried to avoid Puritan influence in Parliament by dismissing the body in 1629 and attempting to rule England on his own; thus he created what historians call the “eleven-year tyranny.”⁸ During this period, Charles imposed taxes, many of them not used for hundreds of years, in an effort to give economic support to the Crown. He had little success in this endeavor; the rule without Parliament was fiscally disastrous, and, in 1640, he was forced to reconvene the body.

The Long Parliament, the English Civil War, and the Republic

Known as the “Long Parliament,” the meeting convened by Charles sat from 1640 until 1660. One of its first actions was to present Charles with a list of grievances and demands, including a Triennial Act that would force a king to call Parliament at least once every three years, whether he wanted to or not. The year before Parliament drafted the *Triennial Act*, William Laud, who was responsible in the eyes of Puritans for all of the problems in the Church, was tried for treason, found guilty, and sent to the Tower of London. Charles, fearing further retaliation from Parliament, reluctantly accepted the act and agreed to address the remainder of their grievances.

Relations between king and Parliament did not improve over the succeeding two years, however. In 1642, both sides raised troops, and the English Civil War broke out between Royalists and Parliamentarians. By 1648, the Royalists were on the defensive; the next year, 1649, Charles was captured, tried for treason, and executed. It marked the first time that a reigning monarch had been brought before a legislative body and indicted for treason. The army of Parliament, known as the New Model Army, was led by a popular figure, Oliver Cromwell, whom historians credit for its decisive victory over the Royalists.

The eleven year period that followed the execution of Charles I is usually called the “Interregnum,” a period “between kings.” During this time, England was actually a republic ruled by Parliament, a Council of State, and a Lord Protector in the person of Oliver Cromwell. In addition to being militarily talented, Cromwell was a devout Puritan who supported religious toleration. Religious policies were outlined in the *Instrument*

of Government, which gave all Christians except Catholics the right to practice the religion of their choice. Many historians point out that England under Cromwell was in reality a military dictatorship. There was not much immigration to the English colonies during the Interregnum, nor were new colonies created.

By 1655, the republic was clearly a fiscal failure, and, when Cromwell died, he was followed only briefly by his ineffectual son, Richard. In 1660, the republic ended and the monarchy restored. Lacey Baldwin Smith comments that the failure of republican England was due to the fact that Oliver Cromwell had been caught between opposing forces: the army, the nobility, the Puritans, and Parliament. He, and all of England, had learned an important lesson: “Parliament could no more exist without the Crown than the Crown without Parliament.”⁹ Oliver Cromwell had not objected to monarchy and had even suggested in 1650 that Charles I be replaced by his son, also Charles, who had taken refuge in France. Therefore, it was not completely unexpected that within two years of his death, Parliament extended an invitation to the man who would become Charles II, the third Stuart King of England. Monarchy was restored, and the republican experiment was at an end.

4.3 ROANOKE, RALEIGH’S LOST COLONY

Under the rule of Elizabeth I, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was an Englishman of vision who saw the potential for English colonization in North America. He understood that, for his island nation to grow strong enough to stand against other European countries such as Spain, its territory had to expand. Colonizing North America would benefit the English in numerous ways. It would give them possible access to untold riches, such as the Spanish enjoyed in their colonies, as well natural resources like timber needed for fleets of ships. It would also give closer access to the best fishing grounds in the North Atlantic, a launch point for a search for the Northwest Passage, and safe harbors on both sides of the Atlantic. A man of influence with important connections at Court, Gilbert raised the funds for an expedition and was granted the letters allowing him to lay claim to land in the name of the English Crown and set out in 1583. He reached Newfoundland, which had a mixed temporary population of various European fishers as well as Indians. Gilbert claimed it for England and then sailed on. His little ship, the *Squirrel*, and its larger partner, the *Golden Hind*, were caught in a particularly fierce North Atlantic storm. Gilbert refused to transfer to the larger and somewhat safer ship, as he would not abandon his ship or its crew; instead, he stayed on the *Squirrel* even as its decks were awash with the sea. The crew of the *Golden Hind* watched helplessly as the lights of

the *Squirrel* vanished beneath the waves. The *Golden Hind* survived and brought the news back to England that the *Squirrel* went down with all hands, including Sir Humphrey.

Gilbert's dream of a North American English colony was shared by his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh who, like Gilbert, was an adventurer and man of many talents. Raleigh was one of the most famous courtiers of Queen Elizabeth I, who made him a man of wealth and power. Raleigh was a devout Protestant who harbored a great enmity for Catholic Spain. He also saw Spain as a source of wealth for anyone with ships capable of attacking the Spanish galleons filled with gold that sailed across the Atlantic from the Americas to Spain. When sailors such as Raleigh attacked a Spanish fleet, they brought wealth back for England, keeping a large portion for themselves. These privateers enriched themselves and England at Spanish expense. They also kept England diplomatically neutral, as they did not sail Crown ships but their own.

To be an effective base, an English settlement would have to be close enough to the Spanish territory to target their ships bound for Spain yet far enough away not to be easily found and destroyed by the Spanish. Newfoundland was too far north for Raleigh's purpose, and, by this time, the Spanish had been in Florida for almost twenty years. Both the French and Spanish had attempted to colonize Florida: the French at Fort Caroline in 1564, and the Spanish at St. Augustine in 1565. The Spanish destroyed Fort Caroline and drove the French out of Florida, securing their hold on the area. Raleigh opted to look for a location in the mid-Atlantic coastal area, far enough south to avoid harsh winters, yet far enough north to stay clear of Spanish warships.

Raleigh took great care in planning his first exploratory expedition. He did not go himself; instead, in 1584, he sent two ships, one large, one smaller, with a company of soldiers, good provisions, and experienced officers and crews. The ships arrived safely at the Outer Banks in July, 1584. The region was inhabited by two main groups of Indians, each united by a common language group yet divided into several tribes. The first, the Algonquian, were the larger of the two and occupied the Outer Banks and nearby mainland coast; the other, the Iroquois, lived further inland. It should be noted that the Iroquois tribe, which gave its name to the Iroquois group, did not inhabit the Carolinas; rather, they lived to the northeast. The Algonquian first encountered by the English were friendly and curious about the visitors. They had seen ships sail by before and may have seen Europeans up close or at least heard stories of them from the Indians further south. These were probably the first English they had met. Raleigh's men had brought items for trade: beads and metal items such as plates and cooking pots. Other Indians were not friendly, however, and

killed some of Raleigh's men. Nevertheless, the English had found a good place for a settlement, Roanoke Island, which was inhabited by the Secotan, an Algonquian tribe; it had plentiful wildlife, fresh water, and other natural resources to help a new colony survive. Raleigh's men returned to England, taking with them two Indians, Manteo and Wanchese, with the encouraging report of what they had found.

Raleigh had not been idle while his ships were away. He had been working to raise the funds for his main expedition, one that would actually create a permanent English settlement in North America. For this expedition, Raleigh outfitted a small fleet of ships. He had intended to lead the voyage himself, but Elizabeth I would not allow it. Instead, Sir Richard Grenville, Raleigh's cousin, sailed with the fleet and 600 men on April 9, 1585; the ships were soon beset by storms. Grenville on the *Tiger*, the largest ship in the fleet, lost contact with the other ships, the *Roebuck*, the *Lion*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Dorothy*. One of their smaller boats was lost as well. The *Tiger* made its way to the closest port on Puerto Rico and was soon joined by the *Elizabeth*. While waiting for the rest of his fleet, Grenville managed to capture a couple of small Spanish ships and build a new boat. Having no sign of the rest of his missing ships, he sailed on for Roanoke Island with his new fleet.

Near Roanoke Island, the Outer Banks mark the edge of a shallow area of water along the mid-Atlantic coast. Large ships could sail up to the eastern side of the banks, but could get caught trying to cross to the western side and the shallow waterway separating the banks from the mainland. Vessels with shallow drafts could easily sail the sounds between the banks and the mainland. Later, when charted by the English, English pirates and privateers would find the area useful for avoiding their pursuers. At the



Figure 4.1 Secotan Ceremony | John White was famous for his paintings of scenes of life in the colonies; this one depicts a Secotan ceremony.

Author: John White
Source: Library of Congress

time Grenville arrived, the channels were still largely uncharted, except for what Raleigh's earlier expedition had learned. After a good voyage from Puerto Rico, the *Tiger* ran aground trying to cross over to the western side. Some provisions were lost, damaged by incoming seawater. They managed to save the *Tiger*. Better news awaited Grenville: both the *Roebuck* and the *Dorothy* had made the crossing successfully.

Grenville took time to explore further inland, traveling to different towns of the Secotan. The Indian

reception of the English was generally good. It was during this time of exploration that John White made his famous illustrations of the Indians. The English wanted to learn more about the lands further inland and, in particular, if they held gold, silver, and other riches. One unpleasant incident occurred: a silver cup belonging to the English was apparently stolen. They accused the Indians of one village of taking it, and, when it was not returned, they burned the village and its fields. This act foreshadowed the troubled relations ahead. Meanwhile, a site on the north end of Roanoke Island, not accessible by large ships, was chosen for the colony. The supplies had to be off-loaded from the ships onto the smaller boats, then taken to the settlement site and there again unloaded. The area was cleared of trees and underbrush, and fortifications were constructed, as well as a dock for the small boats, housing, storerooms, workshops, and enclosures for the livestock.

Grenville returned to England knowing that he had not been able to fully provision the colonists he left behind under the command of Ralph Lane. He did, however, believe that another fleet would arrive soon with more provisions and colonists. On his way home, he tried his luck again at attacking Spanish shipping and claimed a great prize: a Spanish ship carrying a fortune in gold and other items, more than most people of the day could even imagine. Grenville returned home to England with his Spanish prize to find the mood in England was very negative towards Spain. The conflict had been brewing for some time and had worsened while Grenville was away, so his arrival with a Spanish fortune made him a hero.

The Spanish issue caused the next fleet scheduled to arrive at Roanoke to be diverted, though Grenville had no way of knowing this when he left the little colony. Without the anticipated supplies, Lane and his men had to rely on trade with the local Secotan for food. For their part, the Secotan had welcomed the English but had not expected them to be such a burden. As with any hunter-gatherers and farmers, the Secotan food supply depended greatly on the seasons of the year. In the fall and winter, they relied on what they had harvested and had to keep the supply safe to feed all of their people throughout the winter until spring, when hunting, fishing, and gathering would improve. In addition to the burden the English were placing on the Secotan food supplies, the English had also unwittingly brought disease. Where the English visited, death often followed for the Indians, who had no immunity against such European diseases as smallpox and influenza. Neither the Secotan nor the English understood the cause of illness, but there was no doubt that a connection existed between the English presence and the sickness and death of the natives.

The Secotan chief, Wingina, also known as Pemisapan, moved to protect his people. He had all their stores hidden so there would be nothing available

when the English came to trade. Relations between the two groups continued to deteriorate. Pemisapan plotted against the English, and Lane learned of it. He decided on a bold plan to attack Pemisapan before Pemisapan could attack the English. The final result was several murdered Secotan. Pemisapan himself was beheaded.

The English had won, but at what cost? Their strategy of reacting strongly against any opposition caused the Indians to fear them, which was the English goal. However, they also caused the Indians to fear their continued presence. Some tribes remained friendly to the English, yet their list of enemies was growing. The colony site on Roanoke was no longer viable. Lane planned to relocate when, quite unexpectedly, an English fleet arrived.

Sir Francis Drake, another of Raleigh's famous seafaring relations, had the largest English fleet to date to reach North America. He arrived off shore in June, 1586. Lane asked Drake for aide, and Drake obliged with supplies, boats, and a small ship capable of sailing the shallows—in short, everything Lane needed to keep his small group going until Raleigh could reinforce the settlement. Lane was prepared to remain when suddenly a massive hurricane hit. The storm battered the fleet of over twenty ships anchored offshore. The little ship that Drake gave to Lane was lost along with some of Lane's men. Huge hailstones rained down, endangering the sailors and damaging their ships. For three days, the fleet and Lane's group were battered by what may have been one of the worst hurricanes to hit the Carolinas. When it ended, so too did Lane's resolve to stay. He and his men sailed back to England with Drake.

Lane had no way of knowing that supplies from Raleigh and more colonists with Grenville were finally on their way; otherwise, he would not have left. Similarly, the supply ship and Grenville had no way of knowing Lane had abandoned Roanoke, much less why. Both arrived to find Roanoke deserted. Grenville had brought 200 men but chose to leave only fifteen at Roanoke and took the rest back to England. Lane's departure from Roanoke was a setback for Raleigh, but valuable lessons had been learned. The men left with Lane at Roanoke had been soldiers, not farmers, and certainly not diplomats. They were ill-suited for the type of work needed to help the colony succeed. They could not farm, and they were easily offended and prone to violence. Their attitude did not help create good relations with the Indians. The lack of dependably scheduled support ships also had hurt the colony. The location, while protected from attack by large ships, was not suited to serve as a port of call for the English fleet, as visiting ships had to anchor two miles offshore. There, they were unprotected from storms and clearly visible to any other passing ships, including those of the Spanish who would find them easy targets in such an exposed anchorage.

Lane believed from his explorations that a better option lay to the north, the Chesapeake Bay. He had traveled there while exploring the region and found that it had harbors that would accommodate the largest English ships. The Indians there were Algonquian and friendly, and the area was quite attractive. Also, from the stories the Indians told him, he thought it might be an even better place to use as a base for a search for gold in the interior. Unfortunately, Lane, having abandoned Roanoke, was out of favor and would not be allowed to go on the next expedition.

The honor of leading Raleigh's next voyage fell to John White, an artist, map maker, explorer, and friend of Raleigh's. White had sailed with Grenville on the first attempt to settle Roanoke in 1585. White's famous watercolors of the Indians, their villages, and the flora and fauna of the region were the first images the English public was able to see of North America. The plan was for White to lead this new group, first to Roanoke to check on the garrison left by Drake and to return the two Indians from that area. Then, White was to move onto Chesapeake to establish his colony away from the troubles of Roanoke. White's fleet, led by the *Lion*, left Plymouth, England on May 8, 1587. It sailed towards the Canary Islands for the first leg of the journey. Because of ocean currents and winds, ships did not simply sail off in a straight line from point A to point B; rather, they followed a route. From England to the Canaries, across to the West Indies, and then up along the Atlantic seaboard was the favored passage of the time. The route took advantage of the currents off the coast of West Africa at the Canaries that drove ships and hurricanes westward to the Caribbean. As predictable as any crossing of the Atlantic could be, it provided points where the ships could resupply and, if they became separated in the crossing, regroup.

The trip had been well planned, but even the best of plans can fail. Before leaving England, some of the colonists abandoned the project. White and Raleigh had recruited families for this attempt, not just soldiers and sailors as in the past. The colonists had skills that would help a colony survive on its own and not be dependent on its Indian neighbors. As the time for departure had approached, some of these colonists backed out, leaving White with fewer people than expected to make the crossing. Then, before even reaching the Canaries, storms separated one of the ships carrying supplies and colonists, further reducing their numbers. Even so, White pressed on.

By June, White had reached the Indies where more problems befell the little group. Several became ill from fruit and water consumed on the first island they reached. While no fatalities occurred, the incident added to the unpleasant conditions aboard the ships. White was in charge of the colonists; a pilot named Fernandes was in charge of the ship. Fernandes, a trusted sailor for Raleigh, had been the pilot for each expedition to the Outer Banks. He had clashed with Grenville in the past, and now he and

White found themselves at odds. Throughout the voyage, Fernandes made decisions that were not in the best interests of the colony, including a critical error when he did not take the time to acquire more provisions while in the Indies. White could only object and argue; he was powerless to force Fernandes to follow his orders. When they reached Roanoke late in July, again Fernandes acted on his own. He decided to leave White there and not go on to the Chesapeake Bay. He did not simply abandon White; he unloaded the colonists and their baggage and provisions and gave White a ship small enough to sail around the shallow sounds and large enough to sail up to the Chesapeake Bay.

Only one of the fifteen men of Drake's garrison was found, and he was long dead, leaving nothing but bleached bones. The settlement area for Lane's colonists was still there and usable, although in need of repair. The colonists set to work, clearing the settlement area again and expanding it for new houses suitable for families to use. White's luck seemed to be improving when the ship that had been lost before they reached the Canaries arrived undamaged with all hands, colonists, and provisions intact. White now had a colony of one hundred and eighteen men, women, and children.

White also had a coastline inhabited by angry Indians. He had left Roanoke before the relations between the Secotan and Lane's men had fallen apart. He wasn't there when Lane's men attacked and murdered the Secotan chief, Wingina Pemisapan. How much White knew of the enmity that Lane and his men had created with the Secotan is unknown. White's first real indication of the anger of the Secotan was the brutal murder of one of the colonists, George Howe. He was shot repeatedly with arrows, and his skull was caved in.

Manteo, one of the Croatoan Indians who had first traveled to England with Grenville and returned home with White, learned from his people that Drake's garrison and the attack on Howe was the work of the Secotan. White, when at Roanoke, previously had had good relations with the Secotan; among those who stood for his portraits was their chief Wingina, later murdered by Lane. White had hoped to be able to reestablish those happy relations even after the murder of Howe. However, when the Secotan did not respond to his offer of peace, White chose to follow the English pattern and launched an attack against a Secotan village in the dark. The attack was a dismal failure, as the Secotan of that village, realizing that the English would almost certainly attack them in retaliation for the murder of Howe, had left. The Algonquian, such as the Secotan, used a multi-village system, moving from one to another as need arose due to the seasons, farming, or threats. If there was a problem at one village, the inhabitants would simply leave. When White and his men arrived at the village at night, they did not realize that the Indians they found there were Croatoan, his allies, not

Secotan, his enemies; both were Algonquian and had the same language and dress. As soon as they realized their mistake, the English halted their attack, but they had already injured and killed some of the Croatoan. The Croatoan had realized the Secotan would leave and not be able to take all of their food stores with them. The Croatoan, short on corn, had therefore sent a foraging party to the abandoned village. This incident was the second time the English has accidentally attacked their greatest allies.

Among the families at the colony was that of John White. His daughter and her husband, Eleanor and Ananias Dare, came as part of the colony, even though Eleanor was pregnant. On August 18, she gave birth to the first English child born in the New World, a daughter, Virginia Dare. The colonists were adapting well, but the threat posed by the Secotan, in addition to all the other problems of settling at Roanoke, reaffirmed for White the need to move the colony. At the same time, someone needed to return to England to convince Raleigh to send support as soon as possible. White had tried to find someone willing to sail for England amongst his colonists; they, in turn, were quite determined that White himself should go. With great misgivings, he agreed. Before his departure, White and the colonists agreed on a sign that they would leave behind in the event the colonists left Roanoke before White returned. The colonists would carve the name of their intended destination on a tree. White then sailed for England in the small ship. His trip was very difficult, and White nearly perished. After several weeks, he arrived in London at the worst possible time to ask for aide. The situation with the Spanish had reached the point of war, and all forces, including Sir Walter Raleigh, were committed to the protection of England. Still, Raleigh did try to send a support fleet. The situation with the Spanish interfered with the plans, as Raleigh's ships were ordered to support Drake in defending England from invasion and not sail for Roanoke. A couple of smaller ships were found and prepared, and White was able to sail on them in April, 1588, but the captain of one chose to play the pirate, endangering his ship and crew, resulting in White and many others being injured; the chance to reach Roanoke was lost.

Unbeknownst to the English, the Spanish had been searching for the settlement at Roanoke, whose precise location was a mystery. So determined were they to find the English that they sailed all the way up the Atlantic coast. In June, 1588 as they were passing the Outer Banks on the voyage back south, they found evidence of the English settlement but recorded no sign of any Englishmen. White had been absent from his colony for ten months, during which time the colony had no contact with England.

Meanwhile, White continued tirelessly to look for ships for his return voyage to Roanoke. At every turn, his efforts were thwarted, and he was unable to sail for Roanoke until 1590; in August, three years after leaving,

White finally reached Roanoke. He found the settlement abandoned and overgrown. The ship and boats that had been left were gone. He found his own belongings packed in chests which had clearly been there for a good length of time and had been ransacked. Evidence showed signs of Indians but not of an attack. The letters CRO were carved in one place, the word “Croatoan” in another. If the colonists had left under duress, they were to carve a cross as a sign, along with the name of their intended destination. No crosses were to be seen. White and company returned to their ship with the intent to sail for Croatoan but were forced off by storms. Rather than waiting them out, the ship sailed away, eventually returning to England without ever making it back to Croatoan.

John White was never again able to return to the Outer Banks to search for his family and colony, the Lost Colony of history. Sir Walter Raleigh allowed his personal life to nearly destroy him, marrying a lady of the queen without obtaining the queen’s permission. He lost the favor of Queen Elizabeth I and was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Because of his imprisonment, his loss of favor, and other distractions, Raleigh did not send anyone to the Outer Banks until 1603. With the death of Queen Elizabeth I and the accession of King James I, Raleigh’s fortunes took a permanent turn for the worse, and he lost his hold on colonization in North America.

No other English ships of the time made any effort to look for the colony, as the goal of English ships sailing along the North American coast was to hunt Spanish ships further south, rather than to search for missing Englishmen in the mid-Atlantic. Not until a new colony was established in the Chesapeake at Jamestown would any English take up a serious search for their lost countrymen. None would ever be found, although stories of blond haired, light-eyed Indians would persist.

4.3.1 Before You Move On...

Key Concepts

The attempts to colonize Roanoke Island provided painful lessons for the English which contributed to the success of later colonies. Diplomacy and consistency were needed to build goodwill with the natives. Too often individual English jeopardized relations with the natives through rash and violent acts. The Indians also learned painful lessons, discovering that the English were at best a mixed blessing. Disease brought by the English devastated the native population, contributing to the downward spiral in relations. In the end, the colony at Roanoke failed due to English mistakes. The fate of the Lost Colony remains unknown to this day. We can surmise that they did at first go to the Croatoan village, but what happened beyond that and why they left is unknown.

Test Yourself

1. Sir Walter Raleigh was the man behind the attempt to colonize Roanoke.
 - a. True
 - b. False

2. The Secotan were an Algonquian people.
 - a. True
 - b. False

3. The Indians did not have any problems with English illnesses.
 - a. True
 - b. False

4. The first English person born in North America was a girl, Virginia Dare, on Roanoke Island.
 - a. True
 - b. False

[Click here to see answers](#)

4.4 JAMESTOWN

In 1606, new groups, the Virginia Company of London and the Plymouth Company, were given the rights to colonize North America. The Virginia Company would focus on the mid-Atlantic region, the Plymouth further north. Captain Christopher Newport was given command of a fleet of three ships, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery*, all carrying just over a hundred colonists. Their goal was to reach the Chesapeake Bay in order to find a suitable location far enough inland to be reasonably secure from discovery by the Spanish. The ships set sail from England before Christmas and arrived in the Chesapeake region in April, 1607, after the usual stopover in the Indies. The colonists searched for a suitable place for settlement and on May 15 chose a rather unhealthy, marshy area along the James River on which to land. The reason for the choice is not clear, as the James had many suitable building sites with better environments. Perhaps the colonists thought that, being in a marsh, they would be less likely to attract unwanted attention from the natives or Spanish. Whatever the reason, the location would prove to be a difficult one.

4.4.1 The Powhatan

The Indians of the region, the Powhatan, whose dialect was Algonquian, knew of Englishmen from their neighbors to the south. Unlike the Indians at Roanoke, the Powhatan were a large and powerful confederation of many tribes under one chief, Wahunsonacock, also known as Powhatan. The territory he commanded stretched from the Potomac in the north to the Carolinas in the south, from the Chesapeake Bay inland to the west of what is now Richmond. Essentially, he controlled Tidewater Virginia in what has been described as the largest Indian confederation in North American history.

The Powhatan dressed much like their neighbors to the south, wearing skins for clothes, copper and pearls for jewelry. After settling the colonists at Jamestown, named in honor of James I, Newport set about exploring the rivers. He discovered the Fall Line at the site of modern Richmond, Virginia, a natural boundary making the transition from the Tidewater to the Piedmont regions of the territory. Boulders and rapids mark the end of the English portion of the river. The colonists met both friendly and hostile Indians and survived an early attack on their settlement that served to convince them of the need to invest time and effort in strong defenses. The colonists finished the construction of a three-sided fort in just a month. A trench was dug, into which logs were stood upright and packed tight to form a wall. At each corner, the walls were formed into a circular area, with extra earth packed in to create a mount for watchmen and a cannon.

When Captain Newport sailed back to London in June, he left what he thought was a colony sufficiently established to survive until further support arrived. By August, however, the colony was beginning to struggle. The location of the settlement was within the tidal area of the James River where salt water from the Chesapeake Bay mixed with fresh water from the James, creating a brackish brew not fit to drink. While the marsh waters were not good for humans, they proved a breeding ground for mosquitoes. The colony had been well provisioned, but the food stores spoiled due to the heat, leaving the colonists short on supplies and desperately in need of new sources of food. The final misery was the local Indians who continually harassed the colonists whenever the opportunity arose to inflict injury and death. While Newport was in London spreading the news of the success and great potential future success of the Jamestown settlement, over half the colonists died.

The sweltering summer heat had caused the colonists to suffer terribly. Fall provided a moment of relief before winter came, bringing to those down on the river a peculiar type of cold, a damp chill that went right through the

body of anyone not properly attired, leaving them feeling as if they would never be warm again. Such was the miserable state of the last forty-some members of the colony in the winter of 1607.

4.4.2 Captain John Smith

The one bright spot of these members, Captain John Smith, was also one of the most troublesome. Of all the colonists, John Smith became the most famous in no small measure due to his own self-promotion: he wrote one of the first celebrity autobiographies. It helped the English learn of the New World and its inhabitants and of the fabulously adventurous life of John Smith. Smith's stories seemed too fantastic to be true, yet apparently they were. As much as he may have been a braggart, Smith truly was a most resourceful man of action. Unfortunately his bravado drove most people, including the colonists and the colony leaders, to distraction. Part of the problem was that Smith was a commoner while the leaders were gentlemen, that is, his social betters. Such details meant little to the gruff Smith, who had been a soldier of fortune and valued mettle over social status. He had been arrested and kept locked below decks for much of the crossing, as he argued with and angered the leaders. Once the ship landed, he was released and continued to annoy those around him. With the colonists facing the real possibility of starvation and Smith eager for action, the colony leaders chose to set Smith on the Indians.

The Famous Rescue of Smith by Pocahontas

Smith was charged with exploring the surrounding area, seeking a passage to the Pacific and, as always, gold. He traded with the Indians for provisions and, because of this, was successful in learning the area and the ways of the natives, including their language. He did hear stories of a western sea and of mountains and gold. He also heard about the Roanoke colony and was given reason to believe there had been survivors who were still alive. Most important to the Jamestown colonists, he also brought back enough food to help keep the colony alive. At the same time, Smith was careful to nurture the image of the English as being strong and interested in trade for trade's sake, rather than out of any need. Smith did not want to give an impression of weakness that might tempt the Indians to an all-out attack. He was cautious as well with what he revealed about the English plans, taking care not to provoke violence. Those who traveled with Smith were not always so cautious.

While exploring the Chickahominy River, Smith left some men in a boat and went on shore. While he was gone, the men spotted women along the banks. The colony had no women. The Indian women appeared friendly, so

the men left the boat against Smith's instructions and walked into a trap. Men from the Chickahominy tribe had been waiting under cover to ambush Smith's men, who ran to escape. One, George Cassen, did not make it. He was not killed outright; instead, he was tied between stakes, stripped naked, and tortured to death. Excoriated by seashells, head first, his skin was then burned before his eyes; his fingers were cut off piece by piece, and his entrails taken out and burned. Still alive, Cassen was then burned to death. This death demonstrated sheer brutality on par with the English form of execution of being drawn and quartered. Smith and the men he had brought to shore heard sounds of alarm, but too late to rescue Cassen. They ran, trying to save themselves, and were cut down by the Indians. Smith alone of the English on shore survived; he slipped and fell and was captured. Not wanting to meet the same fate as Cassen, Smith resolved to convince the Indians that he was an important man, a useful man to know. He showed them a compass, made a grand speech, and somehow was spared for the moment and taken on a long journey to meet the great chief, Powhatan.

What happened next became the most famous story of Jamestown and perhaps all of Colonial American history. The account of the story comes from Smith himself who wrote of it in his autobiography. Some historians doubt any of it is true; others believe Smith embellished the details, and others that, while Smith gave the facts correctly, he did not understand the significance of the event. This seems doubtful as Smith, of all the English,



Figure 4.2 Rebecca Rolfe | Formerly known as Matoaka and Pocahontas, Rebecca Rolfe is shown in this portrait as she appeared in London in 1616, based on an engraving by Simon van de Passe.

Author: Flickr User "cliff1066"
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was the most widely traveled, had the most experience in meeting different cultures, and seems to have been the most successful in dealing with Powhatan. How could he have done so well if he was unable to grasp the meaning of his encounter with Powhatan and his daughter? According to Smith, although he was held captive, he was treated well. Various important men questioned him, but he was not abused. He was brought before Powhatan, who was seated as a king with attendants surrounding him. Among the crowd was a little girl, roughly ten years old and quite pretty: Matoaka, more commonly known as Pocahontas. Large stones were brought out and placed before Powhatan, then Smith was brought forward and made

to place his head on one of them. He expected to be executed by having his skull crushed between the stones. Suddenly, Pocahontas flew forward and threw herself protectively over Smith, wrapping her arms about him and putting her own head over his. Was this a spontaneous act on the part of Pocahontas? Probably not. Smith was spared, given a new name, Nantaquoud, and adopted by Powhatan. Before setting him free, Powhatan even offered him lands. Such adoptions of foreigners were not uncommon among Indians. Adoptions could strengthen tribes and cement diplomatic relations. Powhatan knew Smith was a man of some importance among the English, and Smith had put on a good show. Even when faced with having his skull crushed, he acted with bravery, a trait admired by the Indians. Smith was returned to Jamestown with an escort. He had promised cannons to Powhatan but had no intention of delivering them. He showed his escort the largest cannons there, which were far too heavy for the Indians to move, so they agreed to accept other gifts for Powhatan instead.

With his troubles with the Indians over for the present, Smith was immediately faced with a crisis at Jamestown. The colony had been reduced to just forty cold, sick, and miserable men, who wanted to go home. Newport was overdue on his promised return; he had left one ship, the *Discovery*, to be used as needed, but had not intended it to be used to sail home to England. Smith forced the men to stay by threatening to fire on them and the ship. They, in turn, voted to have Smith arrested on charges of being responsible for the deaths of his men and then executed. For the second time in days, Smith's life was endangered, this time by his own people. At the eleventh hour, Captain Newport returned to take charge on New Year's Day, 1608. Newport had sailed accompanied by another ship, as was typical of the English, but the ships had become separated, and the other was not seen again. Still, Newport's arrival meant Smith was saved and so too was the colony, thanks to Newport's supplies and fresh colonists.

The fortunes of the colony turned again when a fire consumed the fort, destroying all the buildings and supplies. All the new colonists had were the materials they had brought with them that had not yet been unloaded from the ship; all the old colonists had was whatever they were wearing when the fire broke out. This devastating turn of events made the colonists even more dependent on trade with the natives. Powhatan sent food for Smith and Newport, as Smith had told Powhatan that Newport was his important "father." The corn and venison eased the hunger of the colonists. At the same time, Smith noted a rate of inflation in trade with the Indians; they were still being generous, but were expecting more in return. Jamestown did not have an unlimited supply of trade goods, as they all had to be brought from England. The Indians were experienced in barter and quickly learned the value of their own goods to the English.

4.4.3 All That Glitters

Captain Newport was faced with multiple problems; the first was that the colony leadership fell into petty squabbles when he was not around to lead them; the second was that he had told the Virginia Company in London and others that he had found gold in Virginia. In some areas of Virginia, the creeks appeared to be running in golden channels, but it was only pyrite or Fool's Gold. Newport had been misled by the golden glitter and now was more pressed than ever to find real gold as quickly as possible.

To this end, the colonists spent the early part of 1608 in the hunt for gold. They packed the pyrite-laden dirt onto Newport's ship in the vain hope that it would prove to be gold laced. Meanwhile, nothing necessary for the survival of the colony was being done: the fort's defenses were not being strengthened, the region was not being fully explored, the colonists were not producing enough of their own food to be self-sustaining, and the sailors, waiting to return to England, had to survive on the colony's food and water supplies, further straining the colony's resources.

Smith blamed Newport for the colony's focus on gold, not appreciating the position Newport was in with the financial backers of the colony who would not be impressed by anything other than gold, no matter how many other valuable resources Virginia was found to have. Newport further created problems for Smith by trading most generously with Powhatan on terms that could not, and, in Smith's view should not, be sustained. Newport had even given swords to Powhatan, and Smith was utterly opposed to giving weapons to the Indians. To Newport, it was good business, as he wanted Powhatan to see the English as useful neighbors and allies. He and Powhatan had even exchanged boys as a gesture of goodwill and so that each boy could learn the other people's ways and then be of service to their own people in understanding the other, an ancient practice of diplomacy.

Newport finally sailed for England on a ship loaded with worthless, sparkling dirt and the two leaders of the group who had tried to take the *Discovery*. Smith was left to deal with the rest of the gentlemen who resented his manner and with Indians who had been given elevated expectations of what the English would deliver. Powhatan appreciated the usefulness of the English metal weapons and tools. Smith was not as willing as Newport to give them up, so the Indians resorted to stealing what they wanted. Smith was not foolish or murderous enough to react to the thievery with the type of violence that Lane had used at Roanoke. Instead, the colonists tried to stay alert and drive away potential thieves without offending Powhatan.

The ship that had accompanied Newport and was thought lost suddenly appeared in April, a few days after Newport sailed for England. The commander, Thomas Nelson, had sailed south to winter after losing

contact with Newport. He brought more supplies and colonists, and things seemed to be looking up for the colony, although the conflicts amongst the leaders continued to cause problems within, and the Indian's continued harassment from without. Nelson did not linger. After off-loading the supplies and colonists, he stayed long enough to take on a shipment of cedar before setting sail for England. For the Virginia Company, Jamestown was becoming something of a disappointment.

4.4.4 John Ratcliffe's Bad Decisions

In Jamestown, John Ratcliffe, president of the colony, behaved in ways which had a negative impact on the colony. Early in the venture, Smith had supported Ratcliffe for leadership, but he had since been disappointed by Ratcliffe's actions and interests. In Smith's absence, Ratcliffe had ordered the colonists to build him a home outside the fort. The idea was foolhardy, since a house outside the fort would be a natural target for the Indians. While working on Ratcliffe's home, the colonists were unable to do the work needed for the colony's maintenance. With the summer months, the weather had again turned unpleasantly hot and muggy, and many of the colonists were ill. Worst of all, Ratcliffe was consuming much-needed provisions. When Smith returned, Ratcliffe was removed from office. Smith, although recovering from a severe stingray attack and still unwell, was voted in as president. Whatever the state of Ratcliffe's mind, he made his situation all the worse by attempting mutiny.

Smith allowed the colonists much-needed time to recover before setting them to the task of preparing the colony for winter. Newport returned in September to find Smith in charge and the colonists hard at work. Newport brought another load of supplies as well as colonists, including the first married couple, and the first single Englishwoman in North America, Anne Burras. Anne was a maid to Mistress Forest, the first married Englishwoman in North America. Anne became the first Englishwoman to marry in North America, accepting the proposal of John Layton, one of the first colonists.

As 1608 drew to a close, Jamestown continued to survive but was not making a profit. As a business, it was operating at a loss. The Virginia Company of London was formed to invest in the colonization of Virginia with the goal of making a profit for its investors. By 1608, the investors had paid money to send ship after ship of colonists and supplies to Jamestown and had received back only two shiploads of dirt and one shipload of cedar. Rather than making a return on their investments, they were losing money. The company renewed Newport's instructions: to find gold, the lost colony, or the west passage to the Pacific was to be the colony's priority. Also, Newport was to crown Powhatan. Smith considered everything the company wanted

as a general waste of valuable time that the colonists needed to spend on producing food. Over Smith's objections, Newport followed directions. He presented a crown to Powhatan, along with many other gifts. He sailed up the James to the Fall Line and then led an expedition overland from there and found neither gold nor a passage west. Smith had been right; Newport had wasted time, and, worse, he had managed to offend Powhatan. Suddenly, their unstable relations now reached a new low. The colony still could not produce its own food, and none was to be had from Powhatan's people. Smith blamed Newport, who had disregarded Smith's warnings and placed the colony in jeopardy.

Smith made finding food a priority. He sailed to various villages only to find that Powhatan had forbidden them to give the English food. Smith, desperate, would set fire to one of the village buildings and threaten to burn the rest if food was not brought. The tough tactics worked to an extent; the Indians did give him food, but not very much. They said, and it may well have been true, that they were also low on food. Powhatan had become convinced that the English intended to settle permanently in his lands, which he did not want. Smith's concern was the survival of Jamestown, which needed food and security. The situation remained uneasy as Smith tried to acquire more food and Powhatan tried to find a way to murder Smith. Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, saved Smith with a warning, at great personal risk. Smith did not realize that Powhatan too had his informants: Germans who had arrived with Newport's last visit. Smith had sent them to the Powhatan to build them an English-style house at Powhatan's request. When the Germans saw how much better life was in an Indian village than in the English fort of Jamestown, they asked to stay and serve Powhatan, who accepted at once.

Smith returned to Jamestown with the provisions he had managed to gather only to find that what food stores had been at the fort had been ruined by rats during his absence. Now the official leader of the colony, Smith set about making the changes he thought necessary for its survival. He ordered everyone, including the gentlemen, to work. Those who did not work would not eat. He secured a good supply of fresh water by having a well dug. He had new housing built. He increased security and put men to work farming. Some Indians who remained captives at the fort taught the English how to plant, and things were finally moving in the right direction. Smith was dealing well with both Indians and English, but he had not conquered the rats. Once again, they destroyed the colony's stores. Smith managed the crisis well and kept everyone alive but noted that there was a group that still would do little except feed themselves, a fact which clearly tried his patience.

When he lost all patience with Newport and the unreasonable monetary expectations of the Virginia Company, Smith wrote a strong and clear

complaint to which the Virginia Company listened. They re-wrote the colony charter: no longer would a council and president control Jamestown; instead, a governor would be selected. Rather than sending ships with a hundred or fewer colonists at a time, several hundred would be sent together. Instead of the useless gentlemen that Smith considered to be a plague, the company would send working class men, skilled laborers and artisans well supplied. The new ideas were good; however, the execution of the new plan was poor. No official notice of the plan was sent to Smith. He did hear some general information from an English captain who sailed to the area. The company, though, told him nothing. On August 11, four large ships sailed up the James River. They carried a new shipment of colonists, hundreds of them, not just men but families with children, at the worst time of year. They brought the news that even more were on their way following close behind; they had been a fleet of eight and were separated in a storm. Several of the people Smith loathed the most, including Ratcliffe, were amongst the colonists. The ensuing conflict was immediate; Smith's old rivals wanted to enforce the new charter; however, the new charter was on a ship that had not arrived, leaving Smith to insist that the original charter was still in force.

4.4.5 Farewell John Smith

Smith won because the charter was lost with the ship that carried it. The new governor had also not arrived, so Smith remained in charge. He divided the colonists and sent them out to new settlements, as he had done previously to deal with the food shortage. The uneasy peace between the English and the Indians depended on both sides demonstrating restraint. The new gentlemen did not seem to understand this need and soon came into conflict with different tribes, attacking them with little or no provocation, destroying their homes and the very crops that the English had depended on as an object of trade; they robbed and killed them yet did not understand how these actions constituted a problem. They were worse than Lane's men at Roanoke. One group even managed to take a grandson of Powhatan, and, while he was restrained, shot him, claiming it was an accident. The young man's father, Parahunt, launched a constant attack against the men. Smith tried to negotiate a peace and was successful in dealing with the Indians, but he could do nothing with the English who would not listen to him. As Smith sailed back down river to Jamestown, something ignited the black powder he carried in a bag for his gun. It exploded, causing terrible burns to his body and leaving Smith in agony. His injury was so severe as to be life-threatening. Also, his office as president was coming to an end one way or another, as his term was expiring even without the new charter. Moreover, ships were on hand preparing to return to England. These combined factors convinced Smith to return home. The English told the Indians, including Pocahontas, that Smith was dead.

4.4.6 The Starving Time

Powhatan had respected Smith, even though he had tried to have the Englishman killed. But the Indian chief had no such respect for the new leaders at Jamestown. The Indians attacked almost anywhere they encountered the English, sometimes with direct attacks, sometimes in ambush, sometimes by luring the English into traps. The troublesome and self-serving Ratcliffe had thought to trade for corn with the Indians. He was captured, tied between stakes before a fire, and, like George Casson, excoriated then burned alive. Order broke down among the leaders of Jamestown as desperation set in. One group that had sailed up to the Potomac to find corn took their corn and sailed for England. For those who were left alive, the winter of 1609-1610 would be one of the cruelest experiences in American History, known as the “Starving Time.”

With food supplies low and the leadership inept, the colony faced its most desperate situation yet. John Smith, who understood just how tenuous the colony’s hold on survival had always been, focused on water, food, shelter, and security: the things the colony needed to survive. Now without Smith’s leadership, the colony fell apart. Their official leader was a well-educated aristocrat, George Percy, who had no experience in dealing with any of the problems of the colony. Powhatan’s men continued to harass the colony, killing colonists who wandered away from the protection of the fort and destroying English resources outside the fort. Inside the fort, hunger drove men to rash acts; some tried to rob the almost empty stores and were executed by Percy. To relieve the pressures on the dwindling food supply, Percy sent some colonists out to Point Comfort where they would remain for the winter, out of touch with the main group at Jamestown and unaware of the horrors that would happen there.

Soon the starving colonists resorted to eating cats, dogs, rats, and mice that were living in the fort. Nothing was left alive except the colonists themselves, so next they turned to leather items such as belts and shoes. They even boiled and ate their neck ruffs to obtain starch. Eventually they began to eat the human dead, including an Indian who had been killed and buried. Finally, one colonist was driven to commit a terrible crime: Henry Collins killed then cannibalized his pregnant wife. He tossed the body of the baby into the river. When his crime was discovered, he was tortured until he confessed, then executed.¹⁰ Many colonists were so demoralized that some, fearing they would not be given a burial, dug their own graves and waited in them to die. As the winter came to an end in the spring of 1610, only sixty colonists were left alive at Jamestown and those were in pitiable condition. They had numbered five hundred when Smith left. Other English still remained alive at Point Comfort; they had, in fact, wintered quite well but

dared not venture out to see how things were at Jamestown. Percy criticized the Point Comfort leaders, but the truth was they had succeeded where he had miserably failed.

4.4.7 Bermuda and the Lost Ship, the *Sea Venture*

The lost ship that had been carrying the new charter and new governor was the *Sea Venture*, and its colonists and crew had ended up on Bermuda, a paradisiacal island at that time. Here they had food, both meat and fruits, plenty of fresh water, and a wonderful, gentle climate. Many did not want to leave this pleasant island. Their ship, the *Sea Venture*, had been damaged in the storm that had separated the fleet. When the storm cleared, the captain, Admiral Sir George Somers, looked for land. He spotted Bermuda, which would be a safe place away from the Spanish, and ran the *Sea Venture* aground on a reef off the island's coast. Under the circumstances, it was probably the best that Somers could do, as his ship was in need of repairs, so they could not stay out to sea; Bermuda was surrounded by shallows and reefs and rocks, giving the ship no good approach. Somers managed to ground *Sea Venture* in such a way that all passengers and crew were safely transported to the island and the ship itself could be salvaged, to a certain extent. She could not be saved, but from her and the island's forests, new, smaller ships, the *Deliverance* and the *Patience*, were crafted. Shipbuilding was time-consuming under ideal circumstances. For Somers and company to craft two sea-worthy ships on a desert island was a remarkable achievement. As the work progressed, the members of the little company became attached to their island home. Remaining was not an option because of their duty to the Jamestown colony, so they set sail for Jamestown on May 10, 1610.

4.4.8 Governors Gates and West

They arrived less than two weeks later at Point Comfort, where they found Percy, who told them things were bad at Jamestown. Somers sailed on, reaching the fort on May 24. The fort appeared abandoned. The buildings and fortifications were damaged, the gates were down, and there were no people or even sounds of them. A bell was sounded to see if that would draw anyone out. Somers and the new governor Sir Thomas Gates might well wished it had not worked. The people who emerged from the buildings were emaciated beyond belief, appearing more dead than alive. Their bodies starved, their minds unwell, they came out and approached the new arrivals. Governor Gates faced his first crisis as the new governor of Jamestown. He had had no way of knowing what was happening at the colony while he was on Bermuda. Even if he had known, he could not have imagined the utter

misery he found at Jamestown. While he took time to assess the situation, he could find no solution other than to remove all of the residents, load them on the four ships that had been left there, and find ways to return them to England.

Gates, Somers, and the *Sea Venture* had been believed lost by the other captains in their fleet, and that loss had been reported back to the company in England. They had therefore selected a new governor, Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, and gave him a small fleet with new colonists, and good provisions before sending him off to Jamestown. He arrived at Point Comfort just as Gates was sailing down the James to leave Virginia. West stopped Gates and turned the little fleet around. He had no intention of abandoning Jamestown. Gates and West, with their combined ships, sailed back to the fort. West was disgusted, believing and declaring that much of the problem had been the fault of the lazy colonists. Taking a page from John Smith, West ordered the fort to be cleaned and made it clear that the colonists would work. In addition to dealing with the foul conditions at Jamestown, he also focused on food, even though he had brought plentiful supplies. West had no intention of falling into the trap of his predecessors by waiting for a crisis to come along.

In dealing with Jamestown and the colonists, West had been clear-headed and decisive, if a bit stern. Dealing with the Indians was another matter. The careful balance John Smith had managed to maintain would be forever destroyed by the actions of the colony's new leadership which repeated the mistakes made by the Roanoke Colony of escalating violence instead of using diplomacy.

West, having been informed of the Indians' equipment thefts, sent a message to Powhatan demanding the return of the items and any prisoners Powhatan might be holding. Powhatan did not agree, so West chose Percy, who had been responsible for the Starving Time, to lead a punitive raid. The two men then for no particular reason chose to target the Paspahugh tribe, but Percy set out with a group of men. They came to the village at night and killed several men, burned the village to the ground and captured the queen, as the Europeans referred to her, and her children. In apparent bloodlust, Percy and his men took the queen and her children back to their ship where they tied the children up and threw them overboard, using them for target practice as they drowned. The queen watched as her children died. Percy took the queen back to West. What exactly happened next is a matter of debate. According to Percy, West wanted nothing to do with the queen and was angered that she was alive and ordered Percy to burn her at the stake. Others doubt West ordered this; still, she was taken ashore and executed.

The new leadership of the colony did not last. Somers had sailed off to Bermuda to attempt to capture hogs for the colony. He died of unknown

causes, possibly a heart attack, on the island. West, who was to have been the governor for life, left after a few months with failing health in 1611. Sir Thomas Dale came to Jamestown in 1611 and soon earned a reputation for tough leadership. Dale, a soldier by trade and nature, instituted a rigid discipline on the fort. The effect on morale was not good, but the colonists worked hard, behaved themselves, and kept their homes and fort clean. To do otherwise could mean a whipping or even execution under Dale's command. Dale established new settlements to expand the colony and had no more qualms about killing the Indians than he did about killing his fellow English.

In 1613, Sir Samuel Argall, a ship's captain who had assisted the colony, discovered the location of Pocahontas, still the favorite daughter of Powhatan. He persuaded a local chief to help him capture her and lured her onto his ship. Argall took Pocahontas to Jamestown where Dale received her in a fair and friendly manner; the English thought they would now have bargaining power over Powhatan. In order to recover Pocahontas, Powhatan would have to release his captives and return the stolen tools and weapons. They were wrong. They kept Pocahontas at the settlement at Henricus where she was instructed by a minister in Christianity and where she also met John Rolfe, one of the colonists from the *Sea Venture*. Rolfe had lost his newborn daughter on Bermuda and his wife either on Bermuda, in Virginia, or on the journey between the two. At some point, a romance developed between Rolfe and Pocahontas. When Dale took Pocahontas to a village where he expected to find Powhatan in hopes of exchanging her for his stolen goods, Powhatan was not there, and Pocahontas declared to the Indians present that she wanted to stay with the English. Everyone, especially the English, was shocked. Whatever her motives, Pocahontas had freed her father from any obligation to agree to the demands of the English. She returned to Rolfe and her Christian lessons. She eventually was baptized as Rebecca, and she and Rolfe married in 1614 with the approval of Powhatan. Some of Pocahontas's family attended the service. The wedding achieved peace. Once more the English and Powhatan traded goods instead of lead shot and arrows.

John Rolfe was also important to the colony, and indeed to American History, for something else entirely: he pioneered tobacco cultivation in Virginia. The Virginia Indians had a variety of tobacco they used which was hardy but rough to smoke. Rolfe knew of a smoother, sweeter variety from the Caribbean. He had managed to secure some seeds and began growing his Orinoco tobacco at Jamestown. By 1612, he was planting it at Varina, up the river from Jamestown. The peace with Powhatan made it possible to create plantations where tobacco could be grown in large quantities.

Tobacco production became the golden resource the Virginia Company had so long desired as tobacco use became phenomenally popular in England and Europe.

In the summer of 1616, Pocahontas sailed with her husband, son, and some Powhatan warriors to England where she was admired by many. They stayed in England until 1617. John Smith came to visit her, and she was very moved by seeing him again, especially as she had thought him dead. As the Rolfes prepared to sail for Virginia, she became suddenly ill and died within a few hours. Rolfe buried her in England, left his son Thomas there to be raised, and returned to Virginia and tobacco. Powhatan outlived his beloved daughter by roughly a year and died in 1618. He had given up trying to push the English out, which was why there was such a period of peace. His brother, however, still did not accept the English presence.

4.4.9 House of Burgesses

During this period of peace, the tobacco boom led to a rapid expansion of the colony. New settlements had to be established. At the same time, the colonists' drive to produce tobacco to the exclusion of most everything else, even such necessary things as growing food, was a cause of concern. Colonists were given grants of land and plantations were established. With the growth of the colony came a need for a new form of government, one that would allow the colonists a place to voice their concerns and to work for the common good. On July 30, 1619, the House of Burgesses met for the first time at Jamestown. This was the first group of elected representatives to meet in the New World. The timing of the first meeting was unfortunate as an outbreak of malaria forced the session to be cut short, but it is still significant for establishing the model that would be followed for the next 24 years.

In 1618, a leadership change at the Virginia Company brought important changes for the colony. The Virginia Company still wanted a profitable colony and one attractive to colonists. To this end they sent a new governor, Sir George Yeardley, with a document that is known as the "Instructions to George Yeardley" and also as the "Great Charter" which instructed him to make significant changes to the colony's government. These changes included an end to martial law and the establishment of English Common Law, an administrative reorganization, and new rules concerning colonists' transportation and owning of land in what would become known as the Headright System, as well as the establishment of a General Assembly that would include members elected to represent the citizens from the various areas of the colony. All free men could vote. Each settlement area was allowed to elect two representatives, called Burgesses. A burgess is simply

someone elected to represent a town, borough, or university in a parliament or other assembly. They were the only elected members of the government for the colony, as all others were appointed. The colony had 11 such areas in 1619:

- James City
- Charles City
- Henricus
- Kicoughtan,
- Captain Martin's Plantation
- Smythe's Hundred
- Martin's Hundred
- Flowerdew Hundred
- Argall's Gift Plantation
- Captain Lawne's Plantation
- Captain Ward's Plantation

The Governor and the Governor's Council, originally six men selected by the governor and the burgesses, met in a unicameral session as the General Assembly. The first meeting was held in the church at Jamestown and began with a prayer and an oath to King James I. This first meeting dealt with issues such as tobacco prices, indentured servants, mulberry trees (in hopes of developing silk production), Indian relations (restricting what could be traded with the Indians and insisting that the Indians be fairly treated), marriages, and observation of the Sabbath; everyone was required to attend church twice on Sunday and to bring their weapons or pay a fine. Jamestown, unlike some of the later New England colonies, had not been established with a religious purpose, yet the colonists there as in other places took their religion seriously. These colonists were all officially Protestants, all members of the Church of England, or Anglicans. As England still wrestled with issues of religious identity that would ultimately lead to the founding of other colonies, the Virginia Company stockholders and the Jamestown colonists were all Anglican, and whether truly devout or not, the colonists were all active in the church thanks to mandatory church attendance. The Bishops of London provided the ministers to the colony. For the Jamestown colonists, their religious identity as Anglicans was tied to their cultural identity as English. By swearing their oaths to their king, they also were swearing oaths to the head of their church. Catholics were easily seen as enemies; non-Anglican Protestants were also not trusted. Other faiths would eventually gain a foothold in Virginia, but Anglicanism remains even to this day.¹¹

Another important issue decided in this first session of the Assembly was the question of who was rightfully in the colony and who had the right to be represented in the Assembly. This last issue was raised because one of the

plantation holders, Captain Ward, had not followed the standard procedures and had not received the appropriate permission from the Virginia company to be a part of the colony, but he and his men had proved valuable in their support of the colony, especially in catching fish, so he was encouraged to apply to the Virginia Company to have his status made legal. The other problem was Captain Martin who did have all the proper patents and more; he had a special arrangement that meant he and his people could actually ignore the rulings of the colonial government. The burgesses agreed that it would not be appropriate to have members who were not bound by the decisions of the Assembly, and Captain Martin was advised to contact the Virginia Company to renegotiate his patents to bring him and his plantation under the same rule as the rest of the colony. In this way the first meeting of the General Assembly established its authority over the entire colony. The governor still had the power to veto any ruling of the Assembly, to call it into session, and to end the sessions as he saw fit.¹²

As the colony expanded, so did the House of Burgesses, evolving from having two representatives elected for each settlement to having two elected for each county, plus single representatives for towns and one for the College of William and Mary. In 1643 the House of Burgesses became the lower house of the Virginia General Assembly, and the Governor's Council formed the upper house. The Governor's Council had also evolved from six members, with the Crown rather than the Governor appointing its members for life. They would continue to meet at Jamestown until the capitol of the colony was moved to Middle Plantation, which became Williamsburg in 1699.¹³

4.4.10 Servitude in Virginia

After it became clear that the colony would need a strong labor force, but before slavery was developed, the solution to the labor problem was indentured servants. The early colonists were free men and women who either paid their own passage or had someone else fund the voyage, such as a husband paying for his wife's passage. After the changes brought by Governor Yeardley in 1619, anyone paying for their own or another's passage was given 50 acres of land as a headright, or 50 acres per person or head transported. The intention was to encourage more people to come to the colony to help it develop a stable population. Wealthy members of the colony who traveled back and forth to England could abuse the system by claiming a headright for each passage back to the colony, so the system was not perfect.¹⁴ Soon though, another group of colonists developed: indentured servants. These were people who were free-born English and other Europeans who either choose to become indentured or who, in the

case of children, were indentured by their families. They were not slaves and their indenture was not a lifetime commitment. This system had benefits for both the person paying for the indentured servant as well as for the indenture servants themselves. For the sponsor, they had a guaranteed worker, provided the indentured servant did not die, and after 1619 they received a headright for transporting the indentured person. For the indentured servant, they offered several years of their labor in exchange for passage to the colony, being provided for while indentured: food, clothes, shelter, and then once the term of their indenture was ended, they were given land, supplies, tools, livestock, and possibly some money depending on the terms of their contract, to begin their lives as free colonists. They also had the skills they developed while serving their indenture. So, rather than being a new colonist, just off the boat without any knowledge of the hazards of Virginia, the former indentured servants were well-seasoned and better prepared for success.¹⁵ Many became small farmers, while others became wealthy landowners.

One such man was John Chandler. Chandler was a child of nine and apparently the youngest immigrant to the colony at the time when he sailed on board the *Hercules*. He landed at Jamestown June 10, 1610. It seems young John sailed alone without any family and was almost certainly an indentured servant. Why his family would indenture him at such a young age is not known, as it was a risky business for anyone to undertake, especially a child. Chandler survived the lean years and dangers, and by 1623, he was listed as living in Elizabeth City, now Hampton, Virginia, a survivor of the massive attack of 1622. By 1624, he was in the service of Ensign Thomas Willoughby and may have been giving military service. Still, he had a small piece of land and wealthy neighbors, the Lupos. Lieutenant Albiano Lupo was an investor in the Virginia Company who had transported himself and others to the colony. His young wife Elizabeth held in her own right as she had paid for her own transport. Together they had over 400 acres of land when Albiano Lupo died in 1626. Elizabeth inherited her husband's property, which made her a very wealthy widow. Shortly after the death of her husband, she married her neighbor, John Chandler. This arrangement was not unusual; due to the circumstances of life in the colony, women generally did not stay single for long. As for John Chandler, he suddenly became a man of wealth and property and his prosperity grew in the following years, due in part to the headright system as he paid the transportation of nineteen others. His holdings grew to thousands of acres and included parts of Hampton and Newport News. His new social status led him to become a judge and also serve as a member of the House of Burgesses.¹⁶

The headright system was successful in putting land in the hands of the planters and small farmers. The push to be successful in growing tobacco placed a high demand not only on labor but also on land. Land that could

be cultivated for tobacco in a relatively safe location was not limitless. The wealthier landowners invested their fortunes in purchasing more land in the best locations, leaving small farmers and those who hoped to be farmers with fewer and fewer options. As they settled on land in the less secure areas closer to Indian settlements, conflicts arose. By 1674, there was great dissatisfaction among these poorer members of the colony who felt their governor, William Berkeley, was not doing enough to protect them. What they wanted was for Berkeley to kill all the Indians. A collection of dissatisfied poor land holders, landless men, indentured servants, and slaves found a leader in Nathaniel Bacon, a wealthy aristocratic landowner who also felt Berkeley was not doing enough to protect the colonists from the Indians. Bacon would go on to lead his motley group in Bacon's Rebellion in 1676.¹⁷

The practice of indenture did have its drawbacks. A heavy investment was required of someone getting an indentured servant, and the indentured servants were just as likely to die as anyone else in that time. If the indentured servant survived, they would leave service eventually, taking all their job skills with them, leaving their former employer in need of new workers. For those thinking of being indentured, it was not an easy choice. Conditions were often harsh. Although a contract might specify that the indentured servant was to be fed and sheltered, if his employer had no food, the indentured servant had no food either. The final problem with indentured service for the colony was that it did not produce enough people to join the labor force needed to produce the tobacco, the colony's only successful cash crop.

In 1619, a Dutch ship carrying slaves arrived at Jamestown. These slaves were almost certainly from Ndongo Angola in Africa, captured and sold into slavery by the Portuguese. Although these Africans were considered slaves, when they arrived and were purchased by the governor of the colony, slavery as such did not exist in Jamestown. There was only indentured servitude, so these first Africans became indentured servants, not slaves in Jamestown. The colony needed labor to produce tobacco, but slavery developed slowly, not overnight. For those early Africans who survived, some expectation of freedom existed. Records show that some not only were free, but also became tobacco farmers with their own land and slaves. However, records indicate that they were not seen as equal to the colonists or the Indians.

Slavery was already established in Massachusetts when the first law passed concerning slaves in Virginia in 1640. The law does not refer to slaves but to blacks. Free citizens of the time were required to have and maintain weapons so that they could be used if need be for the defense of the colony, but the law from 1640 excused blacks from this duty. Another law passed allowed black women to be taxed. Then, in 1662, the first law directly concerning slavery in Virginia declared that it was possible for blacks to be servants for

life. Indians also could be enslaved. In 1667, it was declared that baptism would not result in freedom; for some colonists, owning a Christian was, if not a sin, at least considered wrong. So, if slaves were baptized, the owner might set them free rather than own Christians. From that point on, laws concerning slaves were passed more frequently and became harsher; it was not, for example, a crime to accidentally kill a slave through punishment. It became natural for blacks to be slaves for life. A child of a female slave was automatically born a slave. Other laws included the following: thirty lashes to punish a slave who threatened a Christian in 1680, harsh punishments for slaves who ran away, separate slave laws, a white who married a slave would be banished, and, by 1705, slaves were to be considered real estate and, if unruly, could be dismembered. In 1625, twenty-three blacks appeared in Virginia. Seventy-five years later, their number increased to over 16,000, a change spurred by the need for cheap labor to grow tobacco.

4.4.11 Opechancanough

Sometime after the death of Powhatan, his brother Opechancanough became the chief, or *werowance*, of the Powhatan. He had never stopped wanting to rid Virginia of the English. He had been the first chief to hold John Smith captive. He had seen how the English grew in numbers and knew that if they were not eliminated while they were still relatively few, they would continue to spread out into Indian territories. Therefore, on March 22, 1622, Opechancanough launched the largest coordinated attack against the English. Nearly 400 English were killed all across the colony. If Opechancanough's security had been better, so that his plans had not leaked, the death toll would have been much higher.

For the English, who had had peace for so long, the event was a terrible shock. The newer colonists probably could not understand why the attack happened; only the oldest colonists would know of all the events that had happened over the years that fueled Opechancanough's anger, but they did not care about Opechancanough's motives. Opechancanough had expected the English to leave after the devastating attack. They did not. Instead, they wrought revenge, poisoning a couple hundred Indians in an attempt to kill Opechancanough, who escaped.

For King James I, the massacre was an adequate excuse to rid the Crown of the annoyance the Virginia Company had become. On May 24, 1624, he declared the company to be dissolved, and Virginia became a royal colony. The war continued fitfully between the Powhatan and the English until a treaty was signed in 1632. Opechancanough's feelings had not changed; he still wanted to eliminate the English, but with their superior weapons, they were able to inflict great damage, despite Opechancanough's superior numbers.

In 1642, the longest serving governor of Virginia arrived at Jamestown, Sir William Berkeley. Berkeley was a man of many talents. He proved to be an able colonial governor as well as a planter of diverse crops. He believed and so practiced that a colony could and should diversify its economic base by growing more than just tobacco. Tobacco's value as a cash crop was so great that few followed his lead, but his efforts and personal success are still noteworthy.

Early in his time as governor, Berkeley had to deal with the long-time enemy of the colony, Opechancanough. On April 18, 1644 Opechancanough attacked again as he had done in 1622, killing between 400 and 500 colonists. Again the English did not leave, and their colony had grown so large it was not possible for the Powhatan to drive them out. In 1646, Opechancanough was finally captured. He was quite old, perhaps over ninety. A common soldier who was to guard him shot him in the back instead. The callous act spared Opechancanough from the humiliation of being taken to England and put on public display. Opechancanough ultimately was captured because the Powhatan, who were powerful in 1607, had dwindled away to almost nothing in the span of forty years. Berkeley signed a treaty with Necotowance, Opechancanough's successor, which ended the two year conflict. The Powhatan tribes were given reservations in exchange for a tribute to be paid to the governor annually, a tradition that still exists today although much of the reservation lands have long been lost to the Indians.

Berkeley had external troubles as well. Berkeley, a Royal Governor, and Virginia, a Royal Colony packed with Anglicans, remained loyal to the Stuarts during the Civil War, leading Virginia to earn the nicknames the Cavalier State and the Old Dominion. Unfortunately for Berkeley and Virginia, the Stuarts lost, and King Charles I was beheaded. With the Puritans taking control in England, Puritan settlements had already been spreading in the colonies, including Virginia, which did not sit well with the Anglican colonists, who were loyal to the Stuarts. Puritans had been settling in Virginia since the 1620s on the south side of the James River and grew steadily in both population and influence, even though they were not particularly welcomed by their Anglican neighbors. Berkeley, a man who encouraged good relations and trade with Indians, was not so welcoming towards Puritans as politics and religion were tied all too closely. Berkeley did not want to have a religious conflict divide his colony as it did England, but at the same time, his tactics against the Puritans were increasingly oppressive. By 1648, ministers were ordered to conform to the Anglican Book of Common prayer or else be punished. To disobey was to disobey the government of the colony. By the early 1650's most of the Puritans had moved onto colonies friendlier to their religious beliefs, such as neighboring Maryland.^{18 19}

Berkeley would be ousted as governor by the Puritan regime in England, only to be recalled for one more term in office (1660-1677). The major crisis of his second term would be the last he would handle, Bacon's Rebellion. Berkeley's native-friendly and planter-friendly policies created an atmosphere of unrest among the poorer members of the colony even as the colony as a whole continued to prosper and grow.

In 1699, the capital was moved from Jamestown to the Middle Plantation, or Williamsburg, a place more centrally located in the colony, as the English had moved steadily west. The Jamestown fort itself would fall into ruin and eventually be lost, only to be rediscovered in modern times thanks to archeologists. Williamsburg would become a jewel of a colonial capitol, with the College of William and Mary and many fine shops reflecting the change in the colony brought on by the prosperity based on tobacco. With the struggle for survival over, the wealthier colonists could concentrate on finer things, such as fashion, food, and leisure activities. For the slaves, physical conditions improved, but their slavery remained. For the Indian tribes on tribal lands, they would see a steady encroachment of colonists and their land holdings would be largely lost along with their language and much of their culture.

4.4.12 Before You Move On...

Key Concepts

The English arrived at Jamestown with the goals of finding gold, a passage west to the Pacific, and the Lost Colony. They found none of these things. Their colony did well when well led and barely survived when its leadership was lacking. John Smith was best able to deal with the Powhatan Indians; most of the other English leaders of Jamestown repeated the mistakes of the Roanoke Colony in their Indian relations by acting with violence rather than diplomacy. A headright system was established to encourage immigration to the colony. The colony was established to make money for the investors of the Virginia Company but failed to do so until John Rolfe cultivated tobacco. Tobacco became the major cash crop of the colony and required land and labor to produce. Tobacco was so profitable a crop that vast amounts of land were cultivated for it, requiring an enormous labor force, more than could be provided by indentured servants. This need resulted in the development of a plantation system and the encouragement of the slave trade. Jamestown was the first successful English colony in North America, but its success resulted in the devastation of the native population. The natives were destroyed over the decades of contact with the English through disease and violent conflict. The once-powerful Powhatan Confederacy was reduced to almost nothing after forty years of contact with the English. The first legislature in the New World was established at Jamestown.

Test Yourself

1. John Smith told the colonists that if they did not work, they would not _____.
2. The Starving Time was not the fault of the colonists.
 - a. True
 - b. False
3. Newport discovered gold.
 - a. True
 - b. False
4. John Rolfe's tobacco completely transformed the colony.
 - a. True
 - b. False

[Click here to see answers](#)

4.5 THE CHESAPEAKE COLONIES: MARYLAND

The bay region of the Potomac River and Maryland was first encountered by Captain John Smith, who, while he resided at Jamestown, had sailed to the region as part of his explorations. In 1632, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, applied to King Charles I for a royal charter to establish a new colony in the Chesapeake region of North America, where he had already created a colony in Newfoundland. However, when he observed Newfoundland firsthand, he did not like the land, which was not as described to him. A devout convert to Catholicism, he wanted to establish a colony where Catholics could practice their religion freely, something not always possible in England, and he wanted the colony to be created further south where the climate was kinder and the popular cash crop, tobacco, could be grown. Calvert, who died in April, 1632, did not live to see his charter materialize. His eldest son and heir, Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, was granted the charter his father had long worked to gain. The new colony was called Maryland, named for Henrietta Marie, wife of Charles I. The Maryland charter was interesting in that it did not simply grant the Calverts the right to establish a colony; it granted the Calverts actual ownership of all the land of the colony, with the colonists swearing oaths to the Baron. The

Baron in turn had the right to sell land to aristocrats as he saw fit, thus creating a landed aristocracy class for the colony. Maryland became the first proprietary English colony in North America.

Leonard Calvert, the younger brother of Cecilius, was appointed the governor of the new colony and set sail with three hundred colonists on two ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove*. They arrived at St. Mary's, Maryland on March 27, 1634. The first group of colonists was composed of both



Figure 4.3 St. Mary's City, Maryland | Reconstruction of an early house at St. Mary's.

Author: Sarah Stierch
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Catholics, including Jesuit priests, and Protestants. Of the thirteen original colonies, Maryland had one of the most progressive governments in terms of religious freedom and its treatment of Indians. It guaranteed religious freedom to all Christians and treated Indians as persons, including paying for their land. In 1642, the first Africans arrived. Lord Baltimore intended Maryland to be a tobacco growing state, so a labor force was needed, and indentured servants were the norm at that time. The Africans arrived as slaves, but the Marylanders balked at enslaving Christians, so, if Africans were willing to be baptized, they could well be set free, an outcome which would create a financial loss to their owners. Laws were eventually enacted to protect the rights of slave owners, just as there were laws to protect the rights of those who had indentured servants.

The site of St. Mary's had been a village belonging to the Yaocomico Indians, one of the many Algonquian language tribes found in the Chesapeake region. Calvert purchased the village area to found his capital city and made great efforts to remain on good terms with the Indians of the colony. Like other Algonquian speakers of the region, the Yaocomico wore deerskin robes with shells and feather decorations. They painted and tattooed themselves, perhaps in a style like that depicted in White's portraits of the Secotan from the Outer Banks further south. The Yaocomico were good friends to the new colony. They stayed nearby as their village was transformed to an English settlement and helped the colonists adjust to agriculture in their new home. Odds are the Yaocomico suffered the same fate as many of the Secotan of Roanoke; although they stayed near the English, they did not develop immunities to the English diseases. They vanished without further mention before 1700.

Conflicts, of course, occurred; the first was with Virginia, Maryland's neighbor to the south. The colonies share a border marked, for the most part,

by the Potomac River. Virginia, a royal colony by the time of the founding of Maryland, had been interested in having the territory added to its own, or, at the very least, not having it given to another colony and potential competitor in the lucrative tobacco market. A Virginia planter, statesman and Puritan, William Clayborne, had set up a trading post and settlement on Kent Island in 1631. The island was included in the charter granted to the Calverts for Maryland. Clayborne and Virginia protested but lost. The conflict, which sometimes included military action and fatalities, continued into the 1650s. For Virginia and Maryland, the issue was territorial and financial, and Virginia would eventually side with Maryland against Clayborne. For Clayborne, the issue was financial, religious, and personal, so he did not drop the matter willingly. During the same time period, Maryland was at war with the Susquehannock, an Iroquoian tribe who earlier had threatened the Yaocomico.

4.5.1 Maryland and the Civil War in England, 1642-1660

Maryland was also affected by the English Civil War. The Catholic Calverts supported King Charles I, while many Protestants in the colony and in Virginia, including Clayborne, supported Parliament. A Captain Richard Ingle joined with Clayborne, seized St. Mary's in 1644, and began the Plundering Time, in which he rode up and down Maryland, seizing whatever he wished, terrorizing the citizens and capturing Jesuits for shipment back to England. Only the return of Governor Calvert in 1646 from his exile in Virginia ended Ingle's reign of terror. Calvert died the next summer, in 1647, passing the governorship to Thomas Greene, one of the earliest colonists and a Catholic.

Tensions were growing between the dominant, minority Catholics and the majority Protestants. In 1648, Lord Baltimore appointed William Stone as the first Protestant governor. Stone had earlier founded the city of Providence on the Severn River as a new home for Puritans leaving Virginia, which had become more firmly Anglican under Governor William Berkeley.

The conflict between Protestants and Catholics led to the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 which guaranteed religious freedom to all Christians. This move was a bold one on the part of Maryland and established a very liberal religious policy that was not common in the English colonies at the time. Maryland, therefore, became an attractive location for those Christians who sought freedom from religious persecution. The law was clear, however, that it applied only to Christians; anyone who denied the divine nature of Christ could be put to death. Although the Toleration Act made Maryland an attractive haven for non-Anglican Protestants, it did nothing to assure these groups that the Catholic minority controlling the colony were fair

to all parties. The impression of favoritism to Catholics continued in the minds of many Protestant Marylanders and would continue to break out in rebellion until the Calverts' control of the colony in 1689.

The Toleration Act became a victim of the English republican period. The Calverts' dream of a haven for Catholics where Protestants and Catholics could live together in peace was not shared by the Protestant supporters of the Parliament during the war. After the execution of Charles I in 1642, Oliver Cromwell, the head of the English republic, gave William Clayborne, his loyal supporter, control of Maryland. Clayborne was able to get the Maryland Assembly to repeal the Act. Then Clayborne went further and succeeded in passing a ban which made it illegal to publicly practice Catholicism in a colony founded for Catholics.

Stone, who had been driven from Maryland by Cromwell's supporters, returned with an army and fought the Battle of the Severn but was defeated and captured. One of Stone's officers, Josiah Fendall, became the next governor of Maryland appointed by Lord Baltimore. Lord Baltimore had reached an agreement with Cromwell's government to have his own governor once again in charge of his colony. Fendall managed to restore order and improve conditions in the colony. Still, the Protestants displayed unrest and expressed dissatisfaction with having a Catholic Lord Proprietor. Fendall and the Assembly attempted to break away from the Calverts and create a new government. The timing was not in Fendall's favor. Cromwell died in 1658, and England reverted to a monarchy with the arrival of King Charles II, who fully supported Lord Baltimore. Baltimore appointed another of his brothers, Philip Calvert, to be the new governor temporarily, and then his son and heir, Charles Calvert, arrived to serve as governor in 1661.

4.5.2 Slavery in Maryland

Maryland had been chartered with the intention of being an agriculturally based colony, with tobacco as its primary crop. The conflicts Marylanders experienced had been a distraction from that goal. With the political horizon finally clearing, the colonists turned their attention once again to tobacco and an important issue facing tobacco planters: sources of labor. As in Virginia, the need for labor to plant and harvest tobacco had encouraged the slave trade and, because the demand for tobacco grew exponentially, so too did the need for permanent, inexpensive labor. In 1664, Maryland passed the first law to create a permanent slave class. Those who were slaves would remain slaves for life, as would those born to slaves; the law applied to all slaves, regardless of race. The earliest slaves in Maryland had been able to gain their freedom by becoming Christians, but that path to freedom was closed in 1671 with another law that allowed slaves to be baptized but expressly denied them freedom based on baptism.

4.5.3 Maryland in the late Seventeenth Century

Charles Calvert, who took his position as governor of Maryland in 1661, just one year after the Restoration of monarchy in England, was a Catholic, as were his father and grandfather; not surprisingly, he gravitated toward Catholics in both his private and public life. His first wife was from a Catholic family, and the majority of his advisors were Catholic aristocrats. His colony's population, however, was largely Protestant. Because Maryland was a proprietary colony, Charles Calvert and the Catholic minority controlled the Protestant majority. The Protestants were neither happy nor comfortable with this situation. An influx of Protestants, who were largely Puritans from Virginia and New England, migrated to the colony. Because they were unused to the proprietary form of government, they expected to have a greater voice in it than the Calverts were willing to give.

Maryland did have an Assembly which represented the people, but ultimately power was in the hands of the proprietors, who could support or deny any decision the Assembly made. To make matters worse, in the 1670s, the Calvert family attempted to control the colony by enacting a series of laws restricting access to political power. According to these laws, only those colonists who owned a significant amount of property, either land or personal property, could vote; similarly, only those with large land holdings could serve in the Assembly. No average farmer would be able to gain the required amount of land to do either. In addition, because the proprietors owned the land and had the right to choose to whom it would be sold, many of the largest land owners were Catholics. Charles Calvert reduced the size of the Assembly by reducing the number of delegates from each part of the colony. In this way, the colonists still had representation and the proprietors would have fewer elected voices with which to contend and consequently fewer opinions opposed to their own. The common people, particularly the Protestants, were displeased with these measures.

In 1675, Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, died; his son and heir Charles immediately became the third Lord Baltimore and left Maryland for England to deal with his father's estate and his own inheritance. While Lord Baltimore was away in England, rebellion arose again in Maryland, as Lord Baltimore was accused of a variety of things that alarmed the British Crown, including that of creating religious conflicts with his insistence on religious toleration. Lord Baltimore responded, quite accurately, that Maryland did not recognize an official church. His own faith was Catholic, but Catholics were a minority. Some in Maryland were Anglicans, but the Church of England was also in the minority in Maryland. The existence of religious tolerance had drawn people of many different Christian denominations to settle in Maryland; it would be imprudent, if not impossible, to declare one

to be the colony's official church and have it be accepted by all the people. The rebellion was quickly put down, but the issues that led to it continued to simmer.

The year 1681 brought yet another rebellion, this one led by a former governor and rebel, Josias Fendall. As with his first rebellion, this one, too, was a failure. Fendall's life was spared once again, though he paid a heavy monetary penalty. The people continued to be frustrated by the gap between those with power over the colony and the rest of the colonists. Making matters worse, the price of tobacco had been dropping and continued to drop. Lord Baltimore had considered working with Virginia to raise the prices by holding back the crop one year, but refused as it would have been too difficult for the small farmers who needed their income to survive. The drop in prices of Maryland's main cash crop created hardship for many of the colonists. Lord Baltimore's failure to find a solution, or to at least find a way to help the people through the hard times, added to the resentment against him, especially since Calvert and his closest friends and advisors were a privileged class who did nothing to hide it.

William Penn added to Lord Baltimore's growing list of problems. Penn had been granted a charter by King Charles II to found his own colony, Pennsylvania, to the north of Maryland. The charter did not define Pennsylvania's borders as well as was needed, and soon there was a conflict between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Penn and Lord Baltimore were unable to resolve the issue on their own, even though it was simple: Maryland's northern boundary was the 40th parallel; Penn was building his capitol, Philadelphia, below the line in Maryland territory and advising farmers in the area that they were not in Maryland but Pennsylvania. Lord Baltimore once again sailed for England in 1684 in an effort to resolve the issue there. Penn was wrong and Lord Baltimore right, but Penn was allowed to keep Philadelphia and other lands as well; the issue was not resolved until the Mason-Dixon Line was surveyed in the 1760s.

Charles, Lord Baltimore, never returned to Maryland, where conflict seemed to be a constant condition. He had left his nephew, George Talbot, in charge in his absence, but before Lord Baltimore had reached England, his nephew murdered a royal official. When hearing of the incident, Lord Baltimore replaced Talbot with William Joseph, an Irishman and Catholic who also did not manage to avoid controversy. Joseph became governor of the volatile colony just as the Glorious Revolution was happening in England. King Charles II had died and was succeeded by his brother, King James II, who had been raised in France and was Catholic. James II was deposed in 1688 in what was called the Glorious Revolution, a bloodless coup by Protestants who wanted no more Catholic kings. The Protestants, in particular the Puritans back in Maryland, felt the same way, and once

again, rebellion erupted in 1689. James Coode, who had been involved in the rebellion of 1681, was the leader and succeeded in taking over the colony. With the rebellion and all the other problems of the colony, Calvert lost control of his colony to the Protestants who governed until 1692 when Maryland became a royal colony under the direct authority and management of the Crown. Maryland remained a Royal Colony until 1715 when it was again given to the Calverts as a proprietary colony as it remained until the American Revolution.

4.5.4 Before You Move On...

Key Concepts

The first Lord Baltimore envisioned Maryland as a proprietary colony providing a safe haven for Catholics with an economy based on the cash crop, tobacco. This reasoning was in reaction to the discrimination and harassment faced by Catholics in England in the decades after the Protestant Reformation. His eldest son inherited the charter, and his grandson, Leonard Calvert, founded the colony and became its first governor in 1634. Although the Calverts had encouraged Protestants as well as Catholics to settle in the colony, many Protestants were not happy with the Catholic Calvert's leadership. There was a view that the Catholic minority was ruling the Protestant majority which created resentment. The Calvert family maintained an active involvement with the colony until 1689, when their charter was lost due to Protestant rebellion. They continued to have an interest in the colony, leading to a restoration as the proprietors in 1715. The Calverts tried to practice religious toleration for all Christians and had one of the most tolerant policies concerning religion of any of the colonies, and they worked to deal fairly with the Indians. However, slavery became firmly entrenched in 1664 in response to the need for a permanent labor force to raise tobacco.

Test Yourself

1. Who is Maryland named for?
 - a. The Virgin Mary
 - b. Henrietta Marie, wife and queen of Charles I
 - c. Queen Mary of England
 - d. Queen Mary of Scotland
2. Where was George Calvert's first colony? _____

3. George Calvert was born a Catholic.
 - a. True
 - b. False

4. Religious tolerance created a happy and unified Maryland Colony
 - a. True
 - b. False

[Click here to see answers](#)

4.6 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

New England is the area of the Atlantic seaboard north and east of New York. During the seventeenth century, it consisted of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. Several of these colonies are usually referred to as “Puritan” (Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut) because they were settled by Puritans (Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut) or Pilgrims (Plymouth), all of whom were Calvinists who had been persecuted in England and who sought freedom to practice their religion without interference in the Americas. Connecticut and Rhode Island were actually offshoots of Massachusetts Bay, settled either by Puritans or by those, in the case of Rhode Island, who had conflicts with the Puritan establishment in Massachusetts Bay. The New England colonies were settled before 1640.

4.6.1 Puritans and Puritanism

Puritanism was a major factor in the creation and the social, religious, and economic life of the New England colonies. Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay were founded by those who wished to practice their Calvinist-based Protestantism without persecution by the English Church or Parliament. Both the Pilgrims who settled Plymouth and the Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay were Calvinists who wanted to carry John Calvin’s theories to their logical conclusions. Though the theology of the Church of England created a compromise between Catholicism and Calvinism, neither the Puritans nor the Pilgrims thought the Church had gone far enough to rid itself of Catholic theology and practice. New England Calvinists, like their counterparts in England, wanted to do away with stained glass in churches, robes for ministers, the use of incense during services, genuflecting at the

sign of the cross, marriage as a sacrament, and the imposition of last rites. The Puritans and Pilgrims believed that idleness was a sin, and, hence, that monasteries were a waste of time. They equally disliked mysticism, meditation, and prescribed prayers. Those Calvinists who settled Massachusetts Bay insisted that the Church of England could be “purified” of its Catholicism; the Pilgrims of Plymouth were “Separatists” who were sure that the Church of England could not be reformed so that their only choice was to separate from it entirely. In 1609, as the result of intense persecution, the Pilgrims immigrated to Holland, where they created a Congregational Church in Leiden.

4.6.2 Plymouth Plantation

The Scrooby Congregation that followed their minister John Robinson to Leiden was, according to historian Nathan Philbrick, the “radical fringe of the Puritan movement.”²⁰ Although the Dutch welcomed them and Leiden and its surroundings were reminiscent of their countryside of East Anglia (along England’s eastern coast), after a decade of living among the Dutch and fearing that their children were becoming unfamiliar with their English heritage, the Scrooby Congregation decided to practice their beliefs in the Americas. William Bradford, whose *Of Plymouth Plantation* tells the story of the Pilgrims in Holland and the new world, lamented that the children of the congregation were overworked to the extent that their “bodies became decreped [sic] in their early youth.” But worse than this and

...of all the sorrows most heavie to be borne,--many of their children, by the great licentiousness in that countrie [Holland], and the manifold temptations of the place...were drawn away...into extravagant and dangerous courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls.²¹

So, in 1620, the Separatists sought permission from the Virginia Company to move to its territory in North America. William Bradford reasoned that the trip to the Americas would be “well tolerated” as the immigrants were already “weaned from the delicate milke of our mother countrie, and enured to the dificulties of a strange and hard land [a reference to Holland].”²² After a good bit of negotiation, the Separatists received a charter from the Virginia Company and permission from the English Crown, and in spring 1620, set sail in the *Mayflower*. According to Bradford’s narrative, these “Pilgrims,” as they called themselves, went to the Americas with hopes of practicing their religion without interference and with “inward zeall...of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospell of the kingdom of Christ in those parts of the world.”²³ Their goals were not unlike those stated by Columbus, Richard Hakluyt, in the Charters of Roanoke Island and the Chesapeake colonies and the settlers of Massachusetts Bay.²⁴

The Voyage of the Mayflower

In July, 1620, 101 passengers left Delfshaven, Holland aboard the *Mayflower* for the sixty-five day journey to the New World. Fewer than one-third of the passengers were Pilgrims; the remainder Bradford referred to as “strangers,” or those not among the “elect” who were predestined for salvation. Among the “saints,” or Pilgrims, were William Bradford, William Brewster, and John Carver. The “strangers” included Captain Miles Standish, a soldier, and John Alden, an adventurer. After a long and stormy voyage, the *Mayflower* anchored at Provincetown, Cape Cod, on November 21, 1620. It was not the best time of year to attempt to establish a new settlement in a strange land.

Because they landed north of the land granted by the Virginia Company with no charter and no title to the land, and in an area named “New England” by John Smith²⁵ rather than Virginia, they drafted the *Mayflower Compact*, which created a government by social contract and bound them together in a common purpose.

The Pilgrims signed the *Mayflower Compact* on November 21, 1620. After signing the *Compact* there was one more task to be completed: the election of a governor. For this role, they chose John Carver. When Carver died several months later, William Bradford was elected to replace him. Bradford served as governor for more than three decades.



Figure 4.5 Mayflower Compact | The pilgrims signing the compact, on board the May Flower, Nov. 11th, 1620.

Artist: Engraving by Gauthier after painting by T.H. Matteson
Source: Library of Congress



Figure 4.4 Mayflower in Plymouth Harbor | An 1882 painting of the ship that brought the Pilgrims to the new world.

Artist: William Halsall
Source: Library of Congress

The Pilgrims landed initially at Cape Cod but soon discovered a more suitable site at the harbor named Plymouth, also by John Smith; they settled here on December 23, 1620. The first winter was as harsh as that at Jamestown. The Pilgrims, not unlike the Jamestown residents, spent a month exploring the surrounding area which left them with few provisions for the winter. One half

of the company, including Governor Carver, died before spring; however, when the *Mayflower* sailed for England in April, 1621, not one of the original colonists was aboard.²⁶ They had all decided to stay.

The Mayflower Compact

Text	Transcription
<p>In the Name of God, Amen. (1) We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James,</p> <p>(2) by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc. Having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic,</p>	<p>1. The Puritans opened the document with a form of prayer, expressing the religious beliefs which would later dictate the structure of their society</p> <p>2. The Pilgrims had left England ten years before, as they were persecuted as dissenters from the Anglican Church. They had been in Leiden for a decade, yet they still claimed to be loyal subjects of the English king. And even during the American Revolution, many colonists remained Loyalists.</p>
<p>(3) for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid;</p> <p>(4) and by virtue here of to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time,</p>	<p>3. The covenant was a Puritan concept that referred to the covenant between the elect and God. Here, the Puritans linked their social, civil bonds to God, foreshadowing John Winthrop’s utopian vision of a Puritan “city on a hill.”</p> <p>4. It would become a common idea in the eighteenth century that law and reason were actually embedded in nature, and that the function of government was to protect and improve the lives of its people. In the next line it is also made clear that laws are enacted only to promote the welfare of the people; the suggestion is that any other legislation was not needed. This is an early statement of an ideal later expressed by John Locke.</p>
<p>(5) as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.</p> <p>(6) In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod the 11 of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Ano. Dom. 1620.</p>	<p>5. This phrase refers to “equal laws,” implying that all were treated equally under the law. In the Puritan colonies, however, only members of the “elect” were treated equally; others had no rights to cast ballots or hold public office.</p> <p>6. The Pilgrims vowed obedience to this compact, pledging to uphold social order. The <i>Mayflower Compact</i> was followed until Plymouth merged with the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1692.</p>

The Pilgrims, the Indians, and the First Thanksgiving

William Bradford's narrative recounts the impact of the Pilgrims having arrived in an unknown land "with no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather beaten bodies and...no houses or much less towns to repair to." In fact, the only inhabitants they encountered were Indians who "were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise." And as if these problems were not serious enough, it was winter, "and they [knew] the winters of that country to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast."²⁷ Edward Winslow, a fellow traveler, echoed Bradford's concerns when he wrote in *Good News from New England* (1624): "How few, weak, and raw were we at our first beginning, and there settling, and in the midst of barbarous enemies."²⁸ He would remark later, however, that the Indians and especially Squanto (whom Winslow called Tisquantum) were much like the Englishmen in that they were "worthy" of trust, "quick of apprehension, [and] ripe witted."²⁹

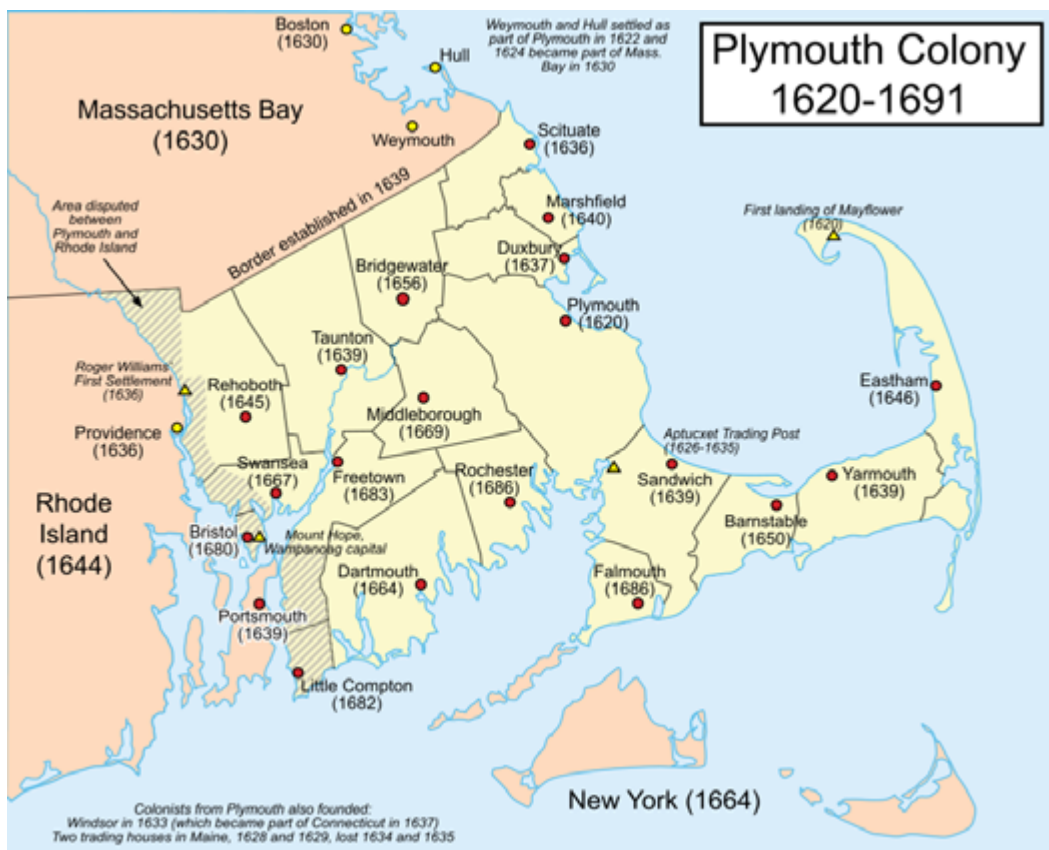


Figure 4.6 Plymouth Colony | Map of the Plymouth Colony to 1691.

Author: Wikipedia User "Hoodinski"

Source: Wikimedia Commons

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By early spring, 1621, conditions in Plymouth had improved, including relations with the local Indians. In March, the Pilgrims were surprised when the Abenaki sachem, Samoset, who had picked up some words of English from fishermen in the waters off the coast of Maine, appeared in the settlement and greeted the settlers with the words: “Welcome, Englishmen.” Samoset and Squanto, a member of the Pawtuxet tribe of the Wampanoag Confederacy, helped orient the English to life in the wilderness. Squanto, who had spent time in England after being kidnapped by Thomas Hunt, one of John Smith’s lieutenants, taught the Pilgrims how to use local herring to fertilize the soil; soon thereafter crops, including maize, began to flourish. Bradford wrote in March,

...it pleased God the mortalities began to cease amongst them [the Pilgrims] and the sick and lame recovered apace which put as [it] were new life into them: though they had borne their sad affliction with much patience and contentedness.”³⁰

In addition to giving the new arrivals horticultural advice, Squanto acted as an interpreter in their dealings with the Wampanoag sachem, Massasoit, who came with Squanto to visit the English settlement. Due to the efforts of Squanto, an agreement was reached between Governor Carver and Massasoit in 1621, the contents of which were recorded by William Bradford. According to the treaty, the Indians would not injure the English or steal their tools, and if either party were engaged in warfare, the other would come to the aid of the first; the treaty lasted for twenty-four years.³¹

The famous “first” Thanksgiving took place in September or October, 1621 on a day when the Pilgrims had killed a large number of ducks and geese and Massasoit arrived with about one hundred Indians who later killed five deer to add to the feast. The deer were roasted on spits, and those assembled feasted on venison, fish, fowl, and beer. Historian Nathaniel Philbrick points out that there was no pumpkin pie or cranberry sauce, and no eating utensils except knives. Instead, the participants ate with their fingers and sprawled on the ground as they consumed the feast. Edward Winslow, in *Mourt’s Relation*, described the occasion:

Our harvest being gotten in, our governor sent four men on fowling, that so we might after a special manner rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruits of our labors....Many of the Indians coming amongst us, and amongst the rest their greatest king Massasoit, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five Deer, which they brought to the [Plymouth] Plantation and bestowed on our Governor, and upon the Captain and others. And although it not always be so plentiful, as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God, we are so far from want.³²

Government in Plymouth

Because the settlers at Plymouth had established a town outside of the area of the charter they held from the Virginia Company, they had bound themselves together with the *Mayflower Compact*. But this agreement was not recognized by the Crown, so they later requested and received a charter from the Council for New England in which no specific boundaries were mentioned. Thus, to clarify their position, they created a formal structure of government. The executive body consisted of a governor and seven councilors who were chosen annually by popular vote. A legislative body, the “General Court,” was to be a meeting of the forty-one men who had signed the *Mayflower Compact*. As the colony grew in population and area, the towns began to send representatives to the meeting of the Court. In 1639, the Pilgrims adopted the *Fundamentals of Plymouth*, which recognized the structure that existed and guaranteed habeas corpus (the right to be charged upon arrest) and the right to a jury trial. Up until 1660, all adult males could vote; after this time, a property qualification was imposed. Plymouth, always small in population, was overshadowed by the larger Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay, which absorbed Plymouth in 1691.

4.6.3 Massachusetts Bay

Ten years later, a second group of Puritans applied for a charter from the Council for New England. Led by a prominent Member of Parliament and lawyer, John Winthrop, these Puritans fled persecution in England, which had intensified in the 1620s under the increasingly pro-Catholic Charles I. Charles began his eleven-year rule without Parliament in 1629. Once Parliament was dismissed, Charles and the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, began the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of those who did not conform to Anglicanism. The Puritans who followed John Winthrop to North America were non-separating Calvinists. Instead of breaking entirely with the Church of England, as had been the case with the Pilgrims, they intended to “purify” the Church, hence their name of “Puritan.”

The Massachusetts Bay Charter, which was issued in March, 1629, created “the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts-bay in New England.” The recipients of the charter were referred to as “freemen;” they were the only ones who had a voice in the government. There was a governor, an assistant governor, and a legislative body, the General Court, which would make laws for the colony. For his part, Charles appears to have been only too happy to approve the Puritans’ application to emigrate, as it was easier to send them to the New World than to deal with them in England.

If the motives of the King were somewhat unclear to those at the time, no doubt existed about the motives of John Winthrop and his Puritan

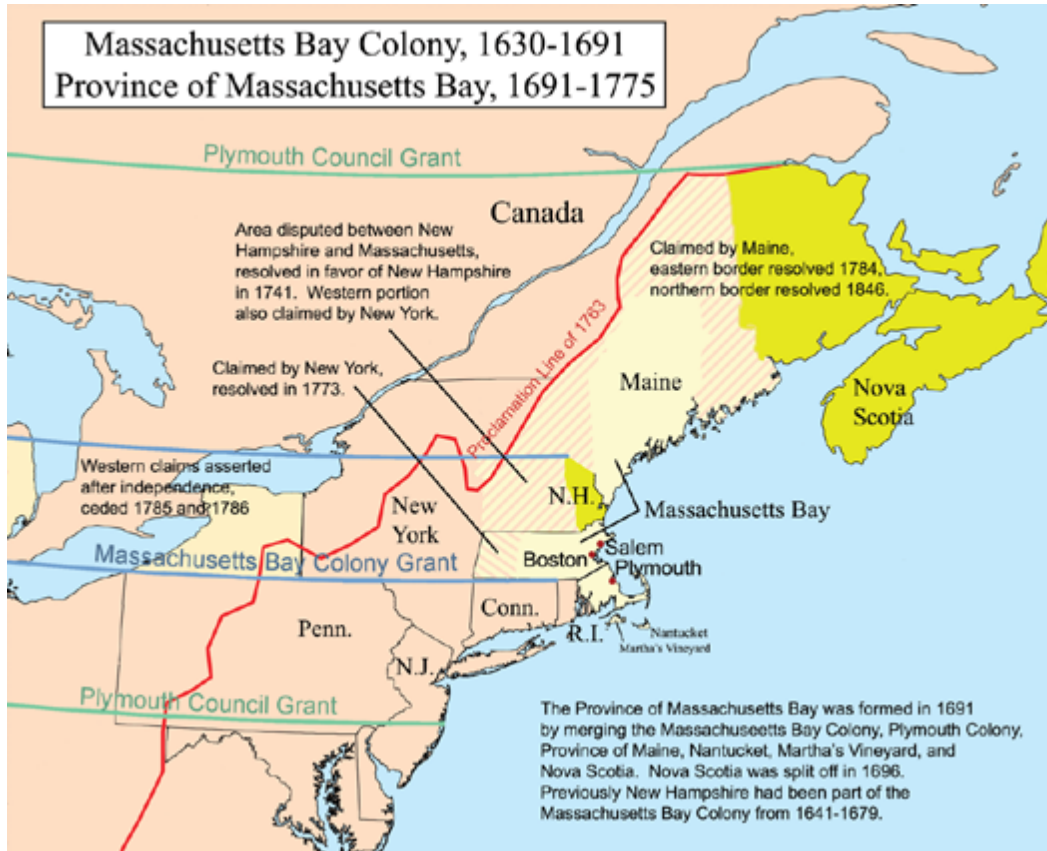


Figure 4.7 Massachusetts Bay Colony | Map of Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Author: Karl Musser
Source: Wikimedia Commons
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compatriots, who in 1630 sailed for New England. Seventeen ships and 1,000 settlers comprised the Winthrop armada, the lead ship of which was the *Arbella*. While on board the *Arbella*, Winthrop delivered a sermon, “A Modell of Christian Charity,” that has since become famous as a statement of the purpose for those leaving England. Winthrop insisted,

We must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are upon us. Soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our God in this worke wee haue undertaken...wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.³³

The settlers would, in other words, create a political and religious example in the new world that would be used as a model for reforming England and Europe.

Boston became the capital of the colony, and soon a “Great Migration” of some 80,000 English headed for Massachusetts Bay. Only official church members, referred to as “visible saints,” could be freemen in the Massachusetts Bay Company, which became the temporary governing body

of the colony. It is interesting that the basis for service in the legislative assembly was church membership rather than land ownership as was true of colonies like Virginia.

Governing the Colony

As was pointed out earlier, the outline of government was provided in the Massachusetts Bay Charter, which was moved to the colony in 1631. When working out the details of government, however, the General Court moved far from the specifications of the Charter. In its meeting of May, 1631, the Court confirmed that only freemen could participate in the government by voting or holding public office, but went further than the charter in insisting that only church members could be freemen. The office of Assistant, whose membership came from the membership of the General Court, would be held for life, rather than by annual election. The governor was elected from among the Assistants; the governor and the Assistants made law. They planned a government of the “elect,” or those predestined to be saved. This system, through which the Puritan leadership exercised firm control over the colony, was modified over the next few years. Before the end of 1632, Puritan leadership decided that the freemen, and not the Assistants, would elect the governor, though the governor still must come from the membership of the Assistants and a man still had to be a church member in order to vote. Additional changes were made in 1634, when the membership of the General Court was expanded to include freemen who represented the towns that had sprung up around Boston. Additional changes were made through the 1630s and 1640s, and, taken together, formed the *Book of Laws and Liberties Concerning the Inhabitants of Massachusetts*.

Because only church members could vote and only the elect could be full members of the Church, Massachusetts Bay was not a democracy if one defines “democracy” as a system in which all persons over a certain age are allowed to vote. However, the New England town meeting to which all inhabitants were invited was definitely a democratic feature. Dorchester was the first town to adopt monthly meetings, but soon other communities followed suit, and, before long, most towns in Massachusetts Bay held regular town meetings. The system could be complicated and differed from one community to the next. In most towns, however, lived two classes of residents. On the one hand were “inhabitants” who had been granted land by the town, and admitted to church membership by the congregation; these exercised full political rights. The other category was that of “squatters,” or those who held no land, and while they could attend town meetings and voice opinions, they could not vote.³⁴

Puritan Orthodoxy: The Bible Commonwealth

The Puritans, or Calvinists, who immigrated to Massachusetts Bay followed a well-defined theology, differing from the belief system of the Pilgrims mainly in their conviction that the Anglican Church could be reformed; they intended to encourage this reformation by setting an example for the Anglican Church to follow. They were not, like the Pilgrims, Separatists. But here the differences ended; they all adopted the teachings of John Calvin.

One of the most important bases of Calvin's theology, and a key issue for the Puritans, was the doctrine of predestination, which affected how they conducted themselves in their daily lives. According to this doctrine, humans were sinful and could not be saved by their own actions. Rather, salvation came from the unmerited grace of God. A person, at the time of birth, was predestined to be either saved or damned, and nothing done in life could change this. Nor was there a way for anyone to know for sure whether they were saved, that is, among the "elect"; only God knew this. However, Puritans did believe that actions *might* reflect the state of the soul. It was thus common for Puritans to look for signs that they themselves, or their neighbors and friends, were among the elect. Most Puritans kept diaries in which they laboriously listed their activities, looking for any indication that pointed to their "election." And when individuals applied for church membership, they must prove to the church council that they had experienced a true conversion and thus were one of the elect.

Congregational Churches of Visible Saints

The churches that were organized in Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut were created by visible saints who covenanted together to form a church body. The founders then examined any persons who wanted to join the church, taking care that anyone admitted to full membership was most likely among the elect. Once the church was established, a pastor was selected and other church officers elected. The New England churches were called "congregational" because they had no hierarchical structure of bishops and archbishops, as in the Anglican Church; rather, each congregation was independent of every other congregation. Leading ministers of the Puritan establishment in Massachusetts were John Cotton, Richard Mather, Increase Mather, and Cotton Mather, all of whom oversaw the social and religious activities of the colonists, both saints and strangers.

4.6.4 Life in Puritan New England

Puritan belief permeated every aspect of life in New England. Because of their emphasis on election and calling, the Puritans believed that the Bible

and Calvinist theology provided “complete blueprints for a smooth, honest, civil life in family, church and state.”³⁵ Not only did Puritans think that they themselves should be socially virtuous, they believed that their neighbors should be socially virtuous as well.³⁶ And though they did not believe that one could earn salvation by doing good works, they did believe that such good works were a reflection of salvation. Thus, all of the elect would live orderly, hardworking lives, see to it that their children were educated and well behaved, attended church regularly, obeyed both secular and religious laws, and took care that they not slip from the prescribed way into moral decline.

Education

One of the most important necessities of life, in the opinion of the Puritans, was education, as it was crucial that all who wanted to qualify for church membership be able to read the Bible and understand and explain the tenets of their religion. Without education, salvation would not be possible. To this end, Harvard University was established in 1636 and the Old Deluder Satan Law passed in 1647. Acknowledging that the “one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, [is] to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures,” the latter required that towns with a population of fifty families provide an elementary school in which students would be taught to read and write and required to study the Bible. Towns with over a hundred families must provide a grammar school. The families in the town were to pay the wages of a school master and see to it that their children attended school and progressed in their studies.³⁷

Cotton Mather and Richard Mather, leading Puritan ministers, warned of the consequences that would befall parents who neglected their duty to educate their children. If a child “should want Knowledge, and saving wisdom thro’ any gross Negligence of thine,” Cotton Mather roared, “thy punishment shall be terrible in the Day of the Lords.” And Richard Mather reminded parents that in the Day of Judgment, uneducated children would cry, “Woe unto us that we had such Carnall and careless parents.”³⁸

Doing God’s Work: The Importance of the “Calling”

All Puritans, whether the Pilgrims of Plymouth or those living in other New England colonies, emphasized the importance of having a “calling.” Two facets shaped the concept of the calling. On the one hand, individuals were called on by God to live a chaste life, go to church, pray, and adhere to the dictates of their religion. On the other hand, each had a personal calling by which they earned their living. Those who were faithful to God were expected to practice both callings with reverence and dedication. So, it was the duty of pious Puritans to work hard, help their neighbors, and

contribute to the needs of the society. The callings were also gender specific. Most women might be called to be wives; they would never be called to be ministers. Children also had a place in an ordered society. Their callings involved obedience to the laws of the family and colony.

The Puritan leadership often elaborated on the necessity of practicing one's calling, even to the deprivation of sleep. Increase Mather, a leading minister and son of Richard Mather, wrote in his diary that he was not willing "to allow myself above Seven Hours and Four and Twenty, for Sleep: but would spend the rest of my Time in Attending to the Duties of my personal or general calling." Similarly, John Cotton wrote in *Parentator* that a calling should "not only aim at our own, but at the publike good" for no occupation "is lawful but what is useful unto humane society."³⁹ It was, therefore, the responsibility of all Puritans to work hard, pray, care for one another, and be ever watchful for evidence of the work of the devil in society. The work of the devil, for example, brought the witchcraft scare to Massachusetts Bay.

4.6.5 Offshoots of the Bay Colony: Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island

Three additional colonies appeared in New England before the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642. In 1636, the Reverend Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church in Cambridge and a proponent of expanded suffrage in electing colonial officers, received permission from the General Court of Massachusetts Bay to move with his congregation south into what became Connecticut. Two years later, the Reverend John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy London merchant and farmer, both of whom were strict Puritans, established New Haven, which maintained a separate existence from Hooker's river towns until 1664. In New Haven, as in Massachusetts, participation in any part of the government was limited to church members.

In 1639, the Connecticut freemen adopted the *Fundamental Orders of Connecticut*, which created, by compact, a government for the colony. The executive branch, consisting of the governor and the assistants, was to be elected annually; the members of this branch could not succeed themselves. All freemen, or church members, voted for the executive. The legislative branch was to be elected by all inhabitants; in other words, a man did not have to be a church member to vote for the legislature. This practice departed from the restricted suffrage of Massachusetts Bay and New Haven.

Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams, a graduate of Cambridge University and Puritan theologian. He arrived in Boston in 1631 and quickly became a popular teacher and pastor. However, Williams, who was a Separatist, quickly became a thorn in the side of the Puritan establishment, regularly denouncing the teachings of the ministers in Boston as

misinterpretations of Scripture. He condemned religious persecution by political authorities, believed in complete freedom of religion (for all except Quakers), and insisted that all laws requiring compulsory attendance at church and religious orthodoxy for voting should be done away with. He also insisted that the land belonged to the Indians and that the king had had no right to grant it to the Massachusetts Bay Company.

It did not take long for the General Court to act, and in 1635, it instructed the church at Salem to dismiss Williams. Williams left Salem with five supporters. After spending a long winter in the woods of Massachusetts, he finally found friends within the Narragansett tribe. He purchased land from them and established Providence in spring, 1636.

Williams was soon joined by another “heretic” who had been banished from the Bay colony: Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Hutchinson, who had been interested in theology and theological debate before coming to Massachusetts, was the wife of a wealthy Bostonian and a neighbor of John Winthrop. She had been influenced by the sermons of John Cotton, to adopt Antinomianism, or the idea that once the doctrine of grace had been bestowed upon a person, it could not be removed. Thus the sermons of leading Massachusetts divines, including those of her own minister, Reverend John Wilson, were theologically unsound because they put too much emphasis

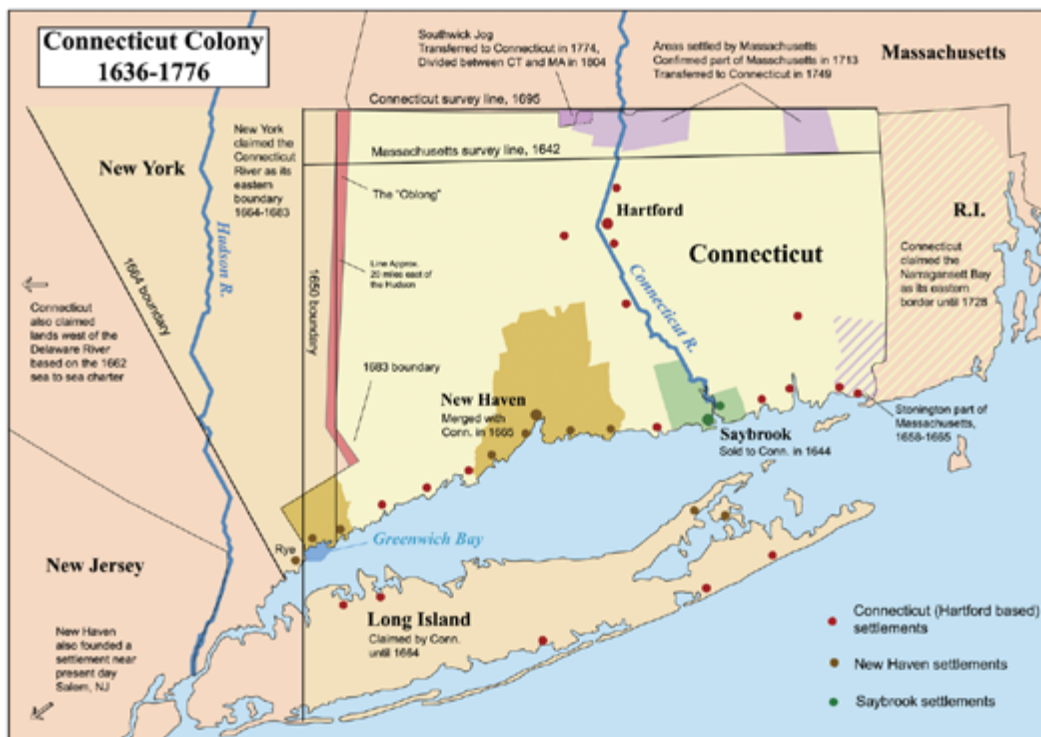


Figure 4.8 Colony of Connecticut | Map of The Colony of Connecticut, 1636-1776.

Author: Karl Musser
Source: Wikimedia Commons
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on the strict moral code which was the basis of law in Massachusetts and too little on the what she called the “inner light.” She made the mistake of holding “theological salons” in her home in which she and other members of Wilson’s congregation commented on the content of the his sermons and their theological validity. Though initially Hutchinson had the support of the Reverend John Cotton, her claims to divine inspiration made the Puritan community nervous, and when an “Antinomian Controversy” threatened to upset the “holy experiment” in 1636, the leaders of the Bay Colony suspected “a plot of the old serpent [Satan] against Massachusetts.”⁴⁰

The Puritan oligarchy could not have a dissenter such as Hutchinson in their otherwise holy commonwealth. In November, 1637, she was brought before the General Court, condemned for her activities, and banished from the colony. In 1638, she was excommunicated and immediately left for Rhode Island, where she and her followers established the town of Portsmouth. When her husband died four years later, she moved with her children to Long Island, where she and her family were murdered in an Indian raid.

By the time the English Civil War broke out, Rhode Island had no charter. The land had been bought from the Indians, an action that no one in England, or most of the colonies for that matter, thought produced a legitimate claim. Therefore, Williams petitioned Parliament for title to the land, which Parliament granted in 1644. Thus, the “Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New England” was created. The government structure was much like that of Connecticut, with expanded suffrage and limited terms of office. The Puritan oligarchy was under siege as Rhode Island and other colonies surrounding Massachusetts Bay moved toward democracy and toleration.

4.6.6 New Hampshire

The remaining colony of New England, consisting of the territories of New Hampshire and Maine, saw sporadic settlement during the decades of the 1630s and 1640s. Most of the area had been given to the Englishmen Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason in 1622 by the Council for New England. They divided the tract into northern and southern portions. The first permanent settlements in New Hampshire were established at Exeter and Hampton in 1638 by two diverse groups: the Reverend John Wheelwright, the brother of Anne Hutchinson and like her an exile from Boston, and a group of orthodox Puritans from another part of the Bay colony. Most of the towns of New Hampshire were created between 1623 and 1640; all were annexed by Massachusetts in 1641-1643, partly because of the death of Gorges and partly because the Civil War in England gave elevated importance to Puritans in England and the American colonies.

New Hampshire remained part of Massachusetts Bay until 1677 when it became independent; in 1679 it became a royal colony.

Maine was mostly an outpost for fishers, though recent discoveries have revealed an early settlement in Maine at Popham. It appears that in 1607, when James I granted land for the creation of what became Jamestown, he supported the establishment of a second colony in Maine. The colonists arrived at Popham in August, 1607 and began building what they called Fort St. George. As winter approached and supplies ran low, however, half of the colonists decided to return to England. At the end of winter, the remainder headed home, as well.⁴¹ The settlement there had lasted for less than a year. The sparse settlements in Maine were annexed by Massachusetts between 1652 and 1656; in 1691 Plymouth and Maine were formally joined with Massachusetts by the English Privy Council.

4.6.7 Slavery in New England

The “institution of slavery” is usually most closely associated with agriculture in the antebellum South, where slaves numbered in the millions. But, despite the common assumption that slavery was a southern phenomenon, “slaves were brought into New England throughout the entire colonial period” and were common in these colonies until the American Civil War. The first slaves arrived in Massachusetts Bay in 1638, having been exchanged for Pequot War captives, and though the number remained “quite small” for the first forty years, slave population doubled between 1677 and 1710.⁴² Even John Winthrop, well-known governor of Massachusetts Bay, not only owned slaves at his home, Ten Hills Farm, but helped pass one of the first laws making chattel slavery legal in North America in 1641. The Massachusetts Body of Liberties of 1641 states, “There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or Captivitie amongst us *unles* it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties...which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons.” [sic]⁴³

Two decades later, John Winthrop’s grandson, Wait Winthrop, gave his older brother advice on handling a slave recently arrived from Africa: “Have an eye to him...and [if] you think it not worthwhile to keep him, sell him or send him to Virginia or the Barbadoes.”⁴⁴ A visitor to Boston in the late 1600s wrote, “you may...own Negroes and Negresses...There is not a House in Boston, however small be its Means that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six.”⁴⁵

In 1715, the first “general census of New England” reported that there was approximately one “negro” for every six families in those colonies. However, the slave population was not found throughout the colonies; rather, it was

“clustered along the seacoast, in major cities and in agricultural areas in Rhode Island and Connecticut.”⁴⁶ By the 1770s, slaves were present in significant numbers in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, where they made up 30 percent of the population of South Kingston. There was also a notable presence of slaves in Boston (10 percent) and New London (9 percent). Most prominent New England merchants had ties to the slave trade and made vast fortunes from it.⁴⁷

Because of sectional differences in economic development, slave occupations in New England were more diverse than in the South. Rather than working primarily on large agricultural units, northern slaves more often performed household duties and provided skilled labor in any number of industries: ship building, carpentry, printing, tailoring, shoe making, blacksmithing, baking, and weaving. In fact, “many became so talented in the crafts that the free white workers lost jobs to them.”⁴⁸

4.6.8 The New England Confederation, 1643

The New England colonies, especially Massachusetts Bay, posed a problem for the English monarchs during most of the pre-Revolutionary period. The settlers’ “independent spirit” first appeared with the foundation of the New England Confederation in 1643. The union of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, all Puritan colonies, was created without consulting Parliament or the Crown. The purpose of the Confederation was to pool the resources of the colonies and solve their mutual problems, primarily their struggles with the native populations. England was engaged in a civil war and therefore unable to give adequate protection to her colonies. This reason along with the Pequot War spurred the New England colonies into action. The preamble of the Confederation of “the United Colonies of New England” explained the motivation and purpose behind its establishment: “Whereas we all came into these parts of America, with one and the same end...and whereas we live encompassed with people of severall Nations...we enter into a present Consotiation...for mutuall help and strength.”⁴⁹

It made no reference to the king or Parliament, and the wording was not unlike that of the Articles of Confederation, America’s first constitution, created 130 years later. The colonies entered into a “firm and Perpetuall league of friendship...for offence and defence, mutuall advice...both for preserving and propagating...the liberties of the Gospel and for their own mutuall safety and welfare.”⁵⁰ The union lasted from 1643 to 1691, though it was not effective after the first decade. When Charles II was restored to the throne of England in 1660, he turned his ire on Puritanism and Puritans,

holding them responsible for the execution of his father in 1642. In 1684, he revoked the charter of Massachusetts Bay, making it a royal colony, and his brother James II later established the Dominion of New England, which was placed under the control of a colonial administrator, Sir Edmund Andros, who had, among other things, served as the fourth royal governor of New York and was one of the original proprietors of the territory of New Hampshire and Maine.

4.6.9 Before You Move On...

Key Concepts

The New England colonies were founded between 1620 and 1642, when the English Civil War broke out. With the exception of Rhode Island, these colonies (Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, New Haven, and Connecticut) were Puritan, and Puritanism influenced their social morés, economics, and politics. Believing in a strict adherence to Calvinist doctrine and in the value of a society composed solely of “visible saints,” most New England colonists, with the exception of those in Rhode Island, did not welcome what they called “strangers,” nor did they practice toleration in any form. The colony of Rhode Island was different, as it was created by refugees from Massachusetts who disagreed with Puritan orthodoxy and the chokehold it had on Massachusetts society. The laws of this colony reflected religious and social toleration. Anne Hutchinson, who had been embroiled in the Antinomian Controversy in Massachusetts Bay, and Roger Williams, who purchased the land that became Rhode Island from the Indians, reflect the independence that could evolve from various ways of interpreting Calvinist doctrines.

Because Puritans believed that anyone seeking membership in the church had to have a working knowledge of Scripture, education became an important aspect of life in their colonies, as did industry, because to be idle was a sign of the devil at work. Unlike the colonies in the South, where education was the responsibility of the family, New England was seen as the province of the state. While Plymouth remained small in population, Massachusetts Bay grew throughout the seventeenth century and became large and prosperous; in 1691 Massachusetts became a royal colony, absorbing the territories of Maine and Plymouth. In the same year, New Hampshire became a royal colony, independent of Massachusetts.

Test Yourself

1. Who among the following were banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony?
 - a. John Cotton and Richard Mather
 - b. John Winthrop and Roger Williams
 - c. Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson
 - d. Anne Hutchinson and John Winthrop

2. Which of the following founders and colonies is incorrect?
 - a. John Winthrop/Massachusetts Bay
 - b. William Bradford/Plymouth
 - c. William Brewster/New Haven
 - d. Thomas Hooker/Connecticut

3. The General Court in Puritan colonies was the _____ of the government.
 - a. executive branch
 - b. legislative branch
 - c. judicial branch
 - d. religious branch

4. One important difference between the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay and those of Plymouth was that:
 - a. the Pilgrims wanted to reform the Church of England rather than separate from it.
 - b. the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay wanted to reform the church of England rather than separate from it.
 - c. the Pilgrims did not believe in the doctrine of election.
 - d. the Puritans were not Calvinists.

5. According to the doctrine of predestination, a person was either saved or damned from the time of his birth.
 - a. True
 - b. False

[Click here to see answers](#)

4.7 THE PURITANS AND THE INDIANS

The leading New England Indian tribes were the Mohegan and Pequot in Connecticut, the Narragansett in Rhode Island, the Patuxet and Wampanoag in Plymouth, and the Nipmuckin Massachusetts, and Pennacook in Massachusetts Bay. No political unity existed among the tribes, though they were able to communicate through the spoken word. The Indians were hunters but also horticulturalists, who believed that the land should be shared and contain no boundaries and no fences. Indian villages shared the proceeds from the land; no one went hungry in a village unless everyone did. Sachems led the tribes and were assisted by a council of lesser sachems and important warriors.

Puritan ideas about the land were quite different. Their approach was best expressed by John Winthrop, who said, “As for the Natives in New England, they enclose no Land, neither have any settled habitation, nor any tame Cattle to improve the Land, and so have no other but a Naturall Right to those countries, so as if we leave them sufficient for their use, we may lawfully take the rest.”⁵¹ Or as the records of the Milford, Connecticut town records state, “the earth is the Lord’s...the earth is given to the Saints...[and] we are the Saints.” Many of the settlers agreed with William Bradford who maintained that the Indians were “savage people who are cruel, barbarous and most treacherous.”⁵²



Figure 4.9 Tribal Territories | Map of the Tribal Territories of Southern New England.

Author: Wikipedia Users “Nikater” & “Hydrargyrum”
Source: Wikimedia Commons
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4.7.1 Puritan Mission and the Indians

The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company proclaimed that the purpose of those who traveled to the Americas was “to win and incite the natives of this country, to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind.” This mission was not unique to Massachusetts or even to those who sailed from England, as Columbus mentions in his journal that, as soon as he encountered the Taino people of the Caribbean islands, he saw that “they were very friendly...and perceived that they could be much more easily converted to our holy faith by gentle means than by force.”⁵³ Similarly, Hernan Cortes, sent to conquer the Aztec Empire of Mexico, mentioned in his letter to Charles V, king of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, that the Aztecs acknowledged that the Spanish explorers “having more recently arrived must know better than themselves what they ought to believe; and that if I [Cortes] would instruct them in these matters, and make them understand the true faith, they would follow my directions, as being for the best.”⁵⁴ Those living in Massachusetts Bay were continually reminded of their duty because the seal of the colony of Massachusetts Bay contained the image of a native crying, “Come over and help us!”

Years passed, however, before the Puritans actually began the work of conversion. One of the greatest obstacles was language. Puritans believed that conversion could come only when the converts could read and discuss the Bible. Through much of the 1630s, the Puritans dealt with the natives only through sign language, which worked well when bartering but was not sufficient for purposes of conversion. In order to have a true conversion experience, the natives needed a written language and a Bible written in that language. The conversion efforts did not begin seriously until after the Pequot War.

4.7.2 The Pequot War, 1636-1638

The first major conflict between the Puritans and Indians began in 1636. The Pequots, the most powerful of those living in the Connecticut Valley, looked with suspicion and alarm as the number of English settlers beginning to inhabit their land increased. The English had a hard time understanding why the Indians needed as much land as they apparently thought they did and refused to recognize these claims because the lands were not under cultivation. Cultivation to the Puritan way of thinking bestowed the right of ownership. Problems invariably arose with the result that the Indians murdered several settlers at Saybrook and Wethersfield in 1635-1636 at the height of the Antinomian controversy. Even before these incidents, the government of Massachusetts Bay had sent an expedition under John

Endicott into Pequot territory to avenge the murder of an English trader, John Oldham. In May, 1637, settlers in Connecticut raised a force of ninety men under the command of John Mason and John Underhill, both of whom had experience fighting Indians. One of the most notorious battles was the English attack on the Pequot fort at Mystic, Connecticut. The settlement, the greatest of the Pequot strongholds, had about four hundred inhabitants and seventy wigwams; many of the residents were women, children, and the elderly. The English and their Indian allies, the Narragansett, approached the fort at night and set it on fire. Those inhabitants who did not die in the fire were slaughtered as they attempted to flee the inferno. Of the hundreds living in the fort, only seven survived. The Treaty of Hartford, signed September 21, 1638, ended the war; the remaining Pequot were enslaved by the Mohegan or Narragansett or sold into slavery in Bermuda and the West Indies and their lands seized.⁵⁵ Historians Curtis Nettels and Samuel Eliot Morison comment that the Pequot were “virtually exterminated” by the war and the subsequent enslavement.⁵⁶

John Eliot, Disciple to the Indians

Up until the defeat of the Pequot in 1638, New England Indians had been reluctant to accept the God of the Puritans. With the success of the English against the Pequot, however, “the Indians of Southern New England were impressed by the power of the white man and became more interested in the God responsible for his success.”⁵⁷ John Eliot, later given the title “Apostle to the Indians,” received a Pequot servant at the end of the war from whom he began to learn the Algonquin language spoken by the Massachusett, Nauset, Narragansett, Pequot, and Wampanoag. In 1644, the General Court instructed the county courts to see to it that the Indians residing in their villages should be civilized and “instructed in the knowledge and worship of God.”⁵⁸

In 1646, Eliot preached his first sermon in the Algonquin tongue to the inhabitants of the village of Nonantum. The same year, the General Court appointed Eliot to a committee whose purpose was to buy land from the Indians that should be set aside “for the encouragement of the Indians to live in a more orderly way among us.”⁵⁹ Five years later, in 1651, the first “Praying Town,” Natick, was created. Although Natick remained the most famous of the Praying Indian towns, thirteen additional towns were created in the Bay colony by 1675. In 1663, Eliot translated the Bible into the [Algonquin](#) language, and, in 1666 he published a grammar for the Massachusetts called “The Indian Grammar Begun.” The towns had been located so as to serve as buffers for the defense of the colony; this function ended with the outbreak of King Philip’s War. By this time, however, 20 percent of the Indians of Massachusetts Bay lived in the Praying Towns that appeared throughout the colony.

4.8 NEW ENGLAND IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: DECLENSION, WITCHCRAFT, AND THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND

By 1660, New England had grown in population and wealth. Despite this fact, or perhaps because of it, many among the Puritan leadership lamented that their mission was in danger of failing; this falling away from their original purpose is known as “declension.” There were several indicators that declension had indeed set in. The most obvious sign was that the children and grandchildren of the first generation appeared to be losing the piety characteristic of their elders, and, as a consequence, the proportion of church members to non-members was declining alarmingly. Puritan ministers pointed out that should this trend continue it would affect not just the current church population but also that to come, as only children of full church members could be baptized. Those who were not baptized could not become church members themselves. In 1662, in a desperate move to avoid this eventuality, Massachusetts clergy adopted the *Half-Way Covenant*. According to this doctrine, children of partial members could be baptized and thus would be eligible for full church membership upon a conversion experience. The more orthodox Puritans denigrated this approach, and many left the Congregational Churches to join what they saw as the more strictly separatist sect, the Baptists. Fears of declension and the adoption of the Half-Way Covenant were only the beginning of troubles for the New England colonies, however. More serious problems came just before and after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

4.8.1 The Dominion of New England

Charles II died in 1685. Before his death, he had begun to curtail the activities of the Bay Colony, especially in light of the fact that in the 1660s and 1670s, the colony refused to obey the Navigation Acts, would not allow appeals from the courts in the Bay Colony to England, and purchased Maine from the Gorges proprietors without permission. To make matters worse, in 1678 the General Court of Massachusetts announced to Parliament that “The laws of England are grounded within the four seas, and do...not reach America.”⁶⁰

Thus, in 1684, the Crown revoked the Charter of Massachusetts Bay and combined all of the New England colonies, in addition to New York and East and West Jersey, into the Dominion of New England. Local assemblies, including the revered New England town meetings, were abolished, and the Dominion was placed under the direct control of a governor-general

appointed by the Crown, a lieutenant governor, and an appointed council. Male suffrage was expanded, taxes were raised, and no longer did one have to belong to the Congregational church to be able to vote. Sir Edmund Andros was appointed the first royal governor of the Dominion. A further slap in the faces of the Puritan leaders came when an Anglican Church was established in Boston, bringing the Puritan monopoly to an end.

When Charles's brother, James II, came to the throne in 1685, he immediately alarmed English Protestants. His open support of English Catholics and Catholicism in general led to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the succession of his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange. In the colonies, a series of uprisings broke out that threw royal governors out of office and replaced them with colonial leaders. In Massachusetts, a rebellion led to the overthrow of Andros and the dissolution of the Dominion of New England. William and Mary, however, refused the request of Massachusetts for a new charter; instead, Massachusetts Bay was combined with Plymouth and became a royal colony. Though the General Court was re-established, a person no longer had to be a church member to be elected to the Court; it appeared that the holy experiment had come to an end.

4.8.2 Witchcraft in Salem

Three years later, in spring 1692, when a new royal charter had just been issued and tension spread throughout Massachusetts, several girls in Salem Village, what is now Danvers, became ill. Among those afflicted were the daughter and niece of the local minister Samuel Parris. After the girls began to have fits, which a minister described as “beyond the power of natural disease to effect,” and were closely questioned, they admitted that they had been experimenting with the occult under the tutelage of Tituba, a West Indian servant and possibly a slave, in the Parris household. The fact that the devil was at work in society was part and parcel of the Puritan belief system, and they tended to blame the works of the devil for all the misdoings in society. Indeed, Cotton Mather, a leading Puritan minister in Boston, was famous for his pronouncements on witches. In his book, *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (1689 and reprinted in 1691), he examined the case of a mason in Boston, whose children had been possessed by the devil and encouraged to steal from neighbors; the woman accused of witchcraft was executed. Mather was determined “after this, never to use but just one grain of patience with any man that shall go to impose upon me a Denial of Devils, or of Witches. I shall count that man Ignorant who shall suspect, but I shall count him down-right Impudent if he Assert the Non-Existence of things which we have had such palpable Convictions of.”⁶¹



Figure 4.10 Salem Witch Trials | A witness writhes on the floor of the courthouse at the proximity of an accused.

Author: William A. Crafts

Source: *Pioneers in the Settlement of America: From Florida in 1510 to California in 1849*

When the girls of Salem Village confessed that they had been studying the occult and were perhaps the victims of witchcraft, they were ordered to reveal their afflictors. They pointed to Tituba who, upon being whipped, named her two accomplices: Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne. These two women made perfect victims for what is considered by most historians to have been mass adolescent hysteria, as Sarah Good was a homeless beggar and Sarah Osborne had long been suspect because of her refusal to attend church services. Non-conformity was not a value in Puritan society, and anyone who was outside the mold was viewed suspiciously. A special court was established to hear the cases, in which the girls were the main witnesses. During the cross examination of the “witches,” the girls threw themselves on the floor and writhed and groaned. The initial accusations were only the beginning, and as the girls received more and more attention, they pointed their fingers at additional residents of Salem Village and nearby Ipswich, whom they claimed to have seen riding broomsticks, sitting in trees, floating through the air, appearing as wolves, and anything else they imagined that witches would be able to do. If rational residents accused the girls of nonsense, they, too, became victims of the accusers. Before the hysteria ended in the summer of 1693, more than one hundred persons had been cited and nineteen put to death. Of those executed, eighteen were hanged, and one, Giles Corey, an eighty-year-old farmer, was pressed to death. One of the victims, George Burroughs, was a Congregational minister; fourteen of the nineteen executed were women.⁶²

Robert Calef, an eyewitness to the execution of Reverend Burroughs, whose accusers claimed that the ghost of a deceased woman told them that Burroughs had killed her, described the scene:

Mr. Burroughs was carried in a Cart with others, through the streets of Salem, to Execution. When he was upon the Ladder, he made a speech for the clearing of his Innocency, with such Solemn and Serious Expressions as were to the Admiration of all present; his Prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer) was so well worded, and uttered with such composedness as such fervency of spirit, as was very Affecting, and drew Tears from many, so that it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution. The accusers said the black Man [Devil] stood and dictated to him. As soon as he was...[hung], Mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a Horse, addressed himself to the People, partly to declare that [Mr. Burroughs] was no ordained Minister, partly to possess the People of his guilt, saying that the devil often had been transformed into the Angel of Light. And this did somewhat appease the People, and the Executions went on; when he [Mr. Burroughs] was cut down, he was dragged by a Halter to a Hole, or Grave, between the Rocks, about two feet deep...⁶³

Before he was hung, Reverend Burroughs recited the Lord's Prayer perfectly, an act that witches were not supposed to be able to perform.

The mass hysteria that was the witchcraft "scare" ended in the fall of 1693, when well-connected people, including the wife of Governor Phipps, were accused and the educated elite of Boston began to pressure the Governor to set aside spectral evidence. Even Increase Mather wrote in 1693 that the devil could take the shape of an innocent person and that it was better that ten witches go free than one innocent person be condemned. But while many of the ministers of Massachusetts Bay eschewed the proceedings after the fact, none spoke up until the hysteria had consumed the colony for eighteen months. Influenced by the writings of ministers such as Cotton and Increase Mather, they could in fact see the workings of the devil in Massachusetts; it was far easier to blame the Devil than to look too closely at the society Puritan orthodoxy had created. When the mass hysteria ended in 1693, it coincided with the end of the Holy Commonwealth and the decline of the "city on a hill."

Compared to the witch hunts that occurred in Europe at about the same time, the one in Salem Village was mild and had at least some humane features, if the word humane can be applied to a witch hunt. In the first place, the Salem witches were hung and not burned to death, and, in the second, most of those involved in the furor later confessed their mistakes. Twenty years later, the Massachusetts courts annulled the convictions and granted indemnity to the victims and their families.

Sidebar 4.1: Puritans In Historical Literature

The following points of view illustrate the historical controversies that have arisen about the Puritans over the last one hundred years. The Puritans, those of Massachusetts Bay as well as the Pilgrims of Plymouth, were in fact the earliest American historians and thought of their own history as the manifestation of God's will. They considered themselves to be the chosen people who, like the Jews, were given a place set apart for them to build a new Canaan. According to John Winthrop, Massachusetts was "a city on a hill," a model for a new Christian utopia. Although Thomas Jefferson and numerous other important figures would later reject the Puritan interpretation of history, historian Perry Miller's claim in *The American Puritans*, 1956, that "without some understanding of Puritanism, there is no understanding of America" is not without merit and can be seen in later reevaluations of the significance of the Puritans in American thought

The Anti-Puritan Perspective

Historians have been of two minds about the Puritans. According to one group, represented by Harvard graduates Charles Francis Adams and Brooks Adams at the turn of the twentieth century, the Puritans founded undemocratic colonies dominated by a Puritan elite. These colonies repressed dissenters, resisted change, and were narrow-minded in their outlook. According to this historiographical school, the Puritans created a "glacial period" of frozen, stifled intellectual life that lasted until the American Revolution. In the Progressive era of the early twentieth century through the 1920s, negative appraisals of the Puritans were even more common. H. L. Mencken wrote in 1924 that Puritanism was "the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy." Mencken saw parallels between the Puritans and those of his own day who wanted to censor books and continue prohibition. James Truslow Adams agreed that the Puritans repressed not only the individual's public life but regulated private life as well with restrictive religious precepts. Further, he argued that Puritanism was an economic ideology promoted by the middle class to justify its domination of the lower classes. The Puritan leaders "looked with fear, as well as jealousy, upon any possibility of allowing control of policy of law and order, and of legislation concerning person and property, to pass to others."⁶⁴ Other historians like Vernon Parrington, writing in *Main Currents in American Thought*, argued that the Puritans contributed little to important American ideals.

Intellectual Contributions

On the other hand, a second group of historians has tended to appreciate the contributions of the Puritans to intellectual life. These historians point out that the Puritans established the first public school system in the Americas and the first college. They also see the Puritans as the torchbearers of liberty, who came to America in search of religious freedom. Their austerities and other seemingly repressive measures were dictated by the harsh conditions of the land and times in which they lived. This school of thought, represented by John Gorham Palfrey (1858-1890), credits the Puritans with the development of such American virtues as hard work, thriftiness, and social responsibility. In a reaction to the anti-Puritanism of the 1920s, historians of the 1930s, such as the Harvard professor Samuel Elliot Morison, attempted to portray the Puritans as "real" people who were not averse to the simple pleasures of life and who contributed much to the intellectual life of early America. Daniel Boorstin argued that the Puritans were successful because of their practicality, another American virtue.]

4.8.3 Before You Move On...

Key Concepts

When charters were issued to the Puritans who settled Plymouth and Massachusetts, a key component was the statement of purpose for the removal of these Calvinists to the Americas; both charters mentioned the need to spread the Christian gospel to the Indians. And, though the Puritans were ever mindful of their purpose, early relations with the natives were uneven at best; not until after the Pequot War did the work of John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians, begin. Eventually, Praying Towns appeared in Massachusetts Bay, and “praying Indians” were educated in the teachings of the Bible. Many went on to attend Harvard, which its president hoped would become the “Indian Oxford.” But apart from success with Christianization, the late seventeenth century was not a positive period for the New England Puritans. Declension became a problem as more and more of the second and third generations failed to join the church. Massachusetts Bay lost its charter and was incorporated with the other New England colonies into the Dominion of New England, and even when the Dominion was Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth failed to obtain new charters from the Crown. Rather, these two Puritan settlements were combined under one royal governor. These problems, in addition to the witchcraft, led ministers to lament in one jeremiad after another that their mission had failed and the holy experiment was at an end.

Test Yourself

1. Who among the following was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony?
 - a. John Cotton and Richard Mather
 - b. John Winthrop and Roger Williams
 - c. Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson
 - d. Anne Hutchinson and John Winthrop

2. The “Apostle to the Indians” was the Puritan minister:
 - a. John Eliot
 - b. John Cotton
 - c. John Winthrop
 - d. Cotton Mather

3. The West Indian servant whose tales of witchcraft initiated the witchcraft scare in the Salem Village was:
 - a. Sarah Good
 - b. Sara Parris
 - c. Tituba
 - d. Massasoit

4. King Philip's war broke out when a praying Indian and graduate of Harvard was assassinated by a Wampanoag.
 - a. True
 - b. False

5. The Dominion of New England was created in part to punish Massachusetts Bay for its failure to convert the local Indian tribes.
 - a. True
 - b. False

[Click here to see answers](#)

4.9 Conclusion

The year 1660 marks a break between two waves of English colonization. Prior to 1640, colonies were created in New England, Virginia, and Maryland. For the most part, the colonies established during this period were created by charters held indirectly from the Crown. Those that appeared after 1660 were mainly proprietary, given as grants to the friends of Charles II, who was “restored” to the throne in 1660. The late seventeenth century witnessed an attempt by the English monarchy to tighten the reins over their American colonies, as new Acts of Trade and Navigation were passed by Parliament and the Dominion of New England created. When James II was overthrown in 1688, a series of revolts in the colonies brought an end to such institutions as the Dominion of New England. By the end of the century, however, many colonies had lost their charters and became royal colonies under the direct control of the Crown. In 1735, the last English colony, Georgia, was established as a buffer colony between the American colonies and Spanish Florida.

4.10 CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISES

- John White was put in a terrible position when his colonists asked him to leave them and return to England for aid. If you were John White, what would you do?
- The Secotan attacked White's colony because of what had happened with Lane's earlier group. Was there any way for White to have prevented the troubles? Was the Secotan's anger justified?
- Ralph Lane's legacy at Roanoke was a failed attempt at a colony and the lasting enmity of the Secotan towards the English. How do you think Lane should have handled the problems with the Secotan?
- If you were Powhatan or a Pequot, how would you have reacted to the arrival of the English?
- If you were an English citizen in 1606 and had the opportunity to be a part of founding Jamestown, would you have done it?
- Why do you think the Narragansett and Mohegan tribes fought with the Puritans against fellow Indians, the Pequot?
- Do you think that witchcraft was practiced in Salem Village in 1692?

4.11 KEY TERMS

- Algonquian
- William Bradford
- Calvert
- Calvinism
- Canary Islands
- Charles I
- Charles II
- Chesapeake Bay
- Chickahominy
- Croatoan
- Oliver Cromwell
- Virginia Dare
- Doctrine of Election
- Sir Francis Drake Elizabeth I
- Elizabethan Settlement
- Fall Line
- Sir Richard Grenville
- Sir Gilbert Humphrey
- Anne Hutchinson
- Iroquoan
- James I
- James II
- James River
- Jamestown
- Long Parliament
- Lord Baltimore
- Manteo
- Marian Exiles
- Massachusetts Bay
- Massasoit
- Mid-Atlantic
- Narragansett
- Captain Christopher Newport
- Opechancanough
- Orinoco
- Outer Banks
- Parahunt
- Pemisapan
- Pequot War
- Pilgrims
- Plymouth
- Pocahontas
- Point Comfort
- Powhatan
- Praying towns
- Predestination
- Puritans
- Pyrite (Fool's Gold)
- Qaocomicos
- Sir Walter Raleigh
- Ralph Lane
- Ratcliffe
- Rhode Island
- Roanoke Island
- John Rolfe
- Roger Williams
- Samoset
- Secotan
- Captain John Smith
- Squanto
- Susquehannocks
- The Mayflower
- The Mayflower Compact
- The Starving Time
- Tituba
- Tobacco
- Varina
- Virginia Company of London
- West Indies
- John White
- John Winthrop

4.12 CHRONOLOGY

The following chronology is a list of important dates and events associated with this chapter.

Date	Event
1158-1603	Reign of Elizabeth I of England
1578	Sir Humphrey Gilbert granted the right to colonize North America
1583	Sir Humphrey lost at sea
1584	Walter Raleigh's expedition discovered the Outer Banks and Roanoke Island
1585	Raleigh's second expedition under Sir Richard Grenville sailed for Roanoke and left a small colony of soldiers under Ralph Lane
1586	Lane abandoned Roanoke and returned to England with Sir Francis Drake, leaving behind a small garrison. Grenville arrived, and finding no one, returned to England
1587	Raleigh's third expedition under John White with a colony of families landed on Roanoke Island. White returned to England for supplies.
1588	England defeated the Spanish Armada; Grenville barred from sailing to Roanoke; White sailed with a privateer.
1590	White reached Roanoke, found sign suggesting that the colony moved to Croatan.
1602	Raleigh sent an expedition to Outer banks, found no sign of "lost" colony.
1603	Elizabeth I died; James VI of Scotland (James I of England) assumed the throne
1606	Virginia Company of London created; Colonizers sent to Virginia
1607	Colonists landed at Jamestown
1609	Starving Time begins in Jamestown
1610	Starving Time ended with more than 80 percent of the Jamestown colonists dead.
1616	Tobacco production began in earnest in Virginia

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Date	Event
1620	<i>Mayflower</i> landed in Plymouth, Massachusetts
1621	First Thanksgiving celebrated in Plymouth
1623	John Mason and John Wheelwright founded Haver, New Hampshire
1625	Charles I assumed English throne
1629-1640	The Eleven-Year Tyranny
1630	<i>Arbella</i> landed in Massachusetts Bay
1631	William Clayborne of Virginia set up a trading post on Kent Island in what would become Maryland territory
1632	George Calvert, Baron Baltimore applied for a charter for a royal colony at Maryland
1634	Leonard Calvert, son of George, arrived in Maryland
1636	Harvard University Founded; Providence, Portsmouth, and Hartford, Connecticut founded.
1637-1638	Pequot War
1638	New Haven Colony founded
1639	Fundamental Orders of Connecticut adopted
1640	"Long" Parliament convened in London
1641	New Hampshire became part of Massachusetts Bay
1642	Old Deluder Satan Law established schools in Massachusetts Bay; English Civil War begins
1643	New England Confederation created
1660	The Half Way Covenant adopted by the Massachusetts General Court; Charles II restored to English throne
1663	Algonquin language Bible published in Massachusetts Bay
1675	King Philip's War; Death of Cecilius, 2nd Baron Baltimore; Rebellion in Maryland
1679	New Hampshire became royal colony, independent of Massachusetts Bay
1681	Rebellion in Maryland
1684	Dominion of New England created
1685	Death of Charles II; James II ascended to the English throne

Date	Event
1688	James II of England overthrown in the “Glorious Revolution”; the Glorious Revolution in the Colonies; Dominion of New England dissolved; Coode’s Rebellion in Maryland; Calvert family lost charter of Maryland
1689	Maryland became a royal colony
1691	Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth united into one royal colony
1692-1693	Witchcraft scare in Salem Village

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ANSWER KEY FOR CHAPTER FOUR: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH COLONIES

Check your answers to the questions in the Before You Move On Sections for this chapter. You can click on the questions to take you back to the chapter section.

Correct answers are **BOLDED**

Section 4.3.1 - p116

1. Sir Walter Raleigh was the man behind the attempt to colonize Roanoke.
A. TRUE
b. False
2. The Secotan were an Algonquian people.
A. TRUE
b. False
3. The Indians did not have any problems with English illnesses.
a. True
B. FALSE
4. The first English person born in North America was a girl, Virginia Dare, on Roanoke Island.
A. TRUE
b. False

Section 4.4.12 - p147

1. John Smith told the colonists that if they did not work, they would not **EAT**.
2. The Starving Time was not the fault of the colonists.
a. True
B. FALSE
3. Newport discovered gold.
a. True
B. FALSE
4. John Rolfe's tobacco completely transformed the colony.
A. TRUE
b. False

Section 4.5.4 - p153

1. Who is Maryland named for?
a. The Virgin Mary
B. HENRIETTA MARIE, WIFE AND QUEEN OF CHARLES I
c. Queen Mary of England
d. Queen Mary of Scotland
2. Where was George Calvert's first colony? **NEWFOUNDLAND**
3. George Calvert was born a Catholic.
a. True
B. FALSE
4. Religious tolerance created a happy and unified Maryland Colony
a. True
B. FALSE

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLISH COLONIES

Section 4.6.9 - p171

1. Who among the following were banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony?
 - a. John Cotton and Richard Mather
 - b. John Winthrop and Roger Williams
 - C. ROGER WILLIAMS AND ANNE HUTCHINSON**
 - d. Anne Hutchinson and John Winthrop
2. Which of the following founders and colonies is incorrect?
 - a. John Winthrop/Massachusetts Bay
 - b. William Bradford/Plymouth
 - C. WILLIAM BREWSTER/NEW HAVEN**
 - d. Thomas Hooker/Connecticut
3. The General Court in Puritan colonies was the _____ of the government.
 - a. executive branch
 - B. LEGISLATIVE BRANCH**
 - c. judicial branch
 - d. religious branch
4. One important difference between the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay and those of Plymouth was that:
 - a. the Pilgrims wanted to reform the Church of England rather than separate from it.
 - B. THE PURITANS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY WANTED TO REFORM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND RATHER THAN SEPARATE FROM IT.**
 - c. the Pilgrims did not believe in the doctrine of election.
 - d. the Puritans were not Calvinists.
5. According to the doctrine of predestination, a person was either saved or damned from the time of his birth.
 - A. TRUE**
 - b. False

Section 4.8.3 - p180

1. Who among the following was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony?
 - a. John Cotton and Richard Mather
 - b. John Winthrop and Roger Williams
 - C. ROGER WILLIAMS AND ANNE HUTCHINSON**
 - d. Anne Hutchinson and John Winthrop
2. The "Apostle to the Indians" was the Puritan minister:
 - A. JOHN ELIOT**
 - b. John Cotton
 - c. John Winthrop
 - d. Cotton Mather
3. The West Indian servant whose tales of witchcraft initiated the witchcraft scare in the Salem Village was:
 - a. Sarah Good
 - b. Sara Parris
 - C. TITUBA**
 - d. Massasoit
4. King Philip's war broke out when a praying Indian and graduate of Harvard was assassinated by a Wampanoag.
 - A. TRUE**
 - b. False
5. The Dominion of New England was created in part to punish Massachusetts Bay for its failure to convert the local Indian tribes.
 - a. True
 - B. FALSE**

