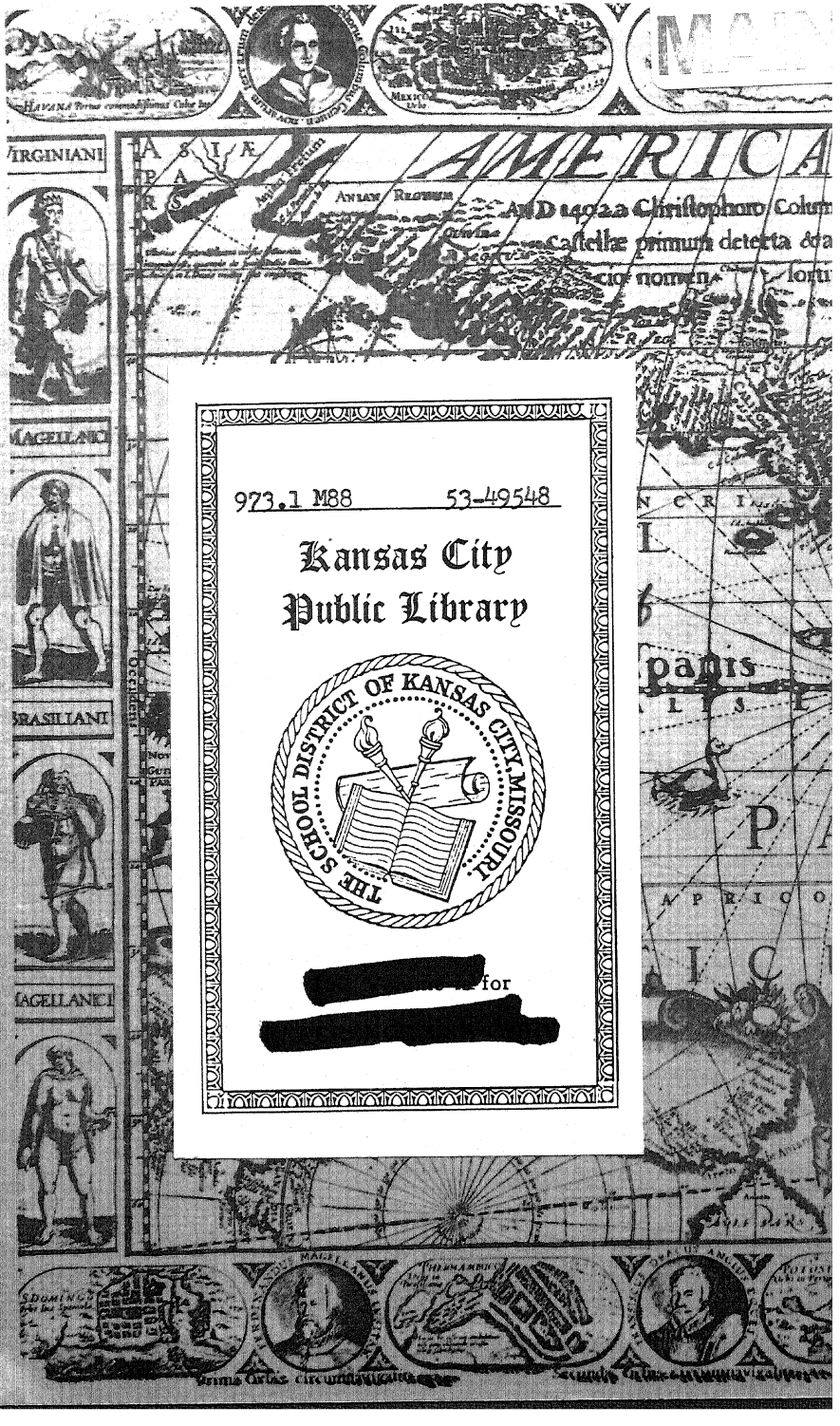
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American Beginnings

American Beginnings

Highlights and Sidelights of the Birth of the New World

BY JARVIS M. MORSE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY LUTHER EVANS,
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Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number : 52-11283

INTRODUCTION

This book is not history, nor is it historiography in the usual sense, nor is it a survey of literature. Lastly, it is not an annotated bibliography. It is more interesting than any of these usually are and it has some of the best elements and best values of all of them; it is, as the author says, "a personally conducted tour" of the more important writings about British-America published before the Revolution began. The author says he has striven to give "some slight flavor" of the original books. This is really an understatement, since there is much here of the flavor of the books, their authors, and the times in which they were written. Dr. Morse achieves this by telling a bit about each author, the circumstances giving rise to the book or pamphlet in question, frequently involving some hot controversy, and often by quoting picturesque passages.

One gets impression that this book would be more meaningful as basic reading for college courses in the history of our colonial period than many of the texts now in use, particularly if supplemented by considerable readings in some of the early books themselves.

This book should be compulsory reading for any Fourth of July orators, Members of Congress and others who display a tendency to go in for unrestrained nationalism and super-patriotism. It would do them good to realize the real stuff of our early history, and to know that things were not always rosy in those days for principles which they sometimes too glibly refer to collectively as Americanism. It would also be a tonic to the courage of many of our fellow citizens who would stem the tide of certain current movements which in the name of American liberty would undermine its very essence. It would make them see that rampant emotion has been put in check before by cooler heads who have a respect for the basic principles of liberty and of law and order which have won through in the long run in all these cases in our history when they were really put to the test. Understanding the struggles of the colonial period gives one a clearer perspective on what is enduring and, perhaps more important than that, on what kinds of battles the victory eventually rests.

It is to be hoped that the author will do a similar job for the period from the beginning of the Revolution through the election of 1800.

LUTHER EVANS, *Librarian*
Library of Congress

PREFACE

This brief, and I trust pleasant, excursion through early writings on America has several purposes. For the casual reader, it offers a unique story, paralleled nowhere else in historical annals—the eye-witness accounts of the beginnings of a nation. For professional students of history, this work should prove a useful guide to the most interesting literature on America published in Colonial times. For all of us, the story of our beginnings will in some degree strengthen our pride in our great national heritage.

The author crept into this undertaking by gradual stages. First, I had frequent occasion to consult many of the old titles to obtain quotable-quotes to enliven a college course in Colonial history. After much searching of old texts for that practical purpose, I came to have an interest in the books for their own sake, apart from their academic content. This rewarding interest inevitably followed from close association with Lawrence C. Wroth, the gracious and erudite director of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. Finally I concluded, justifiably I hope, that the results of my reading of thousands of pages of early Americana would interest others.

I want to make plain that I am not writing Colonial history as such. I have simply undertaken to lead interested readers on a personally conducted tour of noteworthy writings on British-America published before 1775. Many of the authors of the works cited will be old friends; others will appear as almost complete strangers, but nevertheless, I am sure, as people well worth knowing.

The reader will note that most of the chapters are quite diverse in complexion. In some instances they set forth a running guide to the sparse contemporary sources available. In others they assay the purposes, pretensions, or limitations, of substantial authors who may be regarded as charter members of that great guild which now considers the writing of history as both a science and a fine art. Let it be kept in mind, however, that before the American Revolution the writing of history had not attained the professional discipline it achieved in the nineteenth century. Many of the early authors were not literary men at all, but simply witnesses to important events. That is part of their charm.

By no means do I pretend that this survey covers every important early American history in existence. Generally speaking, the coverage is more complete for the early years, when fewer books had been written. For the later period, attention has been centered on works of outstanding merit.

Very likely a helpful survey of accessible works could have been cast in the form of a bibliography, but any such treatment would have destroyed one of the main purposes of this work, which is to convey some slight flavor of the original books. With that object in mind, I have quoted freely and paraphrased extensively, to give readers the "feel" of the ancient works. If the brief samplings I offer do nothing else but induce my readers to look up some of the originals, much good will have been accomplished. Far too much of our knowledge of early American history is gained from classroom textbooks. Useful as the latter may be, there is no substitute for an excursion through original accounts written by contemporaries. I have a private suspicion, which I hope my readers will refute, that many teachers and students of Colonial history have been obliged to spend so much time consulting doctoral dissertations, calendars of state papers, and other such technical sources, that they do not know intimately very many of the writers included in this survey, save perhaps such famed characters as Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain John Smith, Samuel Champlain, John Winthrop, and William Penn, who were actors on the Colonial stage as well as reporters thereof.

Hence as one end-product of this survey, I hope to have reintroduced to modern acquaintance a number of old worthies known only by faint report. I trust that my readers will find the gentlemen worth cultivating. Without boasting of our vocation too brazenly, I feel that we may safely subscribe to Lord Bolingbroke's dictum that to know historians is to keep good company.

The chapter notes indicate a number of commentaries on the principal authors here reviewed. The major judgments in this survey, however, are my own, based on personal perusal of the original books rather than on what any previous commentator has said about them.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Wroth for constant aid throughout my search for the early writings, and to his staff at the John Carter Brown Library for patiently providing me with hundreds of titles. Dr. Lester J. Cappon, of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, made many helpful suggestions on my manuscript before it was cast in final form.

* * *

As this survey of early American histories is built completely around

authors, titles, places and circumstances of publication, a formal bibliography for the book as a whole is superfluous. However, I should like to explain briefly how my materials were assembled, so that anyone contemplating a similar survey for another time or place may benefit from my trials.

Obviously the first task in reviewing all the books published about a given area in a given time is to find out what they were and then find them. This is a problem more easily stated than solved. There is no one bibliography of all historical writings on British-America published from earliest times to 1775. There are bibliographies relating to particular areas of what is now the United States, or what used to be or still is part of British-America. Of these, the most useful for the very early writings, to 1551, is Henry Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* (New York, 1866), and its *Additions* (Paris, 1872). Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (20 vols., New York, 1868-92) can be used after Harrisse, and many rare works can be tracked down in Alexander von Humbolt, *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent* (5 vols., Paris, 1836-39).

A great many leads to early historians can be gained from the bibliographical notes in comprehensive Colonial histories, particularly Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston, 1884-89), and Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vols., New Haven, 1934-38). Supplemental information can be picked up in works on American literature, such as Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature* (2 vols., New York, 1878). Nearly all modern local histories contain some information on the early historians of the region considered.

Since the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University houses the most complete collection in the world of original books on America published prior to 1800, my chief reliance in this connection was on the unique resources of that library. There is a printed catalogue, *Bibliotheca Americana* (to 1634, 2 vols., Providence, 1919 and 1922), but I learned titles the hard way, by turning every card in the library's chronological file (by dates of publication) from Columbus to 1775, and by examining every title that appeared pertinent.

* * *

Now let us get down to the pleasant business of meeting our earliest historians on their own grounds.

JARVIS M. MORSE

Washington, D. C.

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CHAPTER I

DAWN OF A NEW WORLD

THE discovery of America at the close of the fifteenth century marked the beginning of a new era in historical writing. Medieval chroniclers had catalogued the deeds of bishops, kings, and princes, but the sea captains and adventurers who wrote about early America were primarily interested in the natural phenomena they encountered—vast forests, broad rivers, strange fauna, and uncivilized natives. Their breadth of view was later narrowed by Puritan clergymen and aspiring politicians, but, for the most part, American historical writing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was more akin to that of the present day than to the intervening work of men like Cotton Mather or George Bancroft.

The English statesman and essayist, Lord Bolingbroke, once lamented that historical scholars did not possess authentic materials touching the beginnings of any nation, but could he have foreseen, in 1735, that several of the English colonies in America were to form a new nation in the near future, he might have altered his dictum.[1] Early American historiography offers a superabundance of material on the beginnings of a nation. Brought face to face with a new hemisphere, history broke through its ancient bonds of politics and the church. Enthusiastic writers on the New World, in fact, became so obsessed with the American scene that many of them could see little else. Few Americans looked beyond the horizon of their own town, province, or little episode of colonial planting or Indian war in which they played a part, so that the task of writing about America with broad scope and historical perspective fell upon Europeans.

"Man is the subject of every history," wrote Bolingbroke, product of the eighteenth century enlightment, "and to know him well, we must see him and consider him, as history alone can present him to us, in every age, in every country, in every state, in life and death."[2] Before 1700, very few writers attempted any such comprehensive survey of the New World, but the flood of first-hand narratives which poured forth on America made possible a later satisfaction of Bolingbroke's requirement.

Fortunately the love of history seems inseparable from human nature; everyone preserves to some degree the memory of his own adventures. The sum total of these recorded memories staggers the imagination, yet any fair portion thereof supplies a corrective to experience, that vaunted

guide of practical men: "Experience is doubly defective; we are born too late to see the beginning, and we die too soon to see the end of many things. History supplies both these defects."[3]

From this utilitarian point of view, the first historical writings on America are deserving of notice. There was little philosophy in the early narratives; with few exceptions, the pioneer writers were not imbued with any scientific theories in regard to their subject. Many of them wrote as publicists defending the conduct of their superiors, their colony, or themselves, but their purpose does not destroy the value of the testimony. Since the past does not exist save in human consciousness, it is as important to know what the colonials felt about contemporary affairs, what they *thought* was true, as to discover by twentieth century methods of research what really may have been the truth.

What is history? There is no facile answer. The present writer favors the meaning of the Latin term *historia,* the record or narrative of what has been learned by investigation, or Carl Becker's succinct phrase, "History is the memory of things said and done."[4] Much sixteenth and seventeenth century historical "research" was accomplished by the simple process of direct observation: John Smith wrote of what he saw or did in Jamestown, William Bradford of what the Pilgrims performed in or near his presence, and Increase Mather of what his clerical friends wrote him in answer to inquiry.

There was little historical scholarship in the modern sense, although Cotton Mather approached that goal in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), and Thomas Prince of the next generation reached it with his *Chronological History of New England* (1736).[5] Scholarly surveys of general American history, however, were attempted by Englishmen or Continentals long before any such task was undertaken by those living west of the Atlantic. George Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, made a feeble beginning about 1600, which was improved upon soon after by Peter Heylyn, Jan de Laet in Holland, and Pierre D'Avity in France. After the middle of the century, Johann Gottfriedt in Germany and John Ogilby of England produced general works on the New World that merit serious consideration in any study of early America. In the eighteenth century, John Oldmixon, William Douglass, Edmund and William Burke and others produced admirable general narratives.

Between these later works, which run to several hundred pages, and John Winthrop's seven-page account of *Former Passages . . . Betwixt the English and the Narrowgansets* (1645), lies a quantitative gap which calls for some measure. How long is a history book? There is no simple answer. The present writer has seldom descended to review of tracts shorter than five or six pages. As to subject matter, there can be but a

rule-of-thumb, based upon the realities of time and place. The early historical narratives, dealing with the exploration and settlement of America, are short, factual, and little disposed toward interpretation; they represent, as J. Franklin Jameson once said, the work of the Argonauts themselves, who, with little consciousness of authorship, still less of membership in a literary profession, wrote down in simplicity of mind accounts of things in which they had themselves borne a great part.[6]

Before 1700, little of art, literature, or science existed in America, and still less found its way into contemporary narration. Of theology there was a great deal, especially in New England, but theological writing *per se* has been omitted from this survey, save in so far as the church was touched upon by narrators of affairs of state. In general, then, for the period up to 1700, the story of British-America lies in short tracts written by men who were not professional scholars. For the eighteenth century, when American history had become more self-conscious, our interest will shift from brief sketches to comprehensive expositions, or from the particular to the general.

A good deal of the early writing on America may be considered as chronicle rather than history, since stories of exploration and of skirmishes with the Indians were often little more than a chronological record of events. But in a larger and philosophical sense, many of these chronicles comprised true history, a reality which lived and breathed in the minds of the authors, and came forth as an act of thought rather than merely an expression of will power.[7] In any event, since history embraces the whole record of man's adjustment to the physical universe, the early relations of America are unique; never before had a people enjoyed the opportunity to record the advance of a civilization across a great ocean into a fallow hemisphere.

Where to Begin?

One who seeks to trace the beginnings of American historical writing may commence anywhere from the eleventh century to the sixteenth, or from Adam of Bremen to Peter Martyr, depending upon the strength of his antiquarian instincts. Colonial history proper stems from the first British colony which endured and hence developed a continuing story, namely Virginia. With considerable justification can Captain John Smith lay claim to the title "Father of Anglo-American History," but before British temples of history arose on American foundations the building lots had to be surveyed, cellars excavated, and temporary workers' shacks erected. Since the preliminaries ranged over a great expanse of time and space, the introduction to Anglo-American historical writing may well embrace three important topics: English knowledge of the New World derived from the writings of other peoples; English voyages of discovery;

and settlements attempted before the founding of Jamestown in 1607.

Histories of American history often begin with the Norsemen, but it is difficult to justify more than passing reference to the record of Norse accomplishment. The first American item to appear in a European text was Adam of Bremen's paragraph on Vinland, written about 1075: "Praeterea unam adhuc insulam recitavit a multis in eo repertam occeano, quae dicitur Winland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nascantur, vinum optimum ferentes."[8] But where *was* this land in which vines grew abundantly, producing fine wine? Adam and succeeding chroniclers, including Ordericus Vitalis and Albert the Great, did not give the exact position of Vinland, nor estimate its distance from Europe. The Norsemen who came to America about 1000 A.D. do not seem to have realized that they had found a new continent. Their story was not written, in the form now known to us, until nearly three hundred years after the events took place, so that the details of the narrative, long subject to memory and oral transmission, are open to question. The Norse writings are valid in general outline, but not reliable in detail.[9] Adam of Bremen's reference to Vinland has importance only in that it substantiates the Norse tradition of a country, thought to be an island, across the Western Sea from Scandinavia. Otherwise Columbus discovered America, and Europeans developed an American history in the sixteenth rather than the eleventh century.

Not until after 1553, when Richard Eden became a zealous translator of foreign works on geography and discovery, did Englishmen have access to much New World history in their own tongue. Previous to Eden, the main sources were in Spanish, French, Latin or Italian, but many Englishmen could handle at least one of these languages—Latin was the universal medium in academic circles—so that some formal American history could be read before it appeared in English books. Nevertheless it is significant that the first period of intimate contact between England and America, 1576-85, marked by the voyages of Frobisher, Gilbert, Davis, and the Raleigh colonists, follows closely upon the appearance of a large bulk of American narratives in the English tongue. This is not to say that British colonization in the New World was solely inspired by historical knowledge, but it is incontestable that historical information greatly facilitated British expansion in America.

Previous to Eden's time, however, references to the New World in English books now extant were few and meager. The American passages in early sixteenth century works are so vague that it is a fair question whether they conveyed useful information or, by their very inadequacy, aroused a natural curiosity in the unknown.

In 1509, Alexander Barclay, a clerical scholar and linguist, brought

out an English translation of Sebastian Brandt's *Das Narrenschiff* (1494), which contains a veiled reference to Columbus as one who knew that the "isles of Spain" were inhabited, and who with aid from King Ferdinand went and found those lands, where men lived as beasts. This earliest mention in English of the New World is reputed to have had considerable influence on contemporary British literature. Soon after appeared Thomas More's *Utopia,* which suggested the "praise of folly" to Erasmus. Although Brandt's story, called in English the *Shyppe of Fooles,* illuminated the Columbus story very little, Barclay may be considered the forerunner of the Elizabethan translators who delved into foreign histories with the same spirit of adventure that animated Hawkins and Drake to plough strange seas.

More's *Utopia* of 1517, which dealt with a fictitious commonwealth on an imaginary island off the west coast of South America, led some to mistake the counterfeit for the real, so that learned men "wished that some excellent Divines might be sent thither to preach Christ's Gospel." It is notable that More knew of America, if not by name, and had read the letters of Vespucci, whom he mentions in *Utopia.*[10]

More's brother-in-law, John Rastell, a lawyer, printer and dramatist, was one of the promoters of an unsuccessful attempt in 1517 to explore western islands. Upon the failure of the expedition, he endeavored to stimulate popular interest in exploration by means of a play entitled *A New Interlude,* a versified cosmography and morality play, in which the character "Experience" speaks thus:

> "But the newe lands founde lately
> Ben callyd america by cause only
> Americus dyd furst them fynde."

Rastell apparently regarded America chiefly as a stopping place on the way to the East, but he was very much interested in the timber and fish that might be procured there. His play (probable date 1519) makes the first explicit mention in English print of America by that name.

Some influence upon English geographic thought came by way of Antwerp and the Low Countries, where John of Doesbrowe published several works in English, one being *Of the Newe Lands and of the People Founde by the Messengers of the Kynge of Portygale Named Emanuel.* From this Antwerp imprint of about 1522, however, Britons did not learn a great deal concerning America, save that in 1496 ships sailed out of Lisbon and came to "Armenica," where lived a race "cannibalistic and lecherous."[11]

Spanish Narratives

For at least a half century after Columbus, English knowledge of American history was gained from the reports of other nationals, the

historians of New Spain commanding first attention because of the priority and extent of Spanish explorations in the New World.

The first great historian of America was, like its discoverer, an Italian. Peter Martyr d'Anghera, born near Lake Maggiore in 1457, was once a tutor to young nobles at the Spanish court. He associated with soldiers, sailors, and high state officials, being hence no cloistered scholar but a mundane writer who combined a love of letters with the practical sagacity of a businessman. Appointed Chronicler of the Indies in 1511, he thereby gained access to valuable Spanish-American archives, which considerably bolstered the more personal information he secured through interviews with the explorers and conquistadores, or their humble followers. Peter Martyr was hence favorably situated to write with authority; his testimony is often but one step removed from the scene of action, and if his writings occasionally evidence too great credulity, they nevertheless occupy a high place in American historiography.[12]

As early as October 1494, Martyr realized that Columbus had discovered a new world and not, as most contemporaries including Columbus himself supposed, some islands off the coast of Asia. Martyr's history of America appeared in sections, beginning with the publication at Venice in 1504 of the *Libretto De Tutta La Navigatione.*[13] The royal chronicler's complete works were not published until 1530, four years after the author's death. A part of his valuable achievement, *De Orbe Novo,* in eight books or decades, found its way into English twenty-five years later, although the whole was not made available to the English reading public until 1612. Martyr had a good grasp of geography; and in the vivacious style of a publicist he described the "home front" of Spanish expansion in America, a valuable complement to the narratives of the conquerors themselves. Although he may have lacked perspective because he wrote from day to day of contemporary events, Martyr possessed a catholic conception of history; he showed as much interest in the fauna and flora of America, and Indian customs, as in the doings of captains and missionaries.

Martyr's writings on the first decades of American history were followed by other large-scale treatises, parts of which were translated into English in the course of time. At Toledo in 1526 appeared *Oviedo de la Natural Hystoria de las Indias,* often cited as the *Sumario,* an account of the geography, climate, natural resources, and the natives of the West Indies. Nine years later the author, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, published his better known and oft quoted work, *La Historia General de las Indias,* in which he amplified the natural history of the *Sumario,* and added the story of the conquest of Mexico and Peru. Oviedo, like Martyr, was strategically situated for the writing of American history.

Born of aristocratic parentage in Madrid, he entered the Spanish court at thirteen as a page; he witnessed the royal reception for Columbus in 1493, and twenty years later went to America as supervisor of gold smelting in the expedition of Pedrarias de Avila. Oviedo visited the New World several times in one capacity or another, and in 1532 be became Chronicler of the Indies. His writings were based on evidence similar to Martyr's, that is, on official documents and oral testimony. Oviedo possessed an active spirit of inquiry; curiosity led him to collect strange American plants and animals; hence his general history is a great repository of interesting American data.[14]

Most of the ground covered by sixteenth century Spanish-American histories lies outside the areas which were to become British, except for Jamaica, taken under Cromwell in 1655, and the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida. Touching the latter area is *La Relacion* of Cabeza de Vaca, a rare book, only three copies of which are known to exist. This relation tells of De Vaca's wanderings from Florida, where he landed with the Narvaez expedition in 1528, across the southern part of the present United States through Texas into Mexico. Had a sixteenth century English entrepreneur thought of colonizing this part of the world for the honor of the Tudors, Cabeza's narrative would certainly have discouraged him: "We travelled on the allowance we had received fifteen days, without finding any other thing to eat than palmitos;" the company waded through water half way up the leg, "treading on oysters, which cut our feet badly," and there were vast forests where some of the trees were "riven from top to bottom by bolts of lightning which fall in that country of frequent storms and tempests." Such discouraging comments are barely counterbalanced by stray notes on traces of gold, natural pastures for herds, and flocks of ducks and geese. The *Relacion* presents a thrilling story of adventure, but its details are so vague that little definite information can be gained therefrom, even were De Vaca wholly veracious.[15]

Of more general interest than the rare De Vaca narrative is the work of Bartolomé de Las Casas, a native of Seville, whose father had been with Columbus on the first voyage to America. After studying law and divinity at Salamanca, Las Casas went to Hispaniola with Ovando's expedition of 1502. About ten years later he began the career for which he is best remembered, that of crusader against the enslavement of the Indians by their Spanish conquerors. Embittered by failure in this campaign, the "Apostle of the Indies" became a Dominican monk, and then a historian who endeavored, through books, to chastise the Castilian rulers for despoiling the New World. From this compelling motive emerged in 1552 the *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias,* a trenchant work which was eventually published in six other languages.

Las Casas gives a gruesome picture of Spanish colonization; he exaggerates the number of original inhabitants and magnifies the cruelties practised by their conquerors. A man of great purity of character, he was intolerant of intolerance, and over-credulous as to Indian virtues. Upon his death in 1566, he left for posterity a great manuscript history of the Indies, published in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In contrast to Martyr and Oviedo, Las Casas was a theorist and a doctrinnaire, a sixteenth century historian distinctly imbued with the spirit of the Middle Ages.

The *Brevissima Relacion* was used by other peoples, especially the French, English and Dutch, as an arsenal of propagandist weapons against Spain, the earliest English salvo being a tract of 1583 entitled *The Spanish Colonie,* published "to awaken people to vice and wickedness," and to show Queen Elizabeth what great damage Spain was wreaking upon England and the world. The timeliness of the tract is evident in view of the attempted invasion of England by the Spanish Armada in 1588. It is significant, also, that another version of Las Casas, entitled *The Tears of the Indians,* was printed in 1656 when Cromwell's forces were engaged in the conquest of Jamaica.[16] Thus was Spanish history turned against Spanish dominion.

The next Iberian authority with whom Englishmen became acquainted was Francisco Lopez de Gomara, another native of Seville, a university student at Alcala, and later chaplain to Hernando Cortes. Gomara's general history of the Indies, published in 1553-54 in several parts under variant titles, was principally an account of the conquest of Mexico derived from important persons concerned in the enterprise. An English version of Gomara's tale of Cortez appeared in 1578.[17]

In 1557 appeared a narrative akin to the Cabeza de Vaca story, the *Relaçam Verdadeira dos Trabalhos,* or *True Relation* of the hardships suffered by Fernando de Soto, written in Portuguese by a "Gentleman of Elvas," who gave much more information than did De Vaca about the primitive state of Florida and Georgia. His vivid tale must have been literally read to pieces, since the English collector, Richard Hakluyt, had great difficulty in finding a copy in 1609. The anonymous author evidently compiled his story from memory after returning from America, yet he succeeded in conveying to the reader a most clear picture of the region he had suffered through: "The land was swampy and in many parts covered with very lofty and thick woods;" part was "a lean land, and most of it covered with rough pine groves;" but there was good timber for building ships. The concluding chapter summarized the local resources, mentioning maize, walnuts, plums, mulberries, grapes, strawberries, bears, deer, rabbits, cranes, and ducks. This resumé of resources resembles the

Thomas Hariot report on North Carolina of a generation later; it belongs to that myriad family of writings by Europeans who hastily consigned to paper their observations on the natural wonders of America.[18]

After 1533, ambitious translators relieved inquiring Englishmen from the necessity of reading American history in foreign tongues, so that later Spanish works of importance will be considered in connection with their English translators. Meantime, inquiry may be directed to other sources of early American history.

French Narratives

Edward Hayes, the chronicler of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ill-starred voyage to Newfoundland in 1583, avowed that English ignorance of western lands was rapidly being dispelled by French travel reports, but he must have meant oral communications, since the printed record previous to Champlain's time is unimpressive. An account of Jacques Cartier's voyage into the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534 reached English print some forty years later by way of Italy. The story of Cartier's second expedition up the St. Lawrence River to Montreal, although published in French in 1545, belatedly appeared in English in the 1580's, also through the Italian history of travel edited by Gian Battista Ramusio. An English version of the third voyage, 1541-42, in which Cartier spent the winter a few miles above Quebec, was likewise brief and tardy in its English appearance.[19]

Several early French narratives directed attention to the southeast, however, where Admiral Coligny had attempted to plant a colony of Huguenots. Jean Ribaut, a skillful sailor and a trusted subordinate of Coligny's, commanded an expedition which established a little town on Port Royal Sound in South Carolina in the summer of 1562. Returning to France to find the religious wars under way, Ribaut fled to England, where his account of the projected colony came to the attention of Thomas Hacket, a printer and translator, who published the story in 1563 as *The Whole and True Discoverie of Terra Florida.* The short narrative describes the voyage to Carolina, the natives, and promise of gold and silver to be found in the land. From the report of this French enterprise grew an unsuccessful English design to occupy the region, referred to in contemporary verse:

"Have yow not hard of Floryda,
A coontre far be west?
Where savage pepell planted are
By nature and by hest,
Who in the mold fynd glysterynge gold,
And yt for tryfels sell."[20]

In 1564 a larger French expedition erected Fort Caroline on the

St. John's River in Florida. The story of this short-lived colony, destroyed the next year by the Spaniards under Menendez, appears in several contemporary narratives, the earliest English version being *A True and Perfect Description, of the Last Voyage or Navigation, Attempted by Capitaine John Rybaut,* written by Nicholas Le Challeux (or Shalleux), an elderly carpenter who had witnessed at first hand many of the events related. Ribaut's rival for leadership in the ill-fated colony, René Goulaine de Laudonnière, wrote a more comprehensive book, *L'Histoire Notable de Floride,* which includes a general survey of American discovery and natural resources. Incidentally associated with this unfortunate Florida enterprise was an artist, Jacques Le Moyne, whose drawings of the natives are among the earliest and best of their kind.[21]

The foregoing French-Florida narratives enjoy a modest place in Anglo-American history because they deal with an area which eventually became English. One other sixteenth century French work may be noted briefly. André Thevet, who went as an authority on navigation with the Villegagnon expedition of 1555 to Brazil, wrote *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique, Autrement Nommée Amerique,* a confusing hodge-podge of pedantry, personal observations, and guesswork. This one-time royal geographer, who is credited with the introduction of tobacco to France, was well qualified to write about Brazil, but he allowed his enthusiasm for comprehensiveness to run away with him, so that his careless book, called *The New Found Worlde* in English, is more amusing than instructive.[22] Thevet's comments on the North American coast were probably based on hearsay, which may account for his somewhat greater reputation in England than among his fellow countrymen. In any event, the generally poor caliber of very early French writings on America would indicate that if sixteenth century Englishmen, as Edward Hayes averred, learned much about the New World from French sources, they did so through sailor's yarns or miscellaneous documents rather than from printed books.

English Translators

After the middle of the sixteenth century, the ordinary Englishman's knowledge of America was enriched by the work of several translators, the first of note being Richard Eden (c.1521-76), who sought to prod his countrymen into competition with Spanish and other achievements in the New World. Hence this confidant of explorers, of Sebastian Cabot, Richard Chancellor, and Stephen Borough, became the first "expansionist" writer in England. By censure of indolence he goaded Britons into an all-consuming interest in geography and travel.[23]

Eden's first historical work, *A Treatyse of the Newe India* (1553), was translated from parts of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia,* a detailed

but popular description of the world printed in German, French and Italian as well as the original Latin. This book, announced Eden, "will refute the wise Solomon that there is nothing new under the sun." Although the major portion of the work concerned the eastern hemisphere, an American section provided a well-written summary of Spanish achievement through the year 1501. Along with amusing references to "canibal anthropophagi," Amazons, and poisoned arrows, Eden described Jamaica, later to become England's jewel in the Caribbean, as an island "greater than Sicilia, very fruytful and wel inhabited."[24]

Eden's major work, entitled *The Decades of the Newe Worlde* (1555), was a rather confused compilation, but it afforded Englishmen a substantial body of information on America, derived from the Italian collector Ramusio, from Oviedo and Gomara and many other reliable sources. In short, Eden acquainted his countrymen with the growth of geographical knowledge in the preceding half century. As reward for this enterprising work, Eden was cited for heresy by the Bishop of Lincoln, but he escaped with a slight penalty.

After Eden's death another translator, Richard Willes, brought out a new English edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades,* renamed *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies* (1577), a work both larger and better arranged than Eden's, including in addition to the foreign enterprises an account of the English Captain Frobisher's attempt to find a northwest passage to Cathay.

At least three other translators—Frampton, Nicholas, and Florio—share honors with Eden and Willes as precursors of the great Richard Hakluyt. John Frampton turned the Portuguese work of Bernardino de Escalante into *A Discourse of the Navigation Which the Portugales Doe Make* (1579), a survey of exploration beginning with Prince Henry the Navigator. He also directed attention to the publications of Nicolo Monardes, a distinguished Spanish physician interested in the curative properties of New World plants. In *Joyful Newes Out Of the Newe Founde Worlde* (1577), Frampton urged Englishmen to learn of the precious new remedies for disease. From the West Indies, he noted, could be extracted all sorts of useful things, such as gum for relieving toothache, balsam for healing large wounds, and purgative nuts; from Florida came sassafras to stimulate the appetite, induce menstruation and facilitate conception.[25] Truly was this a book to quicken popular interest in America, although not until the time of Charles II did Englishmen attempt a serious investigation of the medicinal properties of New World plants.

Thomas Nicholas published in 1578 sections of Gomara's chronicles of New Spain, and three years later Augustin de Zarate's work on the conquest of Peru. Dedicated to one of Queen Elizabeth's secretaries, the

Zarate translation defines history as the subject by which "men may thereby knowe, the successe of things happened, to the knowledge whereof, the nature of man is bent." Paying tribute to Sir Francis Drake's recent circumnavigation of the globe, Nicholas declares that "Now may our most gracious Queen, most justly compare with all the Princes of the world, both for discovery & navigacion." The Spanish narrative itself related to parts of the world then far removed from English activity, but it was a thrilling account of adventure which undoubtedly stirred the souls of supposedly phlegmatic Britons.

The last of the previously mentioned translators, John Florio, son of an Italian tutor to Lady Jane Grey, is best known in literature as the English editor of Montaigne's *Essays,* and an author of English-Italian dictionaries. While engaged at Oxford as a teacher of Italian he came to the notice of Richard Hakluyt, who needed the assistance of a capable linguist. Hakluyt engaged Florio to translate from Ramusio the Italian account of Cartier's voyages to New France. Probably at Hakluyt's suggestion, Florio prefaced the narrative by stressing the many benefits to be gained from English colonization overseas.[26]

Geographers

English expansion in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was undertaken only after careful consideration of all the technical knowledge available. History furnished but a fraction of the necessary information, knowledge of geography and the science of navigation being more essential. Students, however, appreciated the interdependence of geography and history, and even the reading public expressed considerable interest in what is now termed human geography—the effect of physiography on human history—although contemporary books stressed chiefly the violent reactions caused by earthquake, fire and flood. Geography and history were then less sharply differentiated than today; sixteenth century histories and travellers' accounts contained a generous sprinkling of descriptive geography, and cosmographies referred to events as well as conditions.

A natural expansion of geographical knowledge was at first handicapped because the early English voyagers to America were not trained writers. No competent observer seems to have recorded the voyages of the Cabots in 1497-98, nor that of John Rut in 1527, but geographical publications appeared in the English language soon thereafter.[27]

Previous to 1600, most English books on navigation were written by practical seamen rather than by academicians, but during the first half of the sixteenth century scientific French works, and French translations of Spanish books, supplied the lack of native English treatises. Information was also coming in constantly through travellers' reports, especially from the many English merchants resident in Spain. Sir Humphrey

Gilbert created quite a stir in the pool of growing English curiosity in geography with his *Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia.* This challenging book of 1576 attempted to prove that America was an island which could easily be circumnavigated on the north. America, declared Gilbert, was probably Plato's Atlantis, which had become separated from Europe six centuries before Plato's time. Certainly it must be an island, continued Gilbert, else it would have been inhabited by Orientals, and if there was a passage around Atlantis in Plato's day, it must still be there, and grown deeper with the passing of time.[28]. Gilbert had reached this conclusion from an extensive study of the records of European exploration from Cabot and Cartier to Ribaut and Villegagnon. His *Discourse* lent encouragement to the file of sea captains—Frobisher, Davis, Waymouth and Hudson—who attempted to find a Northwest Passage to Asia.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was also one of the first to suggest that the colonization of America would offer hope of betterment to the needy poor in England. Indeed the author pled so well on this score that he persuaded himself to venture into the new land. A man, said Gilbert, "is not worthy to live at all, that for feare, or daunger of death, shunneth his countrey service, and his owne honour." Death at sea seven years later assured Gilbert an honorable place in history, and his *Discourse* encouraged others to found colonies, without which there would have been no Anglo-American history.

Reprints of many original narratives are cited in the footnotes to this and succeeding chapters. The most extensive collection of such reprints appears in *Original Narratives of Early American History,* edited by J. Franklin Jameson (18 vols.). Apart from reprints on particular aspects, the other most helpful general collection is Peter Force, *Tracts and Other Papers Relating to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, to* 1776 (4 vols., Washington, 1836-46), usually referred to simply as *Force Tracts.*

Space forbids detailing all the other sources of information about our early historians. Practically every author of consequence has been written about many times in the proceedings of state and local historical societies and in historical journals, early or recent. Such commentaries and reappraisals will keep reappearing as long as there is any interest in history. To attempt complete coverage of every single item about several hundred bygone writers is something like hand-mowing a two-acre lawn in half-hour stints after dinner — by the time you get to the far end of the lot the front side needs cutting again.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Generally speaking, this survey of early American histories has stressed the practical purposes of the early authors in undertaking their writings, their accuracy, completeness, and freedom from undue partiality. Rarely has the present writer

probed deeply into the philosophical considerations that may have set the tone of any particular book. For those, however, who wish to explore more thoroughly the science or philosophy of historical writing, the following are recommended: "Letters on the Study and Use of History," *The Works of Lord Bolingbroke* (Philadelphia, 1841), Vol. II; J. Franklin Jameson, *History of Historical Writing in America* (New York, 1891); Max Nordau, *The Interpretation of History* (New York, 1911); E. Feuter, *Histoire de l'Historiographic Moderne* (Paris, 1914); Benedetto Croce, *History, Its Theory and Practice* (New York, 1921); Allen Johnson, *The Historian and Historical Evidence* (New York, 1926); Harry E. Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing* (Norman, 1937); and Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History* (New York, 1938).

The writer also gained helpful information from Michael Kraus, *A History of American History* (New York, 1937), and he should like to recommend to anyone who becomes interested in the credibility of historians, ancient or modern, a study on evidence, J. H. Wigmore, *The Principles of Judicial Proof* (Boston 1913).

Spanish Narratives

The bibliography of Spanish explorations touching areas which later became part of British-America is well converted in Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual Del Librero Hispano-Americano* (7 vols., Barcelona, 1923-27), A Curtis Wilgus, *Histories and Historians of Hispanic America* (Washington, 1936), and Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest,* 1542-1794 (2 vols., Albuquerque, 1937).

For the West Indies and English activities in South America, the initial guides are, Frank Cundall, *Bibliographia of the West Indies* (Kingston, 1909), *Bibliographia Jamaicensis* (Kingston, 1902, and supplement, 1908); and James A. Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon,* 1604-1668 (Oxford, 1923).

French Narratives

Aside from contemporary narratives mentioned in the text of this chapter, the most useful supplemental guides to early French-American writings are: Henry P. Biggar, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, No. 11, Ottawa, 1924); Henry S. Burrage, *Early English and French Voyages* (New York, 1906); George P. Winship, *Sailors Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast,* 1524-1624 (Boston, 1905); and Henry Harrisse, *Notes Pour Servir á L'Histoire, á la Bibliographie et á la Cartographie de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1872).

English Writings

For English writings in the age of discovery and exploration, several works are indispensible: Conyers Read, *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period,* 1485-1603 (Oxford, 1933), and the companion volumes, *Stuart Period,* 1603-1714 (Oxford, 1928) and Stanley Pargellis and D. J. Medley, *The Eighteenth Century,* 1714-1789 (New York and Oxford, 1951); Eva G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography,* 1485-1583 (London, 1930), and *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography,* 1583-1650 (London, 1934); and Godfrey Davies, *Bibliography of British History, Stuart Period,* 1603-1714 (Oxford, 1928). Incidental notes on historians can be picked up from Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* (4 vols., London, 1872), and the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (15 vols., New York and London, 1907-33).

Notes

1 Bolingbroke, *Works,* II, 173 *passim,* and p. 196.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 229.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 186.

4 Allan Nevins, *Gateway to History,* p. 36.

5 See Chapters IX and XI.

6 J. Franklin Jameson, *Historical Writing in America,* pp. 1-4.

7 Benedetto Croce, *History, Its Theory and Practice,* pp. 19, 168.

8 Adam of Bremen's history was first printed in 1579. The above passage may be found in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus,* Vol. 146, p. 656; English text in J. E. Olson and E. G. Bourne, *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot,* pp. 67-68.

9 For a study of this controversial question, see G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Norse Discoveries of America* (Oxford, 1921).

10 On More's knowledge of America, see George B. Parks, "More's Utopia and Geography," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XXXVII (April, 1938), 224-36.

11 John Carter Brown Library facsimile of the Antwerp tract; see also Taylor, *Tudor Geography,* pp. 7, 10-11.

12 Printed reports of the Columbus voyages filtered into England through devious channels; see Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima,* pp. 1-15.

13 See facsimile of the *Libretto* (Paris, 1930), with introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth.

14 For commentary on Martyr, Oviedo, and the other Iberians, see Wilgus, *Histories and Historians of Hispanic America,* and, in more detail, Palau, *Manual Del Librero Hispano-Americano.* In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the title of official or court historiographer meant a great deal; its holder was regarded as the defender of the glory and dignity of the ruling house.

15 An English version of the De Vaca story is given in F. W. Hodge, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States,* 1528-1543, see pp. 25-27 for passages quoted. Although indefinite in geographical details, and reading more like an historical romance than history, the relation is a bona fide first-hand record of the first journey by Europeans through country now a part of the United States.

16 For Las Casas in general, see the biographies by Sir Arthur Helps and F. A. McNutt.

17 Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Southwest,* I, 50-52, 80-88.

18 James A. Robertson, *True Relation of the Hardships, etc.* (2 vols., Florida State Historical Society, 1932). Vol. I is a facsimile from the original of 1557; Vol. II the English translation with notes, see pp. 35, 83, 262, 308-14. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards had not only explored much of the southeastern part of the present United States but had touched at many points elsewhere along the Atlantic coast. No distinctive accounts of their coastal exploits, however, were published at the time.

19 A report of Cartier's first voyage was printed in Ramusio's *Navigationi* (1556), and from that source rendered into English in 1580 by John Florio. For bibliographical commentary, see previously cited works by Henry P. Biggar and Henry S. Burrage.

20 See article on Ribaut by Woodbury Lowery, *American Historical Review,* IX (April, 1904), 456-59. The verse quoted is from C. H. Firth, *An American Garland* (Oxford, 1915), p. 7.

21 The English translation of Challeux is by Thomas Hacket. *L'Histoire Notable de Floride,* first published in 1586, was translated into English by Hakluyt (1600),

and edited by B. F. French for the *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New Series, 1869).

22 Thevet's *Singularitez* was published in Paris in 1558; Thomas Hacket's English edition appeared ten years later.

23 Taylor, *Tudor Geography,* pp. 20-21, 36-37; James A. Williamson, *Maritime Enterprise,* 1485-1558 (Oxford, 1913), pp. 52-278.

24 Quotation from the original London 1553 edition; the John Carter Brown Library has one of the only two originals known.

25 John Frampton, *Joyfull Newes Out Of the Newe Founde Worlde,* pp. 1-56.

26 See Frances A. Yates, *John Florio* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 1, 7. 14, 26-27, 53, 55-56, 59-60.

27 For the growth of geographical knowledge and the science of navigation, consult Eva G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography,* and *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography.* The chief contemporary English writers on geography and navigation were: Robert Copeland, Roger Barlow, Robert Record, William Cunningham, and William Bourne.

28 See Carlos Slafter, *Sir Humfrey Gylberte and his Enterprise of Colonization in America* (Prince Society, Vol. 29, Boston, 1903), and William G. Gosling, *The Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (London, 1911), particularly pp. 40, 55-64, 75, 110. There is a bibliography on Atlantis in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* I, 41-46.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLIEST ANGLO-AMERICAN HISTORIES

ENGLISHMEN began to write of their own American ventures about 1570, some three-quarters of a century after their first contact with the New World. It is easy to criticise the primitive character of the earliest Anglo-American historical writing, but it should be borne in mind that John Cabot was a near-contemporary of William Caxton, the founder of printing in England, and a predecessor by nearly a generation of the leaders of the English Renaissance—Colet, Grocyn, More and Roger Ascham. The reigns of Henry VII and VIII are important for initial ventures in American exploration rather than the reporting thereof.[1] England was changing from an agricultural into a maritime and commercial society. Three-masted ships with weatherly hulls, and a sail combination capable of manoeuvering, came into use; Bristol vessels journeyed westward beyond Iceland, and by 1490 the search for Cathay was being bruited about from wharf to court. Mere chance prevented Henry VII from becoming the sponsor of Columbus.

Anglo-American history properly begins with the charter of March 5, 1496, to John Cabot, and the subsequent entry in privy-purse accounts, August 10, 1497, "To hym that found the new isle, 10£." But what a contrast there is between the printed records of this first English voyage and that of similar expeditions by Spain or France! Contemporary English sources are vague, incomplete, and contradictory, and most of what we know has come through non-English reports.[2]

No important American discoveries were made during the reign of Henry VIII, although that monarch did much to further the rise of England's naval power when he used part of the proceeds from the dissolution of the monasteries for improvements in naval construction, armament and administration. The dependence of Britain's later American empire on an effective navy needs no argument. Privateering against Spain also became a quasi-legitimate business, which steadily advanced English seamanship and knowledge of cosmography.

By 1521, Henry VIII had become sufficiently interested in western discovery so that several voyages were encouraged, the one which came the nearest to success being that by Albert de Prado and John Rut in 1527. There is doubt as to just where the two vessels of this enterprise went, but apparently one touched at the West Indies island of Mona, while the

other evidently reached Newfoundland, and possibly the Canadian coast.[3]

The next Henrican enterprise was a voyage of 1536 undertaken by a gentleman of London, Master Robert Hore, with the vessels *Trinity* and *Minion*. Hore knew some cosmography, having studied reports of the Cartier voyages, but upon reaching Newfoundland the expedition collapsed through poor management and a shortage of supplies, the latter causing an instance of cannibalism. Richard Hakluyt the lawyer secured, many years later, a personal relation of the fiasco, which was printed in his cousin's famous collections of navigations.[4]

Near the end of Henry's reign, trade bulked larger than discovery as an object of enterprise in distant seas. William Hawkins began trade with West Africa and Brazil in the 1530's. William's better-known son, Sir John Hawkins, undertook several overseas enterprises, the account of his "troublesome voyadge" of 1568 being notable in English historiography as the first American narrative to be published by the leader of the expedition being described.[5]

The little fifteen-leaf octavo begins with the departure of the Hawkins vessels from Plymouth in October 1567. After securing Negroes in Guinea, where the company suffered from attackers armed with poisoned arrows, Master Hawkins sailed for the West Indies, traded at Dominica, and then made for the shore of Mexico. In the harbor of St. John de Ly (Vera Cruz) he was attacked by a Spanish fleet which destroyed all but two of his vessels, the disease-decimated survivors reaching England in January 1569. "If all the miseries and troublesome affairs of this sorrowfull voyadge should be perfectlye and thoroughlye written," concluded the author, "there should nede a paynful man with his penne, and as greate a tyme as he had that wrote the lives and deathes of the martyrs."

Search for the Northwest Passage

At first unsuccessful in competing with Spain in the West Indies, English enterprise was then directed to regions farther north. Martin Frobisher's attempts to find a Northwest Passage to Asia occasioned several historical narratives, although Frobisher himself was not a writer. The explorer probably acquired his belief in the existence of a passage around North America from association with Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In preparing for his first expedition, of 1576, Frobisher was aided by the Privy Council, and the merchant-adventurer Michael Lok, who was endeavoring to interest the influential Muscovy Company in the northwest passage project. Frobisher also received elaborate advice from John Dee, the confidante of all the great English navigators of the day, and the intimate friend of historians such as John Stow, William Camden, Thomas Hariot and the two Hakluyts. Dee probably selected the "library" of scientific works which Frobisher took with him, including an annotated

copy of Gilbert's *Discourse* on the presumed passage to the wealthy East.[6]

All three of Frobisher's northwest voyages were officially reported by George Best, who boasts that as soon as the first trip was projected, he gave himself over to the study of cosmography and navigation so that his records would be accurate and intelligent. Best's account of the first voyage was apparently secured by oral report from Frobisher, since the author did not sail for America until the second trip. The expedition, which left England in June and returned in August, reached the straits north of Hudson's Bay now named for Frobisher. Best comments briefly on the savages who paddled about in small leather boats, the salmon and large deer of the region, and the coldness of the climate even in summer. The adventurers brought back a cargo of black stone which they hoped would prove to be rich in gold.[7]

Frobisher's second voyage, in 1577, was reported officially by Best and unofficially by Dionyse Settle. On the way to Frobisher's Straits the historians saw icebergs, some a half-mile in circuit. The commander landed on the present Hall's Island, where he erected a column to the Earl of Warwick and claimed the region for Queen Elizabeth. He had some intercourse with the natives, and found a lead mine and traces of silver, although in places the ground was covered by deep snow. More black stone "ore" was dug, the drifts cut into the hillside being found nearly three centuries later by Charles F. Hall, in 1862, while searching for the lost explorer Sir John Franklin. Settle's narrative elaborates on the "sluttish" natives, noting especially their unkempt hair, lack of table manners, and use of sealskin boats and fierce dogs "like wolves." The abundance of spiders in the region, Settle was told, meant that gold was at hand, but he warned that "further trial needs to be made of the bowels of the earth" before profits could be considered certain.[8]

In spite of early disappointments, Frobisher was able to raise money for a third voyage, in which he also undertook to settle about one hundred colonists. Best, now captain of one of Frobisher's vessels, is again the prime authority for the trip. Fifteen sail were in the fleet, which obliged the historian to relate much of the voyage from hearsay, since the size of the expedition, as well as mist, fog, and snow, caused the dispersal of the vessels beyond the view of any one observer. Best devoted special attention to the topography of the new country. He notes that the party dug more ore, and left behind a party-built house, with some trinkets to please the natives. About forty men were lost on the heartbreaking voyage, and Frobisher had to abandon his search for Cathay because his financial backers were bankrupt.[9]

Thomas Ellis, a sailor, also reported the third Frobisher voyage, his narrative agreeing in the main with Best's. As a seaman, Ellis was im-

pressed by the icebergs, of which he made several drawings. His simple story concluded with laudatory notes comparing Frobisher to classic adventurers like Jason, but he held out little hope for the discovery of a northwest passage.[10]

Several minor publications resulted from the Frobisher narratives, one suggesting that the Eskimos were Chinese, and another, the versified commentary by Thomas Churchyard, a soldier-of-fortune and hack-writer, urging that pioneers seek out new soils and countries to make the homeland happy, and to bring infidels to the knowledge of God.[11] Frobisher's exploits stimulated the desire to learn more about America, both from new discoveries and from the historical writings of other nationals. It was at this time that the retired merchants—John Frampton and Thomas Nicholas—became energetic translators of discovery narratives in foreign tongues.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's first attempt to reach America, in 1578, was lugubriously recorded by Thomas Churchyard in verse:

"I marveld how this Knight
could leave his Lady heere,
His friends, and prettie tender babes,
that he did hold so deere,
And take him to the Seas,
where dayly dangers are.

. . .

"They feede on Bisket hard,
and drincke but simple beere,
Salt beefe, and Stockfish drie as kecke,
is now their greatest cheere.
And still a fulsome smell
of pitch and tarre they feele,
And when Seasicke (God wot) they are,
about the Shippe they reele."[12]

The second voyage, on return from which Sir Humphrey lost his life, had an able narrator in Edward Hayes, whose report was not, however, printed contemporaneously. Hayes wrote soon after the voyage of 1583, while he was depressed by its failure and Sir Humphrey's death. He blamed Gilbert for unwise use of funds and display of bad temper, but he trusted that "fruite may growe in time of our travelling into those Northwest Lands." He assessed accurately and not too optimistically the recources of Newfoundland—a country of rather forbidding climate and thin soil, whose great recompense was in fish.[13] Sir Humphrey's brother, Adrian, kept alive for a time the hapless search for the Northwest Passage. Despite initial failures, the English voyages of the sixteenth

century marked an important chapter in the history of the English nation, and the preface to the history of the British Empire.

Approach to the Colonies

With the passing of Gilbert and the appearance of Raleigh, British colonial history, long exploratory and circumstantial, becomes more solidly based on American soil.

Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the many-sided Elizabethans who had too many irons in the fire to keep all of them at white heat. His interests ranged from managing an Irish country estate, and achieving fame as a courtier, to planting a colony in Carolina, finding gold in Guiana, and writing a history of the world. Raleigh acquired his interest in America largely through association with Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Since the Queen would not permit him to go to Virginia, as most of the Atlantic coast of North America was then called, Raleigh designed colonial enterprises in the study of his London house, with help from John Dee, Ralph Lane, Thomas Hariot, and his cousin Richard Grenville. He also sought the aid of Richard Hakluyt, who wrote in the summer of 1584 the "Discourse of Western Planting," and of the elder Hakluyt, not yet displaced by his younger cousin in the furtherance of American designs, who supplied "Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia." Jacques le Moyne, the Hugenot artist who had been in Florida, also became attached to Raleigh's service. In 1584, Sir Walter sent out Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow to find a favorable site for planting. The younger Hakluyt wrote his "Discourse" while the sea captains were away; the elder Hakluyt his "Inducements" after they returned. Barlow supplied a "fresh, taut, and vigorous" account of the voyage, with especially favorable comments on Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina.[14]

Ralph Lane and Thomas Hariot wrote of Raleigh's first colony, sent out in 1585. The former's narrative is divided into two parts, the first describing the country, the second the reasons for the scuttling of the project. Our discoveries, he wrote, extended more than a hundred miles inland from Roanoke, since two great objects of the enterprise were to find a profitable mine, and a passage to the South Sea. Pemispan, the "king" of the Roanoke Islands, was not friendly, and the English might have been worsted in an early encounter with the natives had not the kindly Manteo given warning. By May, 1586, the English were so hard pressed for food that some of the company were sent to Croatoan and Hatorask, and some to the mainland to live on oysters and other native sustenance. Sir Francis Drake anchored off the island in June, and was arranging to leave some of his provisions when a storm drove him out to sea. Despairing of aid from Grenville, who had not returned from England, the colonists quit the settlement in boisterous weather, losing "all

our Cards, Books, and writings."[15] The account is frank and to the point; Lane does not suppress the trouble with the Indians, which Hariot does not mention, and he apologizes for the failure at Roanoke, which Hariot ignores since he was writing a promotion tract to encourage further settlement. In the hasty evacuation were fortunately preserved the drawings by John White, illustrating the natives, their huts, fish wiers, fields, and little towns. The famous drawings were published in Theodore de Bry's bulky work on America, and were subsequently used by John Smith and other Anglo-American historians. White became governor of the second Roanoke settlement.[16]

Thomas Hariot, author of the second Carolina narrative, was an outstanding scientist and mathematician who at some time numbered among his pupils Sir Walter Raleigh, Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain Keymis who was later connected with Raleigh's expeditions to Guiana. Hariot's book, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, may be considered a promotion tract since it was hurried into print in February, 1589, to aid Raleigh in securing money and colonists for another expedition before his charter expired. It is a survey of the land rather than a narrative history, but as the first English work describing an area now part of the United States, it merits consideration.

Hariot wrote "of the commodities there found and to be raysed, as well merchantable, as others for victuall, building and other necessary uses for those that are and shall be planters there; and of the nature and manners of the natural inhabitants."[17] Under merchantable commodities, Hariot mentioned "silk grass" growing two feet high, silk worms, flax, hemp, alum, pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, sassafras, many kinds of wood, grapes which made good wine, walnut oil, otter and other furbearing animals, deerskins, civet cats, a little iron and copper, and some pearls, but of inferior color and size. He described the diet of the natives, giving particular attention to their method of raising maize (which yielded 200 bushels to the acre), and their use of tobacco. Under items of special interest to prospective planters, he stressed the abundance of naval stores. The natives, he wrote, were poor but intelligent people "who may be much improved by us;" they were without cut-edged tools or iron weapons, so need not be feared. Hariot considered the climate to be very healthful, since only four of the company died, and they were sickly before starting for America. Hariot's report is an intelligent survey, meriting considerable praise, especially when compared to the more credulous tales published by other early visitors to the New World.

Little printed information is available on Raleigh's later attempts to colonize Roanoke. John White, governor of the company sent out in 1587, evidently kept a journal which was the basis for the Hakluyt ac-

count of the colony up to the time White returned to England for additional supplies. After the fright over the Spanish Armanda had subsided, White returned to look for the "Lost Colony." The story of his unsuccessful search, which inexplicably did not include Croatoan where the colonists were presumed to have gone, was later related by Hakluyt.[18] Raleigh's colonies, however unsuccessful, represented the first serious English attempt to settle America.

Promotion tracts for the encouragement of trade and colonization appeared in increasing number after 1580, but their subject matter lies largely outside the scope of this review. One of the earliest of these very practical works was Christopher Carleill's *Discourse Upon the Entended Voyage to the Hethermoste Partes of America,* written in 1581, or at least shortly before Gilbert went to Newfoundland. Carleill, son-in-law of Queen Elizabeth's famous minister Walsingham, was an ardent expansionist. His little pamphlet referred to the difficult beginnings but eventual profits secured from English enterprise in Russia and Turkey, and indicated that America was the next logical field for exploitation.

For diplomatic reasons, since Queen Elizabeth wished to plunder Spain without admitting the fact, Sir Francis Drake's achievements did not appear in print for several years after their conclusion. His circumnavigation of the world, 1577-80, was not acknowledged in a book, and then covertly, until after the great captain's death, when an account was inserted as extra pages in unsold copies of Hakluyt's 1589 *Principall Navigations.* No frank acknowledgement appeared until 1628, although two earlier, versified accounts, enhanced the human qualities of the great naval hero:

> "So Drake his country fill'd with store and plenty,
> And filling it, himself was almost empty."[19]

Raleigh's Guiana enterprise forms a part of Anglo-American history, although the region he visited is outside the present British Guiana. In 1595, after a preliminary survey of the coast, Raleigh undertook to find the city of Manoa in a kingdom supposedly located on the upper reaches of the Amazon and Orinoco rivers, where were alleged to be quantities of gold and sapphires.

His notable report of the venture, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana,* has been charged with imposture and deceit, but it is a sober and truthful work, which hides none of the author's disappointments although promising greater success in the future. Shakespeare and a host of ordinary mortals read the exciting story, which soon appeared in at least four German translations, five Dutch, and two Latin versions.

Raleigh's narrative is tedious reading in spots, for it is bespattered

with transliterations of native names which the author renders more confusing than necessary. But there are light touches. From the Indians, Raleigh gathered tales of Amazons, those female warriors that enliven the pages of history from ancient days into the twentieth century. He found parts of the country very pleasant; there were broad plains carpeted by short green grass, occassional groups of trees arranged as if by a landscape gardener, and deer feeding by watersides. He was smitten by a cacique's handsome wife—like an English beauty save for her color—"hir haire almost as long as hir selfe" but usually tied up in "pretie knots." Raleigh did not elaborate on the Spanish settlements he must have known about, for he wished the English crown to regard his beautiful empire as unclaimed territory. In conclusion, he presented an appealing array of inducements to settlement—the soldier could pay himself in plates of gold a half-foot broad; the gentleman hunt and hawk, and the farmer till a country "that hath yet her Maydenhead, never sakt, turned, nor wrought . . . nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance."[20]

Back in London, Raleigh found himself temporarily in disgrace for marrying a lady of the Court without the Queen's consent, but he was able to dispatch Captain Lawrence Keymis to explore further the Guiana mines. Keymis returned empty handed, except for an account of his trip which was published in 1596 and bound with Raleigh's relation. On the way home from Guiana, Keymis visited the Grenadas, St. Vincent, and Dominica, islands the Spaniards had not developed, and from which he said the English could procure tobacco, honey, cotton and Brazil-wood.[21] Shortly after the accession of James I, Raleigh was imprisoned for his anti-Spanish activities. While immured, he experimented with a patent healing medicine, a new method of curing tobacco, and he wrote a *History of the World* with the aid of material brought him by Thomas Hariot. The author was released in 1616 to prepare for his final and disastrous Guiana trip. Before embarking, this once affluent courtier met Pocahontas, the charming Indian girl who figures briefly in the story of England's first permanent colony in Virginia.[22]

The earliest New England narratives seem far removed in spirit from the writings of the preceding generation on other parts of the Western hemisphere. There was a homeliness about the New England scene that sharply contrasts with Frobisher's struggles against sub-Arctic storms, or Raleigh's unfortunate excursions into the sub-tropical river valleys of South America.

John Brereton (or Brierton), who wrote of Bartholomew Gosnold's voyage to New England, was an Oxford M.A. and a priest, whose brief visit to the region of Buzzard's Bay was his only direct contact with America. His *Briefe and True Relation* begins with the departure of

the *Concord* from England in March, 1602, with thirty-two persons aboard. Making landfall off Cape Cod the middle of May, the author, Captain Gosnold, and three others went onto the white, sandy shore, where the weather was very hot. Later they "pestered" the ship with so much cod that some had to be thrown overboard. Brereton describes Martha's Vineyard, which was not the island now so named but a much smaller one, No Man's Land, in Buzzard's Bay. Whale bones lay scattered there, and the friendly, fat, and well-favored natives offered the company good tobacco. The soil was so fertile that oats grew nine inches in fourteen days. Some of the company wanted to stay, but since the group was too small to be divided, they loaded the vessel with sassafras, cedar and furs, and returned to England late in July.[23]

To New England three years later came George Waymouth, veteran of a voyage to the northwest, now seeking on behalf of Sir Thomas Arundel an overseas refuge for Roman Catholics. The chronicler of the voyage, James Rosier, is thought by some to have been a priest; his relation does resemble the later account of Maryland by the Jesuit missionary, Father Andrew White.

About the middle of May, 1605, the Waymouth company on the *Archangel,* which had left England on Easter Day, "descried a whitish sandy cliffe," the present Sankaty Head at the eastern end of Nantucket. Turning north, they came to Monhegan Island, profuse with berries and wild rose, and then to the George's Islands near the Maine shore. Indians came out to them in birch bark canoes, natives who cooked all their food, and used lobster claws as tobacco pipes. While trading with the natives was under way, Waymouth went up the St. George's River to the site of modern Thomaston. Some of his company, who had been to America with Raleigh, said they preferred the region of the Orinoco, but Rosier cast his vote for the Thames of Old England. The expedition was back home in July, with five savages as an exhibit. In an especially interesting paragraph, Rosier describes an Indian whaling trip; the natives set out in many boats, surrounded a whale, and wore it to death with showers of arrows. Rosier listed the chief fauna and flora of the region, particularly mentioning shellfish. His relation afforded data for many later writings on New England, from Champlain and John Smith to Thomas Prince and Jeremy Belknap.[24]

Foreign Footnotes

Although Englishmen came to place less reliance on foreign writings for information as their own contacts with America became closer, New World literature was never wholly differentiated by national boundaries. Most important travel accounts were published in several languages, and writers of one country borrowed freely from those of an-

other. From the 1580's to the founding of Jamestown, there were at least thirty non-English publications on America.

The Iberian authorities most frequently cited by later English writers were Acosta, Galvano, and Herrera. José de Acosta, author of *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias,* was a learned and diligent Jesuit who went to America in 1569 as a lecturer in theology. In the course of his official duties he travelled widely from Central America to Peru. His history is concise but broad in perspective, and of great value for the Spanish missionary work among the Indians. Acosta defended Spanish colonial policy, but in a dignified and constructively critical manner.[25]

Antonio Galvano's work is a brief compendium of world history which leans heavily on Barros for Portuguese events and on Martyr and Gomara for Spanish happenings. The author, one-time governor of the Moluccas, spread his historical net from Pliny and Josephus to his own time, paying scant respect to John Cabot or anyone not associated with Spain or Portugal. With these slights, the resulting narrative, terse and reasonably accurate, served as a handy reference book on world history to the year 1555.[26]

Antonio de Herrera, Historiographer of the Indies from 1596 to his death in 1625, published his *Historia General* in the form of annals, covering all parts of the Spanish colonial empire in small chronological sections. Herrera had access to official documents, and, writing much later than Martyr and Oviedo, he enjoyed the advantage both of better perspective and more ample material. He used original documents, including many manuscripts not now in existence, but did not quote sources extensively nor reveal their location. Most critics rank him first among the early Spanish historians.[27]

Continental Collectors

In the pre-Jamestown historiography there is another class of writings which developed tremendously in the century following 1507. Collections of discovery narratives, without the interpretation of events found in the Spanish writings just considered, supplied great storehouses of historical material.

The earliest of such compilations, presumably by Montalboddo Fracan, was the *Paesi Novamente Retrovati,* printed at Vincenza in 1507, containing the 1500 voyage of Cabral to Brazil, and the 1500-02 voyages of the Cortereals to the north Atlantic coast.[28]

The most ambitious early collector was Gian Battista Ramusio, an Italian educated at Venice and Padua, the holder of several public offices including that of secretary to the Venetian "Council of Ten," who began gathering material on explorations as early as 1523. He ransacked Italy and Spain for documents, and corresponded with Sebastian Cabot.

To his labors, modern historians owe nearly all printed notice of French visits to North America before Cartier, the first Cartier account itself, and the disputed though probably authentic voyage of Verrazano from Cape Fear to Newfoundland in 1524. On Sebastian Cabot's early voyage, Ramusio used such little discrimination that he obscured the story of that explorer's work for England, but in general he was a careful and considerate writer who, with scholarly notes, carefully edited original accounts.

Ramusio made an outstanding contribution to European knowledge of the rest of the world; no comparable collection had been made before, nor was as good a one compiled for nearly a half-century after. The first of Ramusio's volumes was printed at Venice in 1550, and the third, which relates chiefly to the New World, six years later. In the latter, a large folio of more than nine hundred pages with maps and illustrations, are found the reports of the voyages of Columbus, Verrazano and Cartier, narratives of the conquest of Mexico and Peru, and the journey of Coronado into the southwestern United States. Ramusio died in 1557 before he could write a contemplated fourth volume, his notes being soon after destroyed by fire.[29]

Theodore de Bry, already mentioned in connection with John White's drawings, was an engraver and bookseller in Frankfort, who published Hariot's report on Virginia in 1590. To secure the widest possible circulation, he issued the account in four languages—English, French, German and Latin—with illustrations from John White. The success of this undertaking encouraged him to edit a volume on Florida, using the Laudonniére story translated into Latin and German. By his death, in 1598, De Bry had issued six parts of what grew posthumously into a tremendous repository—the *Great Voyages* including trips to the westward, and the *Small Voyages,* so-called because printed on slightly smaller-sized paper, relating to the east. After Theodore's death, the work was continued by his widow and two sons, and later by other heirs. Since the great De Bry collection included narratives by Hariot, Hawkins, Drake, Cavendish, Raleigh, Keymis, Ralph Hamor and John Smith, it rendered considerable service to Anglo-American historians by opening their works to the Continental reading public.[30]

In imitation of De Bry, a Dutchman, Levinus Hulsius, began in 1598 a series of narratives highlighting Dutch travel. Hulsius had left his native country for religious reasons; he published from Nuremberg, where he was bookseller, notary public, and editor of a French-German dictionary. The individual accounts in his *Sechs und Zwanzig Schiffahrten* were published separately, so that the collection, continued posthumously to 1650, easily became dispersed and is now seldom found complete. The parts of especial interest to Englishmen were Ralph Hamor's and John

Smith's accounts of Virginia, and material from several sources relating to Newfoundland, New England and Bermuda.[31]

Less valuable than the foregoing is the French collection by Le Seigneur de la Popellinière entitled *Les Trois Mondes.* Parts of this work, published at Paris in 1582, dealt with well-known Portuguese and Spanish exploits in America, and then stressed, as might be expected, French enterprise in Canada. But in addition, Popellinière expressed a surprisingly wholesome respect for English enterprise; he gave Sebastian Cabot full credit for discovering not only the north part of America but also Florida. He was evidently striving to capitalize English and French discoveries in order to counterbalance the obviously greater Portuguese and Spanish achievements.

Another pretentious Italian undertaking, the *Relationi Universali* by Giovanni Botero, soon spread into German, Spanish, and variant English translations, the best known of the latter being *Relations of the Most Famous Kingdoms and Commonweales Through the World* (1616). There is little Anglo-American history in this book, however, which generally presents an account of New Spain in the Las Casas manner, deprecating the collapse of native Indian civilization.

Richard Hakluyt

Far above the non-English collectors towers Richard Hakluyt (c.1552-1616), a reappraisal of whose achievement would, in this day, be supererogatory. Hakluyt's life paralleled the rise of commercial England, and the founding of British-America. The young man who began his scholarly career as a lecturer in geography at Oxford was in much better position to compile the history of America than Eden had been thirty years before; more foreign-language publications were available, and since 1576 his fellow countrymen had been active on the American strand.

Upon the formulation of Humphrey Gilbert's design for western colonization, Hakluyt set himself to answer the question as to just what was known about North America. He could not secure an adequate answer from Spanish histories, since they covered lands too far to the south, so he began an independent search of the records, which led to his own more complete answers of 1582, 1589, and 1600. Before he had proceeded very far he expanded the initial quest to embrace all the overseas discoveries of the English nation.[32]

"I conceive great hope," said Hakluyt, "that the time approacheth and nowe is, that we of England may share and part stakes . . . both with the spainarde and the Portingale in part of America, and other regions as yet undiscovered." The first stage of his life work, the 1582 *Divers Voyages Touching the Discouerie of America,* opens with a list of more than forty travellers and writers on geography, from a twelfth century

Rabbi through Marco Polo to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The practice of listing authorities, a feature similar to modern bibliographies, soon became not only common but ostentatious.

Divers Voyages was an incomplete book, containing much picturesque if not especially valuable material. By appealing to national pride, however, the author stimulated colonial enterprise, so that his work may be considered the intellectual side of overseas expansion, bearing the same relation to England's first plantations that Eden's earlier translations did to exploration.

Hakluyt had little connection with Gilbert's colonizing plan of 1583, although it is possible that he intended to follow Sir Humphrey on a later trip. Receiving a remunerative church office, he went to France, a favorable place to gain useful information since the French enjoyed closer contact with the north Atlantic coast than the Spaniards. Thevet helped him track down many valuable items. Much sixteenth century history, it is well to remember, had to be written from evidence gathered through oral examination, since document collecting was fortuitous. Hakluyt thought of going to America with Raleigh's first colony, but he lacked funds, having spent a great deal on books and the publishing business. He returned to England in 1588.[33]

Apparently he had planned an immediate expansion of *Divers Voyages,* but the larger work, *Principall Navigations,* a solid folio of more than eight hundred pages, was not printed until 1589. Its general arrangement conformed to contemporary practice in that the voyages were grouped to the East, Northeast, and West, the latter or American section being a little larger than the others. Following Ramusio's example, and his own of 1582, Hakluyt arranged a chronological series of narratives for the framework of his book. More critical than Ramusio in selecting material, Hakluyt illustrated his narratives by supporting documents, especially from merchants' records. The *Principall Navigations* contains Gilbert's *Discourse* on the passage to Cathay; three accounts of Frobisher; reports on Newfoundland by Hayes, Parkhurst, and Sir George Peckham; the Raleigh expeditions to Roanoke; John Davis' search for the northwest passage; and the 1586-88 circumnavigation of the globe by Thomas Cavendish.

It is significant to note that *Principall Navigations* appeared the year following the defeat of the Spanish Armada when England, freed from fear of Spain, was better able to plan western colonies. Compared to De Bry's collection, for which Hakluyt was partly responsible, *Principall Navigations* was a less popular work; the German editor illustrated his volumes profusely whereas the Englishman used but few pictures and carefully selected maps. Hakluyt was not interested in a purely popular

appeal; until 1598 he omitted material which was chiefly of sentimental or emotional interest, preferring documents which bore witness to an enduring accomplishment.

Between 1598 and 1600, Hakluyt published a new three-volume edition of his navigations, his most important and his last major work. Broadening his scope to include warlike raids and sea fights that appealed to the nation's martial spirit, he declared that geography and chronology are "the right eye and the left of all history," which have led me "for the benefit and honour of my Country . . . to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserve certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieved, from the greedy and devouring iawes of oblivion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by sea."[34]

His third volume, devoted to the Western Hemisphere, was arranged in fourteen geographical sections from Newfoundland to La Plata. The new edition of *Principall Navigations* was more than twice the size of the 1589 issue. In striving for completeness, Haluyt included nearly everything he had previously published, and made extensive additions on naval achievement as distinct from peaceful exploration. His work does not explain much of the domestic organization behind the external accomplishments, but little attention was paid to such institutional studies until the nineteenth century. Although much of the supporting documentary material in *Principall Navigations* is poorly arranged, the narratives themselves are seldom dull. Their matter-of-fact plainness conveys a sense of reality that would have been lost in an embroidered tale.

James A. Froude called Hakluyt's volumes "the Prose Epic of the modern English nation . . . plain broad narratives of substantial facts, which rival legend in interest and grandeur."[35] Accepting this judgment, Hakluyt's story may be considered an epic in three progressive stages: England becomes a maritime power; a naval power; and finally a colonial power. The last phase was just beginning when Hakluyt died, leaving Samuel Purchas to carry on his work. The great collector planned to go to Virginia in 1606 as a clergyman, but he remained behind to share for a time in the affairs of the London Company which settled Jamestown. He was arranging another edition of his voyages when death overtook him in 1616.

Every important writer on British colonial history has paid deserving tribute to the great editor-archivist-historian. But modern erudition can add little to the appreciation seventeenth century Englishmen felt for their distinguished countryman: "His *Genius* inclined him to the *Study of History*, and especially the *Marine part* thereof," wrote Thomas Fuller. Not-

ing the prime importance of preserving material which would otherwise have been lost, he added: "In a word, many of such useful Tracts of *Sea Adventures,* which before were scattered as *several Ships,* Mr. Hakluit hath imbodied into a *Fleet,* divided into *three Squadrons,* so many several Volumes; a work of great honour to England; it being possible that many *Parts* and *Islands* in *America,* which, being *base* and *barren,* have only a bare name for the present, may prove *rich places* for the future."[36]

By 1607, when Captain John Smith viewed the foundation of a permanent colony at Jamestown, Englishmen had already learned a great deal from American historiography. Their own pioneers had written many brief narratives, their translators had opened up a wealth of information in foreign tongues, and their greatest archivist had gathered an incomparable collection of historical material. It remained to be seen whether Anglo-American historians of the colonizing era could equal in comprehensiveness their Continental predecessors. John Smith himself made a notable attempt, surpassed by few in the seventeenth century.

For the earliest Anglo-American histories, the general bibliographical works previously cited for Chapter I—by Conyers Read and Godfrey Davies—are again helpful.

Of most detailed assistance in a study of early English voyages to the New World are the previously cited volumes by Eva G. R. Taylor: *Tudor Geography,* and *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography;* and two works by James A. Williamson, *Maritime Enterprise,* 1485-1558, and *The Voyages of the Cabots.* Also helpful is Professor Walter Raleigh, *The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow, 1906).

RICHARD HAKLUYT

The definitive work on the great archivist, Hakluyt, is George B. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York, 1928). Eva Taylor's *Stuart Geography* has several chapters on Hakluyt, and her longer work, *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (2 vols., Hakluyt Society, Second Series, London, 1935), covers the subject in great detail. The present writer has examined Hakluyt's writings in the original editions of 1582-1600, but there are more accessible reprints. *Divers Voyages* was edited for The Hakluyt Society of 1850 by John W. Jones. The most usable modern form of *Principall Navigations* is the MacLehose edition (1904).

The major secondary sources on the other writers covered in this chapter are given in the footnotes.

NOTES

1 English chroniclers of the reign of Henry VII were not of outstanding merit, and Polydore Vergil, a naturalized Italian of Henry VIII's time, did not include American affairs in his otherwise good history of England.

2 Non-English references to Sebastian Cabot's voyages are in the writings of Peter Martyr, Gomara, Ramusio, Thevet, Ribaut and others.

3 The "Book of Robert Thorne" belongs to this period. Dr. Edward Lee, the King's almoner, had been sent in 1525 on a mission to Spain, where he met Robert Thorne the younger, a British merchant resident in Seville, who claimed that his father had discovered America: Taylor, *Tudor Geography,* pp. 11-12, 49, 51.

4 Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1904 edition), VIII, 5-6; or Burrage, *Early English and French Voyages,* pp. 105-10.

5 John Hawkins, *A True Declaration of the Troublesome Voyadge* (London, 1569), reprinted by C. R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society, Vol. 57, pp. 5-64, and in Burrage, *Early English and French Voyages,* pp. 113-32. Years later one of the Hawkins comapny, David Ingram, who had escaped ashore in Mexico, told a well-nigh incredible tale of travelling the length of the continent to be rescued near Cape Breton. His account was undoubtedly based on fact; its fantastic aspect chiefly arises from the naming of American fauna and flora for similar Old World species. A report on the Hawkins voyage of 1564-65 by John Sparke, an officer on one of the vessels, is notable for early reference to tobacco.

6 William McFee, *The Life of Sir Martin Frobisher* (New York, 1928), pp. 21-41. There is a useful short account of the search for the northwest passage by Frobisher and others in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* III, 85-97.

7 George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie* (London, 1578); the voyages are separately paged. The Frobisher narratives have been edited several times: by Thomas Rundall for the Hakluyt Society (1849); Richard Collinson for the same Society (1867); and by Vilhjalmur Stefansson and Eloise McCaskill (2 vols., London, 1938).

8 Richard Collinson, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher,* pp. 367-74, gives a catalogue of relics found by Charles Hall. There was gold in the region Frobisher visited, but not in paying quantities under the extractive methods then known. The Settle account is entitled *A True Reporte of the Laste Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions* (London, 1577).

9 Frobisher's third expedition went a short distance into Hudson's Strait, which otherwise awaited discovery two generations later.

10 Thomas Ellis, *A True Report of the Third and Last Voyage into Meta Incognita* (London, 1578).

11 Thomas Churchyard, *A Prayse, and Reporte of Maister Martyne Frobishers Voyage to Meta Incognita* (London, 1578).

12 Thomas Churchyard, *A Discourse Of The Queenes Maiesties Entertainement* (London, 1578).

13 Text in Burrage, *Early English and French Voyages,* pp. 179-222; the Hayes narrative was also edited for the Prince Society by Carlos Slafter (Boston, 1903).

14 The literature on Raleigh is tremendous: Irvin Anthony, *Ralegh and His World* (New York, 1934), is psychological and interpretative; F. A. Ober, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (New York, 1909), laudatory and superficial; M. C. Bradbrook, *The School of Night* (Cambridge, 1936), suggests helpful ideas on Raleigh's writing; an older work, Increase N. Tarbox, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America* (Prince Society, Vol. 15, Boston, 1884), includes reprints of contemporary narratives.

15 Ralph Lane, "An Account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenevill," is in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1904 edition), VIII, or Burrage, *Early English and French Voyages,* pp. 246-71. A more detailed relation of the abandonment of the Roanoke colony

is in the Hakluyt version of Drake's voyage of 1585-86, *Principall Navigations,* X, 132-33.

16 R. G. Adams, "An Effort to Identify John White," *American Historical Review,* October, 1935; William P. Cumming, "The Identity of John White Governor of Roanoke and John White the Artist," *North Carolina Historical Review,* July, 1938; and see especially David I. Bushell, "John White, the First English Artist to Visit Virginia, 1585," *Virginia Magazine of History,* October, 1927, January and April, 1928, with reproductions of eighteen of the drawings.

17 Hariot's narrative has been reissued several times: It is included in I. N. Tarbox, *Sir Walter Raleigh,* pp. 189-244; Luther S. Livingston annotated a facsimile (New York, 1903); and R. G. Adams wrote the introduction to a facsimile of the original in the Clements Library (Ann Arbor, 1931).

18 Reprinted in Burrage, *Early English and French Voyages,* pp. 281-300, 305-23.

19 Quotations from Charles Fitz-Geffrey, *Sir Francis Drake* (1819 edition), p. 76. The other poetical life was by Thomas Greepe (1587).

20 Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie . . . of Guiana* (R. H. Schomburgk edition, Hakluyt Society *Publications,* III, London, 1848), pp. 28, 39, 57, 66, 111, 113.

21 Lawrence Keymis, *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (London, 1596).

22 For Raleigh's 1617 trip, see the aforementioned biographies. Raleigh was executed for treason in October 1618. In preparing for the scaffold, he smoked a pipe of Virginia tobacco, staple of the colony he had helped to establish but had never seen.

23 John Brereton, *A Briefe and True Relation* (London, 1602); see 1903 facsimile with notes by Luther S. Livingston. Jeremy Belknap and Noah Webster visited Brereton's little island in 1797 and found the cellar hole of a storehouse Gosnold's company had built there. Fulmer Mood, in "Why the Vineyard?" *New England Quarterly,* March, 1933, pp. 131-36, considers the Brereton narrative a piece of tendentious writing, skillfully composed to persuade wavering supporters of colonization that the New England coast could profitably be exploited. The judgment is a little severe; Cape Cod in summer can be a charming place without benefit of propaganda.

24 James Rosier, *A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made . . . by Captaine George Waymouth* (London, 1605), reprinted with notes by Henry S. Burrage for the Gorges Society (1887); also by Burrage in *Early English and French Voyages,* pp. 355-94.

25 The original work, published at Seville in 1590, was translated into English by Edward Grimeston, as *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (London, 1604). There is a more recent English edition with notes by C. R. Markham, Hakluyt Society *Publications,* Vols. 60-61.

26 See the English edition by Admiral Bethune for the Hakluyt Society (1862).

27 Herrera's *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos* (Madrid, 1601-1615), was not translated into English until 1725-26, by John Stevens.

28 Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima,* pp. 96-99, and *Additions,* pp. 34-38.

29 Ramusio's volumes have long titles, usually abbreviated to *Navigationi Et Viaggi;* see Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima,* pp. 455-57.

30 There is no uniform title for the twenty-five parts of De Bry's undertaking, but the customary Latin designation is *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam*

Orientalem et Indiam Occidentalem (Frankfort, 1590-1634); see *Bibliotheca Americana* (John Carter Brown Library), I, Part II, 381-446.

31 A. Asher, *Bibliographical Essay on the Collection of Voyages . . . by Levinus Hulsius* (London and Berlin, 1839); and *Bibliotheca Americana,* Vol. I, Part II, 449-70.

32 George B. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages;* see also Taylor, *Stuart Geography,* Chaps. I-III.

33 While in England on a short visit in 1585, Hakluyt presented Queen Elizabeth, at Raleigh's urging, "A Particular Discourse, concerning the great necessity and manifold commodities that are likely to grow to this realm of England by the Western Discoveries lately attempted."

34 Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (London, 1598), I, note to the reader.

35 James A. Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects* I, 361.

36 Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England,* I, 453.

CHAPTER III

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH AND EARLY VIRGINIA

BRITAIN'S first plantation furnished a bumper crop of contemporary literature, part narrative and the remainder promotional in character. Much of the propagandist writing contains so much historical data that publicists like Robert Johnson may well divide honors with George Percy and William Strachey as collaborators with early Virginia's most accomplished historian, Captain John Smith.

For pure propaganda, untouched by taint of history, one could hardly improve on *A Good Speed to Virginia,* written by Robert Gray. This obscure promoter, who may have been either a schoolmaster or a parson, had no doubts about the propriety of England's absorbing North America: "The earth . . . which is mans fee-simple by deede of gift from God, is the greater part of it possessed and wrongfully usurped by wild beasts, and unreasonable creatures, or by brutish savages, which by reason of their godles ignorance, and blasphemous Idolatrie, are worse than those beasts which are of a most wild and savage nature."

Now is the time to advance the glory of God, continued Gray, to relieve domestic overpopulation, supply home wants, enlarge our kingdom, employ our people, and augment his Majesty's income. Generous quotation from the Bible lent an odor of sanctity to this worldly advice.[1]

More historically substantial were the productions of Robert Johnson, a grocer by profession, an incorporator and officer of the East India Company, and alderman of the city of London. In 1609, he became a member of the Virginia Company of London, in which he suffered a stormy career, beset by law suits, public criticism and official censure.

His *Nova Brittannia* of 1609 was published on his own responsibility, but with the consent of the London Company. In dignified language, Johnson justified England's title to Virginia, and summarized English activity in America from Cabot to Raleigh. The country, he declares, is like that described by Caleb and Joshua of old, "a very good land, and if the Lord love us, he will bring our people to it, and will give it us for a possession." Do men fear the voyage thither? It is not long or tedious, but lies across the broad ocean where are no rocks nor foreign princes to interfere. Johnson listed Virginia's natural resources, and promised that emigrant artisans would become rich, since carpenters, shipwrights, bricklayers and smiths were in great demand.[2]

Possibly Johnson was the compiler of the longer of two advertising tracts published anonymously in 1610, *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia.* Historically this pamphlet refutes charges brought against Sir Thomas Gates for the misfortunes of the voyage of 1609; it notes the departure of Somers and Argall for Bermuda to secure hogs; observes that warm board houses are being built in Jamestown, and that Lord La Warre has constructed forts at Capes Henry and Charles. In reviewing local resources, the author appetizingly suggests that delicate-tasting juice for a cordial may be pressed from cornstalks. He spikes the dreadful rumor of a recent famine so great that a man had to eat his wife, explaining that she was only murdered for hate.[3]

Another publication usually attributed to Robert Johnson is *The New Life of Virginea,* a combination of history and advertising which summarizes events from 1607 to 1611, with emphasis on the strict code of laws initiated by Gates and amplified by Sir Thomas Dale. The compiler noted especially the improving physical state of Jamestown, as indicated by the construction of decent houses, the establishment of a hospital, and the allotment to planters of individual gardens.[4]

Propaganda also flowed from the pens of churchmen, as attested by *Good Newes From Virgina,* a hortatory sermon by Alexander Whitaker, minister in the new settlements of Henrico and Bermuda Hundred outside Jamestown. "Be bould my Hearers to contemne riches," began the preacher, who exhorted the homeland's idle-rich to forswear hawks hounds and whores, and spend their money for relieving the naked Indians from the ministrations of devilish native priests. However much Whitaker's gaze was fixed on another world, much of his commentary was sufficiently mundane to encourage the laziest of prospective emigrants: "I have made proofe of [the fertility of the soil] . . . with the helpe of three more, being a stranger to that business and having not a bodie inured to such labour, and set so much corn . . . in the idle hours of one weeke, as will suffice me for bread one quarter of a yeere."

Whitaker's work does not add greatly to our knowledge of early conditions in the colony, but taken in conjunction with the writings of Johnson and others, it indicates the shift from a search for gold and silver to the cultivation of the agricultural resources of the region.[5]

Between 1616 and 1622, the London Company sponsored a number of *Declarations* advertising the colony, the final one being important historically for an account of the Indian massacre of 1622. Edward Waterhouse, whose name is attached to this *Declaration of the State of the Colony,* was one of the secretaries of the Company and a man of integrity and good judgment. "We freely confesse," he wrote with necessary candor, "that the Countrey is not so good, as the *Natives* are bad, whose barbarous

Savagenesse needs more cultivation than the ground itselfe." He listed the three hundred and forty-seven persons killed in the massacre, ranging from important people like John Berkeley to Goodwife Redhead, and "One old Maid called Blinde Margaret." Citing Oviedo, the author advised England to follow Spanish policy and blast the savages off the face of the earth. since their removal would, among other things, help conserve the native deer and turkeys which were being killed off too fast.[6]

The authors of promotion tracts were not primarily concerned with the composition of logical narratives, but their works made many incidental contributions to the historical record.

More Substantial History

Among the half-dozen or more short narratives on early Jamestown, the accounts by George Percy, William Strachey, and Ralph Hamor are outstanding. Some of their writings circulated in separate publications while others drifted into the collections of Samuel Purchas, the successor of Hakluyt.

George Percy gives the best account of the voyage of the first colonists to Jamestown. The author was the eighth son of the eighth Earl of Northumberland, a soldier with experience in the Netherlands, and head of the Virginia settlement on two occasions 1609-11. His story of the trip across the Atlantic is an interesting tale suggesting much to the imagination. The second part of Percy's "Observations" describes the exploration of the territory about Jamestown and several skirmishes with the Indians. Percy recounts the privations endured by the colonists the first summer, when some died of swellings, fluxes, and burning fevers, and others of "meere famine."[7]

The 1611 *Relation* of Lord De La Warr is a short and apologetic piece. The first governor and captain-general of Virginia had not been happy in his domain. Arriving in the summer of 1610 to find the discouraged and half-starved colonists sailing down the James River, his first task was to persuade them to return to the abandoned and partially dismantled town. He restored order and wrought some material improvement in the settlement, but ill health induced by ague, flux, cramps and scurvy forced his return to England. Although hardly a cheering document, De La Warr's report carries one heartening inference—the willingness of the first settlers to persist in the face of great discouragements.[8]

The dramatic events of 1609-10 briefly alluded to by De La Warr are more fully recounted by William Strachey, sometimes called the "first historian of Virginia," although his major work, the *Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia,* was not published until two centuries after his colonial career.

The time and place of Strachey's birth and death are unknown, but

more pertinent facts about him are clear; he subscribed £25 to the Virginia Company under its second charter; he was secretary of the colony 1610-11, and obviously a gentleman of some legal acumen, and greater literary polish than any other writer on Early Virginia.

Strachey was on the *Sea Adventure* with Gates and Sir George Somers when the "*taile* of the West Indian horacano" drove them onto Bermuda. Certain passages in the account of the storm and wreck, where suggestions of impending disaster are offset by descriptive touches of wild natural beauty, possess force and color seldom equalled in historical writing, and surpassed by few literary productions of any sort.[9]

Becoming through the vagaries of the elements the first English historian of Bermuda, Strachey wrote a circumstantial account of his temporary home. He assures us that the group of islands often scourged by tempests was not inhabited by devils as commonly supposed. If the dry, sandy soil did not favor English fruits and vegetables, it could be irrigated from wells and made to produce semi-tropical vegetation. The opportunities for fishing were excellent; wild hogs and large turtles for food abounded. Strachey describes the temporary island government, an execution, a marriage, two births, and several deaths previous to the departure of the company for their original destination in Virginia.[10]

Strachey's view of Jamestown in the summer of 1610 gives a much less favorable impression than that to be gained from Johnson or more promotionally-minded writers. There is nothing in Strachey about solid houses, but much on the English copying of Indian methods of construction, such as the use of bark and wattles for roofing and wall coverings. The settlers, he realistically concludes, lack "Arras Hangings, Tapistry, and guilded Venetian Cordovan, or more spruse household garniture."[11]

Ralph Hamor's *True Discourse* of 1615 is one of a genus common to early British-America—a semi-historical narrative embellished with encouragements to colonization. Hamor landed in Virginia in 1609; he was for a time secretary to the colony and a member of its governing council; he fought off an Indian attack on his house in 1622; married a widow, and died in 1626. His labored narrative, sponsored by the London Company, carries the story of Jamestown to the middle of June, 1614, including in particular a trip up the Pamunkey River with Pocahontas in an unsuccessful effort to arrange amicable terms between the English and Powhatan.

Hamor's approach to the writing of history is both disarming and alarming: "I labor not to seduce or betray any into action or imployment" other than voluntary, he declares, and then acknowledges his tract to be a naked and unstudied discourse without reliance on any aid but memory. His recollection appears to be quite extensive, however, and

it was buttressed by documents from many influential contemporaries. Hamor is prime authority for John Rolfe's unique enterprises—his cultivation of tobacco and marriage to Pocahontas, Powhatan's "rude and barbarously mannered" daughter. Hamor's book ends, in fact, with a copy of a letter from Rolfe explaining his reasons for espousing Pocahontas: The goal, he protested, was in no way sought through unbridled desire of carnal affection, but for the good of the plantation, but his heart and best thoughts had long been entangled with the maiden whom it would be sweet to make a Christian![12] It is still uncertain, judging from this passage, whether the founder of the American tobacco business married for love or to provide Jamestown with a royal hostage against further troubles with the Indians.

Captain John Smith

Captain John Smith, survivor of divers skirmishes, shipwrecks, duels with Turks, and other almost incredible adventures in the eastern hemisphere, came to America for only two brief visits, but from those fleeting contacts he gained an avocation. As historian of the first British colonies in America, the erstwhile knight-errant followed in the footsteps of Martyr and Oviedo on New Spain, and paralleled the course of his pedantic English contemporary, Samuel Purchas. Between 1608 and his death, Smith wrote seven short works on America, and one long account. His general method of composition was to incorporate the early works into the later ones, with necessary expansions from his further observations and the reports of others.[13]

The captain's *True Relation,* the first contemporary account of Jamestown to appear in print, was published in London near the end of the year 1608, having probably been carried to England by Master Nelson of the *Phoenix,* and then edited by one or more persons before it went to press.

Smith's story of the voyage to Virginia occupies but a paragraph, such brevity probably being accounted for by the fact that the captain had quarrelled with the officers of the expedition, and may have been below deck in irons. Neither does the captain elaborate on the physical trials of the first summer at Jamestown, save through a thirsty complaint that President Wingfield did not give anyone but his particular friends a due allowance of sherry, brandy, "and other preservatives for our health."

Smith had little use for those settlers who were too lazy to work except under compulsion, but disheartenment with the human element of the colony did not prevent this energetic man from making several exploratory trips to satisfy his curiosity, impress the Indians, secure food, and aid in the choice of sites for further settlement and for fortification against expected attack from the Spaniards. Smith alludes briefly to Pocahontas,

but not in the life-saving fashion later depicted in his *Generall Historie.*[14]

True Relation, Smith's initial venture in history, a narative written "in the midst of tree-stumps and the filth and clamor of a pioneer's camp," was not so much a book as a big letter, meant to be a front-line press dispatch for the public back home in England. A serious concept of the relationship between history and empire came to the captain in his later studies, but whether he wrote in a Virginia forest, on a little boat bobbing over the waves off the coast of New England, or in a London tavern, John Smith always expressed himself with vigor. He embellished his narratives with historical information rather than literary conceits, and maintained a point of view which was usually sound.

The captain returned to England in the fall of 1609, and was not reemployed in any important position by the London Company, a circumstance capitalized upon by his detractors. Smith did not entirely part company with the governing body for Virginia, however, for he continued to play a deserving if modest rôle in the home proceedings of the London Company for many years.[15]

Three years after his return to England, Smith published the *Map of Virginia,* which was bound with the "Oxford Tract" or *Proceedings* compiled by a number of others. Smith's *Map* was like Hariot's report on Carolina, a survey of the country, its geography, commodities, people, government and religion. His account was so full and exact that later generations of scholars found therein no alarming inaccuracies, but acknowledged it as the original on which all subsequent delineations must be based. Although to some extent a promotion tract, the *Map* was much less misleading than most contemporary publications of the sort. Smith was realistically honest; he hoped for but could not definitely promise gold in Virginia; the forests he considered useful for the mundane product of soap ashes; and he deluded no one with prospect of securing first-class wine from wild native grapes. Perhaps the *Map* is not history—certainly it is not past politics—but it forms the foundation for the study of early Virginia. "History without Geography, wandreth as a Vagrant without a certaine habitation," wrote Smith a decade later.[16] In his time such surveys as the *Map,* and parts of his other works, provided essential guides to the directors of Britain's rising empire.[17]

Smith's most famous book is *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, etc.,* of 1624. Many other writers, favorably impressed by the captain's previous publications, helped his progress toward a definitive work. In the fashion of other compilers from Martyr to Samuel Purchas, Smith accumulated a horde of individual narratives which he abridged and wove into a connected account. He claimed that the originals of the works he used would fill four thousand folio pages.

As a compiler, Smith was as accurate as most editors of the seventeenth century, or many of a later day, the chief charge against him being that excessive vanity warped his point of view. A great many critics have soundly berated the captain for touching up stories of his exploits to make himself appear the one invincible hero among a host of blunderers and poltroons. This charge, however, will not stand up under careful investigation. In revising his early works for later publication, Smith made necessary corrections in descriptive detail touching such items as the width and depth of rivers, the size and exact location of Indian villages, the equipment taken on exploring trips, and the precise amounts of corn and other provender supplied to Jamestown. Wherever personal prowess was involved, Smith made as many editorial changes benefitting others as tending to enhance his own reputation.

To the *True Travels* of 1629, part of which recounts his marvelous adventures in Europe before 1606, Smith added new entries under Virginia, New England, and the West Indies, in order to bring the *Generall Historie* up to date.[18] Hence by the time of his death, the industrious captain-author had composed a current history of all British colonial enterprise in America, an accomplishment not to be rivalled for many years.

Smith viewed American history in broad scope, as a European could do more readily than a colonial author living in a frontier society. The nearest American parallel to his work is the 1755 *Summary* by William Douglass who, incidentally, regarded his illustrious predecessor as a solid and judicious writer.[19]

Smith's historical writing has for several reasons enjoyed long vitality. It may certainly be said, in the words of Benedetto Croce, that Smith's history "lived and breathed" for its author; the soldier-writer had helped bring history to life in action as well as in thought. Smith also perceived the dependence of history on geography, especially the need for statesmen to know well the *lands* with which they dealt politically. Smith was an ardent nationalist. Much as he criticized the poor calibre of early American colonists, and censured London officials for stupidity, his strictures flowed not from pique but from patriotic desire to see the maritime glory of Elizabethan England blossom forth into enduring empire. Last but not least, Smith's writing is interesting in itself, simply as a story.

Of basic importance for a study of either the history or historians of early Virginia is Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1890). Brown was an erudite scholar who preserved and edited early records with great care. From an historiographical point of view, his chief defect is extreme bias against Captain John Smith. The rich contemporary sources are

also well covered in Lyon G. Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625* (New York, 1907).

English phases of Virginia enterprise are exhaustively covered in Susan M. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (4 vols., Washington, 1906-35).

Many early narratives, whether independently printed or not, are in the continuation of Hakluyt's work by Samuel Purchas, usually referred to as *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), for which the most readily consulted edition is the MacLehose (1904). Purchas' writings are treated independently in Chapter X below.

As our survey proceeds beyond the period of exploration and reaches actual colonization, good brief sketches of all the major American writers, and many of the minor ones, may conveniently be consulted in the accessible *Dictionary of American Biography,* edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, hereafter cited as D. A. B.

NOTES

1 Robert Gray, *A Good Speed to Virginia* (London, 1609); much the same advice was given by William Symonds, minister of Saint Savior's in Southwark, in *A Sermon Preached at White-Chappel, 25 April, 1609.*

2 Robert Johnson, *Nova Brittannia* (London, 1609); reprints in *Force Tracts,* I; *American Colonial Tracts* (Rochester, 1897); and with notes by F. L. Hawks (New York, 1867).

To the promotional literature of 1609, Richard Hakluyt contributed a translation of the De Soto narrative by the Gentleman of Elvas, calling it *Virginia Richly Valued.* Hakluyt either had little conception of how far removed from Jamestown were the regions traversed by the Portuguese writer (which seems unlikely), or else he was just casting about for anything of use to the London Company. He refers to "oxen" (buffalo) which provided the American natives with meat, wool for blankets, and leather for boots and shoes.

3 See reprint in *Force Tracts,* III. The other advertising tract of 1610 is *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation Begun in Virginia,* reprinted in Alexander Brown, *Genesis,* I, 337-53.

A Sermon Preached in London (1609) by the Reverend William Crashaw assured his audience that the hot climate of Virginia in summer would not turn English skins permanently dark; see reprint in Brown, *Genesis,* I, 360-75.

Richard Rich, *Newes from Virginia: The Lost Flocke Triumphant* (1610), presents an honest impression of the distracted state of Jamestown in the spring of 1610; there is a London reprint (1874), and another in C. H. Firth, *An American Garland,* pp. 9-16.

4 Robert Johnson, *The New Life of Virginea* (London, 1612); reprints in *Force Tracts,* I, and *American Colonial Tracts,* No. 7.

5 Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes From Virginia* (London, 1613), pp. 1, 21, 23-24, 28, 43. Parts of the tract are in Alexander Brown, *Genesis,* II, 579-88. For biographical notes on Whitaker, see *D. A. B.,* XX, 79-80.

6 Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), pp. 11, 15-17, 22-30. In 1620 were published five issues of two distinct editions of *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie.*

7 *D.A.B.,* XIV, 462. Percy's narrative, "Observations Gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colonie in Virginia," may be found in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), II, 1685-90, or the MacLehose edition,

XVIII, 403-19; it is also reprinted in Lyon G. Tyler, *Early Virginia,* pp. 5-23. See article by E. I. Miller, *Virginia Magazine of History,* XII, 425-29, indicating that there were two Percy manuscripts; one written in 1608 and the other after 1622. A third Percy manuscript, "A Trewe Relacyon . . . 1612," was not printed until 1922.

The "Discourse of Virginia" by Edward Maria Wingfield, president of the colony from May to September, 1607, begins about where Percy's narrative leaves off (Sept. 19, 1607), and continues into the spring of 1608; it is a defense of his conduct against the disapproval of Smith and others; reprint in A. G. Bradley, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1910), I, lxxiv-xci, and separately (Boston, 1860).

8 De La Warr officially delivered his report to the Council of Virginia in June, 1611; the *Relation* has been many times reprinted; see Lyon G. Tyler, *Early Virginia,* pp. 209-14.

9 Strachey's *Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia* was edited by R. H. Major for the Hakluyt Society in 1849; "A true reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight, etc.," was published contemporaneously in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (MacLehose edition), XIX, 5-67. Strachey was editor and part compiler of the code known as Dale's Laws: *For The Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* (London, 1612). An account of the part of the 1609 fleet which was *not* shipwrecked in Bermuda is given in a letter by Gabriel Archer; see *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (MacLehose), XIX, 1-4.

10 *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (MacLehose), XIX, 25-41.

11 *Ibid.,* XIX, 44, 49, 58.

12 Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia* (London, 1615); reprinted at Albany (1860). Text notes are from the original, pp. 4-6, 10-11, 17-18, 24, 28-29, 61-68. Rolfe's original letter, slightly variant from the Hamor version, is in *Virginia Magazine of History,* XXII, 150-57 (April, 1914, the 300th anniversary of Rolfe"s marriage to Pocahontas). Rolfe was thrice married, the Indian princess being his second wife. He was secretary and recorder for the colony 1614-19, and was killed in the Indian massacre of 1622. Rolfe also wrote a "Relation of Virginia," which was printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for 1839.

13 The credible facts in Smith's early career have been set forth with discrimination by John G. Fletcher, *John Smith—Also Pocahontas* (New York, 1928). See Jarvis M. Morse, "John Smith and His Critics," *Journal of Southern History,* Vol. I, No. 2 (May, 1935) for a review of other Smith biographies.

Chronological list of Smith's historical writings:

A True Relation of . . . Virginia (London, 1608); reprints by Charles Deane (Boston, 1866); and Lyon G. Tyler, *Early Virginia,* pp. 30-71. All of Smith's writings are in the edition of his works by Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1884), or A. G. Bradley (2 vols., Edinburg, 1910).

A Map of Virginia: With a Description of the Countrey (Oxford, 1612).

A Description of New England (London, 1616).

New Englands Trials (London, 1620).

New Englands Trials (London, 1622).

The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles (London, 1624); reprinted Glasgow (2 vols., 1907).

The True Travels (London, 1629); the latest edition is New York (1930)) with an introduction by J. G. Fletcher and bibliographical note by Lawrence C. Wroth.

Advertisements For the Unexperienced Planters of New England (London, 1631); reprinted Boston (1865).

14 For the probable authenticity of the much-debated Pocahontas story, see the previously cited article by J. M. Morse in *Journal of Southern History,* May, 1935.

15 In connection with the end of Smith's career at Jamestown may be mentioned the "Relation of Virginia" by Henry Spelman, son of the distinguished antiquary of the same name. The boy was a wild youngster when he arrived in Virginia in 1609. Either given to the Indians as a hostage, or captured by them, he lived for a year or two among the natives. His story was probably written in 1612, while he was on a visit to England; it was printed for James F. Hunnewell (London, 1872).

16 John Smith, *Generall Historie* (Bradley edition), II, 625.

17 An actual map which accompanied the verbal survey was a very creditable performance, which received wide circulation in Smith's own works and those of later writers, and was not surpassed, indeed, until the middle of the eighteenth century. Smith did not finish his maps in completed form, for he was not a draughtsman; he supervised the survey on which the drawings were based. The *Proceedings,* published with Smith's Map, was a compilation from many sources, edited by the Reverend William Symonds, a competent scholar. It gives a more full record of the founding of Jamestown than that contained in Smith's *True Relation.*

18 Smith's New England writing is noted in Chapter IV below.

19 See William Douglass in Chapter X below.

CHAPTER IV

NEW ENGLAND: FIRST GENERATION

THIS moving verse from New England's earliest literature—it was written by William Morrell in 1625—breathes the spirit of America, past and present:

> "Westward a thousand leagues a spatious land,
> Is made unknown to them that it command.
> Of fruitfull mould, and no lesse fruitlesse maine
> Inrich with springs and prey high-land as plaine.
> . . . to see here built I trust,
> An English kingdome from this Indian dust."[1]

Verse of this sort has inspired all sorts and conditions of men from the Pilgrim Fathers to homesteaders, congressmen, railroad builders, and nuclear physicists shaping atomic energy.

New England's historians of the first generation were much less preoccupied with God and Satan than modern idolaters of the Puritan tradition commonly suppose. The first-comers were realists who worried more about soil than sodomy; their surveys of the country were as materialistic as Hariot's account of Carolina, and their descriptions of the Indians as critical as John Smith's observations on Powhatan. Although always present, theology could be dismissed as well as discussed. In one important aspect, however, early New England writing differed from much of that on Virginia. The Northern pioneers were little concerned with empire. Many of them had come to the New World to escape persecution in the old country, so that their American interests, if not always antagonistic to those of Britain, were at least different, and in most respects more provincial. Occasionally this circumscribed vision brought into sharp focus interesting details which would have been lost in a panorama. In any event, New England's great historians of the founding era—William Bradford and John Winthrop—produced works superior in many ways to those from other parts of seventeenth century America.

Early Surveys

Among early surveys of the New England coast, Champlain's provides the most interesting reading and John Smith's the most useful data. The writings of Samuel De Champlain reflect the author's sincerity and good conscience. The son of a French naval officer, with Caribbean

experience in the service of Spain, he visited America in 1603 to secure a detailed report of the country for the French monarch, Henry IV. Champlain was well equipped for the task by familiarity with travel literature, and practical experience in cartography and navigation. On his first trip to Canada, he covered the region visited by Cartier in 1535, but on later expeditions in 1604-06 he explored much of the New England coast also.[2]

The first book of *Les Voyages* (1613), dedicated to French ambition for New World colonies, describes the survey of promising sites, including Port Royal, or Annapolis Basin as later called by the English. Champlain rightly recommended this natural roadstead as "one of the finest harbors I had seen along all these coasts, in which two thousand vessels might lie in security." The party selected Saint Croix Island off the eastern tip of Maine for settlement, an unfortunate choice, then journeyed southward to explore the coast of what was termed Norumbega. They saw the wooded island of Mount Desert, and from the Indians learned of the Pentagoet or Penobscot River. The lateness of the season compelled the colonists to return to their base at Saint Croix, where they passed a most uncomfortable winter.[3]

Beginning the middle of June, 1605, Champlain embarked on a more extended cruise along the New England coast. From Casco Bay, where the Frenchmen caught glimpses of the White Mountains, the expedition skirted the coast of New Hampshire, and then went some distance into Cape Cod Bay before returning to Maine.[4] In the following summer, Champlain journeyed south again, his exploration extending to what he termed a river "small and difficult of access in consequence of the shoals and rocks at its mouth," which was probably the entrance to the present Vineyard Sound.

Champlain's narratives make very pleasant reading, for their simple sincerity, balance of mind, and appreciation of the great outdoors. His reports do not include much information on natural resources, save for shellfish and game-birds, but Champlain's hobby was Indian customs. He notes the absence of sun or moon-worship among the Massachusetts Indians, tells how the natives on Cape Cod stored corn for the winter in trenches dug in the sand, and describes a little Indian skirmish which took place within three miles of the spot where the Pilgrims later had their "First Encounter" with the natives in 1620.[5]

Captain John Smith saw less of the North American coast than did his French contemporary, but he wrote about it with greater acumen, and understanding of the requisites for colonization. During a few weeks in the summer of 1614, Smith and eight or nine others in a small boat ranged the coast from the Penobscot River in Maine to Cape Cod. Smith

did not claim to have learned a great deal from his brief trip: "As for the goodness and true substance of the Land, wee are for the most part yet altogether ignorant of them . . . but onely here and there wee touched or have seene a little the edges of those large dominions, which doe stretch themselves into the Maine, God doth know how many thousand miles." The captain's account was based partly on his own trip but also on the reports of Gosnold, Waymouth, and other observers.

Smith was the first writer to use the term Massachusetts. With greater accuracy then several later writers, some of whom lived in America and should have known better, he declared that New England was not an island but a part of the continent.[6] Above everything else, Smith focussed attention on fish, which he believed would be the country's staple commodity. Scarce any bay or shallow shore, he added, but did not also yield clams or lobsters. Smith testified to the region's many advantages, in building stone, oak and other timber, fur-bearing animals, a fair climate and fertile soil, and islands near shore where cattle could be pastured safe from predatory beasts. He did not counsel settlement on Cape Cod, "which is onely a headland of high hils of sand overgrown with shrubbie pines, hurts, and such trash." As to mines, the goal of many Europeans, he was cautious: "There are metalls in the Countrey: but I am no Alchymist, nor will promise more than I know."[7]

Smith's *Description* is a surprisingly accurate and informing survey, accompanied by a map superior to any previously published, and to many of later date.[8] His report offset the unfavorable impression created in England by the failure of the Sagadahoc settlement in Maine of 1607-08, and the opinion of several that the northern country was cold and unsuited to habitation. As a promotion tract, Smith's account of New England is unique for honesty and restraint; from a political point of view it ranks with his Virginia writings in sounding the call to national expansion: "*Adam* and *Eve* did first beginne this innocent worke, To plant the earth to remaine to posteritie, but not without labour, trouble and industrie."[9] Although he desired to take further part in northern colonization, Smith had to be content with describing the process, a useful task, nevertheless, which benefited others interested in the country.

Founding of Plymouth

Seventeenth century New England produced nearly as much printed history as all the other British colonies together. It is tempting to attribute this historical self-consciousness to Puritanism, but such an easy generality will not bear close inspection. The first settlements elsewhere, in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, gave rise to numerous narratives, hence it may be held that Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Quakers had as much interest in their colonial beginnings as the Puritans. Massachusetts

supremacy in historiography came with the passage of time; her sons never tired of writing, while those of other provinces either became more complacent or more concerned with the world of trade. If it be supposed that Puritan fire gave exclusive heat to a literary cauldron, where are the seventeenth century historians of Puritan Connecticut, New Hampshire, or Maine? Massachusetts primacy was due to factors not wholly religious, one being the presence of a large number of college men trained in English universities, and after 1642 at Harvard. Another inducement to publication was the proximity of a printing press; Massachusetts had the only one in the northeast for a number of years after 1639 when Stephen Daye became established at Cambridge.[10]

The founding of the first permanent settlement in Massachusetts is well chronicled by two of its leaders, William Bradford and Edward Winslow, in a work traditionally called *Mourt's Relation* because of a misspelling of the signature on a foreword by a George Morton. Winslow was several times governor of Plymouth, and also the colony's agent in England; he went as commissioner on the Cromwellian expedition to Jamaica in 1655, died on the return trip and was buried at sea. Bradford was a Yorkshire man who migrated in 1609 with the Separatists to Holland, where he became a citizen of Leyden. As governor of Plymouth Colony most of the time from 1621 to 1656, this Calvinist in theology and Congregationalist in polity was a kind but firm ruler, little interested in political theory but devoutly absorbed in developing the Pilgrim town as an overseas Independent Church. A cultured man, who read Peter Martyr and studied Hebrew, and a liberal one for his age, Bradford merits the title "Father of New England History." In his later and more extensive account of the plantation, Bradford sought to find the meaning of Plymouth, a difficult task at best, but one for which he was better equipped than anyone else. His initial work is straight narrative unburdened by dogma or philosophical interpretation.[11]

Mourt's Relation is first-hand material, composed as a diary or journal beginning with the arrival of the *Mayflower* off Cape Cod in November, 1620, and continuing to December, 1621. A foreword by the Reverend Robert Cushman begs the reader to accept "this poore Relation . . . as being writ by the severall Actors themselves, after their plaine and rude manner; therefore doubt nothing of the truth thereof: if it be defective in any thing, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting than writing." The author of the first part of the book, presumably Bradford, passes over the voyage to America in a sentence, then takes up the search for a plantation site on Cape Cod, in the course of which "every day we saw Whales playing hard by us, of which in that place, if we had instruments & means to take them, we might have made a very rich returne, which to our great griefe we wanted."

Bradford was more concerned with economics in this narrative than in the first part of his later *Plymouth Plantation;* he had to be, for winter was coming on, the Pilgrims were weakened from a long sea voyage, and the eastern section of Cape Cod over which they wandered was a forbidding place. Not for some time did the Pilgrims discover that Massachusetts failed to meet Smith's promise of a flourishing land, dotted with prosperous Indian towns and corn fields, because of an epidemic which had decimated the native population shortly before 1620.

The Pilgrims have been much criticised for not locating at a better spot than Plymouth, but *Mourt's Relation* disposes of this stricture simply enough: Better places were sought but the season was growing late, "our victuals being much spent, especially, our Beere," and Plymouth did at least afford good fresh water, and access to Cape Cod where fishing and whaling could be carried on. The final choice of Plymouth as a site is soberly told:

" . . . and on Munday we sounded the Harbour, and found it a very good Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found divers corne fields, and little running brookes, a place very good for scituation, so we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts."

On the original Forefathers' Day, economics took precedence over prayer. Nor is there any evidence of Divine intervention in the building of the primitive town: it was all a very human enterprise: John Goodman and Peter Browne cut thatch all the forenoon; the climate was mild, the January sun often shining as fair as in April; the thatched roofs often caught fire; and Squanto the Indian went out to catch eels for the whole party.[12] Bradford suppressed the fact that more than half of the colonists perished the first winter, but otherwise, for a man living in the center of a religious experiment, he was exceedingly frank.

The latter part of *Mourt's Relation,* probably written by Winslow, comprises several accounts of trips to Indian villages to regularize intercourse between the two races, and to open up the fur trade from which profits could be reaped to reimburse the Londoners who had advanced funds for the plantation. The *Relation* closes with a view of Plymouth's growth the first year—seven dwelling houses completed and twenty-six acres of grain sowed—and a plea for animals to be sent from England, for "if we have once but Kine, Horses, and Sheepe, I make no question, but men might live as contented here, as in any part of the world."[13]

Other Descriptive Narratives

A good deal of the writing on early New England is exposition or commentary rather than narrative. In the 1620's, Captain John Smith published two editions of *New Englands Trials,* the first of which reiter-

ates his former plea for development of fisheries. The second edition contains a terse paragraph on the founding of Plymouth:

"Upon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of *London* and other places provided two ships, the one of 160 Tunnes, the other of 70; they left the coast of *England* the 23 of August, with about 120 persons: but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to *Plimmoth*: where discharging her and 20 passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September, and the ninth of November [1620] fell with Cape Iames; but being pestred nine weeks in this leaking unwholesome ship, lying wet in their cabbins, most of them grew very weake, and weary of the sea; then for want of experience ranging to and again, six weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without coverture in the extremitie of Winter; fortie of them died: and 60 were left in a very weake estate at the ships coming away, about the fift of April following, and arrived in England the sixt of May."[14]

To moderns inculcated with a heroic tradition of Plymouth, Smith's treatment may appear cold and unappreciative, but it undoubtedly represents the light in which most contemporary Englishmen regarded the Pilgrim experiment. Smith said nothing about the religious factors underlying the settlement of Plymouth; as an Anglican he was aware of them, but colonizing was to be approved even if accomplished by dissenters. The once boisterous and fault-finding adventurer had mellowed with age, so that his late observations, although still critical, were tempered with worldly wisdom.

About a decade later, just after the founding of Boston, Smith formulated his final advice to promoters of colonies. *Advertisements For the Unexperienced Planters of New-England,* has the tone of an old schoolmaster's lecture to young and unruly pupils; the material is poorly arranged, yet lightened by flashes of humor and good sense. Smith expressed fair regard for the Pilgrims, and hailed the Puritan emigrants of 1630 as gentlemen of credit and good estate, well-beloved in their country, and good Protestants according to the Church of England. The democratic character of Massachusetts town meetings, strange to say, appealed to this soldier-champion of authority. He praised the courage and tact of Governor John Winthrop, and advised the Massachusetts colonists to establish fair revenue taxes, a uniform system of land tenure, to foster a commerce as free as possible from fees and regulation, to provide universal military training, and choose rulers of the greatest attainments. This sage counsel came fittingly from one who viewed history as "the memory of time, the life of the dead, and the happiness of the living."[15]

Edward Winslow, joint author with Bradford of the first Plymouth narrative, wrote on his own account *Good Newes From New-England,* which is essentially a continuation of *Mourt's Relation* to September, 1623. It contains a more ample statement of the settlement's early trials, and a most enlightening account of the natives. After reading Winslow and other contemporary New England writings on the Indians, it becomes difficult to account for the James Fennimore Cooper type of "Noble Redman," except through that nostalgia which enshrines lost cultures. Winslow chronicles many dealings with the natives, which were generally of a more pacific and less arbitrary character than similar encounters described in Smith's relations of Virginia. The visit of Winslow and John Hamden to Massasoit at Pokanoket offers a good illustration. It had been rumored that Massasoit was dead, and certainly the Englishmen found him in a parlous state. Winslow turned doctor, forced open the chief's mouth, scraped off his tongue, and fed him some conserves with a knife. The immediate effect was so favorable that the Indian asked Winslow to clean out the mouths of the rest of the tribe, which the Pilgrim did, "though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savours." Massasoit recovered so fast that he feasted prematurely on a fat duck, which induced an unpleasant relapse, the description of which had best be left with Winslow.[16]

The Pilgrim was worried lest some timid colonists be discouraged by hardships in America and return home to revile the country; he noted that some were dissatisfied because they had to drink water, but can anyone, he asked, "be so simple as to conceive that the [natural] fountains should stream forth wine or beer, or the woods and rivers be like butchers' shops, or fishmongers' stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands?"[17] *Good Newes* is a sober and valuable work which, until the appearance of Bradford's *magnum opus* (see below), provided the most adequate account of Plymouth's critical years.

With Christopher Levett, we leave Plymouth for a brief visit "Down East." Levett was a merchant, and member of the New England Council, who received a six thousand acre grant he intended to call York. He did not settle the present Maine town of that name, however, but resided briefly on Casco Bay. His exploratory voyage of 1623-24 furnished material for a booklet which is part narrative and part promotion tract.

In looking about for sites favorable for settlement, Levett touched at the Isles of Shoals, visited David Thompson at Strawberry Bank (the present Portsmouth, N. H.), stopped briefly where the present York, Maine, is located, and then examined the Casco Bay region. Levett considered Maine a valuable area to cultivate for its naval stores, many good harbors, and facilities for shipbuilding. The general tenor of Levett's account indicates that he was a forceful and probably a quarrelsome

person, but he considerately advised any prospective planter with a wife and small children not to emigrate to northern New England unless he could count on other labor than that of his own family.[18]

The most alluring account of New England's natural resources came from a minister frail in health, who died about a year after he landed in Massachusetts. Francis Higginson, a Cambridge M.A. who sailed for America in the spring of 1629, kept a journal of the voyage, and after arrival in Naumkeag (Salem), compiled a description of the country entitled *New-England's Plantation.* This enthusiastic, picturesque, and altogether delightful little book went through three editions in its first year, and a large number of subsequent reprints.[19] Higginson arranged his material under the four elements of earth, water, air, and fire, about which he resolved "by Gods Helpe" to report nothing but the naked truth:

"Shall such a Man as I lye? No verily; It becommeth not a Preacher of Truth to be a Writer of Falshod in any degree . . . "

Very conscientiously, therefore, Higginson reported only what he had seen with his own eyes, or heard from the mouths of very honest and religious persons.[20]

So many seventeenth century writers described America's natural resources that further material of the sort will be justified only when the observations are unique or unusually valuable. Higginson's notes on fauna and flora have little intrinsic merit, but they are couched in charming phraseology, such as: "a sup of New-Englands Aire is better than a whole draft of old Englands Ale." He described flying squirrels, and complained about the overabundant supply of lobsters, "so great, fat, and lussious," that one tired of eating them.

Later colonists, and historians, have accused Higginson of exaggeration, but the timing of his composition explains his optimism; this man of frail body, with a tendency to tuberculosis, arrived in Massachusetts in summer, in the season of roses, when any fair strand seemed a paradise after a hard sea voyage. There was, in fact, little about the country he could find to disparage, save possibly the mosquitoes from June through August, the prevalence of rattlesnakes in the woods, and deep snow and sharp frosts for two months in winter. The love of material blessings runs through this minister's benediction on his adopted country, a consideration which casts further doubt on the commonly accepted thesis that Massachusetts was founded largely by dissenters who braved a barren land in preference to persecution at home.

The rising town of Salem, where Higginson lived a short time, received further notice in a more pretentious work, *The Planters Plea,* written by John White, rector of Holy Trinity in Dorchester, England. A member of the powerful Massachusetts Bay Company, White wrote his book to stimulate the colonization of New England.

His work represents Puritan promotion literature at its best. Colonies, declared White quoting Genesis, "have their warrant from Gods direction and command," that we should replenish the earth and subdue it. He grieved because Plymouth had not produced a native convert in ten years, but admitted that it was difficult to explain to the Indians "things meerely spirituall, which have no affinity with sense." Fearing that the Separatist character of Plymouth would arouse criticism at home, White persuaded himself that at least three-fourths of the men in the new colony lived in constant conformity with the Established Church. In addition to exposition of a moral colonial polity, White gives some account of the first settlements on Cape Ann, the failure of which he sensibly lays to the fact that a fishing place was not good for planting, since fishermen do not make good farmers, or vice versa.[21]

New Englands Prospect is the most complete and the best written of contemporary surveys; the author, William Wood, presented his data in vigorous and idiomatic English, occasionally embellishing his pages with verse. The major part of the work relates to the land and the natives, although there are a few pages on individual towns. Many local customs, or peculiarities, moved the author to mirth. There are some foolish persons, he notes, who let the winter cold freeze their overgrown beards so they cannot get strong-water bottles into their mouths. For his own use, Wood expressed preference for plain spring water over bad beer, but ranked it below good malt liquor. Wood rendered disservice to colonial cattle when he suggested that they could perfectly well be left outdoors all winter. His chapters on animals are highly entertaining, due in part to the large admixture of verse, some stanzas of which have been much quoted:

> "The kingly Lion, and the strong-armed Bear,
> The large-limbed Mooses, with the tripping Deer;
> Quill-darting Porcupines and Racoons be
> Castled in the hollow of an aged tree."

Wood's reference to *squunckes,* which visited the goodwives' hen roosts to fill their paunches, is the first historical note on this odorous animal; its fur, he adds, is held in much esteem.[22]

Wood entertained a more tolerant opinion of the natives than that expressed by most Massachusetts writers; he admitted their cruelty, but he appreciated their hardihood, their affable and hospitable disposition when not aggravated by the English, and their consuming wonder at new things. His unique material on the Indians lies in notes on native sports; he describes two sorts of gambling games, and contests in running, swimming, archery, and football, the latter sometimes played with goals a mile apart so that it took two days to make a score. He pitied the Indian

women who labored hard in house and garden, and generally obeyed their husbands, but were not well treated in return, so that they often fled to tell their woes to an English goodwife.[23]

Since Wood observed his province's physical details with some care as well as humor, and investigated Indian customs with laudable curiosity, it is to be regretted that he did not write more freely on the English settlements as such. Three centuries later a modern New England Council published another *Prospect,* a solid volume buttressed with elaborate statistics, which when compared with Wood's account reveals the vast changes in the country between 1633 and 1933.[24]

A Touch of Religion

The critics of an established order are often more vociferous than its defenders, but this was not the case in the first decade of Massachusetts history. Later there was a veritable blizzard of books on church and state, but the early and articulate censors of Massachusetts polity may be narrowed to three persons of divergent views—Thomas Morton, Thomas Lechford, and Roger Williams. The first of these, who wrote the first substantial narrative to be published after the Bay Colony had been settled long enough to have much history, had a bizarre connection with New England. Thomas Morton was a gentleman by birth, probably a lawyer, who encamped on Mount Wollaston, rechristened Merrymount, where he carried on a brisk trade with the Indians, and generally disported himself in a very un-Puritan-like manner. The Pilgrims cut down his Maypole, a symbol of levity and dissipation, and in 1628 shipped him back to England. Morton returned a year and a half later, only to be arrested again after brief respite. Back in England once more, he wrote his book while a commission under Archbishop Laud was investigating the legality of the Massachusetts Bay charter. Morton was agent for the New England Council, 1635-37, in their suit in Kings Bench against Massachusetts, successfully prosecuted, although the Bay charter was not actually repossessed by English authorities for another half-century.

As a piece of literature, *New English Canaan* is whimsical and amusing, partly because the author was a scoffer and a libertine. Defenders of Massachusetts consider the book a vicious libel, while detractors of the Puritans praise it for lending color and vivacity to the encircling gloom of a repressed society. Critically considered, the book is a "muddy source," but one with several good points.[25] The first two-thirds of the work is a lightly-written treatise on the land and the natives, in which penetrating observations vie with purely frivolous remarks. Morton gives a sober description of Indian houses, and native methods of making leather, preserving meat and fish, and manufacturing wampum. One may doubt the story of his teaching the Indians the Book of Common Prayer,

and yet absorb much useful information from the rest of his writing, for Morton was a cultured, or at least a well-read man, who could without ostentation quote Cicero, Ovid, and contemporary writers on America.

The second book of *New English Canaan* is a conscientious account of natural resources, on which Morton could write with authority because of his expeditions as trader and his many contacts with the Indians. He was impressed by the fine building stone around Marblehead, the abundance of shad in the rivers in spring, and he gave timely warning to Englishmen that the Dutch were rapidly extending their control up the Hudson River, and would soon monopolize the fur trade.[26]

The third section of the book, a description of the white settlers, illustrates the "muddy" character of Morton's work as a historian. Some fragments are sound, such as his account of the league of friendship between the Pilgrims and Massasoit and some passages are half true, such as those explaining the Pilgrim envy of his own trading-post settlement for its prosperity. The most questionable items are those casting aspersion on the Puritan party through sardonic anecdotes, and the use of ridiculous nicknames for Pilgrim leaders, such as "Captain Shrimp" for Myles Standish.[27]

For the benefit of the Laudian commission, Morton listed twelve charges against the Bay Colony, several of which were purely frivolous, but one raised a grave issue which imperilled the charter rights of the colony—the truthful charge that colonists who were not members of the Puritan church were legally discriminated against. "The Charter and the Kingdome of the Separatists will fall a sunder," he prophecied. "Repent you cruell Schismaticks repent."[28] His forecast was fulfilled two generations later.

Morton's data must be used with care, but his point of view, that of a literate dissenter from the Puritan experiment, affords a valuable corrective to the partisan writings of the Puritans themselves. This generally reviled character was a clever man although not a great one, whose testimony is by no means invalidated because he was a social, political, and religious misfit in Puritan Massachusetts. Morton also enjoys the unique distinction of having written not only the earliest but the only spontaneously humorous book to come out of seventeenth century New England.

Thomas Lechford had a lesser axe to grind than Morton, although his *Plain Dealing* has been called "a frank statement of the woes of Boston's first lawyer," who found a theocratic regime far from agreeable. *Plain Dealing* is not so much an apology for the author's conduct in Boston as a critical examination of the Puritan church by an educated observer who did not sympathize with the Puritan spirit but who could make a fair comparison between old-country ways and those of the new. Such plaints

as the lawyer had concerning his own fortunes he confided to his personal Note-Book.

Of Lechford's early life we know little except that he was a member of Clements Inn, and a good churchman, who arrived in Boston in 1638, and was regarded with distrust both because he was the Colony's first professional lawyer and an Anglican. Not being a member of the Puritan church, he could not vote. His practice was not affluent, so that he spent much time as copyist and drafter of minor legal documents. In 1639, Lechford was temporarily debarred from his law practice for trying to influence a jury out of court; in the famous "Sherman pig case" he gave advice to both sides, and was accused of double-dealing. On his return to England in 1641, Lechford was a stronger supporter of monarchy and episcopacy than he had been before his Boston sojourn.[29]

Plain Dealing describes the way churches were founded in New England, officers chosen, and members admitted. Lechford mentions, but does not harshly criticise, the fact that only church members could vote in the Commonwealth. Churches are independent in theory, he notes, but there was a growing tendency toward a Presbyterian type of ecclesiastical control. Lechford describes a typical Sabbath service, observing that only full members took the sacrament but that in some churches the others could stay to witness the ceremony. Certain parishes, he continues, have begun to rate or levy contributions, thus departing from the system of voluntary support. He protests that missionaries had not been sent among the Indians to learn their language, the Puritans expecting the natives to come to them, and that the restriction of freemanship to church members occasionally resulted in unfair court trials since juries tended to be predisposed against non-members. Lechford admits, however, that such personal evils as profane swearing, drunkenness, and beggary "are but rare in the compasse of this Patent."[30]

The nub of *Plain Dealing* is a list of "exceptions" to the Massachusetts government, from which the author concluded that because civil affairs were not equably administered, many useful men would be driven to settle elsewhere. He also maintained that a centralized system of control over individual churches would become as necessary for New England as it was for older and more populous societies. Subsequent events amply justified Lechford's conclusions; the pristine Congregational system did not long survive the period in which he wrote, and many a rugged individualist sought *lebensraum* away from Massachusetts. New England's historians should deal considerately with Lechford, since his *Plain Dealing* is as much an apology for Puritanism as for his own point of view.[31]

Roger Williams

The story of early dissent in Massachusetts would be incomplete

without mention of Roger Williams, yet he cut a very small figure in historiography for all his prominence in other fields. Williams wrote a great many theological tracts, and one very important work on the Indians, but almost nothing on the ordinary events of the colony which expelled him nor of the plantation to which he went. Rhode Island, in fact, had no seventeenth century historians worthy the name. It is strange that a colony born in controversy and reared in threat of annihilation by her neighbors should have produced no literary champion, and it is doubly disappointing that the men best qualified to speak held their peace. Roger Williams, Samuel Gorton, and John Clarke were by no means silent men, since they all wrote vigorously on matters of doctrine. Perhaps a simple historical narrative was too tame for their spirit. In any event, Rhode Island's early history was left to its rivals and detractors.

Outside the realm of political or theological argument, Roger Williams' contribution to written history is *A Key into the Language of America,* the first extensive vocabulary of the Indian language printed in English. The *Key* was the least controversial work that came from Roger's pen, but it is not entirely objective. When sociologists demur that he ascribed to the Narragansett Indians certain characteristics more favorable than those common to the Algonquian tribes, the answer is that Williams, through charmingly good-natured comments on native customs, subtly infused into the *Key* an exaggerated view of Indian virtues in order to make contrast with the harshness of the Puritan colonists who had expelled him from Massachusetts.

The life of Roger Williams is too well known to bear repetition here. Born in England about 1603, he came to Boston in February, 1631. For denying the right of civil magistrates to punish breaches of religious discipline, and declaring that the King of England could not dispose of Indian lands, Williams was banished from the Bay Colony in October, 1635. He founded Providence the following June. He was then already acquainted with Massasoit and Canonicus, sachems of the Wampanoag and the Narragansett tribes, and had entertained the idea of becoming a missionary to the redmen. Throughout the rest of his life, Williams was more friendly with the Indians than were the majority of his contemporaries, but his love for them was limited; it comprehended only the Narragansetts, and was an affair of the mind, which did not extend to his giving up a white man's experiment in religious and civil liberty for life in the forest. Williams traded with the Indians, treated the Narragansetts gently, let them abuse his hospitality, did not preach to them too much, tried to keep them from making war on Englishmen, and wrote about them with understanding.[32]

The *Key* to "unlocke some *Rarities* concerning the *Natives*" was composed "in a rude lumpe at Sea" while Williams was on a trip to London in 1643 to secure a charter for Rhode Island. The work is divided into chapters on Salutation, Eating and Entertainment, Sleep and Lodging, Family, Travel and the like, the vocabularies in each section being introduced by observations on the customs under consideration and often concluded by stanzas of homely verse. The hospitality of the Narragansetts, for instance, is summed up in the following oft-quoted passage:

"The Courteous Pagan *shall condemne*
Uncourteous Englishmen,
Who live like Foxes, Beares and Wolves,
Or Lyon in his Den.
Let none sing blessings *to their soules,*
For that they Courteous are:
The wild Barbarians *with no more*
Then Nature, goe so farre:
If Natures Sons both wild *and* tame,
Humane and Courteous be:
How ill becomes it Sonnes of God
To want Humanity?"[33]

It is a strange truth, observes Williams with his erstwhile Boston hosts in mind, "that a man shall generally find more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these *Barbarians,* then amongst thousands that call themselves Christians." And likewise:

"God gives them sleep on Ground, on Straw,
on Sedgie Mats or Boord:
When English softest Beds of Downe,
sometimes no sleep affoord.
I have knowne them leave their House and
Mat
to lodge a Friend or stranger,
When Jewes and Christians oft have sent
Christ Jesus to the Manger."[34]

Matters of everyday utility comprise the bulk of Williams' exposition—Indian diet, lodging, methods of gardening, hunting and fishing, their apparel, coin, and amusements—so that his work has been of great value to ethnologists and etymologists. But to the historian, his sermon on manners is more significant, since it implies a soft impeachment of the Saints in Massachusetts Bay.

William Bradford

The two most comprehensive accounts of early New England were not published until long after the colonial era, but it would be absurd

not to review here the major writings of William Bradford and John Winthrop both because of their intrinsic importance, and because their manuscripts were used by near contemporaries for other accounts printed in colonial times.

The distinguished governor of the Pilgrims, already mentioned as part author of *Mourt's Relation,* undertook about 1630 the "scribled writings . . . peeced up at times of leasure afterward," which grew into the long and deservedly famous *History of Plymouth Plantation.* Bradford promised to tell his story in "plaine stile; with singular regard to the simple trueth in all things, at least as near as my slender Judgmente can attaine the same." Actually Bradford's style is not as simple as he modestly proclaimed, but he seldom departed from what has been termed the first function of a Puritan historian, namely, to relate exactly what happened.[35]

Bradford begins by describing the irreligious state of England in the early seventeenth century and the rise of the Separatist movement, and he devotes considerable attention to the Pilgrim sojourn in Holland after 1608, citing many particulars which should give pause to those who believe that Plymouth was settled wholly through Pilgrim desire for freedom to worship God in their own way. Bradford never cultivated theology to the neglect of food and shelter. Holland he portrays as a hard place, where few exiles could endure the labor and inconveniences of daily existence, and where conditions pressed so heavily on children that their bodies "bowed under the weight of the same, and became decreped in their early youth."[36]

Fairly early in Bradford's story appears a major characteristic of Puritan historiography, the citing of minor "providences" to show the will of God. Puritans discerned Divine intervention in petty incidents as well as in wars or great happenings. A "spetiall worke" occurred on the *Mayflower* voyage to America, when a proud, profane, and lusty seaman, who had often cursed the Pilgrims and expressed the hope that he could cast half of them overboard ere the journey's end, was suddenly stricken with a grievous disease so that his was the first corpse to be consigned to the sea. Thus did the just hand of God cause a haughty man's curse to light on his own head![37] Bradford, however, was less prone than many of his successors to burden history with "special providences."

Many commentators have praised Bradford's literary style, which is often imbued with deeply religious feeling, and pitched in the rhythm of Biblical prose, as witness the soaring passage on the Pilgrim landfall in November, 1620:

"Our faithers were English men which came over this great ocean, and

were ready to perish in this wilderness, but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie . . . Let them confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men."[38]

This stylistic excellence, however, extends only about half way through Bradford's work; as the author brought the narrative nearly up to the time in which he wrote, his book gradually acquired the stamp of a diary. Latter sections of *Plymouth Plantation,* in fact, read like entries in a wholesale merchant's register:

"The quantity of beaver now sent was 1809 *li.* waight, and of otters .10. skins, and shortly after (the same year) was sent by another ship (Mr. Langrume maister), in beaver 0719 *li.* waight, and of otter skins .199."[39]

Had the Pilgrims become good American business men in less than a generation, or were they perhaps always like that?

Although seldom humorous, Bradford could employ ridicule with telling effect, especially when, in imitation of Winslow, he derided timid adventurers who could not abandon London beer and wine for good New England water. Were prospective emigrants afraid of mosquitoes? "They are too delicate and unfitte to begine new-plantations . . . we would wish shuch to keepe at home till at least they be muskeeto proofe." But sarcastic passages are rare; more often did Bradford use the compassionate touch: "The best dish they could presente their friends with was a lobster, or a peece of fish, without bread or any thing els but a cupp of fair spring water."[40]

A Puritan historian was expected to pass judgment on men as they fulfilled God's purposes, but not to exploit personality for its own sake. Bradford's method was to condemn evildoers, but to take the virtuous for granted. He was unsparing in criticism of Lyford the pusillanimous Anglican clergyman, John Oldham the perverse and factious trader, and Thomas Morton. The "lord of misrule" at Merrymount claimed attention not only for his drinking and consorting with Indian women, but because he had provided the savages with firearms. White supremacy was so threatened by this latter practice that Bradford, although a Separatist and refugee from England, gave way to a very dependent and worldly hope: "Oh! that princes and parlements would take some timly order to prevente this mischiefe." He dealt charitably with Roger Williams, however, whom he described as "a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgments."[41]

Except for censure, Bradford seldom indulged in personalities; his sole biographical sketch, of praise, being an obituary of William Brewster, who had "a singuler good gift in prayer . . . in ripping up the hart and conscience before God." Save at the beginning of the text, Bradford's

history is fully documented, many official and personal communications being quoted *in extenso*. Bradford drew on his academic background for a few apt quotations, but he made no parade of scholarship for its own sake. Aside from the desire to relate truthfully what had happened, his philosophy of history ended in the conviction that God's unsearchable judgments rendered all human things uncertain. Yet with inspired perception, he prophesied the future role of Plymouth in American history, when the humble Pilgrim band would become a symbol of democratic faith:

"Thus out of smalle beginnings greater things have been produced by his hand that made all things of nothing . . . and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sorte to our whole nation; let the glorious name of Jehova have all the praise."[42]

For nobility of thought as well as language, Bradford's work has seldom been equalled. Bradford wrote a better book althought a less complete history, than his contemporary and neighbor, John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay. Bradford was critical but not vindictive; he was prejudiced in favor of his own people, but his historical horizon extended well beyond provincial religion or politics. Despite the rise of generations more worldly, the quintessence of the Puritan spirit in Plymouth's greatest historian has assured the Pilgrims a preeminent place in American folklore.

John Winthrop

For nineteen years, John Winthrop was either governor or deputy-governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a skillful executive, and a Puritan steward of temporal affairs who regarded his calling as a sacred duty laid upon his conscience. In the home country as well as in America he loomed, in a worldly sense, far above Bradford. A practising lawyer in London, and lord of a Groton manor, Winthrop sailed for America in 1630 as leader of the great Puritan migration. In the New World he was closely rivalled in attainments only by his son, John Winthrop, Jr. The greatest colonial historian of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, conferred on Winthrop the title "Father of His Country," an honor which only a George Washington could later usurp.[43]

As a temporal ruler, Winthrop accepted monarchy as a valid form of government, and condemned democracy in no uncertain terms. His subjects found his dominion mild and beneficent, however, for he had not only the scrupulous conscience of a Puritan but a greater gentleness of character and tolerance of opinion than found lodgment in most of his contemporaries. He was a lovable man, persuasive in speech and generous in action, intellegent, refined, and of undoubted integrity.

Winthrop is best remembered for his spacious *Journal,* otherwise called the *History of New England,* but he wrote two other important historical items, a narrative of Indian warfare, and an account of the Antinomian controversy. The former, a short pamphlet of but seven pages, describes a battle between the Narragansetts and the Connecticut Mohegans in 1643. Winthrop concluded that the colonies would have to use force in dealing with the redmen, but he preferred to have the English treat with the natives by interview and protocol, a course followed with some success until 1675.[44]

Winthrop cooperated with Thomas Weld, one-time pastor in Roxbury, in publishing *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians,* a narrative of the heretical uprising fostered by Anne Hutchinson. Winthrop wrote of the proceedings against Mistress Hutchinson, and others, not as a clergyman but in his proper rôle of magistrate, upholding the exercise of civil authority to suppress sedition. The work is in keeping with his temper, being strict but not violent. In all his writings as well as his public conduct, Winthrop was guided by implicit trust in government of the elect. Fortunately his conscience led him to make that governance as sympathetic as it was effective.

Winthrop's major work, the *History of New England,* experienced vicissitudes similar to Bradford's manuscript on Plymouth. It was kept as a journal, beginning with the departure of the *Arbella* from Cowes in March, 1630, and continued to within a few weeks of the author's death. Although intended for publication, the journals were left in manuscript in the Old South Church in Boston. After the Revolution, two volumes were edited by Noah Webster; a third volume was discovered in 1816, the whole work being then reedited by James Savage.[45] Many have challenged the fitness of Winthrop's title, claiming that the book is not a coherent history but a diary, and only of Massachusetts to boot. Winthrop's great work is, to be sure a journal, but one containing a wealth of historical material, and covering the whole New England scene for all practical purposes, since at the time the Bay Colony was the predominating influence in the larger area.

In relating the voyage to America, the Puritan governor gives a vivid account of life on a seventeenth century immigrant ship. There were humans as well as Puritans on the *Arbella*: two of the party "pierced a rundlet of strong water, and stole some of it"; a serving maid was saved in the nick of time from falling into the hold; and many were so careless of maritime manners as to make the gun-deck "noisome with their victuals and beastliness." Winthrop has a "judgment of God" incident which parallels Bradford's, a story of a profane seaman "who was very injurious to the passengers" and who was stricken down by sudden death.[46]

It is impossible to more than suggest the variety of topics covered by Winthrop, since hardly anything however small escaped this journalist of catholic interests and zest for life. He mentions a lemon-juice cure for scurvy; the whipping of a young man for soliciting an Indian squaw; the naming of a place Cheese Rock because cheese sandwiches were the only item in an exploring party's lunch; how the poor marksmanship of gunners on Castle Island caused the death of an innocent passenger on an incoming ship; the fact that a woman guilty of infanticide was able to catch hold of a ladder after she dangled on the hangman's rope for "a swing or two"; the establishment of the first press in Cambridge in 1639; the acceptance into church membership in Dorchester of a Negro maidservant; the first Harvard Commencement in 1642; an ordeal by touch; the appearance of the *lues venera* in Boston; another bungled hanging in which the woman, while suspended, asked what was to be done about it; the first execution in New England (1647) for witchcraft; and the tale of New Haven's phantom ship.[47]

In dealing with the contentious figures of New England's early history, Winthrop is more specific and less tolerant than Bradford, but not so censorious as many later writers. Thomas Morton is let off rather easily, perhaps because he was Plymouth's problem, although more likely because he had by 1644 become a miserable and destitute man, an object of pity rather than fear. Winthrop liked Roger Williams even if he could not countenance the latter's "subversive" policies. He gratefully recognized Williams' ability to smooth over difficulties with the Indians; he spoke with detachment of the lack of order in early Providence, and mentioned briefly the establishment there in 1639 of the first Baptist church in America.[48] Apparently Winthrop was more readily disturbed by political than religious dissension; he viewed with alarm John Endecott's defiant gesture in cutting the cross out of the English flag, and he sharply criticised both the public and private conduct of his personal rival in government, Thomas Dudley.

In common with parts of Bradford's history of Plymouth, much of Winthrop's narrative reads like a trade journal: "Cattle were grown to high rates," runs an entry for 1636, "a good cow £25 or £30; a pair of bulls or oxen £40," and so on through the price of corn, rye, bread, and carpenters' wages. Occasional commentary on the relations of Massachusetts with other colonies is usually sound. Winthrop notes the founding of Maryland without expressing concern over the institution of papist masses on American soil. He regrets boundary controversies with Plymouth, and misunderstandings with Connecticut. By appeal to expediency, he justifies the attempt of Massachusetts to extend its authority over part of Rhode Island.

Perhaps Winthrop's unique contribution to the political history of Massachusetts is his elaborate report on the famous "sow case" which led to the establishment of a bicameral legislature.[49] The Massachusetts governor was less kindly disposed than Bradford toward the Indians. He notes without emotion a military order of 1636 "to put to death the [native] men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, and to bring them away, and to take possession of the island." The soldiers, he continues, burned all the native wigwams and mats, spoiled the canoes and lost not a hair in the encounter.[50]

Although politics interested Winthrop more than theology, he did not wholly neglect the latter; he devoted more attention than Bradford to "divine providences." Winthrop records the famous story, so often repeated, of a mouse in his son's library, which ate up the Anglican Book of Common Prayer but left other religious tomes untouched. When another mouse in Watertown killed a snake, the feat was interpreted to mean that the people of Massachusetts were to triumph over Satan. In Roxbury two wicked men drowned in shallow water from which they could easily have waded to safety. Winthrop's manuscript closes on this key, with notice of a man who openly acknowledged in church that the death of his child by drowning was probably due to his having profaned the Sabbath by unnecessary labor.[51]

A comparison of Winthrop's journal with Bradford's history of Plymouth illuminates certain differences between the two Puritan experiments as they were mirrored in the minds of their respective leaders. The Bay record is less philosophical, and more concerned with politics. Winthrop's spirit was fairly tolerant of theological troublemakers, but less so of worldly ones. Bradford contemplated a God of greater benevolence toward his human flock than the stern Hebraic deity who intrudes on the pages of Winthrop. In short, the Massachusetts Bay document represents a retreat toward the uncompromising Puritan interpretation of history boldly proclaimed in the next generation by Edward Johnson.

The extensive biographical and other secondary sources on early New England historians are suggested in the rather voluminous footnotes to this chapter. Mention is made here only of the more general sources of information.

Of prime importance are the extensive printed *Collections* and *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Justin Winsor's previously cited *Narrative and Critical History of America* is particularly useful on Massachusetts historiography. In addition to Alexander Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (Boston, 1841), one needs to make acquaintance with his *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1846). James T. Adams, *The Founding of New England* (Boston, 1921), gives a good critical modern version of the history

told in part by contemporaries. An older but still very useful book is Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Massachusetts: Its Historians and Its History* (Boston, 1893). Michael Kraus, *History of American History,* is spotty on the early colonial historians; some sketches show real understanding while others evidence familiarity with second-hand opinions but insufficient acquaintance with the works under discussion or of their authors' place in colonial affairs.

NOTES

1 William Morrell, *New England* (London, 1625), in Latin and English verse; reprint by the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston, 1895), and in Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections,* I, 125-39. The author was an Anglican clergyman who resided about a year in Plymouth. His observations are not profound, but very interesting.

2 The standard edition of Champlain's works is by H. P. Biggar, for the Champlain Society (6 vols., Toronto, 1922-36), which has both the French text and English translation.

3 W. L. Grant, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618* (New York, 1907), pp. 9-10, 23, 34, 42, 45, 46, 53-55.

4 *Ibid.,* pp. 60, 64, 67, 69, 77.

5 *Ibid.,* pp. 90, 95, 96, 101, 103. After 1606, Champlain's writings relate chiefly to New France. He devoted the latter part of his life to the development of the city of Quebec, which he founded in 1608 and where he died on Christmas Day in 1635.

6 John Smith, *A Description of New England* (London, 1616); see the Bradley edition of Smith's works, I, 188, 189-91.

7 *Ibid.,* I, 201, 205.

8 Jarvis M. Morse, "Captain John Smith, Marc Lescarbot, and the Division of Land by the Council for New England, in 1623," *New England Quarterly,* VII, No. 3 (September, 1935).

9 John Smith, *Description of New England,* Bradley, I, 228. Visible relics of Smith's visit to New England are today almost non-existent; for a short time after 1616 the Isles of Shoals were called Smith's Isles, and one of that group, Star Island, now has a stubby and inconspicuous shaft to his memory.

10 Samuel E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, 1935); Appendix B lists the English University men who emigrated to New England before 1646. See also F. B. Dexter, "Influence of the English Universities in the Development of New England," M.H.S *Proceedings,* XVII, 340-52.

11 *A Relation or Journall of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation Settled at Plimoth in New England* (London, 1622); reprints in Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers;* and by H. M. Dexter (Boston, 1865). See sketches of Bradford and Winslow in *D.A.B.,* II, 559-63 and XX, 393-94 respectively.

12 *Mourt's Relation* (Dexter edition), pp. 38-39, 61, 64, 73, 77, 79, 97.

13 *Ibid.,* pp. 132, 135. To Robert Cushman, clergyman and friend of the Pilgrims who visited Plymouth for a few months, is usually assigned authorship of *A Sermon Preached at Plimmoth in New-England December 9. 1621* (London, 1622; there is a Boston 1870 facsimile with notes by Charles Deane, and pertinent sections are in Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers,* pp. 255-68). Cushman refers to the Indians having been wasted by a great mortality, and he admits more openly than the authors of *Mourt's Relation* the Pilgrim sufferings from disease in 1621.

14 John Smith, *New Englands Trials* (London, 1622); see Bradley, I, 259-60.

15 John Smith, *Advertisements For the Unexperienced Planters of New England* (London, 1631), Bradley, II, 925-32, 944, 946, 948, 954-55, 958-59, 960-65.
16 Edward Winslow, *Good Newes From New-England* (London, 1624); see reprint in Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers,* pp. 314-22.
17 Young, *op. cit.,* pp. 373-74.
18 Christopher Levett, *A Voyage Into New England* (London, 1628); reprint in Winship, *Sailors Narratives,* 261-92.
19 *D.A.B.,* IX, 11-12. Reprints of *New-England's Plantation* (1630), are in *Force Tracts,* I; M.H.S. *Collections,* I; *American Colonial Tracts;* and facsimiles by the Essex Book and Print Club (1908), and the New England Society in New York (1930). The journal of the voyage, which was not printed contemporaneously, is in Young, *Chronicles of the First Planters of . . . Massachusetts Bay,* and M.H.S. *Proceedings,* Vol. 62.
20 Francis Higginson, *op. cit.,* as in M.H.S. *Proceedings,* Vol. 62, p. 307. A really religious person, a modern lawyer has observed, is a reliable witness, but of course it is difficult to determine whether he is really religious or not; J. H. Wigmore, *Principles of Judicial Proof,* p. 182.
21 John White, *The Planters Plea* (London, 1630), pp. 1, 12, 52-53, 61-63, 69-74. There are reprints in *Force Tracts,* II; *American Colonial Tracts;* M.H.S. *Proceedings,* Vol. 62, pp. 367-425; and a facsimile (Rockport, 1930). See the important biography by Frances Rose-Troup, *John White: The Patriarch of Dorchester and the Founder of Massachusetts* (New York, 1930).
22 William Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (London, 1634), pp. 4, 5, 11, 14, 19, 22-23; reprinted by the Prince Society (Boston, 1865), and in part in Young, *Chronicles of the First Planters of . . . Massachusetts Bay,* pp. 390-415.
23 William Wood., *op. cit.,* pp. 85-87, 94-97.
24 James T. Adams et al., *New England's Prospect* (New York, 1933).
25 The sketch of Morton in *D.A.B.* XII, 267, should be supplemented by the more penetrating notes in C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Period,* I, 275, 332-34, 362-63, 412-13. Morton's career was the subject of two novels by John L. Motley, *Morton's Hope* (1839) and *Merry Mount* (1849), and of Nathaniel Hawthorne's short story, *The Maypole of Merry Mount. New English Canaan* was edited by C. F. Adams for the Prince Society (1883).
26 Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan,* in *Force Tracts,* II, No. 5 pp. 57, 60, 65-67.
27 *Ibid.,* pp. 70-72, 81, 93-95.
28 *Ibid.,* pp. 118-20, 125.
29 *D.A.B.,* XI, 87; see also J. Hammond Trumbull, *Note-Book Kept by Thomas Lechford* (Cambridge, 1885), introduction. *Plain Dealing* was published in London in 1642, and reprinted two years later as *New-Englands Advice to Old England;* it is in III M.H.S. *Collections,* III, 55-128, and was edited by J. Hammond Trumbull (Boston, 1867). See following footnote No. 49 for the Sherman pig case.
30 Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing* (1642), pp. 5-7, 11-14, 17, 19, 21, 23, 29.
31 *Ibid.,* pp. 56-68, 78-80. A reply to Lechford's charge that nothing was being done for the Indians appeared within a year, as *New Englands First Fruits,* an anonymous pamphlet probably compiled by Henry Dunster of Harvard, Hugh Peter, and Thomas Weld. Their evidence of Indian conversions is unimpressive but the section on the founding of Harvard College is invaluable. The original edition was published in London in 1643; reprint in S. E. Morison, *Founding of Harvard College,* Appendix D; see also Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1936), I, 139-43, and 340 ff.

The Reverend William Hook's *New Englands Teares, For Old Englands Feares* (London, 1641), illustrates an often forgotten side of the Massachusetts intellectual climate. With people going in *both* directions across the Atlantic, New England kept in closer touch with the home country than has often been realized.

32 The best biography is by Samuel H. Brockunier, *The Irrepressible Democrat: Roger Williams* (New York, 1940); see also the examination of Williams' work by Lawrence C. Wroth (*Brown University Papers*, XIV, 1937). The *Key* was published in London in 1643; the latest edition is by the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Tercentenary Committee (Providence, 1936), with introduction by Howard M. Chapin which lists earlier reprints.

33 Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language Of America* (1936 edition), p. 10.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 16, 21.

35 William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (edited by W. C. Ford for the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2 vols., 1912), I, xvii, 14. On the vicissitudes of Bradford's manuscript from its writing until publication in 1856, see M.H.S. *Proceedings*, III, 19-24, XIX, 65-66, 106-22; Second Series, XI, 299-304. On the Puritan philosophy of history, see Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans* (New York, 1938), pp. 81-87, and 89 on Bradford.

36 William Bradford, *op cit.*, I, 53-55.

37 *Ibid.*, I, 149.

38 *Ibid.*, I, 156, 158. Bradford's passage on the landing of the Pilgrims, pp. 176-77, almost exactly parallels that in *Mourt's Relation*. See also E. F. Bradford, "Conscious Art in *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*," *New England Quarterly*, I, No. 2 (April, 1928).

39 William Bradford, *op. ct.*, II, 227.

40 *Ibid.*, I, 322, 363-64, 366-67. The little vignette on seafood and cold water appeared with embellishments in later histories, notably Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*.

41 *Ibid.*, I, 380, 412, 415, II, 48, 53-54, 161-63. Instances of sexual irregularity and perversion horrified Bradford, but he felt that the truth of history required their exposure in the record; *Ibid.*, II, 16, 107, 308-09, 315, 328.

42 *Ibid.*, II, 117; see also I, 436. Bradford's narrative ends abruptly in 1646. One of the great problems which Bradford leaves unanswered is the question: Who governed early Plymouth? Usually the source of authority and command is masked by an impersonal "they," although there are many hints that the government was an oligarchy, albeit a benevolent one, rather than democracy.

43 *D.A.B.*, XX, 408-11; Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (2 vols., Boston, 1869); Edgar A. J. Johnson, "Economic Ideas of John Winthrop," *New England Quarterly*, III (April, 1930); Stanley Gray, "The Political Thought of John Winthrop," *Ibid.*, (October, 1930).

44 Winthrop's Narragansett pamphlet is treated in Chap. VII following.

45 Boston, 1825-26, and new edition 1853. A better modern edition is by J. K. Hosmer in the *Original Narratives* series (2 vols., New York, 1908).

46 John Winthrop, *History of New England* (Hosmer), I, 25, 33, 44.

47 *Ibid.*, I, 58, 67, 74, 222-23, II, 26, 84, 219, 318, 323, 346.

48 *Ibid.* I, 53, 57, 155, 163, 193, 286, 297, II, 154, 196.

49 A rich merchant, Robert Keayne, had taken up a stray pig, which was claimed by a Mrs. Sherman. When the case was appealed to the General Court, a majority of the deputies favored Mrs. Sherman, and of the magistrates Captain Keayne. The outcome, in 1644, was a division of the Court into two houses. *Ibid.*, II, 64, 120-21, 164.

50 *Ibid.*, I, 186, 189.
51 For these and other examples, see *Ibid.*, I, 83-84, 103, 206, 209-10, 11, 18, 264, 355.

CHAPTER V

NEWFOUNDLAND TO GEORGIA

ALL the British colonies in America had their *True Relations, Brief Accounts,* or other records of humble beginnings. To a large degree, the early narratives are concerned with the human struggle for food, clothing and shelter, the eternal triad of life and social history. An inevitable likeness pervades the whole, with significant variations arising from place and author. The fishing banks of Newfoundland, the fur-trading Indians of New York, and the pine forests of Carolina inspired quite different kinds of writing; and in the hands of a Calvert, William Penn, or Daniel Pastorius, the annals of pioneer settlement reflect nuances beyond the perception of ordinary chroniclers. At risk of repetition, it will be well to survey the literature of the founding period in the Anglo-American areas beyond those already covered. With a few notable exceptions, however, this and the following chapter of our survey will be more concerned with the records themselves than with their authors.

Newfoundland

Seventeenth century Newfoundland was a fishery rather than a colony. John and Sebastian Cabot skirted the island in 1497, reporting the great quantity of cod to be found in adjacent waters, but Englishmen did not express much interest in the western fishery until late in the following century, when Sir George Peckham, Anthony Parkhurst, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert developed plans for permanent colonization as a means of increasing England's return from the fisheries. Twenty-eight years after the collapse of Gilbert's venture, John Guy of Bristol conducted a group of settlers to Cuper's, now Cupid's, Cove on Conception Bay, the oldest colonial settlement within the present bounds of the British Empire.

The first seventeenth century tract on Newfoundland resulted from an admiralty investigation of complaints against Guy's rule. Captain Richard Whitbourne, author of *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land,* had visited the island with Gilbert, and at least on one other occasion, before being designated to the inquisitorial mission of 1615. His *Discourse* of 1620 describes the physical resources of the region with care and not too great optimism, although one may doubt his remarks on the gentleness of local wolves, and his assurance that a clearing out of rotten logs near shore would reduce the prevalent fogs. His enthusiastic estimate of the cod-fishery was fully justified.[1] Whitbourne has sometimes

been called the Captain John Smith of the North, since his narrative is comparable to the latter's description of New England for store of information and concise literary form. Whitbourne was later associated with William Vaughan's scheme to found a Welsh colony in Newfoundland, a project which ruined him financially.

Coincident with Whitbourne's book appeared a similar but much shorter work by John Mason, later the proprietor of New Hampshire. A sea captain of good reputation, he succeeded John Guy as governor of the small plantation in Baccalaos, as Newfoundland was often called. Mason's *Briefe Discourse of the New-found-land* contains a concise but too favorable account of the island's climate and produce. No caveat need be entered, however, against the author's praise of the fisheries, teeming with cod, herring, mackerel, flounders and cunners. Mason returned to England in 1621, and was thereafter associated with Sir William Alexander's plan for a plantation in Nova Scotia, and with his own New Hampshire grant lying between the Merrimac River and the Piscataqua.[2]

One of the most interesting, if ineffectual, characters connected with the history of southeastern Canada was William Alexander, Earl of Sterling, a poet, scholar, courtier, statesman, and one-time tutor to Prince Henry, son of James VI of Scotland. A friend of William Vaughan's and acquaintance of John Mason's, he received in 1621 an extensive land grant including the present Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. After suffering great expense for little result, Alexander published *An Encouragement to Colonies,* a learned prospectus bearing tribute to the author's scholarly and magnanimous personality, but producing no appreciable effect on migration to America.[3] With great erudition, he surveyed colonial movements since the days of Moses, including an account of the landing of the Pilgrims which Felicia Hemans would never have recognized:

William Alexander

"neere Cape *Cod,* the company . . . being weary of the Sea, and enamored with the beautie of the bounds that first offered itselfe unto them gorgeously garnished with all wherewith pregnant nature ravishing the sight with variety can grace a fertile field, did resolutely stay, and seated themselves in that place."[4]

Mrs. Felicia Hemans

"The breaking waves dashed high,
On a stern and rock-bound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky
Their giant branches tossed."

Alexander says little of his own project, merely complaining that the first company turned fishers, and the rest were not fit to found a colony.

If the American Revolutionary general, Lord Sterling, was indeed descended from this well-intentioned but fumbling scholar, the soldier's ineffectual conduct at the Battle of Long Island in 1776 would appear to be in the family tradition.

Newfoundland's historiography took on an exotic flavor in William Vaughan, a Welshman who turned religious mystic after lightning struck his house, killing his wife. He purchased land south of the Guy colony, sending thither a company of settlers under Richard Whitbourne. He went to Newfoundland himself after Whitbourne's return in 1622, intending to spend the rest of his life in Cambriol Colchos, as he called his island retreat, but he was back in England in 1625 with two works, *Cambrensium Caroleia,* and *The Golden Fleece.*[5] The latter is a heterogeneous mixture of truth and fiction, prose and verse. It contains many historical references to Newfoundland, but allusions to Guy, Mason, and other pioneers are veiled in such literary conceits that the result is confusion worse confounded. Without some other guide to dates and places, a perusal of *The Golden Fleece* imparts to the reader no clear impression of Newfoundland's beginnings. The same limitation applies in some degree to all the early writings on the island; its contemporary historiography, resting mostly in promotion tracts, opens up little beyond the physical resources of the country. No substantial history of Newfoundland appeared until the end of the nineteenth century.[6]

New York

The historians of early New York are not as well known as Captain John Smith or William Bradford, but if the literature of the province be more meager than that of Virginia or Massachusetts, it does not suffer by comparison with the other British colonies in America.

The earliest narratives bearing on the present Empire State were of Dutch origin. As early as 1592, an exiled Antwerp merchant, Willem Usselinx, was urging the formation of a West India Company, a project which he supported by several tracts on the value of American trade to Holland.[7] Dutch ships were trading to Canada for furs by 1607, and two years later the Englishman, Henry Hudson, sailing under Dutch auspices, spent about a month in exploration and traffic along the great river which now bears his name.

There are three accounts of Hudson's voyage based on original sources. The first is contained in a general history of Holland by Emanuel van Meteren, Dutch consul at London and cousin of the geographer Abraham Ortelius. His narrative, though brief, is notable for its frank admission that some of Hudson's crew treated the natives badly, and that there were dissensions on board the *Half Moon.* New York harbor is justly appraised as being wide and deep, with good anchorage ground on both sides of

the Hudson River.[8] The second narrative, a much longer one, is by Robert Juet, an officer on the *Half Moon* who perished on the voyage of 1610-11. He tells how Hudson's company journeyed up the river, viewed the Catskills, and reached the vicinity of modern Albany, where the natives brought beaver and otter skins in exchange for beads, knives and hatchets.[9]

The third account of early New York is found in *Nieuwe Wereldt* by Jan or Johannes de Laet of Leyden, a university man and a director of the Dutch West India Company. For the benefit of his Company, as well as the country at large, De Laet sought to provide Dutchmen with all useful information about America. *Nieuwe Wereldt* is a comprehensive and informing book, covering many areas beyond the bounds of New Netherland. De Laet's work is more geographical than historical, although he cites many human accomplishments, such as the construction of Fort Orange (Albany), "built in the form of a redoubt, surrounded by a moat eighteen feet wide." De Laet quotes several passages from the now-lost Hudson's journal, notably the sketch of the Hudson Valley as a pleasant land, "very abundant in all kinds of timber suitable for shipbuilding," and, shades of Rip van Winkle, "for making large casks."[10]

De Laet's work was followed by *Historisch Verhael,* a sort of European yearbook compiled in semi-annual sections, by Nicolaes Janszoon van Wassenaer. He included many passages on the Indians and natural resources of New Netherland, and an instructive survey of the Manhattan settlement about 1626, with its counting house, thirty dwellings thatched with reed, a partially constructed horse-mill, and inhabitants busy in trade.[11]

There is a charming and unique account of early New York by Johannes Megapolensis, a minister who lived for six years on Kiliaen van Rennselaer's patroonship on the upper Hudson. This kindly, educated preacher had more sympathy for the natives than did most white settlers of America, or their historians. His pamphlet on the Mohawks, published in 1644, was a compilation from letters to friends at home, its veracity being vouched for by Adriaen van der Donck, a later writer on New Netherland.

Megapolensis introduces his Indian tale by random remarks on the country. He was impressed by the large native grapes which made excellent wine; he took pleasure in the fat deer and abundant turkeys of the woods; and he marvelled in the clear, crystal rivers running through fertile fields which could produce eleven crops of fine wheat without care. The language of the Indians puzzled the domine, but their customs intrigued him; his dusky charges smeared their heads with bear's grease to make their hair grow and drive away lice, and they could light a fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together. Megapolensis states the price of an evening with a squaw, a modest sum which many Dutchmen were

eager to pay. He testifies that the Mohawks ate the bodies of prisoners captured in war, the chiefs selecting the heads and hearts and leaving the arms, trunks, and buttocks for common people. He observes that the Indians were friendly to the Dutch, but he experienced the same difficulty that faced many another missionary in the Amerind vineyard; the natives wanted to know why white Christians were addicted to lying, thieving, lewdness, murder and drunkenness?[12] Megapolensis gives some account of the government of the Mohawk tribes, but his final judgment on the Indians does not appear in this pamphlet; after an extended experience with the natives, he despaired of their being brought to the white man's ways, and decided that they would have to be liquidated.

Engaging notes on Dutch enterprise in the New World were written by the capable sea captain, David Pietersen de Vries, who made three trips to America, 1632-44, on the last of which he tried to settle Staten Island, an enterprise soon uprooted by the Indians. After this experience, the discouraged mariner-colonist returned to Holland to write his memoirs, the *Korte Historiel.* Although less energetic and not so loquacious, De Vries may be considered the Captain John Smith of New Netherland; he wrote with the same bluff criticism of colonial officials and settlers that characterizes the Englishman's work on Virginia. It is a surprising thing, notes De Vries, that the West India Company should send to this country such fools as know only how to drink. Wherever De Vries writes from personal observation, especially on the Indian war of 1643, his narrative is full and important. His account of Indian customs, on the other hand, was largely borrowed from Megapolensis. Some of his remarks on Wouter van Twiller afford the factual basis, and the satirical tone, for Washington Irving's humorous yet substantially accurate Knickerbocker's history of New York.[13]

The most elaborate writing on New Netherland following De Laet's general history is the *Vertoogh* or *Representation* of 1650, a work compiled by Adriaen van der Donck, a lawyer and public official who opposed the tyranny of Director Peter Stuyvesant. For his attempt to champion the cause of the people against the misgovernment of the West India Company, the author was arrested and deprived of office, after which he sailed for Holland to present the popular grievances to the States General at the Hague. Since the *Vertoogh* has a definite political purpose, it should be used with care, but a considerable part of the work is devoted to general description. Van der Donck wrote on the territory, the Indians, Dutch claims to parts of Delaware and Connecticut, and on the English settlements along the north shore of Long Island Sound. He stressed the advantages Holland could develop in New Netherland through its fine rivers, falls for water power, and facilities for trade.[14]

The polemical section of *Vertoogh* is directed to reasons "why and

how New Netherland is so Decayed." The home company, Van der Donck explains, has wasted money, sought too rapid profit, has permitted contraband trade, allowed foreigners free ingress, and has vested too great authority in the colony director. He lists very detailed charges against governors Kieft and Stuyvesant, with a malicious dig at the latter's favorite, Cornelis van Thienhoven, as a shrewd but deceitful man who "has run about the same as an Indian, with a little covering and a small patch in front, from lust after the prostitutes to whom he has always been mightily inclined."[15] Van der Donck's verbose account of political quarrels is based on substantiable fact, but is colored by violent prejudice against Director Stuyvesant and Company control of the colony. From Willem Usselinx to Van der Donck, however, the Dutch writings on New York are competent and informing. Most of them, especially the accounts by De Laet, Megapolensis, and Van der Donck, are superior to works produced by any English writer for three or four generations after New Netherland became part of Britain's domain in 1664.

Daniel Denton's *Brief Description* of 1670, the first English account of New York, is a small pamphlet advertising the Hudson River region to prospective settlers. Denton was a modest promoter; he offered no certain promise of glittering stones, gold, or silver in the former Dutch possession, now for the first time in print called New York. He described the approach to Manhattan from the east through Hell Gate, a passage so menacing that unskilled pilots prayed for some Charon to conduct them through. New York town he noted as built mostly of brick and stone, roofed with red and black tile, which gave at a distance a most pleasing aspect. Long Island, his residence, he described more fully, with particular note on the great stoneless plain near the middle of the island where horse races were held annually for the prize of a silver cup. Denton touched on whale fisheries, and the "decaying" Indians, who were prone to drunkenness and gambling, although sometimes roused to healthier recreation at football.[16]

In both breadth and detail, the Long Island settler's pamphlet ranks below the work of Van der Donck. The remaining seventeenth century narratives on New York are short tracts relating primarily to the Leislerian revolt and King Williams's war, subjects to be considered later in this survey.

New Jersey and Delaware

The contemporary writing on early New Jersey and Delaware is a muddled performance which does not clearly elucidate the international rivalries, confused land titles, and conflicting jurisdictional claims to the country southwest of the Hudson. One of the earliest English publications touching the region, *A Description of the Province of New Albion*

(1648), well illustrates the uncertain character of the reports. Accepting the pamphlet at face value, it would appear that the author, with the romantic name of Beauchamp Plantagenet, visited the American plantations seeking refuge from the whirlwind of civil war in England. He rejected Virginia because the soil was losing its fertility; the island of St. Kitts was too full of Frenchmen; Barbados suffered from plagues and did not afford enough beer and ale; and New England had too much snow. Hence the best retreat was in New Albion, that is, the land around the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, comprising the southern tip of present New Jersey and the central portion of Delaware. Plantagenet further divulged that Master Robert Evelin and some forty-four lords and merchants were establishing a colony on Delaware Bay.[17]

Even a casual reading of this narrative raises several doubts; who ever heard of Beauchamp Plantagenet, or of a well established English colony on the Delaware in 1648? Robert Evelin (or Evelyn) was a real person, however, a Virginia councillor and surveyor. The most reliable judgment on this curious book is that it emanated from Sir Edmund Plowden, a Roman Catholic, resident some years in Ireland, who obtained in 1634 a patent of doubtful legality to the area noted. Cheered by the success of the Calverts in Maryland, Plowden gathered a band of indented servants and went to Virginia, where he remained from about 1641 to 1648, while his followers built a fort on the east side of the Delaware River. They made little headway against the active and more numerous Swedes already on the ground, so that enterprise came to nothing.[18]

Turning from this elusive account of a vaguely defined territory to authentic narratives of a specific area, one finds an appalling gap between contemporary printed information on New Jersey and later definitive histories of the province.[19] Most of the early publications were promotion tracts. In the 1680's, the twenty-four proprietors of East New Jersey sponsored at least six such tracts, several of which include a fair amount of information. *A Brief Account of the Province of East-Jersey in America* (1682) lacks conviction and enthusiasm, but calls attention to Sandy Hook as an ice-free landing place for vessels the year round, and gives promise of a large town, Ambo-Point (Perth Amboy), to be built on the Raritan River.

A Brief Account of the Province of East-New-Jarsey, published at Edinburgh in 1683, develops the thesis that Scotland could well spare some of its population, especially women and younger sons, for foreign plantations. Another Scottish tract, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey* (1685), is largely a compilation of immigrants' letters, several of which are reprinted in the more important publication next considered.

George Scot of Pitlochie's *The Model of the Government of . . . East-*

New-Jersey was a promotion tract to end all promotion tracts; in more than two hundred and seventy pages the author surveyed colonization from Biblical days to his own, described the current condition of Jersey, and printed thirty-two testimonial letters. Scot was connected with many distinguished families in his home land, a circumstance which probably induced the proprietors to entrust him with the task of encouraging further emigration to America. Scot himself embarked for New Jersey in the summer of 1685, but he and his wife died at sea; a surviving daughter remained in the province, married, and obtained confirmation of a five hundred acre grant made to her father for his services.

The testimonial letters which Scot published provide the raw material for local history, without which the printed record of early Jersey would be legalistic and unhuman. Some of the documents came from colony officials, others from lowly homesteaders. Thomas Rudyard, the deputy governor, wrote optimistically of the oyster beds which provided "Constant fresh victuals during the winter." Samuel Groome, the surveyor general, reported on the navigability of the Raritan River. John Reid, a gardener, said that laborers "may have a bushell of Corn *per day* [even] when he is little acquainted with the work of the Countrey." Peter Watson, a servant, advanced the need for Presbyterian ministers to supplement the Congregational clergy already present; and Thomas Fullerton testified that anyone who enjoyed the solitude of the woods, and the simple life, could do no better than settle in New Jersey.[20] This remarkable collection of letters, reflecting a Caledonian zest for life, was unusual in seventeenth century books, and as a promotional device was not again so extensively employed in this country until the western railroad boom of the late nineteenth century.

The English colony of West New Jersey, established 1664-76, was preceded by Dutch and Swedish settlements on both sides of the Delaware River, so that the early history of the latter region overlaps that of the present states of Delaware and Pennsylvania. Henry Hudson entered Delaware Bay on his voyage of 1609, establishing a Dutch claim which materialized in two forts, one near Cape Henlopen and the other on the Jersey side of the Delaware River nearly opposite the present site of Philadelphia. Substantial settlement was accomplished by the Swedes. Willem Usselinx, already noted as a promoter of Dutch interests in America, transferred his operations to Sweden. Peter Minuit, another Dutch renegade and one-time governor of New Netherland, founded Fort Christina in 1638, on the present site of Wilmington, Delaware.

Between the early promotion tracts relating to the Delaware region and the solid histories of New Sweden published in the eighteenth century by Thomas Campanius Holm and Israel Acrelius, there is an historiographical desert relieved by scattered oases of interest to the bibli-

ographer rather than the student of history. Part of the reason for the sparse contemporary record was the straggling character of the early settlements themselves. The Swedish colony was overpowered by the Dutch in 1655, and both absorbed by the English after 1664, without having developed a local press or native historians. The only extensive contemporary comments are found in the memoirs of the Dutch sea captain, David Pietersen de Vries, already mentioned in connection with New Netherland.[21]

Not long after the close of the Swedish-Dutch dominion over the region, West New Jersey and the present state of Delaware became bound up with the Quaker colonizing movement which culminated in the founding of Pennsylvania. As one of the West New Jersey proprietors, William Penn drafted the *Concessions and Agreements* of 1677, under which a healthy emigration of English colonists flowed to Salem, and then to Burlington. Shortly after the founding of Pennsylvania, the Jerseys became part of the Dominion of New England, and later (1693) were placed under a separate governor. All the Jersey proprietors sold out their governmental rights to the crown in 1702.

Pennsylvania

The Holy Experiment in Penn's Woods was widely advertised in promotion tracts much similar to those already reviewed for other areas, but different in two respects: The Pennsylvania project burgeoned into prosperity more rapidly than other American plantations, and its founder and first historian was a most unusual person.

William Penn (1644-1718), son of the admiral who conducted Cromwell's expedition to Jamaica, attended Oxford for about two years but was expelled for refusing to conform to ecclesiastical regulations. The worried father sent young William, already inoculated with Quakerism, on a European tour, at the end of which the future American colonist studied law at Lincoln's Inn, then managed his father's estates in Ireland, where he became acquainted with nobles, writers and philosophers, notably Algernon Sidney and John Locke.

Although famous in American history as the founder of a great Quaker colony, Penn was not a typical Quaker, nor a norm of anything. Penn was a complex man; a sincere Friend yet an urbane courtier; a political theorist yet an eminently practical statesman; a champion of religious freedom yet the foe of Roman Catholics and atheists; a country gentleman who believed in a planned society; and a scholar who advised the average youth to shun higher learning. Inconsistent and wholly great, Penn kept always one goal before him—the creation of a kindlier world. Opportunity to undertake a larger experiment in idealism than that offered by West New Jersey came about partly through accident, in

that Penn had a large claim against the English exchequer for his father's services in the navy. When Charles II discharged the debt in 1681 by a munificent land grant, Penn proceeded to found an asylum for the destitute and oppressed of both England and the Continent.[22]

The first of Penn's American tracts, *Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania,* published before he had matured plans for the colony, is important for promise of things to come. Widely circulated in England, Wales and Ireland, and translated into Dutch and German for distribution on the Continent, the pamphlet gave notice that a benevolent philanthropist would relieve poor children from a narrow apprenticeship, unemployed men from turning gamesters or robbers, and unfortunate women from dressing themselves "for a bad market . . . whereby it happens that both the Stock of the Nation decays and the Issue is corrupted." The Oxford student and friend of philosophers carried his learning lightly; Penn's references to the history of colonization are more palatable than the effusions of William Alexander or George Scot, and his appeal for followers is intimately couched in the first person: "I desire all my dear Country-Folks, who may be inclin'd to go into those Parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the present inconveniences, as future ease and Plenty, that so none may move rashly or from a fickle but solid mind, having above all things, an Eye to the providence of God, in the disposal of themselves . . . Amen."[23]

Of more import than his first pamphlet is Penn's *Letter . . . To the Free Society of Traders,* based on first-hand observation of his province. The founder had landed in America in October, 1682, and held at Upland (Chester) the first legislative session not only for Pennsylvania proper but also for Delaware, which had been added to the royal grant. Proclaiming that he was, contrary to some reports, "still Alive, and No Jesuit," Penn described his domain in detail, with particular attention to the rising city of Philadelphia.[24]

Penn continued to be his own historian for some time; his *Further Account* gives concise information on the progress of the colony from 1683 to 1685. By the latter date, Penn listed fifty villages where many a poor man had made the beginning of an estate. But mere data never overshadowed philosophical advice in the writings of this practitioner of a planned society; his 1685 survey cautioned colonists to work hard, and be patient in awaiting profit: "Be moderate in Expectation, count on Labour before a Crop, and Cost before Gain, for [you] will best endure difficulties . . . as well as find the Comfort, that usually follow such considerate undertakings."[25]

The founder's writing is superior to that of a frequently quoted authority, Thomas Budd, the son of an Anglican preacher who turned Quaker, and held offices in West New Jersey after 1678. His book, *Good*

Order Established in Pennsilvania & New-Jersey, is essentially a promotion tract, but a very poorly organized one, a hodge-podge of description, special pleading, a hypothetical balance sheet of plantation profits, and observations on the Indians. Perhaps this miscellany should be viewed as the aspiration of a man who, like Penn, yearned to create a kindlier and better world. Along with comments on mosquitoes, fish, vineyards and sheep culture, Budd made an earnest plea for a public school system, spinning schools for girls, a provincial land bank, and public granaries (storehouses) for which he obligingly added specifications on how to make them ratproof.[26]

A more usable record than Budd's is the very brief *Letter from Doctor More* and others, printed in 1687. Nicholas More was quite a person, the first president of the Free Society of Traders, a member of the provincial assembly, first chief justice of Pennsylvania, and a large landholder. His own personal letter, which fills half the printed pamphlet, contains specific information about current prices on pork, beef, butter, wheat, rye, and other such produce. The record is very particular, even listing individual growers of the various crops. The other letters in the collection are similar to the New Jersey documents in Scot's *Model.*[27] The More tract, although intended for advertising purposes, provides important footnotes to the economic history of Pennsylvania.

Richard Frame deserves remembrance for several reasons even though his versified *Short Description of Pennsilvania* is of no poetic merit. His attempt to tell local history in rhyme was probably the first metrical composition printed in Pennsylvania; it was published by the notable typographer William Bradford, and it may have been printed on paper of local manufacture. The first part of the poem, a commentary on fauna and flora, reminds one of William Wood's *New Englands Prospect*:

> "The Female Possum, which I needs must tell ye,
> Is much admired with her double Belly . . ."

The choicest historical item in Frame is the reference to the first Pennsylvania paper mill, erected by William Rittenhouse, William Bradford and others. "A Paper Mill near German-Town doth stand," writes Frame, who then wanders off into the philosophy of life: Flax grows from the ground, is spun into yarn, woven into cloth which becomes torn, the rags are made into paper which eventually wastes away:

> "So what comes from the Earth, appeareth plain,
> The same in Time returns to Earth again."

There is no record of Frame beyond his verse, although tradition makes him a teacher in the Friends' School of Philadelphia.[28]

The most pretentious early survey of Pennsylvania is the *Historical and Geographical Account* of 1698, by Gabriel Thomas. The author was

a Welshman who came to America in 1681. Thomas had a good descriptive style, spiced with occasional satire; when he wrote of what he had seen he may be trusted, in other respects he is an unreliable witness. The solid and presumably accurate data in Thomas' narrative relates to such items as the streets of Philadelphia, settled counties, people's occupations, imports, laborers' wages, local bakeries, and Quaker schools. Thomas overestimated the contemporary population of the province, but not for long, judging from his comment on local fecundity: "Barrenness among Women [is] hardly to be heard of, nor are old Maids to be met with . . . and seldom any young Married Women but hath a Child in her Belly, or one upon her Lap." However much Thomas erred on geography or events distant from his observation, on tangible marketplaces, malt houses, wherry boats, or local customs, he was an excellent reporter.[29]

It is appropriate that the seventeenth century historiography of Pennsylvania should close with the first important publication by a member of the race that contributed so much to later local and national history. *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung . . . Pennsylvaniae* was written by the gifted and pious Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651-1720), who came to America in 1683 as agent for a group of German colonists. He obtained 15,000 acres of land on favorable terms from Penn, founded Germantown, taught school, subscribed to the first American anti-slavery tract, was a friend to the Indians, and a "chief citizen" of Pennsylvania on many counts. Pastorius wrote extensively in Latin and German, knew several other languages, had a large library, and was one of the most learned men in America at the time. A profound religious feeling permeates much of the writing, especially the poetry, of this Quaker who was also part Lutheran and pietist.[30]

One should not look to *Umständige Beschreibung* for a methodical account of Pennsylvania, but no reader can fail to be charmed by the author's unobstrusive learning, his sincerity and his humanity. Of the other provincial historians, only Penn rivalled Pastorius in combining historical sense with literary grace; however inaccurate some of the latter's data may be, his pages afford great relief from the materialistic tracts by Thomas and Budd. No other colonial historian, save possibly William Bradford of Plymouth, so well expressed the religious and intellectual spirit which inspired the transit of European civilication to this country:

"For these reasons, when my tour [of Europe] was ended, I withdrew into my study for a short retreat, and recalled to mind all that this world-spectacle had brought to my view, and could find no enduring pleasure in anything therein . . . [or hope in all Germany for the pure love of God and one's neighbor]. So the thought came to me that it might be

better that I should expound for the good of these newly-discovered American peoples in Pennsylvania that knowledge given me by the grace of the highest Giver and Father of Light, and should thus make them participators in the true knowledge of the Holy Trinity, and the true Christianity."[31]

Pastorius tells how the lands for his German company were laid out, sketches briefly the early history of the province, and pays some attention to its natural but much more to its human resources: "As to the inhabitants, I cannot better classify them than into the native and the engrafted. For if I were to call the former savages and the latter Christians, I should do great injustice to many of both varieties."

The latter part of this unique volume is largely composed of letters; some from Pastorius to his father and friends, a Latin poem to one of his former teachers, and short missives from his sons to their grandfather. Pastorius wrote little narrative, but he breathed into *Umständige Beschreibung* a more precious thing, a tolerant human spirit. What ordinary sea captain, trader, or Puritan minister could have ended a long letter on Indian customs thus: "In the meantime the paper is becoming too small for me, the quills blunt, the ink will not longer flow, there is no more oil in the lamp, it is already late, my eyes are full of sleep. Fare you well. I close."[32]

Maryland

Lord Bolingbroke's remark that to consort with historians is to keep good company needs be amended for early Maryland, for its chroniclers form a strange assortment of saints and sinners. The kindly Father Andrew White was uprooted by an insurrection whose narrators he undoubtedly detested, and replaced by a servitor whose tales would have shaken the sides of a hardened barkeep. Father White, John Hammond, and George Alsop were poles apart in spirit although hardly more than a generation in time.

The coast of Maryland was visited early in the sixteenth century by Verrazano, and probably by Spanish explorers, but it did not receive prominent notice in English print until mention of the Chesapeake region appeared in Smith's *Map* of Virginia.[33] More detailed narratives of settlement followed the planting of the Calvert colony in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century.

George Calvert, an Oxford M.A., an accomplished linguist, and the holder of many important offices, became interested in America as a sanctuary for oppressed English Catholics. In the 1620's he established a small settlement in Newfoundland, then turned southward in search of a more salubrious clime. After visiting Jamestown, he undertook plans for a colony near Virginia's borders. The talented if not brilliant

scholar and public servant died before his project received royal sanction, so that his eldest son became the founder of Maryland. Cecil Calvert was an energetic and practical man, probably below rather than above persecution for religion's sake, who never visited America but steered a cautious course among English rivals and established the colony on a lasting foundation.[34]

Of the half-dozen narratives on Maryland's beginning, only three have come down to us in contemporary print, and over all of these hovers the spirit of Father Andrew White, "a fervid, naive writer, gifted with an unconscious capacity for picturesque expression."[35] White was London born. For his Roman Catholic faith he fled England to attend college on the Continent, being ordained at Douai in 1605. Later he entered the Jesuit order, lectured in theology in Spain and Flanders, and then on return to England became associated with Calvert's undertaking. In the expedition of 1633-34 he was chief of a Jesuit mission of three members.

Father White's first contribution to the literature of Maryland was *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation,* composed in February, 1633, and published soon thereafter. The cultured background and missionary zeal of the author lent this promotion tract a sincerity often lacking in similar publications. The Jesuit missionary set forth Lord Baltimore's conditions of plantation; gave an intriguing summary of the country's resources; and declared that the Indians were pleading for Christian teachers. Father White was not hypocritical in urging mission work among the natives; he meant it more earnestly than did the founders of Massachusetts, as his subsequent work among the Indians attests. His description of the country, however, was a little too optimistic, particularly the supposition that "all the fruites of *Italy*" would agree with the Maryland soil.[36]

The party of more than two hundred immigrants journeying to America in the *Ark* and the *Dove* dropped anchor at Old Point Comfort in Virginia in February, 1634. After exchange of amenities between the Virginia Governor Harvey and Cecil Calvert's brother Leonard, the head of the new Catholic colony, the Maryland pilgrims sailed up the Potomac and founded their first permanent settlement at Saint Mary's. It seems probable that, for the edification of his Jesuit superiors, Father White kept a journal of the voyage and the landing, from which he wrote *Relatio Itineris in Marilandiam,* a narrative published in full two centuries later. The substance of the account, abridged and tactfully amended to avoid irritating English Protestant readers, was printed in 1634 as *A Relation of the Successefull Beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland.*[37]

Father White recounts the Catholic pilgrims' pleasant relations with the governor and council of Virginia, who promised them brick and tile

and a stock of fruit trees; and he speaks of naming the heron-infested islands in the Potomac for various saints, Clement, Katherine, and Cecilia. He marvelled at the skill of the Indians on the hunt, even if their bows were weak and could not shoot arrows very far on a horizontal plane. White asserts the natives believed in one God, although they worshipped lesser deities. The narrative ends with favorable comments on the warm climate, fertile soil, and grapes which promised much good wine.

An anonymous *Relation of Maryland* of 1635 contains Father White's narrative of the Atlantic voyage condensed to form the first chapter of an elaborate survey of the infant colony. Succeeding chapters set forth the natural commodities of the country. The parts of this tract not taken from Father White or some other indicated source were doubtless derived from the reports which the governing commissioners, Leonard Calvert, Jerome Hawley, and Thomas Cornwallis, were required to make to the proprietor.[38]

After the first crop of planting narratives there was a hiatus in Maryland's historiography for nearly a generation, or until the politico-religious struggles of the 1650's produced a new harvest. Conditions in Maryland became unsettled after 1640; an Indian war threatened; William Claiborne of Virginia seized Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay; and Richard Ingle, a Londoner who posed as a champion of Protestantism and the people's rights, captured Saint Mary's. For two years the colony was in an uproar, without a stable government; Father White was captured during the insurrection and shipped to England, where he parted company with American history. After Leonard Calvert had regained the governorship, but while the position of the Catholics both in America and England was more than ordinarily precarious because of civil strife in the home country, Cecil Calvert prepared the famous document which became the Toleration Act of 1649. The American phase of the English struggle will be considered at a later point in this review. In Maryland, the contention was recorded in a half-dozen tracts, most of them on the anti-Lord Baltimore side, among which those by Roger Heamans, Leonard Strong, and John Hammond are most noteworthy. Only the last-named will be treated here.

After contributing a short and vituperative piece to contentious literature, Hammond, who spent twenty-one years in America, wrote *Leah and Rachel, or, the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia and Mary-land.* The work is so named in allusion to the Old Testament hero who slaved long years to earn his wives, or as Hammond says of himself: "Having for 19 yeare served Virginia the elder sister, I casting my eye on Mary-land the younger, grew in amoured of her beauty, resolving like Jacob when he had first served for Leah, to begin a fresh service for Rachell." Nearly three-quarters of the book is promotional, being devoted to praise of the

older colony, and calculated to offset any calumnious charges that Virginia is "an unhealthy place, a nest of Rogues, whores, desloute and rooking persons; a place of intolerable labour, bad usage and hard Diet, etc." Admitting that conditions were bad at first, Hammond declares Virginia now to be an ideal place of residence, where the climate is temperate, servants well treated, the women "not (as is reported) put into the ground to worke" but occupied at housewifery as in England, with time for recreation; the diet is plentiful, justice fairly administered, and the opportunity for profit extensive.[39]

Hammond felt that Maryland, even though temporarily distressed, had great possibilities, so that ere long she would spread herself and become as great as Virginia. For a man whose stay in America ended unpleasantly (he had to escape in disguise from a death sentence), Hammond thought well of his temporary allegiance to Maryland, and wrote of it with vigor and confidence.

George Alsop's flattering account of Maryland has received much attention from local historians, but his work, be it ever so entertaining and bawdy, is not an entirely trustworthy source. About the author we know nothing beyond what he tells us, or what may be deduced from the way he writes. It is apparent that Alsop was an uneducated man who considered himself a widely-read and philosophical commentator. That he possessed a quantity of ill-sorted information is beyond question, but that he did not know how to use it properly is equally patent. The historical and classical allusions which dot his pages seldom clarify his ideas and often render them ludicrous.

Considered as a promotion tract, which for the most part it should be, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* was undoubtedly of some use to Lord Baltimore; it could be read by all conditions of men, and appreciated by enough of the lower sort so that the proprietor may not be accused of reserving his province for saints. Owing to his dislike of Puritans, the author left England in 1638, where he had been apprenticed to some trade; he was poor, he could not pay his passage to America, so he became an indentured servant to one Thomas Stockett, by whom he was kindly treated. Because of illness suffered at the end of his service, Alsop returned to England where, it may be assumed, he was encouraged, and perhaps paid, by Lord Baltimore to write this favorable account of life in Maryland.[40]

It took three prefaces to launch Alsop's description, the first of which states candidly: "If I have wrote or composed any thing that's wilde and confused, it is because I am so my self . . . therefore I resolve, if I am brought to the Bar of Common Law for any thing I have done here, to plead *Non compos mentis,* to save my Bacon." Alsop said much about the physical plenty of the province, remarking that the gentleman he

served had at one time fourscore venisons, "so that before this Venison was brought to a period by eating, it so nauseated our appetites and stomachs, that plain bread was rather courted and desired than it." Swine increased so fast in the woods, he noted, that one "must upon necessity judge this Land lineally descended from the Gadarean Territories." Herds of deer are as numerous, he adds, "as Cuckholds can be in London." As for the "millionous multitudes" of swans, geese, and ducks that wintered in the country, he observed, "several of them are summoned by Writ of *Fieri facias,* to answer their presumptuous contempt upon a Spit."[41]

Touching the matter of government, Alsop claimed that Roman Catholics and Protestants lived in love and friendship; that there were few suits or trials at law, and that the countryside was generally so peaceful and orderly at night that the constable is not—"troubled to leave his Feathered Nest to some friendly successor, while he is placing of his Lanthern-horn Guard at the end of some suspicious Street, to catch some Night-walker, or Batchelor of Leachery, that has taken his Degree three story high in a Bawdy-house."[42]

Alsop has been often quoted for his chapter on servitude, which portrays that condition in a very favorable light. Probably the author accurately reflected his own condition, for he seems to have served a kind master, but the mild covenant he presented was not typical of servitude in general.[43] Critics have ridiculed him for the observation that Indian skins were naturally white but were dyed at birth to a cinnamon brown by a concoction of roots and bark. Such obvious fancies, however, were not typical of his writing; Alsop's great failing was garrulity rather than misrepresentation. Most of his remarks on the natives were sane and well expressed, his description of a torture in which the skin was stripped from a live prisoner's face being a masterly piece of macabre lightness.[44] Alsop is a difficult fellow to evaluate; his humor was vulgar, his literary conceit uncontrolled, his information presented in hodge-podge fashion, and yet his potpourri of *A Character* served up many historical realities without flavoring them beyond recognition.

After 1666, the writings on Maryland were of a scattered and fragmentary nature; there was an occasional promotion tract, an almanac, a polemic or two on the controversies of the 1680's which resulted in Maryland's becoming a royal province, and a number of pamphlets on religious topics. Otherwise contemporary inquirers had to search the Maryland paragraphs in general surveys of America by men like John Ogilby, Charles de Rochefort, and Richard Blome. After the mid-seventeenth century, the first local resident to become a full-fledged historian was George Chalmers, who published his *Political Annals* of the American

colonies in 1780. John L. Bozman's pioneering work on Maryland history appeared in 1837.

The Carolinas

There was an intimate connection between the early history of the Carolinas and that of Virginia and the West Indies, since colonists from the Old Dominion and Barbados were the first to explore and settle in the vast region stretching south from Jamestown to Spanish Florida.[45] In the late summer of 1650, a Virginia merchant, Edward Bland, left Fort Henry (now Petersburg) with Abraham Wood and two other gentlemen, two servants and an Indian guide, to investigate the country to the southwest. They crossed the Blackwater, Nottaway, and Meherrin Rivers, continued west to the falls of the Roanoke, about sixty-five miles from Fort Henry, then returned to their starting point.

The report of this trip, in the interesting if not too illuminating pamphlet entitled *The Discovery of New Brittaine,* was obviously designed for promotional purposes. The narrative of the trip itself reads like a chapter from the adventures of Captain John Smith. The exploring Virginians met and argued with native werrowances, and awed the Indians by boasting that one white man could stand off forty natives "through the protection of our great God" and guns which could hit a small mark at a hundred paces distant. Bland's comments on the land are extensive and laudatory, but his remarks on locations and other details are too vague to be of great value to present day readers.[46]

Actual settlement in the Carolinas was undertaken in the 1660's by eight proprietors, among whom were several who had interests in Virginia or Barbados. Sir William Berkeley, for instance, was governor of Virginia at the time of the Bland trip; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (later Lord Shaftesbury) owned land in Barbados, and had long been associated with another of the group, Sir John Colleton, a Barbadian planter who knew something of the coast south of Virginia from sailors' reports. It is not surprising, therefore, that the next contemporary writing on Carolina should be of West Indies origin.

Under authority from the English proprietors, and as a prelude to settlement, a group of Barbadians sent Captain William Hilton on two trips to the mainland in the summer and autumn of 1663. Hilton explored the coast southward from the Combahee River to Port Royal, then sailed to what is now North Carolina, examining the region about the Cape Fear River, where a band of New Englanders had settled for a short time. His narrative, *A Relation of a Discovery Lately Made on the Coast of Florida,* is compact and, as befitting a sailor, exact as to times and places.[47]

The conditions under which the Barbadians sought to settle in Carolina

did not suit the English proprietors, so that the West Indies project was temporarily suspended, but Virginians began to move south from the Old Dominion. When Sir William Berkeley came to America in 1664, as governor for the second time, he had instructions to appoint a deputy for the province of Albemarle, which embraced roughly the territory that Bland had intended to colonize. North Carolina was hence haphazardly settled by farmers who spread out between Currituck Inlet and the Chowan River.

To the southward the record is less clear. Some time early in the 1660's a company of New Englanders settled on the Cape Fear River, but they departed by the end of 1663. Backed by a large number of interested planters, Sir John Yeamans took three vessels from Barbados in October, 1665, to found a colony in the southern part of Carolina. He suffered shipwreck near Cape Fear, but saved his people, who apparently joined settlers already on the ground. This establishment, the old Charles Town, was abandoned in 1667, but while it lasted Robert Sandford (or Sanford, formerly of Surinam) made an exploratory voyage to the south, the record of which remained in manuscript, while a Robert Horne, in England, published *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina,* covering the "Earth, Water, and Air," and privileges of prospective planters.[48]

Unfortunately the permanent settlement of South Carolina in 1670 does not enjoy a contemporary historiography comparable to that of Jamestown, Boston, or Philadelphia; the story has been preserved in letters, other unprinted documents, or books of later date. An explorer's narrative of 1672, the Lederer journal often included in Carolina bibliography, more properly belongs to the history of Virginia. The later efforts of the Carolina proprietors to people their province were considerably aided by three pamphlets of 1682. One of these was by Thomas Ashe, a naval clerk, who had been ordered to inquire into the character of the new plantation. Ashe's enthusiastic and well-written report exaggerates the advantages of the Carolinas very little. Fully nine-tenths of his description is promotional, but in the best sense.

"The land", says Ashe, is "cloathed with odoriferous and fragant Woods, flourishing in perpetual and constant Verdures, viz. the lofty Pine, the sweet smelling Cedar and Cyprus Trees, of both which are composed goodly Boxes, Chests, Tables, Scrittores, and Cabinets. The Dust and Shavings of Cedar, laid amongst Linnen or Woollen, destroys the Moth and all Verminous Insects."

Ashe speaks optimistically of several agricultural experiments which were to have a long if not very profitable career, for instance, silk-culture, olive raising, and the tending of vineyards. Local gardens have not yet been much improved or minded, continues this capable observer, but tar

can be produced in large quantities, and the great increase in cattle is almost beyond belief, since in not more than six or seven years it has mounted from almost nothing to several thousand head. The pamphleteer's mouth watered when he thought of the turtles from which could be made a variety of callopes, broths, and roast tid-bits, not to mention the "beer" made from corn, that was strong and heady, providing a potent spirit like brandy.[49]

The Present State of Carolina With Advice to the Setlers is another promotion tract, written by "R.F.," who had not been to Carolina but who swore that what he reported was as true as one's belief that Jerusalem lay in Palestine. His mixture of description, commentary, and advice covered almost everything from the population of Albemarle, and the fruitful women of Charleston, to olive groves, quit rents, the naturalization of aliens, and Saturday afternoon recreations. "R.F." promised to write further particulars "in his next," but if he did so, the work is not extant.[50]

The third publication of 1682, *An Account of the Province of Carolina,* was by Samuel Wilson, who had been secretary to Lord Craven, one of the proprietors, and was hence familiar with local affairs. The author admits he was advertising the province, but protests, as did most other promoters, that he has "most strictly kept to the Rules of Truth, there not being any thing that I have written . . . which I cannot prove by Letters from thence now in my possession, and by Living Witnesses now in England." His account is similar to the works of Ashe and "R.F.", but more concise. Wilson was much impressed by the favorable climate of South Carolina: "The Ayr gives a strong Appetite and quick Digestion, nor is it without suitable effects, men finding themselves apparently more lightsome, more prone, and more able to all Youthful Exercises, than in England, the Women are very Fruitful, and the Children have fresh Sanguine Complexions." The alleged fecundity of women, and the more evident advantages that in Carolina farmers did not have to "spend a great part of their Summers Labour in providing three or four Months Fother for the Cattle in Winter," or purchase heavy clothing for Negro slaves, are familiar strains which run through most of the Carolina tracts.[51]

Generally speaking, early Carolina lacked a substantial historiography. Contemporary writings were almost wholly promotional in character until the appearance of John Oldmixon's *British Empire* (1708), and John Lawson's *Journal* of 1709.[52]

Georgia

Early Georgia, the last of the thirteen British colonies founded within the present limits of the United States, was featured in the same type

of promotion literature already noted for other areas. The trustees who founded the province publicized their project very fully. General James Oglethorpe, the most active of the founders, has been credited with the authorship of the first important promotion tract, *A New and Accurate Account of . . . Georgia* (1732), but the substantial survey was probably prepared by Benjamin Martyn, secretary to the board of trustees.[53]

Although Georgia received substantial support from both private and public sources, the colony did not prosper until after 1750. The early tracts deal largely with problems of economic advancement. *A State of the Province of Georgia* (1742) is a sober description sponsored by William Stephens, provincial agent of the trustees. He painted a favorable but not uncritical picture: "It must be confessed, that Oranges have not so universally thriven with us, as was expected, by Reason of some severe Blasts by Frosts in the Spring . . . *Notwithstanding* the Quantity of Silk, hitherto made, has not been great, yet it increases, and will more and more considerably, as the Mulberry-Trees grow, whereof there are great Numbers yearly planted."

Stephens admitted that some of the first colonists were a poor lot, men who were brought to misfortune in England by their own fault, and who acquired no love for labor in a pioneer society.[54]

Of quite different character is a long polemic with an impressive title, the first part of which reads *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia.* This interesting item was sponsored by a group of disgruntled landholders who left the colony to take up residence in Charleston, South Carolina. The authors addressed a sarcastic dedication to General Oglethorpe: "Like Death you reign, O'er silent Subjects and a desert Plain," bluntly informing the philanthropist that his experiment had nearly foundered. In spite of the intemperateness of their language, the disappointed landholders had something to say. They objected to the prohibition against Negro slavery, the restriction of land inheritance to the male line, and the exclusion of rum from the province. Their complaint on the last point indicated a general desire of American colonists to flavor spring water with something: " . . . the Experience of all the Inhabitants of *America,* will prove the Necessity of Qualifying *Water* with some *Spirit,* (and it is very certain, that no Province in *America* yields *Water* that such a Qualification is more necessary to than *Carolina* and *Georgia*) . . . "

Because of the impossible conditions to the southward, concluded the exiles in Charleston: "The poor Inhabitants of *Georgia* are scatter'd over the Face of the Earth; her Plantations a Wild; her Towns a Desert; her Villages in Rubbish; her Improvements a By-Word, and her Liberties a Jest; An Object of Pity to Friends, and of Insult, Contempt and Ridicule to Enemies."[55]

To this alarming narrative, Benjamin Martyn replied with a spirited defense of the trustees and their program. He condemned the landholder pamphlet as a pack of lies, published by persons of no estate and character, soured in their tempers, and guilty of monstrous ingratitude. Martyn explained that land inheritance had been confined to male heirs for military reasons, and why the trustees had prohibited rum and slaves.[56] It is not within the province of our review to study the conflict of policy behind these tracts. Suffice it to say that in the course of a generation the regulations in dispute were changed to meet the desires of the colonists. As to the accuracy of the descriptive matter served up by Martyn and Stephens on the one hand, and the Charleston exiles on the other, the greater element of truth probably resides in the former.

* * *

The first generation of every British American colony witnessed a spate of historical productions, the quality of which varied widely from one province to another. New England historiography was the richest, partly because that area was blest with the greatest concentration of literary men. Virginia was fortunate in its founder-historians, John Smith and William Strachey; New York in its non-English chroniclers, De Laet and Van der Donck. Newfoundland and New Jersey derived bookish fame from the scholarly William Alexander and George Scot. Pennsylvania writing reflected the magnanimity of Founder William Penn, and of the modest but really great Pastorius. In Maryland, the notorious George Alsop could not tarnish the record of the sober Hammond or the earnest and tolerant Father White. Save in promotion tracts, early Georgia and the Carolinas fared badly in contemporary historiography. Now let us turn to British possessions in the Caribbean.

Since the early plantations or colonies ranging from Newfoundland to Georgia were largely separate and self-contained, there are no generally useful works, outside of classroom textbooks, which apply to the whole area. Hence the important individual sources are suggested in the following footnotes bearing on specific regions.

NOTES

1 Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse of New-Found-Land* (1620), pp. 8, 11-30, 34-46, 56-57; an enlarged text was published in 1622; and see later extract, T. Whitburn, *Westward Hoe for Avalon* (London, 1870). On early Newfoundland in general, consult Ralph G. Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland* (New Haven, 1934).

2 John Mason, *A Briefe Discourse of the New-found-land* (Edinburgh, 1620), reprinted in David Laing, *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts Relating to the Colony of New Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1867), and John W. Deane, *Capt. John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire* (Prince Society, Boston, 1887). The

Dictionary of National Biography (hereafter cited as *D.N.B.*) article, XXXVI, 428-29, is defective; this John Mason was never in New England; he lived in the old-country Portsmouth.

3 William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (London, 1624), reprinted 1630 as *The Mapp and Description of New-England,* and under its original title in Laing, *Royal Letters,* and by Edmund Slafter, *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization* (Prince Society, Boston, 1873). In 1635, Sir William received from the New England Council a grant to the eastern part of Maine, and to Long Island, but he sent out no colonists. *D.N.B.*, I, 275-80.

4 William Alexander, *The Mapp And Description Of New-England,* pp. 30-31.

5 *Cambrensium Caroleia* is a Latin poem celebrating the marriage of Charles I, but it includes a map of Newfoundland and the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and some criticism of visiting fishermen for being in continual strife with the island settlers. *The Golden Fleece* was published in 1625. On Vaughan in general, see *D.N.B.*, XLIII, 183-85.

6 D. W. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland* (London, 1892). There is an amusing promotion tract of 1624, Richard Eburne, *A Plaine Path-Way To Plantations,* in which "Enrubie" a merchant answers questions about colonization raised by "Respire" a farmer.

7 An indispensable guide to the historiography of early New York is G. M. Asher, *Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets Relating to New-Netherland* (Amsterdam, 1867); see pp. 73-97 for Usselinx. A shorter version of the above text has been printed as the author's "Colonial Historians of New York," *New York History* (XXIII, No. 4, October, 1942).

8 J. Franklin Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland* (New York, 1909), pp. 6-9. See H. C. Murphy, *Henry Hudson in Holland* (The Hague, 1859), for a discussion of Van Meteren and other sources on Hudson's 1609 trip.

9 Jameson, *op. cit.,* pp. 16-28

10 Johannes de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt* (Leyden, 1625). Jameson, *op. cit.,* pp. 36-60, gives an English text for the material on New York; see especially pp. 47-48.

11 Van Wassenaer, *Historisch Verhael* (Amsterdam, 1622-35); see excerpts in Jameson, *op. cit.,* 68 *passim,* especially pp. 81-84.

12 Johannes Megapolensis, *Een Kort Ontwerp vande Mahakvase Indiaenen* (Alkmaar, 1644), reprinted in a Dutch work of 1651 by Joost Hartgers, and in several English translations of subsequent date; see Jameson, *op. cit.,* pp. 169-70, 172-75, 178.

13 De Vries, *Korte Historiael* (Alkmaar, 1655); translation in H. C. Murphy, *Voyages from Holland to America* (New York, 1853), and Jameson, *op. cit.,* see pp. 186-91.

14 Van der Donck, *Vertoogh Van Nieu-Neder-Land* (The Hague, 1650); see Jameson, *op. cit.,* pp. 293, 304-06, 308-20. The descriptive section of *Vertoogh* may be considered a preliminary draft of Van der Donck's longer work, *Beschryvinge Van Nieuw-Nederlant* (Amsterdam, 1655).

15 Jameson, *op. cit.,* 320 *passim,* especially pp. 340-41.

16 Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New-York* (London, 1670), several times reprinted; citations here from Facsimile Text Society (Columbia University Press, 1937), pp. 2-3, 6, 17.

17 Beauchamp Plantaganet, *A Description of the Province of New Albion;* see reprint in *Force Tracts,* II, No. 7.

18 The best review of this subject is a mimeographed report by Clifford Lewis, 3rd, "Some Notes on Sir Edmund Ployden and his Province of New Albion"

19 The best concise account of this troublesome topic is in C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Period,* III, Chap. IV. See also W. A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments* (New Jersey Historical Society *Collections,* I, 1846).

20 George Scot, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey* (Edinburgh, 1685), reprinted as an appendix to Whitehead, *East Jersey,* see pp. 279, 282, 295, 300, 302, 304.

21 For early Delaware, see Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware* (2 vols., New York, 1911); Albert Cook Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* (New York, 1912); Christopher Ward, *New Sweden on the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1928); and John H. Wuorinen, *The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1685* (New York, 1938).

22 William I. Hull, *William Penn: A Topical Biography* (New York, 1937), although organized in a fashion difficult to follow, contains good chapters on various phases of Penn's life. The best character study is Edward C. O. Beatty, *William Penn As Social Philosopher* (New York, 1939).

23 William Penn, *Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania* (London, 1681); see reprint in Myers, *Early Pennsylvania,* pp. 205, 215.

24 *A Letter From William Penn . . . To the Committee of the Free Society of Traders* (London, 1683); see reprint in Myers, *op. cit.* For general bibliography on the province, see Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History,* III, 495-516.

25 William Penn, *A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1685); see Myers, *op. cit.,* pp. 260-63, 278.

26 Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsilvania & New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1685); see pp. 43, 51-55 of edition by Edward Armstrong (New York, 1865); there is also a 1902 reprint.

27 *D.A.B.,* XIII, 155-56. *A Letter from Doctor More . . . Published to Prevent False Reports* (London, 1687); reprinted in Myers, *op. cit.,* pp. 284-93.

28 Richard Frame, *A Short Description of Pennsilvania* (Philadelphia, 1692); reprinted 1867; and in Myers, *op. cit.,* pp. 300-05.

29 Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of . . . Pennsilvania* (London, 1698); facsimile reprint (New York, 1848); and in Myers, *op. cit.,* see especially pp.. 320-21, 328-29, 332-33.

30 *D.A.B.,* XIV, 290-91; and Marion D. Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* (Philadelphia, 1908). *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung . . . Pennsylvaniae* (Frankfort and Liepzig, 1700), is in Meyers, *op. cit.,* pp. 360-448, but on pp. 392-411 is substituted the text of *Sichere Nachricht ausz America* (1684). With a later edition of Pastorius (1704) is usually bound Daniel Falckner's *Curieuse Nachricht von Pensylvania,* a business-like promotion tract by the Lutheran pastor who became a sort of manager of the Germantown group; see the English edition of his work by Julius F. Sachse (Philadelphia, 1905).

31 Myers, *Early Pennsylvania,* p. 363.

32 *Ibid.,* pp. 399-400, 435.

33 A helpful but out-of-date guide to the region is Bernard C. Steiner, *Descriptions of Maryland* (Johns Hopkins Studies, XXII, 1904). M. P. Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (New York, 1933), quotes liberally from early sources.

34 *D.A.B.,* III, 428-29. J. Moss Ives, *The Ark and the Dove* (New York, 1936), gives a detailed though slightly rosy picture of the founding of Maryland and the religious toleration enjoyed there in the early years.

35 L. C. Wroth, introduction to the facsimile of *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1929). Dr. Wroth's introduction,

and his notes on the 1633-35 Maryland tracts in *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 539-55, supersede earlier commentary. See also *D.A.B.*, XX, 87-88.

36 See the 1929 facsimile noted above. White's name is not attached to the printed pamphlet but his authorship appears certain. This tract is the English form of substantially the same work as the Latin *Declaratio Coloniae*, a translation of which is given in Clayton C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), pp. 5-10.

37 Only two original copies are known, one in the British Museum and the other in the John Carter Brown Library. There is no complete reprint; the edition by Brantz Mayer as *Shea's Early Southern Tracts*, No. 1 (Baltimore, 1865), omits some of the non-narrative material. For English translation of the *Relatio Itineris in Marilandiam*, see *Force Tracts*, IV, No. 12.

38 *A Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635); see Hall, *Early Maryland*, pp. 70-112.

39 John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel* . . . (London, 1656); reprinted in *Force Tracts*, III, No. 14; text commentary from Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 290, 300.

40 *D.A.B.*, I, 227-28. *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (London, 1666), has been several times reprinted.

41 George Alsop, *op. cit.*, in Hall, *Early Maryland*, pp. 341, 343, 345, 347-48, 378.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 349, 351, 352.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 357. Alsop characteristically comments on female servants, who are lucky because soon after arrival in America "they are courted into a Copulative Matrimony," thus escaping a bad English market for their virginity. Men, he adds, were not so fortunate unless they secured the favor of a mistress whose husband was by age deficient.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 368. The supposition that the Indian's color came from an artifical dyeing process cropped out in many contemporary writings.

45 General works on the Carolinas are: W. J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1856), old but still good; D. D. Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), Vol. I; V. W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier* (Durham, 1928), Chaps. I-III; and B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (2 vols., New York, 1836).

46 Edward Bland, *Discovery of New Brittaine* (London, 1651); reprinted in Alexander S. Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina* (New York, 1911), and C. W. Alvord and L. Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1675* (Cleveland, 1912).

47 William Hilton, *Relation of a Discovery* . . . (London, 1664); reprints in Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, and W. A. Courtenay, *The Genesis of South Carolina, 1562-1670* (Columbia, S. C., 1907).

48 Robert Horne, *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina* (London, 1666); reprints in Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, pp. 82-108; and W. A. Courtenay, *Genesis of South Carolina*, pp. 41-84.

49 Thomas Ashe, *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of that Country* (London, 1682); reprint in B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II, 59-84; text commentary from Salley, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-47, 149, 152-54.

50 R. F., *The Present State of Carolina With Advice to the Setlers* (London, 1682); see especially pp. 4, 5, 10, 19, 20, 27, 33.

51 Samuel Wilson, *op. cit.*, (London, 1682); reprinted in Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II, 19-35; text commentary from Salley, *op. cit.*, pp. 164, 169, 171-72.

52 See below, Chapters X and XI.

53 Martyn's account was published in London, 1732; see V. W. Crane, "The Promotion Literature of Georgia," in *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (Cambridge, 1924). Other early writings were: John Archdale, *A New Description of . . . Carolina* (London, 1707), and Jean Pierre Purry, *Memoire . . . Sur l'état présent de la Carolina* (London, 1724), and another description, originally in *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1732, reprinted in *Force Tracts,* II, No. 11.
54 *A State of the Province of Georgia* (London, 1742); see reprint in *Force Tracts,* I, No. 3.
55 *A True and Historical Narrative of . . . Georgia* (Charleston, 1741); see *Force Tracts,* I, No. 4, iv-vi, 21, 77, 80.
56 *An Account Shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia* (London, 1741); see *Force Tracts,* I, No. 5, iii, 5, 8, 16.

CHAPTER VI

BERMUDA AND THE WEST INDIES

MUCH of seventeenth century writing on the West Indies concerned local insurrections and international wars, but the scattered British possessions in the Caribbean were favored with a few non-contentious narratives.

Bermuda is not a part of the West Indies, but its history belongs fully as much to the Caribbean area as to the mainland of British America. These small Atlantic islands played an historical rôle out of proportion to their size. On this porous, sea-girt, limestone stage was founded England's second American colony, and the second experiment in representative government.

During the period of discovery and first settlement, Bermuda formed the subject of several descriptive writings, but after the publication of John Smith's *True Travels* (1629), the islands cut only a minor figure in contemporary books. There is no dearth of historical material on early Bermuda, but the major record lay in manuscript until long after 1700.

Near the middle of the seventeenth century, plans were afoot for a *coup d'état* to set up an independent Bermuda church on the New England model. The design failed of fulfillment, but it occasioned the publication of two interesting politico-theological tracts, one of them, *A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New Wandring-Blasing Stars,* being by William Prynne, an irrepressible English Puritan, who hated both Presbyterianism and extreme Independency, and a born pamphleteer who averaged a printed page a day for all of his sixty-nine years. Prynne concluded that the Independent church movement was a temporary tempest which would not do Bermuda permanent harm.[1]

Nathaniel White, an Independent leader, replied to Prynne's pamphlet in *Truth Gloriously Appearing, From Under the Sad and Sable Cloud of Obloquie.* White was a passionate and intolerant man, who answered every specific charge against the Independents by labored explanation or flat denial. His argument, buttressed by exhaustive references to the Bible, loftily assumed that the Independent church had been established not simply by the good people of Bermuda but by God and Jesus Christ.[2] Subsequently White was indicted for high treason, and acquitted, but he failed to hold the islands for Independency on the New England model.

The Somers Isles, as they were often called in early days, remained under the rule of the Bermuda Company (in England) from 1615 to 1684. At times many of the colonists, and some Englishmen also, protested against the requirement that all trade be carried on in company vessels, Perient Trott being one of the most persistent and vociferous objectors. He was a London merchant and a member of the Bermuda Company, but one who desired to trade with the islands in his own ships so as to be free from regulation. In the course of the controversy over commerce, the Company questioned the legality of Trott's purchase of certain Bermuda islands. Litigation continued for many years, causing Trott to publish in 1676 *A True Relation of the Just and Unjust Proceedings of the Somer-Islands-Company,* a long pamphlet of interest chiefly to those who may wish to investigate the argumentative powers of an individual who felt aggrieved because a corporation, whose regulations he flouted, pressed a technicality in order to embarrass him.[3]

There are two books touching Bermuda aspects of the Quaker controversy which raged over much of British America. None of this sect were executed in the islands for heresy, but they aroused much resentment, especially through refusal of military service. In 1678 a Puritan minister, Samson Bond, challenged the Friends to a public disputation, his record of which is given in *A Publick Tryal of the Quakers in Barmudas.* Bond was an argumentative parson of litigious disposition, who later became an assistant pastor of the First Church in Boston, from which he was forced to resign "for preaching a sermon not composed by himself". The theology of the book lies outside the scope of this study, although it may be noted in passing that Bond considered Quakers on a level with the beasts that Saint Paul once fought at Ephesus.[4] His blast was answered by Francis Estlack and others who, although they opposed military service, supported free public schools and other desirable public enterprises.[5]

For non-controversial literature on early Bermuda, one must take refuge in the writings of geographers, or of poets like Andrew Marvell, who was much impressed by the resources of the romantic isles and the exalted spirit of the early settlers:

> "He [Divinity] makes the figs our mouths to meet
> And throws the melons at our feet;
>
> . . .
>
> "With cedars chosen by His hand
> From Lebanon, He stores the land;
> And makes the hollow seas that roar
> Proclaim the ambergris on shore.
>
> . . .
>
> "Thus sang they in the English boat,
> A holy and a cheerful note:

And all the way, to guide their chime,
With falling oars they kept the time."[6]

Barbados

In the seventeenth century, England, Holland, and France broke the Spanish monopoly in the Caribbean. After Raleigh's ill-starred voyages to Guiana, English explorers and colonists frequently journeyed through the West Indies, stopping at various small islands to procure water and provisions. Permanent settlements arose during the second quarter of the century, the earliest being on St. Christopher and Barbados. The latter, a triangular-shaped island, about one hundred and sixty-six square miles in area, encircled by coral reefs, was never conquered by a foreign enemy, although it suffered many a bitter dispute between rival groups of English proprietors and settlers.

The first printed narrative on Barbadian affairs was a long anti-royalist tract of 1650.[7] A more interesting work is Richard Ligon's *True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados.* The author was a cultured gentleman, with a taste for music and art, who went to Barbados to paint, remaining there about three years before returning to England in 1650.

Ligon possessed a catholic curiosity, which led him to describe all sorts of interesting items from a tornado to the beautiful Negro mistress of a priest. An alert commentator, he paid moderate attention to the Barbadian politicos of the time, although he was not essentially politically minded. Barbados appealed to this artist-historian as a beautiful vision of lofty trees rising skyward from the shore line. One of the island's frequent plagues tarnished the brightness of Ligon's landing, but the author was no pessimist; nowhere does he stress the seamy side of life. He seems to have walked through royalist plottings against the Parliamentarians of the Cromwellian era without being concerned over the outcome. Ligon lived on a five-hundred acre plantation managed by Colonel Modyford, a moderate royalist. Ligon described this typical Barbadian economic unit, estimated to be worth £7,000, with its engine for grinding cane, still-house, carding-house, forge, shanties for Negro slaves, work cattle, milch cows, and horses.[8]

Perhaps one should consider Ligon's detailed description of the whole island of Barbados the major part of his work, but it is not the general information on soil and plants that renders the book unique. Economic data was common to much colonial writing, but Ligon was most interested in what a Frenchman would call *les singularités.* He notes, for instance, the moist climate which rapidly rusted iron and put watches out of order; he gives an Indian woman's method of making pie crust;

a recipe for pine wine, and for mobbie, a drink made from fermented potatoes. He outlines a planter's recreations, and goes into raptures over pineapples and bananas. Ligon's work is not history in the narrow sense, and hardly a narrative at all, but few works from any part of early America covered so well such a diversity of human customs. His book was quoted by every important successor in Barbadian writing.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the economic history of Barbados centered in the consolidation of small sugar plantations into large holdings cultivated by slave labor. This evolution into a single-crop colony eventually reduced the island to dependency on the Navigation Acts favoring direct island-home country commerce, but before that point was reached, several Barbadians sought to preserve the earlier ideal of free trade. For several years after 1689, many pamphleteers wrote on export duties and other aspects of trade regulations. The first of these polemics, entitled *The Groans of the Plantations,* sounds the plaint of declining profits eaten up by rising administrative expenses, a theme later typical of pre-Revolutionary days in New England: "Moreover the Charge of our Militia (who must appear in Red Coats) is exceedingly great upon us," wrote the distressed author, asking if our dear Mother England hath "no Bowels for her Children . . . Will She do nothing to deliver us from the Jaws of Death?"[9]

Jamaica

Jamaica, the third largest island in the West Indies, became English partly through accident. Oliver Cromwell undertook a "Western Design" to strike at Spanish Catholic power which was keeping English Protestants out of the Caribbean. When the expedition he sent against Santo Domingo in 1655 failed, Jamaica was captured as sort of consolation prize. The mountainous island had then a small population of about 1500 whites and an equal number of Negro slaves. Under English auspices, Jamaica blossomed into a prosperous colony, rich in cattle and tropical produce, richer also in historiography than any other island in British America.

One of the earliest English works on Jamaica, *A Brief and Perfect Journal of the Late Proceedings . . . in the West Indies,* is by a religious zealot, identified simply by the initials "I. S.", who viewed the island's conquest as God's crusade against idolators, heretics, members of a false church, and those who had wickedly murdered peaceful English traders. The major part of *Late Proceedings* is a journal of events from December, 1654, into the following June, which is critical of the Cromwellian expedition's equipment, personnel, and bungling attack on Santo Domingo. The journal stops shortly after the landing on Jamaica, with an appended description of England's new colony.[10] The pamphlet is

useful narrative, but of even greater value for its revelation of the expansionist spirit engendered by the Cromwellian regime. Another publication of the time expressed the same uplift: "We see that the Lord whose right hand hath been heretofore so glorious in power, for the help of his poor People . . . in the time of their saddest dangers . . . hath again appeared on their behalf in this day of their need by blowing with his Winds, and causing the Sea to cover their Enemies abroad."[11]

Two short reports continue the Jamaica story into 1659. *A Narrative of the Great Success,* recounts the 1657 attack of Major Richard Stevens on the Spanish general Ysassi at St. Anne, and the succeeding victory in November over another Spanish force near Chorreras (Ocho Rios) on the north shore. *Rich Newes From Jamaica* notes the sacking of Coro and Cumana on the coast of Venezuela, and the capture of several vessels, one of which carried a cargo of beans yielding "the pleasant drink chocolate." This sociable beverage was to figure prominently in contemporary medical writings.[12]

Edmund Hickeringill's *Jamaica Viewed* is a more pretentious description and political commentary. The author, an eccentric divine and pamphleteer, once held a government position in Jamaica; his religious life ran a gamut from Anglican to Baptist, Quaker to deist, and Puritan to general critic. Deploring the fact that Jamaica proved an untimely grave for many of the first colonists, he insisted that the climate would not harm anyone who arrived in good health. After lengthy treatment of local soils, crops, and the island's chief towns and harbors, Hickeringill expostulated on the bungling nature of the English invasion of 1655, particularly condemning commander Venables as an inefficient general who cared more for his bride than for the British army.[13] Although less felicitous as a literary product, *Jamaica Viewed* compares favorably with Ligon's book on Barbados.

There is special reference to Jamaica in Richard Blome's general description of British territories in America. The author of this usable survey presents salient facts regarding each American province. Blome exaggerates the size of Jamaica, but gives a trustworthy account of the climate, agricultural products, and other natural resources, including a monitory chapter on "Diseases and hurtful things."[14]

The most entertaining Jamaica writings are those least political. Dr. Thomas Trapham, for instance, examined the vegetable and other produce of the island, and reported on local diseases and recommended treatments.[15] Henry Stubbe, one-time physician to King Charles II, examined Jamaican commodities in order to promote "the serenity and health of the human race." For its day, his *Indian Nectar* was a learned performance. The author investigated the origins of the name *chocolate,* and the use of cacao products by the Indians. His accompanying recipes

and prescriptions now appear silly if not actually harmful, yet the fact that the newly discovered product was believed to possess magical properties is evidence of the importance which Europeans attached to American vegetatives, and of their trust in the limitless possibilities of the New World pharmacopoeia. Chocolate is used as a delicacy by feeble persons Stubbe informs us; it strengthens suffering people from hypochondrical distempers or from debility induced by haemorrhoids, gonorrhea and consumption. Anticipating modern advertising blurbs on laxatives, Stubbe suggests that chocolate may be mixed with purgatives to make them palatable. After a decorous consideration of chocolate drinks, he plunges into more intimate medical details: Chocolate opens obstructions in the body so that it provokes urination and sweat; because it begets good blood and nourisheth much the body it provokes evacuation of seed and becomes provocative of lust; yet this potent article is not too exciting in its effects for, compared to butcher's meat, its mild vegetable oiliness allays sharpness of the blood and animal sulphurousness![16]

The best seventeenth century survey of Jamaica's plant resources is a scholarly production beside which earlier publications pale into insignificance. The author of this solid work, *Catalogus Plantarum Quae In Insula Jamaica Sponte Proveniunt,* was Sir Hans Sloane, Fellow of the College of Physicians, Secretary to the Royal Society, one-time physician to the governor of Jamaica, and founder of the collection which later formed the basis of the British Museum. His more than two hundred page catalogue describes submarine plants, fungi, grains, flowers, and trees. For modern students, the *Catalogus Plantarum* provides clues to the seventeenth century terminology for species otherwise given Latin designations, especially since Dr. Sloan's references to Hakluyt, Purchas, and Captain John Smith show what the early explorers called the American flora they recognized in a popular but not a scientific sense.[17]

Passing from the sublime to the ridiculous, it may be observed that an early "best seller" on the island was Ned Ward's *A Trip to Jamaica* of 1698, which went through at least seven editions in two years. This racy pamphleteer, who took delight in ridiculing anything for profit, slandered Jamaica worse than he did New England in his better-known work of 1699. Ward's attitude toward history, if his hackwriting may be called such, is exposed in a note to the reader: "The Condition of an Author, is much like that of a Strumpet, both exposing our Reputations to supply our Necessities, till at last we contract such an ill habit, thro' our Practises, that we are equally troubl'd with an Itch to be always Doing."

Britain's pride in the West Indies he calls "The Dunghill of the Universe"; the chief island delicacy, he asserts, is a *"Sea-Turtle,* or *Toad in a shell,* stew'd in its own Gravy; its lean is as White as a Green-sickness

Girl, its Fat of a Calves-turd Colour; and is excellently good to put a Stranger into a Flux, and purge out part of those ill-humors it infallibly creates." He tabulates the island's light-o-loves, down to one charmer nicknamed "Buttock-de-Clink Jenny." Ward's observation on a drunkard's disposal of excess liquor is unquotable.[18] His scandal sheet was obviously intended for diversion rather than instruction.

* * *

Beyond Barbados and Jamaica, early West Indian historiography is general rather than local; the Bahamas and the Leeward Islands featured in comprehensive surveys inspired by England's expanding domain. Much of the early writing dealt with Spanish America also, for reasons similar to those which animated the translators of a hundred years before, namely, the desire to heighten English interest in the New World by focussing attention on the colonial projects of rival nations. Take, for example, *A New Survey of the West-India's* by Thomas Gage, "Preacher of the Word of God at Deal in the County of Kent," who violently attacked papist influence in England, and then recounted his more than three thousand mile journey through the Spanish provinces. The appearance of Gage's book in several editions suggests the mounting English concern for Caribbean possessions.[19]

Another description of the West Indies was advertised at the time as a general view of the rich and goodly parts of the world to which the hand of Providence was leading the English nation. British readers were tantalized by appetizing descriptions of West Indies fruits, sugar cane, and the "famous drink called chocolatte."[20] Equally enterprising in tone is *Britains Triumphs,* an optimistic book conveying little impression of the initial difficulties suffered by the English in the West Indies, but prophesying a glorious future: Parliament had suppressed discord at home, put down royalism in the colonies, placed on the statute books one of the most masterful laws of all times (the Navigation Act of 1651), and in God's good time would wholly triumph over the perfidious nation of the Spaniards![21]

One of the most comprehensive and informing books on the West Indies came from the pen of Charles de Rochefort, pastor of a Walloon church at Rotterdam. His *History of the Caribby-Islands* covers in some detail the geography and physical resources of twenty-eight West Indies islands, commencing with Tobago and ranging northward. De Rochefort arranged his data in homely, matter-of-fact notes, thus: Tobago is inhabited by Zealanders under Lampsen, an old burgomaster of Flushing; Martinico grows excellent tobacco, the governor lives at Fort St. Pierre; Guadeloupe, the greatest and noblest French possession in the West Indies, has valuable salt pits and grows sugar; Nevis is the best governed island

in the Antilles; the Virgin Islands have good anchorages for fishing fleets, but poor soil not suitable for flourishing settlement.[22] De Rochefort candidly admitted to the inconveniences of the Antilles, in mosquitoes, wasps, scorpions, wood-lice, rats, and frequent hurricanes. The latter part of his history is a miscellany of international rivalries, native customs, and whatever else the author chose to insert. The book has no central theme, but it provides an illustrated and interestingly written cyclopedia for reference.

Our concluding piece in this brief survey of early Caribbean writings, *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies,* is a most entertaining bit of social history. The author was Thomas Tryon, an ascetic who ground out many miscellaneous tracts on the benefit of clean sweet beds, cures for bug-bites, and the necessity of limiting one's use of meat, tobacco, and alcohol. Part of *Friendly Advice* is like Trapham and Stubbe on fruits and herbs, although couched in less scholarly language. Englishmen are reminded of the beneficial qualities of semi-tropical produce, thus: "We must in general observe, that all Fruits in hot Climates are better, as being by Nature prepared to a higher degree of Maturity, than in Cold; for the Sun making his near visits with auspicious Beams, and an innocent and complemental Warmth both better disposes the Earth's teeming Womb, and by a most excellent Chymistry, refines the ripening Fruits from their gross dull phlegmatick Juices." Tryon advised tropical dwellers to eat bananas raw and not cooked, to treat prickle-pears as a meal and not nibble them between times as an extra, and to beware of limes because they stirred up gripes and the bellyache. It is not the hot climate, he observed with truth, that causes so much unhealthiness in the West Indies as the intemperate use of meat and drink. The latter parts of Tryon's work deal with relations between white planters and their Negro slaves.[23]

More extended accounts of the West Indies will be cited in following chapters referring to colonial wars and general histories of the British dominions.[24] The early writings on the Caribbean area reflect the diverse character of the individual islands. Barbados owes much to its artistic and accomplished observer, Richard Ligon; Jamaica almost as much to Edmund Hickeringill, but little to Ned Ward. Otherwise the Caribbean area achieved early fame for its scientists, pseudo or real, from Henry Stubbe to Sir Hans Sloane.

There are many very useful reference works on the West Indies as a whole and on individual islands. C. P. Lucas, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (Vol. II, The West Indies, revised edition, Oxford, 1905), and Arthur P.

Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688* (London, 1933), are most helpful for a general survey of island history, with notes on historians. An older but still very useful compendium is Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (first edition 1793; the 4 vol. Philadelphia edition, 1805-06 has a supplementary atlas).

More specialized works are: James A. Williamson, *Caribbee Islands Under Proprietary Patents* (London, 1926); Frank Cundall, *Studies in Jamaica History* (London, 1900); J. H. Lefroy, *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 1515-1684* (2 vols., London, 1877-79); R. H. Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados* (London, 1840, a book of great learning, though superseded by Harlow); N. D. Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados, 1650-1652* (Georgetown, Guiana, 1887); and V. T. Harlow, *A History of the Barbadoes, 1625-1685* (Oxford, 1926).

NOTES

1 Ethyn W. Kirby, *William Prynne: A Study in Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1931). For the close connection between Bermuda and New England, see George L. Kittredge, *George Stirke, Minister* (Cambridge, 1910). Prynne's *Fresh Discovery* was published in London, 1645.

2 Nathaniel White, *Truth Gloriously Appearing* . . . (London, 1646), see preface and pp. 2, 137.

3 Henry Wilkinson, *Adventurers of Bermuda,* pp. 299, 338, 363-66.

4 Samson Bond, *op. cit.,* (Boston, 1682), pp. 1, 4, 69. See W. C. Ford, "Rev. Samson Bond of the Bermudas," M.H.S. *Proceedings,* Vol. 54, pp. 295-318.

5 *A Bermudas Preacher Proved A Persecutor* (London, 1683).

6 Andrew Marvell, "Emigrants" (or "Bermudas"), about 1645.

7 Nicholas Foster, *A Briefe Relation of the Late Horrid Rebellion* (London, 1650).

8 Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of . . . Barbados* (London, 1657), pp. 20-22.

9 *The Groans of the Plantations* (London, 1689), attributed to Edward Littleton; see pp. 18, 35. *A Relation of the Great Sufferings and Strange Adventures of Henry Pitman* (London, 1689), contains some material on Barbados. Pitman was a surgeon to the Duke of Monmouth, who was exiled to Barbados, whence he escaped in a small boat after a brief sojourn.

10 I. S., *A Brief and Perfect Journal of the Late Proceedings and Successe of the English Army in the West Indies* (London, 1655); see reprint in *Journal of the Institute of Jamaica,* II (Kingston, 1899), pp. 4, 6, 8, 12-17, 27.

11 *A True Narrative of the Late Success . . . Against the King of Spains West-India Fleet* (London, 1657). A variant form is the concluding section of *A Book of the Continuation of Forreign Passages* (London, 1657), a sort of handbook containing general items of current foreign relations.

12 *A Narrative of the Great Success God Hath Been Pleased to Give His Highness Forces in Jamaica* (London, 1658), based on official communication from Governor Edward Doyley. Cornelius Burroughs, *Rich Newes From Jamaica* (London, 1659). Burroughs was steward-general.

13 Edmund Hickeringill, *Jamaica Viewed* (London, 1661), pp. 1-3, 65 *passim,* 84. His embellishing verses were usually coarse, for example:

"I cannot think on wretched Cleopatra,
But she doth move my spleen, and bilis atra."

The Present State Of Jamaica (London, 1683), contains an account of Henry Morgan's famous raid on Panama in 1671.

14 Richard Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica; With the Other Isles and Territories in America* (London, 1672). Blome is further mentioned in Chapter X below.

15 Thomas Trapham, M. D., *A Discourse of the State of Health in the Island of Jamaica* (London, 1679).

16 Henry Stubbe, *The Indian Nectar, or a Discourse Concerning Chocolata* (London, 1662), pp. 1-2, 79-82, 90, 128-30, 133.

17 Sloane's catalogue was published in London in 1696. The scientist also wrote *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica* (1707).

18 Edward Ward, *A Trip to Jamaica With a True Character of the People and Island,* text commentary from 1700 London edition, pp. 13, 15-16.

19 Thomas Gage, *op. cit.* (London, 1648; reissued 1655 and several times thereafter, the most recent edition being 1929).

20 *America: Or an Exact Description of the West-Indies* (London, 1655); the Stationer's Register gives the author as one Thomas Peake.

21 *Britains Triumphs* (London, 1656). Anglo-Dutch rivalry is the subject of a later work, *His Majesties Propriety, And Dominion on the Brittish Seas Asserted* (London, 1665), by Robert Codrington, an Oxford M. A., voluminous author and translator.

22 Charles de Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles* (Rotterdam, 1658 and 1665); see English translation by John Davies, (London, 1666), pp. 6-7, 9-14, 20-21, 27. A contemporary accused De Rochefort of extensive plagarism; see Jean Baptiste Du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Antilles* (Paris, 1667), preface to Vol. I. Plagarism, however, was common in the seventeenth century, and not as seriously frowned upon as today.

23 Philotheos Physiologus [Thomas Tryon], *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies* (London, 1684); pp. 2-3, 10-11, 16-17, 35-36, 49, 75-77, and 146 *passim.* Another book on West Indies products, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, etc.* (London, 1682), may have been written by Thomas Trapham, as his previous work on Jamaica (1679) is not cited in the voluminous marginal references to other writings.

24 The present colony of British Guiana was established during the Napoleonic Wars, but in the seventeenth century the vast region extending from the Orinoco to the Amazon was termed Guiana. Many British settlements were undertaken along the coast, but no one of them except Surinam, which became Dutch in 1667, lasted very long. The historiography of these evanescent enterprises may be traced in James A. Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon, 1604-1668.* Should one become depressed by the complexity of international rivalries in the Caribbean and South America, he may take refuge in the amusing and risque *Oroonoko: A Tragedy As It Is Acted at the Theatre-Royal,* by Thomas Southerne, who drew most of his material from Mrs. Aphra Behn; see Harrison G. Platt, Jr., "Astrea and Celadon: An Untouched Portrait of Aphra Behn," *Publications* of the Modern Language Association, XLIX, No. 2 (June, 1934).

CHAPTER VII

THE INDIANS

MANY colonists embarking for America declared their intention to Christianize the Indians, but upon arrival in the New World few cultivated that noble ambition.

Missionary work among the natives was more earnestly pursued by Roman Catholic Spaniards and French than by Protestant Englishmen. Francisan fathers went with Coronado's expedition into the southwest in 1541-42, and the Jesuits became active in Canada and Florida. Father Andrew White ministered to the Indians of early Maryland, and Isaac Jogues visited New York twice in the 1640's before being killed by his prospective converts, the Mohawks. In Delaware the chaplain at Tinicum, Campanius Holm, translated Luther's catechism for his coppery neighbors, and Moravians, Anglicans and Quakers were active in several areas in the eighteenth century.

New Englanders did very little to soothe the savage breast, although they wrote a great deal about their small attempts. The work of John Eliot, New England's greatest apostle to the Indians, was sandwiched in between two wars, so that it will be fitting to introduce his labors with accounts of the Pequot skirmish, and take leave of them with the story of King Philip's more ominous uprising.

The first interracial contacts in Massachusetts might have been bloody had not the natives along the coast been decimated by a plague shortly before the arrival of the Pilgrims. Early Plymouth maintained toward her weak Indian neighbors an attitude neatly compounded of benevolence and bluster. The Puritans had at first nothing to fear from the relatively few natives about Boston, while in Rhode Island the kindly Rogers Williams sagely avoided trouble with the more powerful Narragansetts. But inland lay less amenable tribes, notably the Pequots of southeastern Connecticut, with whom the pioneers soon came to blows.

Pequot War, 1637

The Pequot War of 1637, a sudden outbreak quickly quelled, produced four historical narratives, two of which were currently published. The first to appear was *A True Relation of the Late Battell,* written by Philip Vincent, a young English clergyman who was journeying in the New World to assuage the hurt caused by the recent death of his wife. Although not a spectator of the events described, Vincent wrote with

intimate knowledge of the crisis, and being an English freelance, he viewed the war with less personal bias than if he had been a colonist. Except for a few minor errors in detail, Vincent's pamphlet gives a fair survey of the brief war with the Pequots.[1]

Captain John Underhill, a leading participant in the campaigns, published a contemporary narrative, partly for the purpose of offsetting Vincent's none too complimentary account of the English conduct in the fight at the Pequot fort near Mystic, Connecticut. The soldier-author had come to Boston in 1630, after service in Europe under the Prince of Orange, to help organize the Massachusetts militia. By background and training, Underhill should have achieved a reputable American career like that of Myles Standish in Plymouth, John Mason in Connecticut, or Edward Johnson in Massachusetts, but some instability of character warped the expected tenor of his ways. After the Pequot War he fell from grace in Massachusetts, and was banished, not only for heresy but under suspicion of adultery. He ended his unhappy colonial career in New York.

Despite his unstable mind, Underhill's *Newes From America* is no whimsical satire like Morton's *New English Canaan*; the militia officer took himself, and his own understanding of Puritanism, very seriously, so that his narrative bristles with the workings of the Lord. Theology aside, Underhill's book gives a good account of the origins of the Pequot uprising, and of the Mystic fort fight, in which he took a prominent part. Sensitive to a charge of cruelty raised by Vincent, Underhill justified his personal conduct by reference to the barbarity of Old Testament wars in the time of King David.[2]

John Mason and Lion Gardiner wrote of the Pequot War many years afterward. In 1656, at about the time a reunion of veterans was held at Saybrook, the Connecticut General Court requested Mason to write an official history of the uprising. Presumably he and Gardiner revived their memories of the episode while at Saybrook, and wrote their accounts shortly thereafter. Mason's narrative was incorporated, although not over his name, into Increase Mather's history of Indian wars published in 1677, and later (1736) edited by the Reverend Thomas Prince. Mason had an honorable and important career in colonial New England. He arrived in Massachusetts in 1633, after military experience in the Low Countries; he was made captain of the Dorchester militia, and he became one of the founders of Windsor, Connecticut, and later of Norwich. After the Pequot War, he was a major in the Connecticut militia, and he served on more than one occasion as deputy-governor of the colony.[3]

"History most properly is a Declaration of Things that are done by those that were present at the doing of them," wrote this prominent Connecticut officer, who then gave a better account of the origin and

course of the Pequot War than either Vincent or Underhill. The competent narrative is generously punctuated with good-humored remarks on providential escapes; when a soldier was saved from death because an arrow stuck in a hard piece of cheese he was carrying, Mason remarks, "A little Armour could serve if a Man knew where to place it." The Connecticut captain, a good Puritan historian, gave ample credit to the Lord for the victory: God was pleased "to smite our Enemies in the hinder parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance."[4]

Lion Gardiner's account, composed with the aid of "some old papers," is the least valuable of the four Pequot narratives. Gardiner was a military engineer, who married a Dutch girl and served with the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries. He was engaged to build a fort at Saybrook to guard navigation on the Connecticut River. From that vantage point he witnessed part of the preliminaries to the war. His recital of Indian depredations near Saybrook, including the roasting of one white prisoner, is information of prime source value.[5]

An aftermath of the Pequot War is outlined in John Winthrop's *Declaration of Former Passages . . . Betwixt the English and the Narrowgansets.* Some of the Pequots took refuge in Rhode Island with the Narragansetts and the Niantics. When the former tribe went to war with the Connecticut Mohegans in 1643, they lost one of their chieftans, Miantonomi, who was first turned over to the English and then delivered to the Mohegan chief, Uncas, for execution. Winthrop relates the Narragansett protests, and warned that the English must sometime use force against the strong Rhode Island band, advice put into execution about thirty years later when Massachusetts men led the attack on Narragansett winter quarters in the South County swamp during King Philip's War.[6] A major part of the English colonists, Winthrop declared, came to this country to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and in all dealings with the natives have had an awful respect to divine rules, endeavoring to walk uprightly in the midst of many injuries. This dictum expressed pious hope rather than fact, although a few truly Christian souls entertained the sentiment later voiced by Samuel Sewall:

> "Give the Poor Indians Eyes to see
> The Light of Life: and set them free;
> That they Religion may profess,
> Denying all Ungodliness."[7]

Early Missions

The tale of Indian mission work in Massachusetts makes an interesting if minor chapter in New England history. The sincerity of John Eliot, John Wilson, Henry Dunster, and the Mayhews cannot be doubted, even

if their methods appear inadequate and the harvest almost negligible.

At first, the Pilgrims and Puritan settlers believed the proper way to civilize the Indians lay in precept and example, so that for a number of years English missionary work, if it may be called that, was confined to the training of a few Indian youths in colonial homes. This system produced little beyond a study of the Indian language, first evidenced by Roger Williams' *Key* to the native language. The pioneering work of the Rhode Islander was carried further by John Eliot (1604-90), a Cambridge M.A. and classical scholar who came to Boston near the end of 1631. Shortly afterwards he became pastor in Roxbury, from whence he journeyed about extensively, carrying the word of God to the natives. About the time Williams' *Key* appeared, Eliot began to study the Algonquin language, using as tutor a boy captive from the Pequot War. He first preached to the Indians in 1646, his second formal service of that year being at the native village of Nonatum, now Newton. The story of his missionary work is unfolded in some ten short narratives, usually referred to as the *Eliot Tracts,* although Eliot himself was directly responsible for only four or five of them.[8]

The first of the tracts is an anonymous pamphlet entitled *The Day-Breaking If Not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel With the Indians in New-England,* variously attributed to Eliot, Thomas Shepard, and John Wilson, with the weight of probability being in favor of the last-named.[9] The story opens with a service at Nonatum in October, 1646, where Eliot preached a formal sermon in the Indian tongue and then, as became the custom, threw the meeting open to questions, "that so wee might skrue by variety of meanes something or other of God into them." Probably through a steering committee, native inquiries were directed to points of faith and conduct. The Puritans seldom wearied of theological disputation, but alas for the poor natives, who never quite comprehended what they learned to say in words! Were the English, one acute questioner asked, ever as ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as ourselves? There were two sorts of Englishmen, explained the missionaries, one still being as wicked and ignorant of God as the red man.[10]

Thomas Shepard compiled the second mission tract, *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians in New-England.* Pastor of the Cambridge church after Thomas Hooker moved to Connecticut, Shepard was a man of humble mind, of spirit submissive to Divine will, and a prolific writer of sermons.[11] He was less confident than the author of the preceding tract as to the results to be expected from missionary enterprise. But Shepard records the lively interest with which Indians of both sexes questioned visiting ministers, among whom were Wilson and President Dunster of Harvard. The natives wanted to know if a man's soul could emerge and rise to heaven if his body had been

inclosed in iron a foot thick and thrown into the fire? George, a wicked Indian given to dissimulation and drink, embarrassed the missionaries by asking who made the hard liquor that was debauching the natives? As a Massachusetts man, Shepard could not resist a dig at Rhode Island; he notes a Narragansett sachem's complaint that Roger Williams could not be a truly good man since he often worked on the Sabbath. Many are called but few chosen, concluded Shepard; the conversion of *any* Indians will be precious to Jesus Christ.[12]

The work of Eliot, Wilson, and Shepard, supported by President Dunster of Harvard, led to Parliamentary authorization in 1649 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, which sent funds to America for distribution by the Commissioners of the United Colonies. About the time of the Society's founding, Edward Winslow published a missionary tract, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, Amongst the Indians in New England,* composed largely of letters from Eliot, and some from Thomas Mayhew, Jr., on Martha's Vineyard. Winslow's tract included a goodly quota of native questions, many of which sorely tested the white man's ingenuity: If a man be *almost* good when he dieth, whither goeth his soul? Did God make Hell before Adam sinned? Doth the Devil dwell in us as we live in a house?[13] Although not providing much narrative, Winslow's pamphlet affords insight into the methods of the Puritan missionaries.

Henry Whitfield, one of the founders of Guilford, Connecticut, edited the fourth and fifth Eliot tracts. *The Light Appearing More and More Towards the Perfect Day* was published shortly after Whitfield's return to his native country from an eleven year sojourn in America. He had witnessed at first hand the work of Thomas Mayhew, and his chief native assistant Hiacoomes, on Martha's Vineyard. Missionary activity on the island began in 1643, when Hiacoomes evinced a desire to know English ways. Conversions increased after 1645, when Divine Providence intervened by visiting a great sickness upon the Indians, which afflicted most severely those who had *not* begun to follow the truth. At the time of Whitfield's writing, there were reported to be thirty-nine Indian men on the Island, and a number of women, that were looking the Gospel way.[14]

The next Whitfield tract is *Strength Out Of Weaknesse,* largely composed of letters from the missionaries and their supporters, but also including a good description of the Christian Indian town of Natick, Massachusetts.[15]

After 1652, the Apostle Eliot, who had supplied material for pamphlets by others, published four tracts over his own name. The first, *Tears of Repentance* is an awe-inspiring book pitched on the theme "That one end of God's sending so many Saints to New-England, was the Conversion of these Indians." The body of the tract is composed

of confessions, which the natives were required to make before a small group of English elders, then after considerable delay to repeat or expand before a special assembly called to judge the Indian fitness for church membership. *Tears of Repentance* records the native confessions in the first stage:

"When you ask me [recited the Indian named Totherswamp], Why do I love God? I answer, Because he giveth me all outward blessings, as food, clothing, children, all gifts of strength, speech, hearing; especially that he giveth us a Minister to teach us, and giveth us Government; and my heart feareth lest Government should reprove me: but the greatest mercy of all is Christ, to give us pardon and life."

There are in Eliot's book more than forty pages of similar un-Indian-like sentiments by Waban, Nataôus, Monequassum a native schoolmaster, Ponampam and others.[16]

A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians presents the next stage in the complicated process of inducting Indians into the Puritan church. Eliot was moving slowly, in part to learn how the confessions of 1653 were received in England: "This gaine of soules is a *Merchandize* worth glorying in upon all the Exchanges . . . And of this the ensuing Discourse presents you with a Bill of many particulars, from your spirituall *Factory in New England.*"

The examination of converts, held in Eliot's parish of Roxbury, was conducted by selected elders of the Massachusetts churches, including the missionary Thomas Mayhew. Just before the meeting convened, some unreformed natives got a child of Totherswamp's drunk, to see if the convert would reprove his offspring harshly. The questions and answers at the formal assembly run as follows:

"How many Gods are there?"

"One only God, but he is three, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

"Out of what matter did God make the world?"

"Not of any thing at all."

The last question was: When shall the Indians enjoy the ordinances of Jesus Christ in church estate?[17] The answer is given in *A Further Account of the Progress of The Gospel Amongst the Indians.* After examinations and confessions, which had continued from 1653 to 1659, *eight* native converts were voted "fit matter for Church estate."[18]

The Indian town experiment was continued a little longer. By 1674, just previous to the outbreak of King Philip's War, there were some fourteen such villages in Massachusetts, with a reputed population of more than a thousand Christian natives. The war of 1675-76 caused great havoc; some of the converts took sides with their pagan fellows against the English, while others were driven away by hysterical colonists who thought that all *praying* Indians would become *preying* Indians. The

number of Christian villages was reduced to four, but missionary work did not immediately come to an end. Twenty-four Indian preachers trained by Eliot, were still carrying on at his death in 1690. Two notable and sympathetic contemporary accounts of the natives were written by Daniel Gookin, one-time superintendent of Indian affairs in Massachusetts, but they were not published until more than a century afterward.[19]

King Philip's War, 1675-76

King Philip's War, which began in June 1675, inspired more than a dozen contemporary narratives, several of them anonymous or short and fragmentary. One unfamiliar with the brief but bloody struggle, which raged over most of New England for about a year, would do well to read a modern summary before plunging into the contemporary accounts.[20] The latter are here considered more or less in order of their appearance in print. The first is an anonymous quarto, *A Brief and True Narration of the Late Wars Risen in New-England,* written as a letter from Boston, September 7, 1675. The pamphlet gives an incomplete but reasonably impartial account of the origins of the conflict. It states that Philip, or Metacom, chief of the Wampanoags, was bothered by continual white encroachment upon Indian lands, that his brother Alexander died under suspicious circumstances, and that Philip had ordered the assassination of his Christian Indian aide or secretary, John Sassamon, a one-time student at Harvard. Fearing retribution, the Wampanoag chieftain had then conspired with neighboring sachems to unite in common cause against the English. The anonymous correspondent relates the opening of hostilities at Swansea, Massachusetts, on June 24; refers to the rising of the northern natives on the Piscataqua River in New Hampshire, and concludes that all these troubles have been brought upon the English by their sins.[21]

The Present State of New-England With Respect to the Indian War is the first of three "N.S." letters, presumably by Nathaniel Saltonstall, a Harvard graduate then in his middle thirties. He wrote carefully, without religious bias, furnishing a general report which other relations duplicate in part but do not greatly modify. His first account covers events from June to the middle of October, 1675, including the initial attack on Swansea, Philip's flight from his headquarters at Mount Hope, the surprise assault on Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler near Brookfield, the defeat of Captain Beers at Northfield, and Indian raids on Springfield and Hatfield. Except for a slight confusion of two separate engagements fought by Captain Beers, the account is clear and precise.[22]

The second Saltonstall letter, *A Continuation of the State of New-England,* relates chiefly to events in Rhode Island; the burning of Warwick, and the Great Swamp Fight, December 19, in which a combined force of Massachusetts and Rhode Island men broke up the Narragansett

winter quarters. The author estimated native casualties in the latter engagement at three hundred and fifty-five, mostly women and children. He charged that the Indians were being armed from the north, and complained that the war was ruining trade.[23]

Saltonstall's third letter, *A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England,* carried the story into the summer of 1676, including Indian forays against Sudbury, Medfield, Groton, Plymouth and Providence, and the major skirmishes at Northampton and Turner's Falls. Saltonstall repeated the charge that "some of our neighbors" were treacherously furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition, and he criticized the Rhode Island Quakers for not supporting the war. The Island of Rhode Island, he admitted nevertheless, was a useful place of refuge for the distressed of many towns. The narrative stops just short of the capture of King Philip. None of Saltonstall's letters mention Captain Benjamin Church of Little Compton, Rhode Island, who considered himself the chief agent in the winning of the war.[24]

Benjamin Tompson, physician and early American poet, contributed to the war literature in verse. A native of Quincy, and a Harvard graduate, Tompson had taught school in his native town and elsewhere. His verses in *New-Englands Crisis* strike a pleasant note of relief from the more stark narratives of ambuscades and scalpings. Of King Philip he wrote:

> "And here methinks I see this greazy Lout
> with all his pagan slaves coil'd round about,
> Assuming all the majesty his throne
> Of rotten stump, or of the rugged stone
> Could yield; casting some bacon-rine-like looks,
> Enough to fright a Student from his books."

Tompson was not bitter against the Indians; he understood that the fundamental cause of the war was English interference with Indian life, and he realized the advantage the natives had gained by the 1670's in the use of firearms, a factor which made Philip's uprising so much more deadly than the Pequot affair of 1637:

> "Had only Swords these skirmishes decided
> All Pagan Sculls had been long since divided."[25]

One of the most interesting by-products of the war is Mary Rowlandson's captivity story, *The Soveraignty and Goodness of GOD.* Mrs. Rowlandson, wife of the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson, was one of twenty-four persons taken prisoner when Lancaster was attacked by the Indians in February, 1676. The greater part of her narrative deals with "Removes," or wanderings with her captors from east-central Massachusetts to southern Vermont and back again to be ransomed near home.

Considering her harrowing experiences, the story is remarkable for its urbanity, and expressions of sympathy for the Indians. Mrs. Rowlandson met King Philip, who treated her with kindness and respect. She made a shirt for the sachem's boy, using the shilling payment to buy a piece of horse-flesh for sustenance. Mrs. Rowlandson gives a vivid picture of Weetamoo, widow of Philip's brother Alexander: "A severe and proud Dame she was, bestowing every day in dressing her self neat as much time as any of the Gentry of the land: powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with Neck-laces, with Jewels in her ears, and Bracelets upon her hands . . . She had fine red Stokins, and white Shoos, her hair powdered and face painted Red, that was allwayes before Black."

The minister's wife testifies that no one died of starvation although food was scarce, that the Indians did not get drunk, that they relied on the French for powder, and that a Praying Indian wrote the notes for her ransom.[20] Her authoritative and sprightly written story of an eleven weeks captivity was widely read both in this country and Great Britain; it was one of the earliest, and it remained one of the most popular, of Indian Captivity stories of which there were later many.

The only considerable account of Captain Benjamin Church's part in the war is an autobiography edited by his son Thomas. Church was a Plymouth man, impetuous and continually active, a carpenter by training and an Indian fighter by avocation. When the war broke out he was building a house in what is now Little Compton, Rhode Island. Presumably his notes on the struggle with King Philip were jotted down in 1677, or at least soon after the close of hostilities; the printed work appeared shortly before the soldier's death.

Captain Church moved through the outer fringes of the war, distant from most of the better-known skirmishes, a consideration which helps to account for the slight mention he received in other contemporary chronicles. At the outset of hostilities, he arranged a meeting near his home with Awashonks, squaw-sachem of the Sakonnet Indians, whom he tried to keep out of the war. Church later tried to waylay Weetamoo, the lady whose fashion in dress was reported by Mary Rowlandson. He was in the famous Swamp Fight of December, 1675, where he seems to have played a strenuous rôle, at least he was three months recovering from wounds, but for some reason this part of his career is not mentioned by other writers of the time.

At the end of the war, Church was instrumental in effecting the capture of King Philip, and his wife and son. The following passage on the demise of Philip has become a classic:

"So some of Captain Church's Indians took hold of him [Philip] by his stockings, and some by his small breeches, being otherwise naked, and drew him through the mud to the upland; and a doleful, great, naked,

dirty beast he looked like. Captain Church then said, forasmuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied, and to rot above ground, that not one of his bones should be buried. And calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him. Accordingly he came with his hatchet, and stood over him, but before he struck, he made a small speech, directing it to Philip, and said, 'He had been a very great man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but so big as he was he would now chop his a--e for him.' And so he went to work, and did as he was ordered. Philip having one very remarkable hand, being much scarred, occasioned by the splitting of a pistol in it formerly, Captain Church gave the head and that hand to Alderman, the Indian who shot him, to show to such gentlemen as would bestow gratuities upon him; and accordingly he got many a penny by it."[27]

Church's narrative is important for what it adds to other accounts of the war. Whether the captain was a great hero or not, he accomplished a good deal on the periphery of major events. His history conveys the authentic flavor of Indian campaigns in their ordinary aspects. Pitched battles took place only occasionally; between times, the colonists skulked in native fashion through the woods, tramped miles looking for Indians, ate by camp fires or without any fire, tried to creep up on the enemy unawares, and ran away when hopelessly outnumbered. These homely aspects of warfare are brought home to us by Benjamin Church.

In addition to the writings by participants or casual observers, New England's wars with the Indians evoked the services of professional men of letters. Two members of the Mather family, and the Reverend William Hubbard, paid considerable attention to struggles with the natives.

Increase Mather

Increase Mather belongs to the middle generation of famous Mathers in early Massachusetts; his father Richard was pastor of the Dorchester church, a prolific writer of sermons and a contributor to the Bay Psalm Book; his son Cotton, an indefatigable writer also, was the most learned New Englander of his day.

Born in Dorchester in 1639, Increase began to incline toward scholarship at the age of fifteen. Ten years later, when he became teacher in the North Church in Boston, he possessed a library of nearly seven hundred titles. Mather declined offer of the presidency of Harvard in 1681, but accepted it later. His first important historical work was a biography of his father. He was a voluminous if perhaps uncritical reader; he had little sense of humor; but he could report on controversial matters with a fair degree of tolerance and impartiality.[28]

Mather wrote his story of King Philip's War in haste, since he desired to appear in print before his fellow minister, Hubbard. He assumed the

role of historian in deep sincerity, " . . . endeavouring to relate things truly and impartially, and doing the best I could that I might not lead the Reader into a Mistake."

Mather tried to be scrupulously fair, and he succeeded in that respect rather better than most Puritan historians. He admitted that the colonial soldiery made many errors in both strategy and tactics, and he extended his view of King Philip's War beyond the immediate environs of his own Bay colony. Sin, to be sure, always lurked in the conscious of Mather's mind. He attributes much of the English success against the Indians to enforcement of colony regulations against worldly excesses in wearing apparel and hair-dressing, and to the suppression of drinking and profanity. When Massachusetts put its own house in moral order, "the Lord gave our forces success" in the repulse of the Indians before Hatfield. Mather wasted little sympathy on heretical Rhode Island, where in March of 1676 the Indians "burnt about thirty houses at the town called Providence." Divine aid saved Bridgewater in his own colony, when the Lord "in the nick of time, sent thunder and Rain, which caused the Enemy to turn back."[29]

Mather closed his narrative with the death of King Philip, not waiting to learn the outcome of final hostilities in distant Maine. His story is longer and more pious than the Saltonstall accounts, but about as accurate, and it is much less vindictive against the Indians than Hubbard's history. Mather's writing suffered mainly from hasty composition, and lack of appreciation for the military aid supplied by colonists beyond the borders of Massachusetts or Plymouth.

Having hurried his King Philip narrative into print, Mather then wrote a separate volume on troubles with the Indians previous to 1675. He pieced the book together much as many histories are written today—from accounts of separate episodes already in print. For his *Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New-England, By reason of the Indians there,* Mather also used Governor Bradford's manuscript on Plymouth, and he paid some attention to such primary sources as the public records of the colonies. The result of this scientific research was eminently satisfactory. Mather assembled into compact form the pertinent material previously scattered in many other books on incidental brushes with the Indians during the first third of the seventeenth century. He quoted almost verbatim Captain John Mason's account of the Pequot War, although crediting it to another source. For events from the Pequot trouble to 1675, Mather's compilation degenerates into a miscellaneous tale of petty alarums and personal injuries. Discounting minor faults in detail, however, Mather's book is a conscientious chronological record of historical happenings.[30]

William Hubbard

The longest, most particular, and most virulent account of King Philip's War was written by William Hubbard, one of the first graduates of Harvard. As minister in Ipswich after 1658, Hubbard mixed in politics and other public affairs, and on two occasions he was acting-president of his Alma Mater. Hubbard pondered well the hazards of writing contemporary history.

A current narrative, he warned, composed "while the things mentioned are fresh in Memory, and the Actors themselves surviving, had need be perused with a wary Pace." The compiler of a contemporary work, he added, "can challenge little to himself but methodizing the Work, the Materials being found ready to his Hand; Diligence in gathering them together, and Faithfulness in improving them, is all that is upon point required of him."

Hubbard did not, however, evade the responsibility of passing judgment; wherever his data, gathered in part from letters or oral testimony, gave rise to contradictions, the author advanced the most tenable conclusion.

This educated clergyman and man of letters wrote in noble language—"Known unto God are all his Works from the Foundation of the World, though manifest to us only by the Events of Time." As an introduction to King Philip's War, he surveyed Anglo-Indian relations from 1607 on, devoting considerable attention to the Pequot uprising. After due deliberation, Hubbard concluded that the English had never provoked the Indians to hostility, but rather that the natives were doomed to destruction because of their refusal to accept Christianity. For the ill-starred King Philip, the author could hardly find epithets sufficiently opprobrious, beyond calling him a treacherous and perfidious catiff, white-livered cur, and bloody wretch. In spite of general antipathy to the natives, however, Hubbard dealt kindly with the captors of Mary Rowlandson, saying that they offered her no wrong save what they could not help, being often in want themselves.[31]

The latter part of Hubbard's narrative is not as well written as the first; it becomes a bare chronicle in which many events, especially any in the abhorred plantation of Rhode Island, are disposed of in a sentence. When he came to note the "Down East" sequel of Philip's uprising, he expressed as scornful an opinion of Maine and its white inhabitants as of the natives who dared challenge English supremacy. The eastern seacoast had little value, Hubbard declared, and the interior none at all, being scarce worth half the loss of life necessary to preserve it. But good would come, the minister-historian hoped, from all worldly trials: "God grant that by the Fire of all these Judgments, we may be purged

from our Dross, and become more refined People, as Vessels fitted for our Master's Use." Whenever the spiritual fire had become physical and destroyed native villages, Hubbard rejoiced in the burning of Indian women and children as the elimination of "all young Serpents of the same Brood."[32]

As a war historian, Hubbard equalled his contemporaries in care and candor, and surpassed them as a dramatic writer. The frequent violence of his language may lead to the suspicion that he was less impartial than other Puritan historians, but such an indictment would be only half true. All the Puritans, not excepting Bradford and Winthrop, had stern dislikes, and so did Hubbard, but the latter took less pains to conceal his prejudices. Of the middle or late seventeenth century Puritan group, only Increase Mather preserved a reasonably objective attitude toward controversial topics.

King William's War, 1689-97

About ten years after King Philips's death there began the series of international struggles known in America as the French and Indian Wars, which with occasional intermission continued for three-quarters of a century.

The first of the four major encounters, or King William's War, found able narrators in Cotton Mather and Benjamin Church. Preliminaries to the conflict were staged in 1687-89 in northern New York and eastern Maine; the full storm burst the following year, when Frontenac, governor of Canada, sent raiding expeditions into the region just noted. The English counter attacks on French territory were chronicled by a number of participants, the capture of Port Royal in Nova Scotia being briefly described in an anonymous diary notable for its references to English plunder: "Monday, May 12, at Port Royal We cut down the Cross, rifled the Church, Pu'lld down the High-Altar, breaking their Images: and brought our Plunder, Arms and Ammunition into Mr. Nelson's Storesouse; *Tuesday,* 13. And so kept gathering Plunder both by land and water, and also under ground in their Gardens, all the next day."[33]

Later in the year (1690), the colonial authorities marshalled forces for a joint expedition against Quebec; Sir William Phips sailed from Boston to penetrate the St. Lawrence by sea, and John Schuyler of New York advanced north from Albany with an army. Neither force reached its goal, but the naval campaign occasioned a short narrative, *An Account of the Late Action of the New-Englanders . . . Against the French at Canada,* by Major Thomas Savage of Boston. The major was in a party of twelve hundred men which attempted a landing at Beauport. He describes the unsuccessful manoeuvers on marshy ground, after which the troops were reëmbarked. Savage summarizes the reasons why the cam-

paign came to naught but a crushing debt of £50,000, a burden which led Massachusetts to embark on a distressing experience with paper money.[34] After the collapse of English attacks on Canada, the French again took the initiative, sending forces into central New York in February, 1692. Some information respecting colonial defense against this invasion may be gained from the *Journal* published by Nicholas Bayard and Charles Lodowick, officers attached to the forces operating under command of the New York governor, Benjamin Fletcher.[35]

Captain Benjamin Church, one of the chroniclers of King Philip's War, also wrote of his later campaigns against the Indians. Through lack of precise dates, his story is often confusing, but Church wrote in straightforward fashion, without unnecessary digressions. He made four expeditions to the eastward in King William's War, and a fifth in 1704. Church was a good historian within limits; essentially a soldier, he wrote of what he did, and where, without regard for literary form or the broad significance of the events treated. He belongs to the John Smith school of historical narration, although he was inferior to the latter in appreciation of the historical forces involved in his story.[36]

Cotton Mather

Cotton Mather wrote an extensive account of King William's War, called *Decennium Luctuosum,* or the doleful decade, the years 1688-98. Son of Increase Mather, and the most learned New Englander of his day, Cotton Mather wrote history in the chinks of a busy life otherwise filled by sermons, wives, children, disquisitions on witchcraft, scientific inquiry, and forays into politics.[37] Belief in witchcraft led him to do his first historical writing, then he composed a life of Sir William Phips, published in 1697.

Mather's account of King William's War, although not perfect in precision nor readability, is the best contemporary narrative of that struggle. We may with propriety direct searching analysis to *Decennium Luctuosum* since the author possessed scholarly advantages that soldier-diarists lacked, and since he openly invited ruthless criticism of his work. In his introduction, Mather immodestly admits that he is an author "in whose Historical Writings the most Inquisitive Envy has never to this hour detected so much as one Voluntary and Material Mistake." Following hard upon this boastful beginning is a challenge to "the most Sagacious Malice upon Earth" to detect one material error in this composure which "I will write with an Irreproachable and Incontestable Veracity," so that one "canst never with Reason Hiss at our History."[38]

With love of classical citation, Mather began his main narrative by quoting Diodorus Siculus, that the first object and primary consideration of history was the investigation of the original causes of great and

unusual happenings. But the learned Boston minister did not personally cope with the causes of King William's War; he presented the reasons offered by ministers in Dover, New Hampshire, and York, Maine, and left his readers to their own conclusions. Mather did pose a few questions indicating that the English settlers were not above reproach in their dealings with the French and Indians, but he declined to answer them, except by a learned pun: "I will be my self a Tacitus"—meaning he would be silent, and also a historian like the Roman Tacitus.[39]

Let us not judge Cotton Mather, however, wholly by sins of omission. His narrative, although often obscured by allusions sensible only to the learned, is substantial. Mather relates the initial hostilities between the colonists and the Indians in the late summer and early fall of 1688, at Saco, North Yarmouth, Sheepscot, and Kennebunk. He treats profusely the well-conceived but unsuccessful project of Governor Edmund Andros to defend England's "Down East" frontier. Andros, concludes Mather, took into Maine as "Effectual a Machin as the Green Dragon of Florence," that is to say, near a thousand men, who "frighted the salvages into their Inaccessible Dens." After a digression on the April 1689 revolution in Boston through which Andros was deposed, Mather returns to a detailed and readable account of the attacks of the Pennacook and Saco Indians on Dover, and of Captain Weems' surrender of the English fort at Pemaquid.

His account is very specific with respect to events of the summer: "On Aug. 28, 1689, Major Swayn, with Seven or Eight Companies, raised by the Massachuset-Colony, marched Eastward . . . [and soon after Captain Church of Plymouth followed them; and they pursued the Indians until the enemy] Retired into the howling Desarts where there was no Coming at them."[40] A modern account would strengthen the exposition here by reference to the arrival of Frontenac in Canada, and to the delay in his plans for invading English territory because of Iroquois activity near Montreal. For the year 1690, Mather gives circumstantial accounts of the French and Indian attacks on Schenectady and Salmon Falls. His story of the Phips expeditions to Port Royal and Quebec, however, pays no attention to the pillage at the former place and little to the reasons why the Anglo-American commander failed at the latter.

The remainder of *Decennium Luctuosum* follows the pattern already outlined. Mather is often vague on dates and detailed data respecting military engagements, but he makes up for this lack by anecdotes which add very human touches to the formal history. Near the close of the book is a long digression on Mather's controversy with the Quakers, and a warning for the future: Further evils will be visited upon New England, proclaimed the minister-historian, if schools are not more vigorously encouraged and faithful clergymen well treated.[41] He did not mention

the Salem witchcraft episode as a factor weakening the Massachusetts defense against the French and Indians. If Mather's narrative leaves much to be desired in precise information, or exposition on why military encounters resulted as they did, at least *Decennium Luctuosum* covers the ground more comprehensively than any other contemporary narrative. Had the author only suppressed more of his obtrusive learning, the book would be much more palatable to modern readers. Otherwise the story runs from beginning to end in chronological order, and the frequent digressions, if disconcerting to an orderly mind, are usually interesting in themselves.

Samuel Penhallow

Since most of us privately delight in report of violence and bloodshed, tales of Indian captivities and even sober narratives of Indian wars have long commanded an extensive reading public. Although not very well known today, Samuel Penhallow's *History of the Wars . . . With the Eastern Indians* held high place in the martial literature of the eighteenth century.

Samuel Penhallow was neither author nor scholar by profession, but a successful merchant and public official. Coming to America in 1686, a sober and godly young man, he settled in Portsmouth, married into the governing class of New Hampshire, and gave up early intention to enter the ministry for the more worldly occupation of trader. Through capacity as well as fortunate connections, he rose to be chief justice, and to die a very wealthy man in spite of having raised a large family. Tales of Indian wars interested him, as they did all contemporary New Englanders, so he kept records of Queen Anne's War (1701-13) and its aftermath, to show the world that God has, for our sins, "left a sufficient Number of the fierce and barbarous Savages on our borders, to be pricks in our Eyes, and thorns in our Sides." Penhallow felt that the particular sin for which New Englanders were being punished was their failure to Christianize the Indians. Apparently he was not bothered by the logical deduction from this premise, that in raising up wars the Lord was helping exterminate prospective converts to the true religion. Passing from theological to worldly causes of war, Penhallow admits as shyly as did Cotton Mather that the English were not above suspicion of having imposed on the natives, but whereas the latter let the imputation stand without proof, Penhallow turned it aside with a bold gesture: "But to censure the Publick for the sinister Actions of a few private Persons, is utterly repugnant to Reason and Equity."[42]

Penhallow's narrative begins with the conference at Casco, Maine, in June, 1702, between Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts and the Eastern Indians, and proceeds in readable fashion through the important

happenings of the next twenty-three years. Major events are separated by a multitude of small episodes; in fact, a mere listing of individual atrocities committed by the redman would run to about a third the length of the book. That the white man could descend to the Indian level is suggested by note of the posting of a £40 bounty on Indian scalps. Penhallow did not wallow in gore, however; he presented atrocity stories with considerable objectivity, rarely permitting himself an emotional outburst like the following: "As the milk white Brows of the Grave and *Ancient* had no respect shown; so neither had the mournful cries of tender *Infants* the least pity." The author embellished sections of his story with scholarly allusions in the style of Cotton Mather, but learned references to Priam, Domitian, Plutarch and Juvenal came less easily to the Portsmouth merchant than to the behemoth of Boston. Superficially it might appear that Penhallow stressed the trivial to the neglect of the significant, but that is a matter of perspective. To a contemporary, the destruction of a whole town seemed no more terrible than lesser tragedies: "Teeming Women, in cold Blood, have been ript open; others fastned to Stakes, and burnt alive." Penhallow's account of episodes now considered important may be brief, but it is competent. Without superfluous data, he gives sound estimate of the Benjamin Church expedition along the Maine coast, the capture of Port Royal, and the unfortunate Hill-Walker attempt to take Quebec.[43]

Penhallow's volume is less scholarly than the Indian narratives by Increase and Cotton Mather, but more objective than the work of William Hubbard. Written by a layman, the book is not overly concerned with interventions of Divine Providence. It records happenings both great and small as they would have come to the notice of an average, well-informed contemporary. In present-day language, the narrative represents a newsreel of impending disaster, violence and sudden death, which is what the Indian wars really were to colonial Americans.

Cadwallader Colden

Nearly every early colonial writer paid some attention to the Indians, either for themselves or with respect to their dealings with the white settlers. With the exception of Roger Williams and Thomas Morton, New Englanders stressed Indian missions or wars, but many writers elsewhere, especially in New York and Virginia, delved into Indian customs as an essential ingredient of a complete history of New World affairs.

The first thorough job in the field of Indian family life and tribal government was achieved by Cadwallader Colden, a versatile man to whom the writing of history was the least of several accomplishments. A philosopher and scientist, for many years lieutenant-governor of New

York, Colden wrote from a background both scholarly and practical. If not a profound work ethnologically, in which respect his *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* ranks below the French authorities on which it partly depends, the book presents an urbanely written thesis demonstrating that the Iroquois were cruel but noble savages who, under discreet management, could be kept faithful to the English imperial cause against France. Although composed for a limited political objective, the book still remains an important item in Indian historiography, surpassed for New York only by Peter Wraxall's *Abridgement* of Indian affairs.[44]

Colden's work has been called a confused and uninteresting account of sundry parcels of savages, "a history of what deserves no history." The stricture is much too harsh. The cultivated Scotsman, correspondent of Linnaeus, Benjamin Franklin, Peter Collinson, and Samuel Johnson, wrote with a capable and understanding pen. He did not pretend to know too much. Lacking time for intensive research, Colden consulted available if not entirely trustworthy sources on matters beyond his ken; he went to French authors, De la Potherie and Baron La Hontan, for material on Indian culture, and to reports of the English Indian commissioners for official accounts of treaties. Colden himself took part in some of the late proceedings of which he wrote. His book is a notable record of a native people who played a very important part in colonial history; it was widely read by contemporaries, no less an authority than Franklin declaring "'tis a well wrote, entertaining & instructive Piece, and must be exceedingly usefull to all those Colonies who have anything to do with Indian Affairs."

Colden admits that the Iroquois were a poor and barbarous people: "But what, alas! Sir, have we Christians done to make them better?" The author pleads indulgence if his work be crammed with adventures of small parties, and wordy quotations from native speeches. Indian warfare, he explains, seldom rose above a series of minor engagements, whereas the orations illustrated the real genius of the Indians. He adds: "I have sometimes thought, that Histories wrote with all the Delicacy of a fine Romance, are like French Dishes, more agreeable to the Palate than the Stomach, and less wholesome than more common and coarser Diet."[45]

Colden lacked the literary skill of a Francis Parkman, famous nineteenth century historian of Indian warfare, but the New Yorker's matter-of-fact references to Indian barbarities convey a feeling of realism.

Colden's sketch of the government of the Iroquois is a slender performance, equalled or surpassed by Roger Williams, Van der Donck, and John Lawson, to mention a few of his predecessors in the field.[46] But Colden, like Williams, used an Indian text to preach a sermon to

white people. Commenting on the courage of the Iroquois, he declared: "That it is in the Power of the Rulers of a People to make them either Great or Little; for by inculcating only the Notions of Honour and Virtue, or those of Luxury and Riches, the People, in a little Time, will become such as their Rulers desire."

Colden tried to soften English horror of Indian barbarities by reminding his readers that ancient peoples had made burnt sacrifice of live children, not to speak of recent times in which Christians had burned one another "for God's Sake." With the contentious colonial assemblies in mind, he remarks that the Indian propensity for speech making is "ever the natural Consequence of a perfect Republican [form of] Government."[47]

Part I of the narrative proper carries the story of Iroquois relations with other Indian tribes, and with the white settlers, from the early seventeenth century to 1688. Colden deprecated French influence over the Indians, but magnanimously praised many of the Catholic pioneers, who "far exceeded the English in the daring Attempts . . . in travelling very far among unknown Indians, discovering new Countries, and every where spreading the Fame of the French Name and Grandeur." English transactions with the Iroquois at Albany in the summer of 1684 illustrate Indian oratory, which Colden was adept at reporting. In so far as the impressive sweep of a long ceremonial can be judged from an excerpt, the following peace pledge may be considered typical.

"We are glad [proclaimed the Indian spokesman] that Assarigoa will bury in the Pit what is past. Let the Earth be trod hard over it; or rather, let a strong Stream run under the Pit, to wash the Evil away out of our Sight and Remembrance, and that it may never be digged up again."[48]

Part II continues the Iroquois story to the end of King William's War. Colden praised the ethical conduct of the French, save for a few occasions on which Frontenac sanctioned the torture of prisoners, a relapse, the author asserted, which illustrates how false policy and a corrupt religion can debase a great mind. In describing the French and Indian marches in the dead of winter, Colden notes how at night the soldiers dug holes in the snow, built a fire in the center, and lay about it warmer than one could imagine that has never tried it. Colden censured many features of the English management of the war, and scolded colonial authorities for not being more energetic, especially for not giving more support to their Iroquois allies. Although his own colony of New York, he observed, sometimes failed to fulfill its promises to the Indians, the Iroquois nevertheless remained loyal to their friendship with the English: "Here we see these Barbarians, these Savages, as we call them, acting with the greatest regard to the Treaties they had entered into with their Allies."

The "Faithful Mohawks," it must be admitted, were often crude associates, as Colonel Schuyler discovered when invited to take broth with them after a French repulse—"which he did, till they, putting the Ladle into the Kettle to take out more, brought out a French Man's Hand, which put an End to his Appetite."[49]

Colden attained an imperial perspective on colonial history, a rare achievement for American writers of his time. Although his book was buttressed by less data or documentation than that common to succeeding accounts of British-America as a whole, Colden wrote as an aristocrat, or a general astride a hilltop commanding both the broad battlefield and the manoeuvers of individual battalions.

James Adair

Quite different from Colden's account of the Iroquois is Adair's history of the southern Indians. The New Yorker viewed his dusky allies as pawns in the game of empire, whereas the Carolina trader ate and slept with the subjects of his description. Adair's work is more ethnological than Colden's; his narrative shorter, anecdotal, and less cohesive. Adair was more realistic than Roger Williams, since he did not exalt Indian culture in order to teach white people a lesson in manners: "Truth hath been my grand standard [so that] it will be easier afterwards for persons of solid learning, and free from secular cares, to trace their [the Indian's] origin, clear up the remaining difficulties, and produce a more perfect history."[50] Adair's work can better be likened to that of Oviedo and Acosta than to the Indian writings of most Anglo-Americans.

Little is known about the author except what can be gleaned from his book. He was presumably born in Ireland; he came to America about 1735, and for forty years ranged over the present states of Virginia, both Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, observing with a well educated eye the habits of his friends and customers, the Catawbas, Cherokees, Creeks and Chickasaws. Adair is said to have visited New York in 1769, and probably he was in London in 1775 when his book went to press. He is reputed to have died in North Carolina near the end of the Revolution. Adair was on good terms with other Indian traders, such as George Galphin and George Croghan; he earned the respect of Sir William Johnson of New York, but disagreed frequently on matters of policy with Governor James Glen of South Carolina. The author must have preserved his notes at great expense of time and trouble. As for the trial of literary composition, he lamented: "The author was separated by his situation, from the conversation of the learned, and from any libraries." He apologized, as Colden had, that so much of his book was stuffed with minor happenings and misadventures.

He justly claimed, however, that the reader could draw one great benefit from his work, for "I sat down to draw the Indians on the spot—had them many years standing before me,—and lived with them as a friend and brother."[51]

Adair's major thesis may now be ignored—he sought to prove that the American natives were descended from the ancient Hebrews—but his book provides a valuable piece of description of the natives as they were. Adair transmitted to posterity some four hundred and sixty pages of material on Indian festivals, food, language, games, marriage and funeral customs, ornaments, sacrifices, and methods of warfare. By comparison with Colden's more formalized writing, Adair's book appears much less historical in a narrative sense, yet it includes important passages on Indian-French relations, as well as extensive notes on trade, and border skirmishes, with the English colonists.

The Carolinian wrote competently but without dramatic flair. Some of his passages show the Indians to have been close kin to Puritans, or other intensely religious persons, who were wont to blame wars and other great calamities on personal sin. Cherokee chiefs, for instance, ascribed a smallpox epidemic of 1738 to recent weakening in the vows of wedlock; the whole community was being punished by the plague because young people "violated their ancient laws of marriage in every thicket, and broke down and polluted many of the honest neighbors bean-plots."[52]

Adair achieved an authoritative summary of Indian civilization from long and intimate association with the subjects of his story. Although his book is more noteworthy for interpretation of habits and customs than events, it provides a vast source of general information without which later writers would have been hard pressed for data.

Anglo-American writings on the Indians were generally inferior to Spanish or French works on the natives, perhaps because Englishmen were more interested in gaining the Indians' land than in appreciating their culture or converting their souls. But at least a half-dozen writers, Colden and Adair in particular, made a notable attempt to understand native history in its white context.

There is a very extensive literature on the Indians of North America. Since this survey, however, is concerned with specific contemporary writings on the Indians rather than with native culture as a whole, it does not seem essential to review here the general works. The most useful collection of reprints of Indian war stories of the seventeenth century is Charles H. Lincoln, *Narratives of the Indian Wars* (New York, 1913). Collateral references on individual contemporary works are given in the following notes.

NOTES

1 Philip Vincent, *A True Relation of the Late Battell Fought in New England* (London, 1637), pp. 4, 10-17. A 1638 edition is reprinted in 3 M.H.S. *Collections,* VI, 29-43. See also Howard Bradstreet, *The Story of the War With the Pequots, Re-Told* (New Haven, 1933).

2 *D.A.B.,* XIX, 110-11. John Underhill, *Newes From America* (London, 1638); see pp. 26-28 of reprint in 3 M.H.S. *Collections,* VI.

3 Louis B. Mason, *The Life and Times of Major John Mason of Connecticut* (New York, 1935).

4 John Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War* (Boston, 1736); see reprint in 2 M.H.S. *Collections,* VIII, 127, 144, 148, 151-52.

5 Lion Gardiner, *Relation of the Pequot Warres* (c. 1660), printed in 3 M.H.S *Collections,* III. Sketch of author in *D.A.B.,* VII, 138.

6 John Winthrop, *A Declaration of Former Passages . . .* (Boston, 1645); reprint in Samuel A. Green, *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to New England* (Boston, 1902).

7 Quoted in 2 M.H.S. *Proceedings,* I, 14.

8 *D.A.B.,* VI, 79-90; and see M.H.S. *Collections,* VIII, 5-35.

9 John Wilson was a Cambridge M.A; teacher at the First Church in Boston (John Cotton's church) from 1630 to his death in 1667. He was a spokesman of orthodoxy, chaplain in the expedition against the Pequots, and a writer of both poetry and prose; *D.A.B.,* XX 336-37.

10 *The Day-Breaking . . .* (London, 1647), pp. 2-3, 5. The pamphlet includes account of three other native services in 1646, and a note on how Nonatum came into being as the first Christian Indian town where, under guidance, the natives were to create a community in imitation of the white man's. For good secondary accounts of Indian mission work, see the first part of William De Loss Love, *Samson Occom, and the Christian Indians of New England* (Boston, 1899), and S. E. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century,* I, Chap. XVII.

11 *D.A.B.,* XVII, 75-76; Shepard's autobiography is in Colonial Society of Massachusetts *Publications,* Vol. 27, pp. 352-400.

12 Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (London, 1648), pp. 2, 6, 13-14, 23, 31. Indian George is also on record for having sold Harvard College some ordinary cow flesh under the label of moose.

13 Edward Winslow, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, Amongst the Indians in New England* (London, 1649), pp. 3-4, 7-8, 9-10, 12-13.

14 *D.A.B.,* XX, 133-34. Whitfield preached to the Indians, and was an active member of the New England Company (missions) until his death in 1657. Text commentary from *The Light Appearing . . .* (London, 1651), introduction and pp. 1-3, 5-6, 11-12.

15 Henry Whitfield, *Strength Out of Weaknesse* (London, 1652), pp. 15-20. Both Whitfield tracts are in *Sabin's Reprints* (Quarto Series, 1865, Nos. 3, 5).

16 John Eliot, *Tears of Repentance* (London, 1653), foreword and pp. 1-2, 5.

17 John Eliot, *A Late and Further Manifestation . . .* (London, 1655), foreword and pp. 3-4, 6-9, 15-16, 21.

18 John Eliot, *A Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel . . .* (London, 1660), pp. 1-2, 35, 76. Eliot's last missionary tract, *A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New-England, in the Year 1670* (London, 1671), is a slim pamphlet of eleven pages, mentioning all nine of the Christian Indian towns in Massachusetts but giving little data about any except the largest, Natick, where there were from forty to fifty regular communicants. Eliot's most

notable, and least useful, production was a series of books in the Algonquian language, particularly the Bible, or *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God* (1661-63), which a good many Indians could once have understood, even if tribes living a few miles apart spoke different dialects, but which hardly two or three scholars can read today.

19 Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England,* published in M.H.S. *Collections* for 1792; and *An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England,* published by the American Antiquarian Society in 1836.

20 G. W. Ellis and J. E. Morris, *King Philip's War* (New York, 1906), is recommended.

21 *A Brief and True Narration of the Late Wars Risen in New-England* (London, 1675), pp. 3-5, 8. The assumption that Philip was the ringleader of a well-planned uprising runs through most seventeenth century narratives, but it has been questioned in recent times.

22 N. S., *The Present State Of New-England . . .* (London, 1675); see reprint in Lincoln, *Narratives of the Indian Wars,* pp. 27-28, 35, 39, 42-43.

23 N. S., *A Continuation of the State of New-England . . .* (London, 1676); see Lincoln, *op. cit.,* pp. 56-61, 64-65, 67-68.

24 N. S., *A New and Further Narrative . . .* (London, 1676); see Lincoln, *op. cit.,* pp. 78-79, 80-84, 86-87, 95-96, 98.

25 *New-Englands Crisis* (Boston, 1676), see facsimile by the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston, 1894), pp. 10-11, 17, 21. Tompson published the same year a supplementary narrative, *New-Englands Tears For Her Present Miseries.* See sketch of author in *D.A.B.,* XVIII, 384-85.

Among minor war publications may be mentioned the following: Edward Wharton, *New England's Present Sufferings Under Their Cruel Neighboring Indians* (London, 1675), partially a Quaker tract; *News From New-England* (London, 1676); *A Further Brief and True Narration of the Late Wars Risen in New-England* (London, 1676), reprinted as "The Swamp Fight Tract" with introduction by G. P. Winship (Providence, 1912); *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences . . . From the Fifth of May, 1676 to the Fourth of August Last* (London, 1676); and Thomas Wheeler, *A Thankefull Remembrance of Gods Mercy to Several Persons at Quabaug or Brookfield* (London, 1676).

26 Mary Rowlandson, *The Soveraignty and Goodness of GOD* (Cambridge and London, 1682), many times reprinted, recently by F. L. Weis (Boston and New York, 1930); text commentary from Lincoln, *op. cit.,* pp. 134-35, 150, 152, 157, 159.

27 Thomas Church, *The History of King Philip's War . . .* (Boston, 1716); see 1825 edition by Samuel G. Drake, pp. 16-19, 58-62, 67-68, 71-72, 100-01. On Benjamin Church, see *D.A.B.,* IV, 99-100. The son's volume includes his father's later expeditions, 1689-1704, against the Eastern Indians and the French.

28 *D.A.B.,* XII, 392-94; and Kenneth Murdoch, *Increase Mather: The Foremost American Puritan* (Cambridge 1925), which suffers only from an unnecessarily apologetic tone on Mather's connection with witchcraft. See also Thomas J. Holmes, *The Mather Literature* (Cleveland, 1927), and *Increase Mather, A Bibliography of his Works* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1931). The latter lists 102 complete works, with comments on each.

29 Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England* (Boston and London, 1676); text commentary from edition by Samuel G. Drake (Boston, 1862), see Note to Reader, and pp. 35-36, 84-86, 89, 91-92, 98-101, 132, 143. Mather frequently exaggerated Indian battle losses.

30 Increase Mather, *A Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New-England, By reason of the Indians there* (Boston, 1677); edited by S. G. Drake as *Early History of New England* (Boston, 1864.) Mather's illustrative anecdotes are most readable.

31 *D.A.B.*, IX, 333-34. Hubbard also wrote a history of New England, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1815. *A Narrative of the Troubles with The Indians in New-England* (Boston, 1677; there was a second edition, slightly different, in London the same year), is in S. G. Drake, *The History of the Indian Wars in New England* (Roxbury, 1865), I; see pp. 11-12, 15-16, 44, 47-48.

32 *Ibid.*, I, 90, 92, 167, 244, 292. The last contemporary folio in the King Philip series is *The Warr in New-England Visibly Ended* (London, 1677), by Richard Hutchinson, nephew of Anne Hutchinson. The very short tract, reprinted in Lincoln, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-06, gives a circumstantial account of capture and death of King Philip.

33 *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Late Expedition to Port Royal* (Boston, 1690), p. 6.

34 Thomas Savage, *An Account of the Late Action of the New-Englanders . . .* (London, 1691), pp. 4-5, 11-12.

35 *A Journal of the Late Actions of the French at Canada* (London, 1693), reprinted at Philadelphia the same year under slightly different title, and by Joseph Sabin (New York, 1868). There is also a *Journal* (New York, 1693), by Bayard and Stephen Courtland, containing material on Governor Fletcher's interviews with the Iroquois and Hudson River Indians.

36 *War With The Eastern Indians, In Five Expeditions, Under Colonel Church* (originally published 1716; separately titled and reprinted with the S. G. Drake edition of the King Philip narrative cited above). Modern accounts of King William's War are naturally more complete; see, for example, the pertinent chapters in William Kingsford, *The History of Canada* (10 vols., Toronto, 1887-98), Vol. II.

37 See Chapter IX below for a fuller account of Cotton Mather.

38 Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum* (Boston, 1699); see reprint in Lincoln, *Narratives of the Indian Wars,* pp. 179-80, 185.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 186-88, 190.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 201-03.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 277-97.

42 *D.A.B.*, XIV, 427. Samuel Penhallow, *The History of the Wars of New-England, With the Eastern Indians* (Boston, 1726; reprinted Cincinnati, 1859), preface, introduction, and p. 2.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 16-19, 37, 49-56, 62-66. The last part of the book covers the private war of the New Englanders against the Maine Indians, 1722-25.

44 After its first appearence, Colden's book came out in London editions of 1747, 1750, and 1755; there is a New York edition (1866) with notes by John G. Shea; and a Toronto edition (1902). For more extended bibliographical notes, see Lawrence C. Wroth, *An American Bookshelf, 1755* (Philadelphia, 1934), Appendix X. Wraxall's *Abridgement* was edited by Charles H. McIlwain (Cambridge, 1916).

45 *D.A.B.*, IV, 286-87. Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (London, 1750), dedication and preface. Colden confessed to the lack of English accounts of the Five Nations. There was adequate Dutch material on the Indians, but Colden did not read the language. For an example of the consideration recently bestowed on native treaties, see Julian P. Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin 1736-1762* (Philadelphia, 1938).

46 Lawson wrote on the Southern Indians; see below, Chapter XI.
47 Colden, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 6, 14. With admirable caution, Colden avoided dogmatism on the original culture of the Indians. Writing more than a century after the first contacts between red men and white, he could perceive some adaptations, particularly the growing Indian thirst for strong drink, and the relegation of bows and arrows to the status of children's playthings.
48 Colden, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 49. Assarigoa was the Iroquois name for the governor of Virginia.
49 Colden, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 147-48, 178. A continuation of Colden's history was published in 1935 (N. Y. Hist. Soc. *Collections,* IX, 359-434). Colden also wrote a history of New York during the administrations of Governor Cosby and Lieutenant-Governor Clark, including a section on the famous Zenger libel case (*Ibid.,* IX, 283-355).
50 James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), dedication.
51 *D.A.B.,* I, 33-34. Adair, *op. cit.,* preface.
52 *Ibid.,* p. 232.

CHAPTER VIII

INTRIGUE AND INSURRECTION

INSURRECTION, heresy, and witchcraft provoked many social conflicts in Colonial America. The story of these dissensions, which were usually more polemic than bloodthirsty, lies in episodical narratives and tendentious tracts ranging from a mild protest against the parlous condition of the Virginia clergy to Daniel Horsmanden's horrendous account of the 1741 Negro plot in New York.[1] Every colony experienced some local disturbance, but geographically speaking there were four centers of social unrest—Virginia, Maryland, New York and New England. We shall be concerned with the story of what happened rather than with controversial arguments *per se,* although the dividing line between the two is often blurred. Many reports contain an inseparable combination of narrative and propaganda.

Maryland

Maryland experienced after 1648 a large influx of Puritans, which resulted in a movement for the overthrow of the Catholic proprietorship. In 1652, Parliamentary commissioners took partial control of the Maryland government, and hearings were held in London to determine the future status of the province. At this juncture appeared *The Lord Baltemore's Case,* a pamphlet perhaps compiled by the proprietor, Cecil Calvert, himself, which recites the expenditure of more than £4,000 to develop the province, at least £2,000 of which had come from Baltimore's own purse. The proprietor denied that Maryland was sympathetic to monarchy in general, or to the pretensions of the future Charles II in particular.[2] Despite this temperate plea in attempt to curry favor with Parliament, Lord Baltimore lost his province for a time. Under Puritan influence, the Maryland assembly of 1654 repudiated the proprietor's authority, but at Baltimore's insistence, Governor William Stone opposed the "popular" or assembly rule, an action which led to bloodshed and civil war, the course of which may be traced through six contemporary writings.

Virginia and Maryland, or The Lord Baltamore's Printed CASE, Uncased and Answered is a rejoinder to the preceding tract, a rebuttal rich in document and data, but nevertheless partisan and studded with false claims and implications. Baltimore is charged with "ruinating" the province, and establishing the "Romish Religion onely," to the complete

suppression of Protestants. The repulse of Governor Stone at the Battle of the Severn, which took place near Annapolis, March 25, 1655, is credited to God's being on the side of the Protestant people.[3]

Roger Heamans next plunged into the controversy with *An Additional Brief Narrative of a Late Bloody Design Against the Protestants in . . . Maryland.* Heamans was a New England trader, master of the *Golden Lyon,* and probably a Puritan, although not intimately connected with either side of the Maryland quarrel. His short but vivid account is in the form of a deposition, undoubtedly written for him by a secretary or some partisan of the anti-Baltimore party. Heamans tells how he was approached by the *people's* governor, William Fuller, and informed that the *proprietary* governor Stone was going to destroy all the Protestants on the Severn. Heamans thereupon agreed to give some women and children refuge on his vessel. Stone then ordered Heamans to aid the proprietary side, which the captain refused to do. His ship was unsuccessfully attacked by a party in small boats the night before the Battle of the Severn. In conclusion, Heamans insists he was in no way connected with local plottings, and that he never left his vessel except on business related to his cargo.[4] Maybe so, but it is evident that the presence and disposition of Heaman's *vessel* aided the Puritan side in this episode of the civil war.

Leonard Strong, author of *Babylon's Fall in Maryland,* was an agent for the Puritan town of Providence near the present Annapolis. His text relates largely to the Battle of the Severn and its antecedents. Strong asserts, although apparently without basis in fact, that Puritan immigrants to Maryland in 1649 and after were forced to take oath to uphold "Antichrist" or the "Roman Catholick Religion." Strong states fairly accurately the immediate background of the crisis of March 1655, although he conceals, naturally enough, the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the Maryland assembly of October, 1654. Strong refers to Captain Heamans of the *Golden Lyon* as one who was at first unwilling to mix in the fray, but who later offered his ship and men to the Puritan cause. The author took pains to prove that the Catholic party began the fighting at the Severn, a use of history—to cast obloquy on the enemy—common to the beginning of most wars. Strong's postscript to his main story is in the true Puritan tradition of historical causation:

"Thus God our Strength appeared for us; and the blood which they thirsted after in others, was given to themselves to drink; the miseries which they threatned to the innocent, fell upon the guilty; the pit which they digged for others, themselves fell into; the cords which they brought to binde us, bound themselves. This is the Lord's doing, it may well be marvellous in our eyes."[5]

John Langford assailed Strong's pamphlet in *A Just and Cleere Refutation.* The author, some twenty years in Lord Baltimore's service, pro-

tests that Puritan immigrants need not have come to Maryland unless they wished, and that they sought not religious freedom but dominion after their own pleasure. He asserts that Captain Heamans fired on Governor Stone before the latter made any hostile move, and that a major cause of Stone's distress after the Battle of the Severn was the blocking up of a small creek by "a New England bark" which thus cut off the retreat of the proprietary party.

"Though it be a good thing to sing prayses and give thankes to God [Langford concluded with reference to Strong's pamphlet] so tis a good thing to know God is not mocked, but will render unto every man according to his actions, and vindicate the innocent."

In comparison with Strong's tract, Langford's writing is temperate and judicial.[6]

John Hammond, previously noted as the author of *Leah and Rachel*, contributed to the pamphlet war a short and vitriolic tract, *Hammond versus Heamans*, which contains little history but heaps abuse on the New England captain who briefly intervened in the Maryland civil war.[7]

No one of the pamphlets on the Maryland troubles of the 1650's gives a complete story or an impartial story. Had the issue of the civil war been decided by the most vociferous pamphleteers, the Puritan party would have won. As the weight of historical veracity and temperateness of judgment lay with the Catholic party, it is pleasing to record that Lord Baltimore regained his province in 1657. Maryland experienced several other anti-proprietary uprisings before the close of the seventeenth century, but none of them engendered a significant literature.

Virginia

Historical writing on Virginia in the second half of the seventeenth century is much less impressive than that for the founding period. The province produced no historian of note for almost a century after John Smith, or until Robert Beverley's survey of 1705. The long arid stretch is relieved only by small descriptive pieces, a few travel journals, and several polemics. Even Bacon's Rebellion left less impress on current literature than would probably have been the case had the uprising occurred elsewhere, especially in New England. The explanation of Virginia's temporary dearth of historical writing may assume the nature of an argument *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, but tentative reasons may be suggested. A leisure class with an aristocratic tradition, private libraries, and college trained sons, did not rise to prominence until the eighteenth century; early Virginia had few large towns or urban centers where diverse minds could strike off sparks by mutual association or friction; until the 1690's the province lacked a college, and until 1730 a printing press.[8]

About the middle of the seventeenth century appeared a reform pam-

phlet worth passing mention. William Bullock, the author of *Virginia Impartially Examined,* had not been to America, but a study of the works of Hariot, Lane, Smith and others led him to speculate on the reasons for the colony's slow growth in population and prosperity. The major part of his book, hence, is directed to proposals for Virginia's improvement. Bullock complains that "The Countries disease" sprang in part from the avarice of the governors. Assemblymen, he continues, were too often chosen because of family connections or wealth rather than for honesty and ability. Bullock deplored Virginia's dependence on tobacco, the Indian acquisition of firearms, and the frequent unrest among indented servants because so many of them had been kidnapped or "spirited" away from home. For broadening the economic structure, Bullock urged the production of silk, potash, and naval stores, and for bettering the government he suggested a plan, which probably would not have worked well, for a rotating executive, each member of a council of thirteen to serve in turn as governor for a year. Bullock's pamphlet is chiefly important as an early indication of an Englishman's dissatisfaction with the system of royal government in America.[9]

As already noted, the most serious insurrection in seventeenth century Virginia, Bacon's Rebellion of 1675-76, made little impress on contemporary writing. Had the uprising occurred in New England, one trembles to think of the number of heated pamphlets, pro and con, that would undoubtedly have poured from the local press. The middle class uprising in Virginia against a rapacious and arbitrary royal government assuredly deserved a history, yet it received attention in but one contemporary account of any importance, the anonymous *Strange News From Virginia.*

The author of this short pamphlet considered Bacon "the only Cause and Original of all the late Troubles in that Country," yet he endeavored to be fair, and to give the rebel his due. He admits that Bacon came from a respectable family, and had long lived "in good repute." The unknown writer does not greatly blame Bacon for taking up arms, without Governor Berkeley's consent, in order to repulse the Indians who had attacked his plantation on the upper James River. Although writing from the government side of the controversy, the author does not harshly condemn Bacon for marching on Jamestown with some five hundred men in June, 1676, to force Berkeley to grant him a military commission. The pro-government author naturally deplored Bacon's subsequent activities, of "skulking in the woods" and having occasional brushes with the governor's supporters. The anonymous narrative ends with the philosophic conclusion that "Indulgent Heavens" put an end to the disorders through Bacon's death, from natural causes.[10] The narrative is reasonablly impartial, but too short and lacking in detail to convey a very clear picture of the Virginia troubles of the period; it contains very little hint of the

broad social and governmental controversies responsible for Bacon's Rebellion.

New England

New England literature from about 1645 to the end of the century is almost wholly controversial. Except for the Indian narratives already noted, a few small pieces of description, and the more ambitious general histories by Edward Johnson and Nathaniel Morton to be reviewed later, contemporary writing dealt with quarrels over land, resistance to authority, and insurrections of the spirit.

Nathaniel Ward

Whether Nathaniel Ward's *Simple Cobler of Aggawam* should be called a defense of theocracy or a humorous commentary on manners depends on the reader's inclination. The greater part of the work is a substantial writing on the Massachusetts system of government, although the digressions on feminine styles and conduct are much more entertaining. Ward was a Cambridge M.A., a minister ousted from his English parish by Archbishop Laud, who settled in 1633 in Aggawam, the old Indian name for Ipswich. He helped to compile the first Bay Colony code of laws of 1641. Poor health caused him to give up pastoral duties after a few years. Ward wrote under a pseudonym (Theodore de la Guard), and chose *Simple Cobler* as the title of his book for a definite purpose—to disguise the fact that it was a piece of tendentious writing in support of the clergy, by one of that fraternity. He wanted to give the impression that his book was a simple narrative written by a humble artisan who was "Willing to help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take."[11]

However thinly disguised his authorship may have been, the fact that minister Ward was intolerant of toleration stands out on every page of *Simple Cobler*. Probably the most frequently-quoted passage is the following: "I dare take upon me, to bee the Herault of New-England so farre, as to proclaime to the world, in the name of our Colony, that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts, shall have free Liberty to keep away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better."

Ward disdained formal reference to the neighboring colony of Rhode Island, that lively experiment in soul liberty, but he several times condemned the Roger Williams plantation by implication, concluding shrewdly that most religious opinionists desired not so much satisfaction as *satisdiction*.[12]

In the middle of the book occur the social digressions which have led many commentators to call *Simple Cobler* a humorous publication. For

example, Ward writes of a vain woman who aped court fashion in dress:

"I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the ipitome of Nothing, fitter to be kickt, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honour'd or humour'd. To speak moderately, I truly confess it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive, how those Women should have any true Grace, or valuable vertue, that have so little wit, as to disfigure themselves with such exotick garbes, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gantbar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten shell-fish, Egyptian Hyeroglyphicks, or at the best into French flurts of the pastery."

Sallies of this sort have caused Ward to be misinterpreted. His book is more entertaining than most Puritan writings, but it is nevertheless more concerned with religious orthodoxy than with oddities in deportment. Possibly Ward felt that references to bar-geese and French flirts well became his assumed rôle of cordwainer. The humorous digressions, however, are not germane to his argument. Ward's real philosophy may be summed up in his succinct passage on obedience: "Authority must have power to make and keep people honest; People, honesty to obey Authority . . ."[13] For all its racy language, *Simple Cobler* is a hard-hitting defense of Massachusetts orthodoxy, and a stout protestation that New England was no refuge for wild opinionists.

Samuel Gorton

Historical inquiry which stirs up the dust of dead theology is likely to prove unprofitable, especially if the dust has been pulverized by Puritans, who construed Holy Writ according to their own understanding, which did not include a comprehension of the conditions under which the sacred book was written. Certain pamphlet wars over New England church matters, however, occasioned the writing of tracts which were narrative as well as argumentative, the Winslow-Gorton controversy being of this sort.

Samuel Gorton, the founder of Warwick, Rhode Island, was a rugged individualist who had a troubled career in America. A cloth-finisher in London, of no formal education, he came to Boston in 1637 under misapprehension that religious toleration flourished in Massachusetts. After brief residence in the Bay Colony he moved to Plymouth, where he quarreled with the Reverend Ralph Smith; from Plymouth he went to Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and then to Providence. Unsuccessful in qualifying as a settled inhabitant in the latter place, Gorton and several followers sought refuge slightly to the southward at Pawtuxet. Later he purchased from the Narragansett chieftan, Miantonomi, a tract of land at Shawomet, in the present city of Warwick. Certain malcontents at Pawtuxet, seeking to make trouble both for Gorton and Providence, induced

two lesser sachems, Pomham and Soconoco, to protest Miantonomi's land grant. At this juncture, Massachusetts assumed jurisdiction over the dispute, and called the Gortonists to account.[14] *Simplicities Defence* gives Gorton's side of the story.

The book is dedicated to the Earl of Warwick, who, as head of the Parliamentary commission on plantations, was to befriend Gorton in his contest with Massachusetts over the Shawomet lands. Gorton set out to prove that the main purpose of New England "justice" was the suppression of heretics:

> "This Story's *strange*, but altogether true:
> Old Englands *Saints* are banisht out of *New*:"

With minor exceptions, his narrative avoids heroics and hews close to the record. Gorton covers fully and fairly the four-cornered Shawomet controversy between himself and Massachusetts, and the inferior Narragansett sachems and the superior. Gorton was trapped in the toils of Massachusetts justice less on account of the land controversy than through his penchant for quoting the Bible. A long letter the Gortonists sent to Massachusetts in November, 1642, contained scriptural references which the Bay authorities avidly seized upon as evidence of heresy.[15] Gorton tells with restraint the story of the breaking up of his settlement by a military force led by three Massachusetts commissioners, one of whom was the historian Edward Johnson. Following the skirmish at Shawomet, Gorton was carried prisoner to Boston to stand trial for his life. In the spring of 1644 he was set at liberty, but under penalty of death should he return to Massachusetts. Gorton sought temporary refuge on Aquidneck, or the Island of Rhode Island, then sailed for England to plead the cause of the broken settlement. He succeeded; Shawomet was refounded and named Warwick in honor of Earl Robert, its benefactor. In view of Gorton's reputation for being a disturber of the peace, and a wild opinionist in a land where violent prejudice was endemic, *Simplicities Defence* offers a remarkably restrained exposition and reliable narrative. As a public official in Warwick in later years, Gorton became a sober and dignified patriarch.

Edward Winslow

To meet the challenge of Gorton's book, and the author's London mission, Massachusetts sent Edward Winslow to England. Winslow had soured a little from his early days at Plymouth; his declining tolerance may be detected by a comparison of the genial *Good Newes* of 1624 with *Hypocrisie Unmasked,* his counterblast to Gorton. The founder of Shawomet, he declared, had cheated the local chieftan Pomham out of his lands by an illegal deed from a nominal sovereign. Massachusetts had justly punished Gorton for that, he claimed, adding defiantly that several

Rhode Islanders were held prisoners through the winter of 1643-44 with iron chains on their legs, and forced to work for their board and keep. From indiscreet phrases in two Gorton letters, Winslow concluded that the Gortonists were like Eve in the Garden of Eden—they delighted to eat of forbidden fruit. Less delicately, he claimed they regarded the Bay magistrates as dogs eating their own vomit. Winslow denied categorically the Gortonist charges that the main purpose of the New England Confederation was to suppress heresy; that the Confederation was organized so that Massachusetts "might feed on the other members"; or that the Bay Colony sold powder to Gorton's Indian rivals.[16] His defense did not convince the Parliamentary commissioners, however; they upheld Gorton's claims to Shawomet, and enjoined the Puritans from interfering with Rhode Island.

John and Robert Child

Winslow had better success with regard to a threatening situation inside Massachusetts. As the result of a petty quarrel in the town of Hingham in 1645, Dr. Robert Child and others issued a "Remonstrance and humble Petition," which raised the always disturbing question of the dependence of the charter of Massachusetts on English law. *New-Englands Jonas Cast up at London,* published in England by Major John Child, brother of Robert, presents the case of the petitioners. Following an introduction on the Hingham affair, the petitioners cited their demand for permission to worship according to the laws of England, and called attention to the absence of any recognition of English authority in the Massachusetts freeman's oath.[17] For his part in the "Remonstrance" affair, Robert Child was fined £200. The main argument in *New-Englands Jonas,* a brief exposition none too carefully composed, is that New England was drifting toward autonomy, and that her independent course, if unchecked, would spread disaffection to Ireland and Wales.

Winslow replied in *New-Englands Salamander,* the indicated amphibian being Robert Child. Very likely Winslow's failure to suppress the Gortonists cautioned him to be more subtle in dealing with the Childs; at least he indited a polite foreword to Major John: "Sir, I am sorry for your owne sake, being a Gentleman reported to bee peaceable in your conversation, that you should bee thus engaged in other mens quarrells; especially to father other mens falshoods and irreligious jeeres and scoffes."[18] Winslow tossed aside the Hingham case as a tempest in a teapot, then attacked the character and motives of the Remonstrants of 1646. Three of them, he charged, had no proprietary or proper estate in Massachusetts, one had already resolved to leave the country, and Robert Child, who had once been to Rome, was undoubtedly favorable to the Jesuits. Our arms are open, he artfully continued, to receive them

into the church on an equal footing with others. Anticipating a later argument with Great Britain, he questioned the wisdom of allowing an appeal from an American colony to a government three thousand miles distant. Final disposal of salamanders the author left to God and Jesus Christ, before whom "these proud enemies shall bee scattered," and ourselves found precious.[19] The *Salamander* tract is less abusive in tone than *Hypocrisie Unmasked,* but in neither did Winslow argue squarely to the point. He would appear to have won a victory in the Child affair while losing to Gorton, but in both cases the outcome depended more on conditions in England than on Winslow's writing.

John Clarke

It is unfortunate that early Rhode Island produced no historian worthy the name; Roger Williams and Samuel Gorton wrote controversial tracts, but otherwise hardly anyone described, from the inside, the laboratory experiment in religious liberty. Although written by a Rhode Islander, *Ill Newes From New-England* relates chiefly to Massachusetts. Dr. John Clarke, physician and preacher, was quite a personage in the Narragansett Bay colony; he helped found both Portsmouth and Newport, organized the second Baptist society in America, and was Rhode Island's agent for the procuring of the Charter of 1663.[20]

Ill Newes tells the unhappy experience this pioneer Baptist had in Massachusetts in 1651. The author had gone in the summer with Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall to the home of William Witter in Lynn, a non-resident member of the Newport Baptist church, where they held a private service. Two constables came and took them to an ale house, and then obliged them to attend the regular Puritan service, where Clarke insisted on addressing the congregation. The men were committed to prison at Boston, Clarke being fined £20 for preaching, keeping his hat on during prayer, and for disturbing divine service. From prison, he offered to defend his faith in a public disputation with the Puritan ministers. No debate was held; friends secured Clarke's release by paying his fine. Clarke's tract is essentially a plea for the abolition of enforced religious conformity: "You may please to read a tragicall story, wherein I hope your eye will not a little affect your tender hearts, to see such a discurteous entertainment of strangers, and wayfaring-men that were passing by, and tarried but for a night or two."[21] The story of this unhappy incident, following close on the writings of Gorton and Child, further damaged the Massachusetts cause in England.

Quakerism: George Bishop

Soon the Quakers swelled the protest against Massachusetts Puritans, those apparent ingrates "Who having forgot their former Sufferings, and lost their ancient tenderness, are now become famous among the

Nations in bringing forth the fruits of cruelty, wherein they have far outstript their Persecutors the Bishops." The quotation is from *New-England A Degenerate Plant*, a twenty page miscellany of Massachusetts anti-Quaker laws and a letter from a magistrate, said to be James Cudworth of Scituate, who lost political preferment because, although no Quaker himself, he had entertained certain of the sect at his house.[22]

The most thorough indictment of Massachusetts on this score is *New-England Judged,* by the English Quaker, George Bishop, He chronicles the arrival of the first Friends in Boston, in 1656, and the seizure of their books through a painstaking search in the course of which Anne Austin and Mary Fisher were stripped naked. Such an indignity, notes Bishop, not even savage Indians inflict on guests, however unwelcome.[23]

Bishop's book unfolds a sorry tale of humiliating punishments meted out to Quakers: twenty stripes to Mary Clark; thirty stripes to Christopher Holder, John Copeland, and Richard Dowdney; ten lashes to Sarah Gibbens and Dorothy Waugh, young women, and to Mary Staunton, a mother with a new-born babe. Thomas Harris of Rhode Island was whipped three times for attempting to speak in a meeting at Boston; William Brend nearly died from one hundred and seventeen lashes; Holder, Copeland, and John Rous had their right ears cut off; and Katherine Scot was given ten stripes for criticising this action. The first part of this disgraceful story proceeds through the execution of William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyer, and William Leddra for their faith.[24]

The second part of *New-England Judged* continues the narrative of beatings and general persecution: two young women were whipped on their bare backs in the dead of winter and then ducked in icy water; Edmund Batter, a Salem official, pulled Elizabeth Kitchin off her mount so roughly that she suffered a miscarriage; a woman, stripped to the waist for her whipping, was tied to a very *splintery* pole.

You Magistrates, cried Bishop, who hang, burn, and whip God's creatures, would be called Christians, yet "God will give you a Cup of trembling, that you shall be a by-word, and a hissing to all your Neighbors."[25]

The Massachusetts persecution of Quakers is a story best forgotten; the Puritan record may be understood but it cannot be condoned. Bishop's narrative rests on unimpeachable facts, although his style is repetitious, and his sentences are marred by parentheses and qualifying clauses. Case histories of individuals are given piece-meal, as events happened to them at different times, but the continuing story of a particular person may be followed through marginal notes. It need hardly be said that Bishop's story received little mention in contemporary narratives by Puritan authors. Its substantiation rests in town and court records.[26]

The Andros Tracts

New England historical writing in the last quarter of the seventeenth century is highly controversial, centering around a great political upheaval and the witchcraft delusion. Through fondness for self-revelation, self-justification, and also a laudable desire to preserve the record of what happened, New Englanders published more historical pamphlets in this period than at any other time until the eve of the American Revolution.

It would require much space to paint a full background for the Andros Tracts. Briefly stated, Charles II sought to discipline the New England colonies for their disregard of the navigation acts, and for other deeds of omission or commission which appeared to verge on independence of English control. Edward Randolph was sent to America in 1676 to investigate trade and other matters, and to compile a report which could be used to justify a change in English colonial policy. After much preliminary legal skirmishing, the Massachusetts charter was cancelled in 1684. Soon thereafter, the Bay Colony became part of a new administrative division, the Dominion of New England, which embraced the New England colonies, New York and New Jersey, all subject to the control of a royal governor-general, Sir Edmund Andros.[27]

The contemporary writings now to be considered relate to the New England aspects of this experiment in imperial management; with one or two exceptions, they are usually referred to as the "Andros Tracts." Naturally the material is highly partisan; the pamphlets on the colonial side depict the Andros regime as a usurpation, "an arbitrary imposition on the New Englanders of an oppressive and illegal government."

The first of the polemics is *A Letter From New-England,* written in 1682 while *quo warranto* proceedings against the Massachusetts charter were still pending. The author, who signed himself "J.W.," was some friend or supporter of Randolph, who evidently thought that scurrility would aid the court proceedings against Massachusetts. His charges against colonial society were grossly biased but the mere appearance of such exaggerations in print must have made a deep impression on English readers. Present day descendants of the founding fathers will be shocked to learn that J.W. held their revered ancestors' religion—

". . . a Hodgpodg of all Heresies and Errors mix'd together, the only Cement being Hypocrisie and Dissimulation;" that "For Lying and Cheating they [the Puritans] outvie *Judas,* and all the false Merchants in Hell;" and that in Massachusetts "there hardly passes a Court Day but four or five are convened for Fornication or Adultery . . . after which the fair Convict is sometimes turned over to a Lay Elder, for chastisement for her former sin, and the commission of a new one."[28]

There is much more in this vein, which repeats charges of moral turpi-

tude but does not advance the legal argument. Subsequent narratives were directed more to political issues than to the morals of the populace.

At least four, perhaps five, of the Andros Tracts were written by Increase Mather, the notable Puritan minister already mentioned as the author of two books on Indian wars. As a scholar, prominent clergyman, and influential character in general, Mather was sent to England in 1688 as agent to seek restoration of the Massachusetts charter. He arrived in London when the contest between the English people and James II was entering its final phase. The Massachusetts minister took no active part in the conspiracy against the King; he consulted with important persons of several political and religious persuasions, and then wrote, just before James fled England, the first of his pamphlets, entitled *A Narrative of the Miseries of New-England, By Reason of an Arbitrary Government Erected There.*

In this short tract, Mather pleaded that it would not comport with the honor or interest of Old England to discourage New England, for he who is sovereign of the latter may become "Emperour of *America.*" He claimed, although it was not true, that judgment against the Massachusetts charter was entered so hastily that the colonists had no time to answer the charges against them. Mather cited the major colonial grievances against the Andros Dominion: the limiting of town meetings to one day per annum; the levying of taxes without popular consent; excessive probate fees; and the abrogation of former land titles. He also warned Englishmen that unless William of Orange or some saving grace interposed, New England was in grave danger of being overrun by the French and Indian war already under way.[29]

Mather's second tract, *New-England Vindicated From the Unjust Aspersions Cast on the Former Government There,* was probably written early in the spring of 1689; at least it was published before the author had heard that Governor Andros had been deposed by open rebellion in Boston. The pamphlet cites a good many historical facts about New England, and warps but few for the sake of political argument. Mather minimized breaches of the navigation acts, and defended the unauthorized coinage of "pine tree shillings" begun in 1652 by John Hull. He repeated his earlier warning that the unsettled state of New England's government increased the danger of the country's becoming prey to the French.[30] Mather wrote political propaganda well, perhaps by virtue of his training in theological exegesis.

Turning from propaganda to the record, the first and in many ways the most satisfactory narrative of the open rebellion in Massachusetts is Nathaniel Byfield's *Account of the Late Revolution in New-England.* Byfield was a man of parts; son of a minister in Surrey, he came to America in 1674, was one of the proprietors of Bristol, Rhode Island,

a militia captain, and, after the period of which he writes, a vice-admiralty judge for Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.

The uprising which overthrew the Andros government took place in Boston on April 18, 1689; eleven days later Byfield dispatched his narrative in the form of a letter to Increase Mather and other friends in London. He wrote from Bristol, hence his story is not an eye-witness account, but it was based on reliable news and framed in a straightforward fashion.

"Upon the Eighteenth Instant, about Eight of the Clock in the Morning," begins the direct story, the South End of Boston received news that the North End "were all in Arms," and vice versa, whereupon Captain John George of the *H.M.S. Rose* was seized, drums were beaten throughout the town, and an "Ensign was set up upon the Beacon."

Byfield's narrative is very specific; the author listed the names of the erstwhile Dominion officers who were seized and put in prison, and he named the members of the provisional colonial government. In conclusion he gave thanks that "Through the Goodness of God, there hath been no Blood shed;" and urgently requested news from England, of "how it is like to fair with us here."[31]

Defenders of the *status quo* usually lag behind its attackers in a pamphlet war, hence it is not surprising to find that the Dominion of New England received little support in print in 1689. The Reverend Gershom Bulkeley of Wethersfield, Connecticut, wrote a commendation of the Andros government called "Will and Doom," and also a short printed tract entitled *The People's Right To Election.* Bulkeley claimed he was no "Enemy to our ancient Charter-priviledges" could they be legally recovered, "but we must not do evill that good may come of it." In other words, he warned against hasty action lest the popular uprising go too far and its leaders become open to indictment for treason.[32]

By 1690 the defenders of the Dominion had sufficiently collected their wits to strike back at the revolutionaries, with whom they could at least hope to compromise, for the Dominion experiment was not simply an offshoot of Stuart tyranny but part of a general plan for imperial reorganization, toward which the new King William was sympathetic.

The first able defense of Andros was *New-England's Faction Discovered* by "C.D.," who was probably Joseph Dudley, governor of Massachusetts previous to the arrival of Andros, and councillor and judge under the latter.[33] Dudley lashed out at Increase Mather as a "pretended Teacher of the Gospel" who set up to be Massachusetts agent on his own authority, who supported illegal proceedings "to satisfie his own malice and prejudice," and who may be termed "the Author and Promoter of all our miseries," since his mission was being propagated through lies and calumny. Having attacked his opponent's motives in no uncertain terms,

Dudley then challenged Mather's facts, where he was on more solid ground. Dudley could rightfully defend the legality of the Dominion government, and refute charges that Andros had instigated war with the French and Indians. The author claimed correctly, although he did not then have proof of the fact, that the New England insurrection was planned well in advance of King William's rise to power in the home country. His observations on the Massachusetts opposition to the Church of England were substantially accurate, and his citation of scattered incidents from the early phases of King William's War showed that the recent Dominion government had undertaken sound plans to make New England more defensible against her external foes. *New-England's Faction Discovered* is an able pamphlet, solidly based on historical facts.[34]

The longest and strongest defense of the Andros regime was John Palmer's *Impartial Account Of The State of New England: Or, The Late Government There, Vindicated.* Palmer was an English lawyer who had served in New York in the 1670's as councillor and judge; he came to Boston in 1686, and was a judge under the Dominion government.

Palmer's account begins with three trenchant questions: Why did the New Englanders take up arms; were their reasons justifiable; and if not, was any way left open for friendly settlement? In the style of a lawyer's brief, Palmer lists twenty-four colonial answers to his questions, after which he presents the counter-arguments.[35] Palmer's book vindicated the Dominion experiment through argument more substantial, legally and historically, than that brought forward by the Massachusetts party. But revolutions are not won by historical precedents; the anti-Andros tracts were more numerous, and more compelling both in their own day and ours.

Increase Mather wrote one more pamphlet on the charter controversy, *A Brief Account Concerning Several of the Agents of New-England,* which summed up his labors abroad and justified his partial success. This brief publication contains more narrative than the majority of the Andros Tracts. Mather surveyed his mission in detail, from the beginning of his own negotiations through King William's conclusion that Massachusetts could have a new charter encompassing many former privileges, but not the right to elect a governor. The agent's tale of his labors is simply told, without undue self-praise, but also without much consideration of the factors which influenced King William's decision.[36]

The urbanity of the foregoing report, and the restrained character of Mather's other tracts, render it unlikely that the Boston clergyman was the author of an anonymous publication often attributed to him, *A Vindication of New-England: From the Vile Aspersions Cast upon that Country* by the Church of England faction. In this rabid tract, aspersion was met by aspersion yet more vile:

"Poor *New-England!* Thou has always been the eye-sore of Squinting malignity; the *Butt* of many Envenomed Arrows, which from time to time have been Shot at thy Tranquillity; but of none more wickedly Designed, than those late *Addresses,* which have (after their fashion) Endeavoured to alienate Their *Majesties* Affections from thee."

The "vindication" covers the whole range of Massachusetts history, from the honorable pioneers who subdued the "horrid wilderness" to the unregenerate non-Congregationalists of the 1680's, especially Anglicans, who not only attempted to undermine the local government but were persons who would "Drink, Sweare, Fornicate [and play] Cards, Dice &c."[37]

This "vindication" of 1690 set the tone for the still persisting detestation of the Andros regime. New Englanders had real grievances against the Dominion, in the restriction of town meetings and the threatened voiding of established land titles, but much of the anti-Andros writing blackened an issue on which there was an honest difference of opinion.

Three pamphlets of 1691 may be added to the list of writings on the Dominion. *The Humble Address of the Publicans of New-England* is a rare thing for seventeenth century New England—a humorous polemic. This entertaining tract declares that the *Publicans,* being swelled of late years into a swarm of property-less locusts, have decided to cheat and rob the *Republicans* who are substantial in money, lands, and goods. Publicans are:

"Persons brought up and educated in all manner of Debauchery and Depravation; a sort of People who may of right, and will stile themselves Gentlemen: *for they cannot work, and will not beg,* and therefore are fain to turn Sharpers, and practise little Tricks and Inventions for Bread: *To set their Neighbours House on fire, for an opportunity to steal his Goods. To trouble the Waters to make good Fishing. To pull down Houses to make themselves out of the Ruines.*"

The anonymous author concluded on an ominous note, in view of Salem's experience a year later, when he dismissed Publican pests as witches who "can never do us harm, till first we believe in [them]."[38] That we do not know the author of this sprightly commentary is one of the minor tragedies of historiography.

The Revolution in New England Justified is an answer to Palmer's *Impartial Account,* a long, casuistical piece which contributes little to an understanding of the controversy. The authors were respectable characters—Edward Rawson, one-time judge and secretary of the Bay Colony, and Samuel Sewall, a worthy magistrate and man of affairs. They accused Palmer of being an impudent, lying prodigy, and through carefully chosen phrases implied that the Boston revolution of 1689 was not planned until the accession of Willliam of Orange to the English throne was

assured. This work is just what its title implies—a justification, with scriptural authority, for "a lawful and good *Rebellion.*"[39] This sturdy American doctrine of revolution was later enshrined in Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, although since 1776 it has gradually fallen into disrepute.

The last of the Andros Tracts is *A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmond Androsse and his Complices,* written by five members of the former Dominion Council, including William Stoughton and Wait Winthrop. These men had attended most of the meetings of the council, so that from inside knowledge they could testify to instances in which the governor-general had overruled the pro-American members of his advisory board. Their general conclusion was that the arbitrary features of the Dominion government were due to the fact that Andros often neglected the advice of his official councillors to consort with "Strangers to the Countrey," and that debates in council "were not so free as ought to have been." The authors, who certainly knew better, repeated the common charge that Andros was responsible for bringing on the Indian war.[40]

Judgment on the merits of the Andros Tracts as a whole will depend much on the reader's point of view. The foundation of the Dominion government was legally unassailable, but the results troubled New Englanders at many points, chiefly through the loss of a large measure of local self-government. In supporting their cause, the colonists had to bolster a weak legal case by high-lighting minor incidents calculated to create an impression of tyranny. On the Dominion side of the pamphlet war, Palmer's work is historically the most sound; on the colonial side, Increase Mather was the only one who rose above mere partisanship.

Leisler's Rebellion

The flight of James II from the English throne caused repercussions in New York, which kept the province in an uproar for several years. Trouble began in May, 1689, when Jacob Leisler, a German immigrant, successful merchant, and militia officer, challenged the right of Lieutenant-Governor Francis Nicholson to exercise authority in the province. When Nicholson left the colony, Leisler organized an interim government. The Leislerians managed affairs with fair success; they collected revenue, established courts, undertook an expedition against the French and Indians, and exercised vice-admiralty jurisdiction. The self-appointed rulers came to grief in March, 1691, when they resisted the authority of a newly arrived English governor, Henry Sloughter. For this treasonable act, Leisler and one of his associates were hanged.

An early account of the "revolution" is set forth in *A Modest and Impartial Narrative of Several Grievances and Great Oppressions,* a

narrative neither modest nor impartial. The presumptive author, Nicholas Bayard, was Leisler's chief opponent. A nephew of Peter Stuyvesant, Bayard held several minor offices in New York under the Dutch government, and more important positions, including that of councillor, under English rule. His opposition to Leisler obliged him to flee to Albany for a time. He was apprehended, and imprisoned for more than a year. Bayard is said to have been instrumental in persuading Governor Sloughter to execute Leisler.[41]

The biased character of his story appears in the opening paragraph, wherein the reader is advised of the "Fury and Rage of this Insolent Man Leysler," a false pretender and "common Violator" of the laws and liberties of New York. The author attacks Leisler's motives as well as his deeds, declaring that the German leader originally opposed the legitimate provincial authorities in order to avoid having to pay £100 duty on an import of wine. Much of the material in this pamphlet relates to the seizure and imprisonment of various "loyal" persons, the accounts of the episodes being so worded as to convey three distinct impressions: That the arrests were unwarranted; that they were accompanied by unnecessary cruelty; and that New York had no government but mob rule which verged on anarchy. The trustworthiness of Bayard's account, which stops at about the date of the author's arrest, is open to question, and its prejudice is so patent as to need no comment. How much of the proceedings the author secured at first-hand and how much from hearsay it would be difficult to tell. It is not known precisely under what circumstances Bayard's account was written, except that it was obviously composed when partisan passions were at a high pitch.[42]

Two other narratives of the rebellion appeared several years later. *A Letter From a Gentleman of . . . New York* was evidently published to keep alive the memory of Leisler's wrongdoings, real or supposed; its author is not known for certain but indications point to David Jamison, secretary of the council under Governor Fletcher. Jamison apparently received some assistance from Bayard, but in comparison with the latter's narrative the *Letter* is short and moderate in tone. The writer sought to give a true account of affairs "as I my self have been a Personal Witness to most of them," but it would be difficult to determine the extent of his primary evidence. Jamison condones Leisler's assumption of the lieutenant-governorship, but accuses the "rebel" of diverting provincial revenue to his own use, and of allowing his men to pillage the homes of political prisoners. "There was no need of any Revolution here," he concludes.[43]

Loyalty Vindicated, an anonymous tract printed in Boston, was prepared in answer to the foregoing; its language rivals Bayard and Jamison in vehemence but the historical content is slightly more substantial.

Loyalty Vindicated at least rescues Leisler from unlimited opprobrium so that honest minds would in time recover from "the damp and stunn" inflicted on them by the anti-Leislerian administration. The conditions which produced Leisler's revolt—arbitrary government and the introduction of Roman Catholicism to New York—are briefly surveyed. This narrative shows that there was little violence during Leisler's tenure of office, and that any commandeering of provisions for the revolutionary party was an emergency measure, of which true account was kept for later settlement. In general, *Loyalty Vindicated* offers a reasonable statement of the governmental confusion which was much greater in New York than New England. The author makes telling use of the subsequent English proceedings whereby Parliament, in 1695, reversed the decree of execution for treason, removed the attainder against Leisler's family, and ordered the restoration of confiscated property.[44]

Daniel Horsmanden

The most melodramatic account of a colonial insurrection is Daniel Horsmanden's story of the eighteenth century Negro conspiracy in New York. The work is similar to some of the accounts of Salem witchcraft, in that it relates to a popular hysteria, and is apologetic in effect if not in purpose.

In the first week of April, 1741, New York suffered from a number of fires, apparently "set on purpose by a combination of villains" who designed to prey upon their neighbors' goods "under pretence of assistance in removing them for security from the danger of the flames."[45] Behind these sudden alarums appeared signs of a plot to exterminate the white population. New York at the time contained about twelve thousand people, perhaps a sixth of whom were Negroes. As evidence accumulated daily, until it touched nearly every Negro in town and a few white abbettors, judicial calm gave way to hysteria, jails became crowded to bursting, execution was summarily visited on the supposed ringleaders, while scores of others were transported to the West Indies. Before the excitement subsided, four whites and eighteen Negroes had been hanged, thirteen Negroes *burned at the stake,* and seventy transported. Such wholesale punishment raised doubts, which Horsmanden sought to allay.

The author was a judge in the conspiracy trials. Born in England and trained in law at both the Middle and the Inner Temple, he was a skillful legist, ever on the side of power and government. As a resident of New York after 1731, he rose to high public office, becoming judge of the supreme court. Horsmanden did not essay a concise exposition of the conspiracy; rather he presented a journal of the proceedings which would enable the reader "to conceive the design and dangerous depth of this *hellish project,* as well as the justice of the several prosecutions." There

have been "some wanton, wrong-headed persons amongst us" who arraign the justice of the proceedings and declare that there was no plot at all; but we who saw with our eyes and heard with our ears have undertaken this account that those who have slaves may be reminded of their nature, and learn a useful lesson from this memorial "of so unprecedented a scheme of villainy."[46]

The court proceedings continued from April into mid-summer of 1741. From the depositions of a white girl, Mary Burton, an indented servant to one Hughson, the form of the plot was brought to light. It appeared that Hughson, his wife Sarah, and a prostitute named Peggy Kerry, had been urging a number of Negroes to set fire to the town, kill the white men in the melee, and then take over the plunder and the surviving white women. The lawyer William Smith, father of the historian of the same name, took a prominent part in summing up evidence for the jury, and Judge Horsmanden expressed himself in no uncertain terms. The latter's speech to one of the conspirators about to be sentenced was scarcely calculated to soothe the prisoner's mind in contemplation of his end:

"Thou vile wretch! how much does thy ingratitude enhance your guilt! and your hypocritical, canting behaviour upon your trial, your protestations of innocence, your dissimulation before God and man, will be no small article against you at the day of judgment, for ye have all souls to be saved or be damned; your spirits are immortal, that is to say, they will live forever, be either eternally happy or eternally miserable in the other world; and be not deceived, God will not be mocked, he will not be baffled withal, he knows all your thoughts, and sees all your actions, and will reward every one according to their works; those that have done good shall go into everlasting rest and happiness, that is to say, into life eternal; and they that have done evil, and die hardy and impenitent, shall be thrown into the infernal lake of fire and brimstone, together with the devil and his accursed spirits, where the worm never dieth, that is, the biting, gnawing worm of conscience will forever be upbraiding you, and the fire will never be quenched, but in this torment you must remain under the most bitter weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth, time without end.[47]

Religious intolerance intruded upon the latter part of the court proceedings. Mrs. Hughson was reported to have been bred a papist, and Peggy Kerry was suspected of the same, although perhaps, observes Horsmanden, "it may seem to be of little significance what religion such vile wretches professed." Prejudice against Roman Catholics burst into full vigor when a priest, John Ury, was connected with the plot.[48]

Viewed after a lapse of two centuries, Horsmanden's book evokes skepticism. It is evident that there was *a* plot, but doubtful that its extent was as great as the terror of the times depicted. The judge's

account reveals, however, two very certain things—contemporary rancor against Roman Catholics, and fear of trouble from abroad. Recent intercolonial wars and insurrections in the West Indies had created apprehensions that a local slave plot might be accompanied by invasion from a Catholic enemy, either French or Spanish. In the revelation of this fear, which dyed the court proceedings a bloody red, lies the substantial historical value of Horsmanden's work. Specific evidence against Caesar, Prince, Cuffee, and other misguided Negroes may be forgotten, but not this startling record of a state of mind.

Salem Witchcraft

Hard on the heels of the Andros controversy in New England came the Salem witchcraft delusion. Although quite different, the two manifestations of a disturbed spirit were related; the history of witchcraft throughout the world indicates that the human tendency toward belief in the supernatural is heightened by the emotional stress accompanying a political upheaval. The Salem witch hunt of 1692 was not a strange nor unusual thing; it formed but one incident in the long story of a terrible superstition.[49] Of recent years, anti-patristic historians have ascribed the horrors of Salem witchcraft to Puritanism, but in this respect our New England ancestors differed from non-Puritans in being less afflicted with the malady; witchcraft flourished in Anglican England, and survived the longest in Catholic Europe. The remarkable features of the Salem delusion were its sudden passing, and the consequent remorse publicly expressed by several of the prosecutors.

The first book bearing on New England witchcraft is Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences,* compiled just before the author became president of Harvard. King Philip's War and other misfortunes had convinced the North Church minister that God was punishing Massachusetts for its sins, hence it was the duty of a good Puritan to identify the transgressions that they might be avoided in future. Mather collected "Such Divine Judgements, Tempests, Floods, Earth-quakes, Thunders as are unusual, strange Apparitions, or what ever else shall happen that is Prodigious, Witchcrafts, Diabolical Possessions, Remarkable Judgements upon noted Sinners, eminent Deliverances, and Answers of Prayer." He did not pretend to infallibility; he admits that his work was gathered in haste and that it might contain many errors, but that as to the substance of the reports given him by others "I am well assured it is according to Truth."[50]

The outstanding feature of Mather's book, usually referred to as *Remarkable Providences,* is its rationalism rather than its superstition. The first chapter, for instance, relating to deliverances at sea, is almost wholly credible. Neither will the immediately succeeding chapters impose

a strain on the scientifically-minded modern reader; they deal with odd but not impossible household accidents, wonderful recoveries of soldiers wounded in the Indian wars, and with the strange antics of storms and lightning. The author's attitude toward these occurrences should be noted with care by those who seek to convict him of abysmal credulousness, or of conscious desire to stir up a witch hunt: "It is no difficult thing to produce a world of instances, concerning which, the usual answer is, an occult quality is the cause of this strange operation, which is only a fig-leaf whereby our common philosophers seek to hide their own ignorance."[51]

Mather's fifth chapter, "Concerning things preternatural which have hapned in New-England," contains the material for which he is usually taken to task. This supposed instigator of diabolism, however, concluded that devlish intervention in human affairs was very rare. He did not believe, as did many, that the devil could create a human being, or that witches could transform themselves into horses, cats, mice or other animals. He held that the devil worked only on people's imaginations; that deluded persons *thought* they had seen and done things which had no existence outside their minds; and that apparitions were the result of fantasy or fear. Mather also warned against surrender to superstition through trust in lucky horseshoes, magic herbs, incantations, or the mouthing of prescribed formulae. He declared the evidential value (court evidence) of the "water test" for witches to be against both natural law and the Scriptures: Did not the bewitched Gadarean hogs sink?[52]

The latter parts of *Remarkable Providences*, chiefly comprising a list of tempests, floods, and petty accidents assigned to divine intervention in human affairs, need not detain us. Mather's book is on the whole an enlightened and critical work in which witchcraft plays a relatively small part. The author's attitude is much more skeptical than one would expect, his critical tendency being solely marred by unquestioned acceptance of stories related to him by other Puritan divines, whose clerical calling was taken as sufficient voucher for their credibility.

Cotton Mather became more closely identified than his father with the Salem delusion. Belief in witchcraft led this intense and learned man, author of more than four hundred and fifty books and pamphlets, to undertake his first historical writing, published in 1689 as the *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions*. The author avows acquaintance with abstruse works on demonology, but forswears including such ostentatious material in this book since it would not be profitable to "those plain Folkes, whose Edification I have all along aimed at." The protestation was not all false modesty; Mather really intended to give the common people the latest views on witchcraft in terms they could understand. His purpose was to give instruction, and his methods were

pragmatic. Although an erudite man, he did not rely exclusively on books or second-hand information for his data. *Memorable Providences* was directly inspired by the author's observation of the vagaries of one Martha Goodwin, a girl of thirteen, whom he had taken into his household for a time in order to find out what her trouble was, and to devise some exorcism for the spirit which seemed to possess her. Cotton Mather believed in demonology: "There is both a God, and a Devil, and Witchcraft," he said, adding that his purpose was to tell the world "What Prayers can do beyond all Devils and Witches."[53]

Charles W. Upham, the nineteenth century historian of Salem witchcraft, declared that Cotton Mather's work was highly amusing because of its credulous simplicity, and that the cunning child, Martha Goodwin adroitly played upon the clergyman's prejudices so that he was grossly deceived and audaciously imposed upon.[54] Mather was deceived up to a certain point. Without knowledge of the vagaries of electricity, for instance, he accepted as evidence of diabolical fury the fact that church steeples were struck by lightning oftener than other structures. It was not difficult for him to attribute strange fits, "beyond those that attend an Epilespsy," to the malign influence of an ignorant laundress. But he did not try to dissolve the mystery of witchcraft either by natural or by criminal law; nothing but a "Religious Contrivance to obtain Releef" was truly efficacious. Mather was not indiscriminate in his charges, nor did he accept too much on hearsay. With commendable scientific spirit, he studied the Goodwin girl in his home, where he could observe her conduct at first hand. He sadly observed that she could endure Popish books but that his grandfather's tract, *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes . . . Drawn out of the Breasts of both Testaments,* threw her into hideous convulsions. We should like to have seen young Martha pestering the minister while he wrote a sermon on witchcraft, throwing small objects at him and telling him there was someone at the door when there was nobody. As for her prophecy "That I should quickly come to disgrace" by the book on witchcraft, one is reminded that out of the mouths of babes and sucklings often come the most sage observations.[55] Martha was undoubtedly a little witch.

In reporting early witchcraft cases Mather showed some reserve. Although many of the tales appear incredible, or else explicable by forces non-demoniac, Cotton Mather did not presume beyond the bounds of his own comprehension. Often he entered a caveat: "I was not unsensible, that it might be an easie thing to be too bold, and go too far, in making of Experiments," or, "I have related nothing but what I judge to be true. I was my self an Eye-Witness to a large part of what I tell; and I hope my neighbours have long thought, That I have otherwise learned Christ, than to ly unto the World."

As a judge of historical truth, Cotton Mather possessed the virtues and defects of a minister; he was honest and sincere, but he was also accustomed to draw too indistinct a line between fact and fancy. Frequent exaggeration may be laid at his door, and a predilection to stray beyond facts to inference. But in spite of these limitations his record is informing, and partly because of them it is awe-inspiring and forceful. "I have Writ as plainly as becomes an Historian," he remarks at the conclusion of the Goodwin account, "as truly as becomes a Christian, tho perhaps not so profitably as became a Divine."[56]

The Salem epidemic began and ended in 1692. It germinated in the home of the Reverend Samuel Parris, in the present Danvers, where an Indian-Negro servant, Tituba, practiced tricks and incantations with nine year old Betty Parris, a slightly older cousin Abigail Williams, and certain other children from the neighborhood. Soon the youngsters showed the signs of bewitchment described by Cotton Mather, with improvisations. Doctors declared the children possessed of the Devil; ministers met in convocation; and then the civil authorities undertook the examination of the supposed witches, using at first an English statute of 1604 and then an emergency Massachusetts law providing the death penalty for witchcraft.

The earliest printed account of the civil proceedings against the Salem witches is a narrative by Deodat Lawson, published in Boston in April 1692. Lawson was a scholarly clergyman, once minister in Salem Village, who had left the parish because of quarrels with supporters of his predecessor, but who returned to observe the troubles of 1692.

Lawson's book covers events in Salem from March 19, when the author arrived there from Scituate, to the 5th of April. The author gives his narrative as a personal story; he relates how immediately after his arrival in the village there came to his lodging Mary Walcot, seventeen year old daughter of the town's militia captain, who cried out as she stood by the door that something had just bitten her wrist. Then Lawson went to call on Mr. Parris, whose niece, Abigail Williams, had a fit in which she conversed with Goodwife Nurse, a suspected witch not present in the room. While he was preaching the next day in the meeting house, the Williams girl called out that Martha Corey, another suspect, was suckling a yellow bird, and another girl, Anne Putnam, cried that there was a yellow bird perched on Lawson's hat as it hung from a pin on the pulpit. All of these phenomena, it may be observed, can be accounted for as children's antics. Lawson goes on to describe the magisterial examination of Mrs. Corey, during the course of which several children accused her of biting and pinching them at those very moments. Mrs. Corey sensibly remarked that "they were poor, distracted Children" to whom no heed should be given. After other experiences of this sort,

Lawson prepared a sermon on witchcraft, expressing his belief in "spectral evidence," that is, in the evidential value, in court, of a bewitched person's saying he saw, or was harmed by, the vision or *spectre* of a real person.[57]

Cotton Mather presented a waiting world with its first full account of the Salem trials in *The Wonders of the Invisible World,* published late in 1692, a patchwork which contains much more than a simple story of the court proceedings. It is an ominous compilation, sufficiently diverse in spirit and material to arouse honestly contrary judgments. Its data does not indicate that the author sought to push the witch hunt to fanatical extremes, and yet certain passages indicate a trend in that direction. An explanation of the purpose of the work proceeds from Mather's character in general rather than from the subject matter of this particular book. Cotton Mather was an intense and vain man, who strove to be in the vanguard of every important movement of the day. When God punished witches, it was essential that one of God's greatest servants should record the judgment.

Mather states that he did not attend the Salem trials, nor harbor any personal prejudice against the persons accused. Actually he was present at some of the preliminary examinations, and his bias against many of the prisoners is so patent as to need little comment. Of the one-time Salem minister, George Burroughs, he wrote: "Glad should I have been, if I had never known the name of this man; or never had this occasion to mention so much as the first Letters of his Name," whose faltering, faulty and inconstant answers gave certain proof of his guilt. Another suspect, Susanna Martin, is depicted as "one of the most Impudent, Scurrilous, wicked creatures in the world," and Martha Carrier is called a "Rampant Hag" whom the devil had promised to make "Queen of Hell."[58]

Mather quotes the Spaniard Acosta on devilish practices among the Indians of Mexico, although he does not clearly imply, as others have since, that association with the redmen turned New England minds to such primitive obsessions. Mather does not quite claim, categorically, that no innocent persons suffered from the witchcraft prosecutions, but he obviously was sure that none had. The factual integrity of his book is attested by William Stoughton and Samuel Sewall, two of the trial judges.[59] Cotton's emotionalism led him to swallow the witchcraft delusion with no salutary reservations such as restrained his father, Increase.

The latter explained his views further in *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits,* an exposition based on the Scriptures, history, experience, and the judgment of many learned men. Increase Mather rejected "spectral evidence" as sufficient grounds on which to convict a person of witchcraft, because if the Devil could appear before a victim in the guise of a witch he might also appear in the shape of an innocent person. Popular tests

for witchcraft, such as putting the accused's hands in scalding water, scratching the witch, seething her urine, and sticking an awl under the seat of the suspected party, Increase condemned as being practices in themselves devilish.[60]

Compared to the appalling details of the Salem trials, the short narrative called *Lithobolia* reads like a Halloween tale; there is a whistling devil whose footsteps sound like the trampling of a young colt, pebbles light gently on the author's lap and hands without hurting him, and haycocks are thrown up into trees at night. The recorder of this fantastic story was Richard Chamberlain, secretary of New Hampshire in the 1680's, when there was political trouble afoot over quit-rents and jurisdiction over unimproved lands. Secretary Chamberlain was an unpopular man, as was also his landlord, George Walton, at whose place on Great Island, near Portsmouth, the pranks of the stone-throwing devil occurred.

Realizing that some of his readers would laughingly assign his trouble to youthful pranksters, the author essayed to prove this explanation impossible. To make a long story short, Walton's premises were for several days belabored with flights of stones, or "lapidary Salutations," which seemed to come from nowhere, broke panes of glass and knocked pewter mugs off mantelpieces, but did not seriously harm anybody save landlord Walton. Often the stones gave their blows from inside the building, "forcing the Bars, Lead, and hasps of the Casements outwards, and yet falling back (sometimes a Yard or two) into the Room."[61] In spite of comments about casements being struck from the inside, Chamberlain's story affords considerable evidence that "witchcraft" was occasionally the result of political and personal grudges. The veracity of part of his tale is vouched for by Thomas Maule of Salem.

Maule was a Quaker merchant who stirred up a tempest in Massachusetts by publishing a long and bitter arraignment of the Puritan regime entitled *Truth Held Forth and Maintained.* Maule declared that the witchcraft debacle was God's judgment on the colony for having persecuted the Quakers. His book has been hailed as the first refutation of witchcraft in print, but it is hardly that. The author many times asserts his own belief in witchcraft, or the intervention of the Evil One in human affairs, but he did oppose the death penalty for witchcraft. If we should impose the death penalty for evil doings outside the reach of ordinary penal statutes, declared Maule, we should have to execute most of the world's population.[62]

The first searching cross-examination of Salem witchcraft was made by Robert Calef in *More Wonders of the Invisible World,* largely written in 1697 but not published until 1700. Calef was a cloth merchant who came to America some time before 1688. To both Increase and Cotton Mather, his questioning of witchcraft was a vexatious and wicked thing;

Cotton vented his spleen in his diary, while Increase ordered Calef's book to be burned in Harvard Yard. The Mathers considered it above their dignity, however, to publish a rebuttal. Calef bore up under their disapproval; he served Boston in several capacities as public servant, then moved to Roxbury, where he died peaceably in 1719.[63]

More Wonders of the Invisible World, its title derisively imitative of Cotton Mather's book, is addressed to those of open minds, who can harken to the dictates of reason. The witch fury, protests Calef, has "let loose the Devils of Envy, Hatred, Pride, Cruelty, and Malice . . . disguised under the Mask of Zeal for God." Calef believed in witches, but he firmly denied that they had power to commission devils to kill and destroy others. The Salem outbreak he ascribed to "Signs and Lying Wonders," that is, to the books by the Mathers, and to the retention in Christianity of many heathen or pagan practices.[64]

Calef's attack on Cotton Mather rests largely on the case of Margaret Rule, a young woman who suffered from fits in 1693. His method was to present Mather's account of the affair, and then his own critique. Evidently some of Margaret's writhings and wild talk flowed from a malady spirituous rather than spiritual. On two occasions, Calef made notes as to what happened in Margaret Rule's room while Mather was endeavoring to probe into her trouble. Rumors of these notes, containing unfavorable reflections on both Mathers, caused Cotton to brand Calef a pernicious liar, and to threaten him with arrest. Calef tried to arrange a conference in which he could discuss points of disagreement, but failing in that he wrote the minister a letter including a copy of the disputed data.

Calef's epistle of January 11, 1694, printed in his book, contains statements which caused many an eyebrow to be raised in the direction of the young minister; for example: While the sufferer was in one of her fits, Cotton Mather "rubb'd her Stomach (her breast not covered with the Bed-cloaths)," and then "he again rub'd her Breast, etc." and had a woman assistant do the same, but Margaret spoke angrily to the *latter,* saying "don't you meddle with me." Near the conclusion of this session, an attendant testified that the afflicted young woman refused to take food but drank rum instead, and that when the ministers and other visitors left the room the girl laid hold the hand of a seaman, said to have been her sweetheart, and "pull'd him again into his Seat, saying he should not go to Night." Mather responded by charging Calef with having written a lying narrative, but his rebuttal was labored and occasionally unfair; he misquoted Calef in some particulars, and otherwise made small corrections that in no way alter the general critical tenor of Calef's account.[65]

Calef offers realistic explanations for many of the supposed supernatural activities of the Salem witches. He remarks, for instance, that Tituba was beaten and abused by her master to make her confess and

name accomplices; that Sarah Good had long been a melancholy and distracted woman, and Sarah Osborn a bed-ridden unfortunate. It was a gust of wind and not evil spirits that caused Goodwife Cloyse to slam a church door. Magistrates coached their witnesses, and were unnecessarily cruel in dealing with suspects. The episode in which a bewitched person was stabbed in court during the trial of Sarah Good is explained by a broken knife; the "afflicted" one found the detached tip of the blade on the floor and stuck it into herself. In the trial of Rebecca Nurse, the jury first returned a vote of not guilty, but was requested by the chief judge to reconsider and change the verdict. Cotton Mather's conduct at the execution of George Burroughs is placed in a damning light; when the latter made a moving statement of innocence, and many bystanders moved to stay the execution, Mather interposed by calling Burroughs a false angel inspired by the Devil. Calef cites the use of torture to make suspects confess; the abrupt seizure of the property of condemned men, which left their wives and children destitute; and the Reverend John Hale's conversion from belief in witchcraft because his wife was accused of the crime.[66] Similarly rational explanations of many circumstances otherwise mysterious, or at least unaccounted for by Deodat Lawson and Cotton Mather, continue through the pages of Calef's work.

The author points out the personal and trivial character of much prosecuting evidence in the witch trials: "it was usual to hear Evidence of matter foreign and of perhaps Twenty or Thirty years standing, about over-setting Carts, the death of Cattle, unkindness to Relations, or unexpected Accidents befalling after some quarrel."

Calef shows that confessions were sometimes urged on an accused by his relatives, so that the rest of the family could be relieved; and he prints a statement by six self-confessed witches, stating that their action was forced by the prosecutors: "they telling us, that we were Witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that it was so."

Above all, Calef derides Cotton Mather for claiming that he reported matters not as an advocate but as an historian, especially since the Boston minister continually referred to suspects as impudent, scurrilous, wicked persons, and rampant hags. He calls attention to the notable public apology of Judge Samuel Sewall for his part in the trials, and to the declaration of twelve jurors that they had been "sadly deluded and mistaken." "Reason cannot conceive," concludes Calef, "how Mortals should by their Wickedness arrive at a power to Commissionate Angels, Fallen Angels, against their Innocent Neighbours."[67]

Calef's book stands as a landmark in seventeenth century controversial writing, because of its fairness, and insistence on factual accuracy, both of quotation and documentation. The author was a religious man, well

acquainted with the Scriptures, but one who refused to read interventions of Divine Providence into the ordinary acts of mankind. Calef sought a rational explanation for every happening. He refused to be overawed by the great ministers of the day, and he removed himself wholly from the religious school of historical writing practiced by Bradford, Winthrop, Edward Johnson, William Hubbard and the Mathers.

* * *

By force of circumstances, the literature on intrigue and insurrection is more argumentative than judicial. Varying widely in character, contentious narratives are universally biased, many of them so much so that the prejudice is patent to the most casual reader. Often the historical data is clear but the interpretation open to dispute, as in the case of the narratives on Leisler's rebellion. Sometimes the data in opposing narratives is so disparate as to challenge compromise, such as in the accounts of the Battle of the Severn in Maryland. In the political field, the supporters of authority usually wrote in more temperate vein than the insurrectionaries, this being notably true in Maryland, New York, and New England during the Andros regime. But in controversies touching religion, the situation was usually reversed — witness the historical temperateness in the writings of Samuel Gorton and John Child as compared to the lack thereof in Edward Winslow, or the judicial balance in Calef's work on witchcraft compared to the special pleading by Cotton Mather. However lacking in judicial temper most controversial narratives may have been, they were at least "alive," and historical in content if not in presentation. Many of the contentious writings survive in popular historical consciousness today, whereas more restrained expositions have retreated into the pallid limbo of footnotes to doctoral dissertations.

There is no comprehensive treatment of social conflicts and insurrections during the colonial period in British North America. A very good brief summary is in Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization* (New York, 1938), Chap. XIII. The invaluable reference for excerpts from contemporary sources is Charles M. Andrews, *Narratives of the Insurrections* (New York, 1915). Otherwise the secondary treatments of social upheavals may be searched in general histories of individual colonies, many of which have been previously cited, or in special monographs and articles given in the following notes.

On the special subject of witchcraft, excellent secondary treatments are George L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, 1929), and Charles W. Upham, *History of Witchcraft and Salem Village* (2 vols., Boston, 1867). Excerpts from the contemporary stories are in George L. Burr, *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648-1706* (New York, 1914).

NOTES

1 See Nettels, *Roots of American Civilization,* Chap. XIII. The "mild protest" against social conditions in Virginia is the report to the Bishop of London by Robert Gray, *Virginia's Cure* (London, 1662). Horsmanden's book is reviewed later in this chapter.

2 *The Lord Baltemore's Case* (London, 1653); see reprint in C. C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland,* pp. 167, 175-76.

3 *Op. cit.,* (London, 1655); see reprint in Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland,* pp. 190, 200, 204. Contemporary accounts of the Severn affair are conflicting; see B. Bernard Browne, "The Battle of the Severn." *Md. Hist. Magazine,* XIV, No. 2 (June, 1919), 154-71.

4 Roger Heamans, *An Additional Brief Narrative . . .* (London, 1655); see reprint in *Md. Hist. Magazine,* IV, No. 2 (June, 1909), 140-53.

5 Leonard Strong, *Babylon's Fall in Maryland* (1655); see reprint in Hall, *op. cit.,* pp. 235-46; text quotation is p. 244.

6 John Langford, *A Just and Cleere Refutation of a False and Scandalous Pamphlet Entituled Babylons Fall in Maryland* (London, 1655); see reprint in Hall, *op. cit.,* pp. 249, 254-56, 261.

7 *Hammond versus Heamans* (London, 1655); reprinted in *Md. Hist. Magazine,* IV, No. 3 (September, 1909), 236-51.

8 On the dates of the first presses in individual colonies, consult Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Portland, 1938), Chap. II.

9 William Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined* (London, 1649), pp. 1, 10, 12, 18, 33. Other accounts of economic conditions are: *Virgo Triumphans: Or, Virginia Richly and Truly Valued* (London, 1650), by Edward Williams, who published the same year *Virginia's Discovery of Silke-Wormes;* Samuel Hartlib, *The Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm* (London, 1655; reprinted in *Force Tracts,* III, No. 13); and Colonel Henry Norwood, *A Voyage to Virginia,* an interesting tale by a cavalier refugee (in *Force Tracts,* III, No. 10).

Another very interesting publication of this period is the account of John Lederer's western trips, into the Blue Ridge Mountains; see Sir William Talbot, *The Discoveries of John Lederer* (London, 1672), available in several reprints. Consult also Alvord and Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region.*

10 *Strange News From Virginia* (London, 1677), pp. 1-3, 6-8. For subsequently printed narratives, see *Force Tracts,* I, Nos. 8, 9, 11, and Andrews, *Narratives of the Insurrections,* pp. 9-141. A more notable literary offshoot of Bacon's Rebellion is the two-part poem, "Bacons Epitaph, made by his Man," and "Upon the Death of G: B." first published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1814 as part of the "Burwell Manuscript." See Andrews, *Insurrections,* pp. 47-98.

11 See title page of *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam* (London, 1647); later issues as follows: Boston 1713, and 1843 with notes by David Pulsifer; *Force Tracts,* III, No. 8; the Ipswich Historical Society (Salem, 1906), and a facsimile (New York, 1937), with introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth. Citations here are from the 1843 edition. For the author's life, see *D.A.B.,* XIX, 433-34.

12 Nathaniel Ward, *op. cit.,* pp. 3, 6, 8, 16.

13 *Ibid.,* p. 54.

14 *D.A.B.,* VII, 438-39; C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Period,* II, 11-17.

15 Samuel Gorton, *Simplicities Defense Against Seven-Headed Policy* (London, 1646), pp. 1, 3-4, 9-31, 33. The tract was reprinted with notes by William R.

Staples in R. I. Hist. Soc. *Collections,* II (Providence, 1835), and in *Force Tracts,* IV, No. 6. See also Gorton's letter to Nathaniel Morton, 1669, in the latter, No. 7.
16 Edward Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked* (London, 1646), pp. 2-5, 8, 28, 38-42, 64-68. The original was reissued in 1649 as *The Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civill State,* and was reprinted for The Club for Colonial Reprints (Providence, 1916), with introduction by Howard M. Chapin.
17 John Child, *New-Englands Jonas Cast up at London* (London, 1647), pp. 6-13, 17, 19-20; reprint in *Force Tracts,* IV, No. 3. See G. L. Kittredge, "Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant," Col. Soc. Mass. *Publications,* XXI (1919), 1-146.
18 Edward Winslow, *New-Englands Salamander* (London, 1647), p. 1; reprint in 3 M.H.S. *Collections,* II.
19 Winslow, *op. cit.,* pp. 4-7, 10-11, 29.
20 There is no good biography of Clarke, but see *D.A.B.,* IV, 154-56.
21 John Clarke, *op. cit.,* (London, 1652), pp. 1-7. The tract is reprinted in 4 M.H.S. *Collections,* II (1854).
22 [John Rous et al], *New-England A Degenerate Plant* (London, 1659).
23 George Bishop, *New-England Judged* (in two parts, London, 1661 and 1667; there was also a 1703 edition), I, 5-13.
24 *Ibid.,* I, 39-47, 48-75, 91-176.
25 *Ibid.,* II, 61-67, 69, 79-80, 147.
26 Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Massachusetts; Its Historians,* pp. 11-12, 18-19.
27 Viola F. Barnes, *The Dominion of New England* (New Haven, 1923). Miss Barnes does not discuss the contemporary tracts as sources although she cites them.
28 J. W., *A Letter From New-England Concerning their Customs, Manners, and Religion* (London, 1862); see The Club for Colonial Reprints facsimile (Providence, 1905), with notes by George P. Winship, pp. 2, 4.
29 Kenneth Murdoch, *Increase Mather,* Chaps. XIII-XVI. Increase Mather, *A Narrative of the Miseries of New-England, By Reason of an Arbitrary Government Erected There.* The first or London edition was probably published in January, 1689. A reprint is in the Prince Society *Publications.* Since volumes V-VII of this set are separately titled *The Andros Tracts,* Vols. I-III (Boston, 1868-74), subsequent citations will be made to the sub-title, hence for the above data, see *Andros Tracts,* II, ix-xxviii, 3-7, 11.
30 Increase Mather, *op. cit.;* see *Andros Tracts,* II, 113-15, 118-20, notes pp. 122-23, and pp. 137-147.
31 Nathaniel Byfield, *An Account of the Late Revolution in New-England* (London, 1689); see Andrews, *Insurrections,* pp. 170, 174-75.
32 Gershom Bulkeley, *The People's Right To Election* (Philadelphia, 1689); see *Andros Tracts,* II, 85-109. A Massachusetts minister, Samuel Willard, of Boston's Old South Church, contributed a theological weapon for use against Andros, entitled *A Brief Discourse Concerning that Ceremony of Laying the Hand on the Bible in Swearing* (London, 1689). Under the Andros regime, persons taking an oath were required to kiss the Bible, a practice to which many seriously objected.
33 *D.A.B.,* V, 481-83.
34 C.D., *New-England's Faction Discovered* (London, 1690); see Andrews, *Insurrections,* pp. 253-54, and *Andros Tracts,* II, 205-21.
35 John Palmer, *op. cit.* (London, 1690); see *Andros Tracts,* I, 21-62.
36 Increase Mather, *op. cit.* (London, 1691); see *Andros Tracts,* II, 273-96, and Andrews, *Insurrections,* pp. 276-97.
37 *Andros Tracts,* II, 21-78. On authorship, see Kenneth Murdoch, *Increase Mather,* pp. 225-27.

38 *The Humble Address of the Publicans of New-England* (London, 1691); see *Andros Tracts,* II, 234, 241, 269.
39 [Edward Rawson and Samuel Sewall] *The Revolution in New England Justified* (Boston, 1691); see *Andros Tracts,* I, 63-132.
40 [William Stoughton et al.], *op. cit.* (Boston, 1691); see *Andros Tracts,* I, 133-47, and Andrews, *Insurrections,* pp. 185-288.
41 *D.A.B.,* II, 68-69. Bayard was also author of a King William's War narrative, previously cited. For background on the Leisler affair, see C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Period,* III, 124-37, and John R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1853, 1871), II, 557-649. The latter account is strongly anti-Leisler.
42 [Nicholas Bayard], *op. cit.* (London, 1690); see Andrews, *Insurrections,* pp. 320, 322, 324, 333-35, 344-50.
42 [David Jamison], *op. cit.* (New York, 1698); see Andrews, *Insurrections,* pp. 358, 360, 362, 365-66, 368, 370, 376, 398.
44 *Loyalty Vindicated From the Reflections of a Virulent Pamphlet* (probably Boston, 1698); see Andrews, *Insurrections,* pp. 375, 377, 381-84, 388, 390-92, 396-400.

Except for Champlain, who penetrated far into New York in 1609, the author has omitted discussion of the many French writers whose experiences touched the northern or western fringe of the territory now New York state. Such writings belong most properly to the French history of Canada. One impression of the wealth of contemporary source material can be gained from J. C. McCoy, *Jesuit Relations of Canada, 1632-1673, A Bibliography* (Paris, 1937).

There was a troublesome insurrection in Barbados during the period of the English Commonwealth, a good modern account of which is N. D. Davis, *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados, 1650-1652* (Georgetown, Guiana, 1887). An interesting early item, *Great Newes From the Barbadoes* (London, 1676), describes a Negro conspiracy which was nipped in the bud.
45 *D.A.B.,* IX, 237-38. Daniel Horsmanden, *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Detection of the Conspiracy . . . For Burning the City of New York* (New York, 1744); see the 1810 reprint entitled *The New York Conspiracy,* p. 27.
46 Horsmanden, *op. cit.,* pp. 2-3, 11-12.
47 *Ibid.,* p. 151.
48 The Attorney-General, Richard Bradley, took this occasion to expostulate on what he considered the iniquities of Catholicism in general; a typical passage is his attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation, "which is so big with absurdities that it is shocking to the common sense and reason of mankind; for were that doctrine true, their priests by a few words of their mouths, can make a God as often as they please; but then they eat him too, and this they have the impudence to call honouring and adoring him." *Ibid.,* pp. 290-91.
49 See the masterly work by George L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England,* particularly Chap. XVIII. The definitive work on the Salem outbreak is Charles W. Upham, *History of Witchcraft and Salem Village,* which makes an especially valuable contribution to the better known aspects of the affair by pointing out the way in which local animosities of a personal sort heightened the prosecutions.
50 Increase Mather, *op, cit.* (Boston, 1684), usually referred to by the running-head title, *Remarkable Providences.* The work was reprinted with an introduction by George Offer (London, 1856 and 1890); George L. Burr, *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases,* reprints the original preface and Chapter V; see pp. 3-6, 12-14.
51 Increase Mather, *op. cit.* (1890 ed.), p. 71.
52 *Ibid.,* pp. 125-26, 132, 143, 176, 180, 199-200. In the "water test," suspected per-

sons, with their hands and toes tied together, were thrown into a pond; witches were supposed to float while the innocent sank. Mather's note on Gadarean hogs is a reference to Mark V, 2-13.

53 Cotton Mather, *op. cit.* (Boston, 1689; there is a slightly different London edition, 1691); see Burr, *Witchcraft Cases*, pp. 94, 96.

54 Charles W. Upham, *Witchcraft and Salem Village,* I, 456, 459.

55 Burr, *Witchcraft Cases,* pp. 113, 119.

56 *Ibid, pp.* 122, 123.

57 Deodat Lawson, *A True Narrative of Some Remarkable Passages Relating to Sundry Persons Afflicted by Witchcraft, at Salem Village* (Boston, 1692; London, 1693, and a much revised edition 1704); see Burr, *Witchcraft Cases,* pp. 147-56, 158; and Upham, *Witchcraft and Salem Village,* I, 268-69, 276-77, 283, II, 76, 515.

58 Cotton Mather, *op. cit.* (Boston, 1693); see Burr, *Witchcraft Cases,* pp. 214-15, 221, 236, 244.

59 Burr, *op. cit.,* pp. 245, 248-51. If designed to further the witch hunt, Cotton Mather's book appeared in print too late.

60 Increase Mather, *op. cit.* (Boston and London, 1693); pp. 1, 29-30.

61 R[ichard] C[hamberlain], *Lithobolia: Or, The Stone-Throwing Devil* (London, 1698); see reprint in Burr, *Witchcraft Cases,* pp. 60, 63, 66-67. Chamberlain's pamphlet appeared too late to influence the course of events in Salem.

62 Thomas Maule, *op. cit.* (New York, 1695); pp. 176-77, 181-82, 189, 191, 207. Maule published, probably in 1697, a defense of the Quakers entitled *New-England Persecutors Mauld with their own Weapons,* signed by the pseudonym of Theo. Philathes.

63 *D.A.B.,* III, 410, and Burr, *Witchcraft Cases,* pp. 291-95.

64 Robert Calef, *op. cit.* (London, 1700); see Burr, *Witchcraft Cases,* pp. 296, 298-303, 329-32. A Dutch minister, Balthasar Bekker, published at Leeuwarden in 1691 a long work against witchcraft, which he hoped would help to destroy popular credulity in evil spirits. Bekker sent Calef a copy; see the John Carter Brown Library *Annual Report* (1937-38), pp. 34-38.

65 Burr, *Witchcraft Cases, pp.* 310, 312, 324 *et seq.* See article by W. C. Ford in M.H.S. *Proceedings,* XLVII, 240-68, which includes a long letter from Mather to Calef and the latter's marginal notes thereon.

66 Burr, *Witchcraft Cases,* pp. 343, 346, 357-61, 363-64, 369. Hale's arguments, based on Scriptural considerations, were published in 1702 as *A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft*; reprinted in Burr, *op. cit.,* pp. 399-432.

67 Burr, *op. cit.,* pp. 373-76, 379, 386-88, 390.

CHAPTER IX

THE GREAT PURITANS

FOR many years after the first planting of New England, historical literature revolved largely around Indian missions and wars, and local controversies of a religious or political nature. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, general histories similar in style, scope, and content to the pioneering works by Bradford and Winthrop were attempted by the writers dealt with in this chapter.

Edward Johnson

The first of the major projects of this period was Edward Johnson's *History of New England,* better known as the *Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour,* a history of Massachusetts from 1628 to 1651. Johnson's work was the first history of the Bay Colony to be published, although the accounts by Bradford and Winthrop were written earlier.

Edward Johnson, the son of a clerk in St. George's parish, Canterbury, was trained as a joiner or ship-carpenter. He emigrated to Boston in 1630, was licensed to trade with the Indians, and became a freeman in 1631. After a return visit to England he settled in Watertown in 1636, and four years later he became one of the founders of Woburn, where he served in various public capacities to his death in 1672. Johnson was one of the Massachusetts commissioners who arrested Samuel Gorton in Rhode Island in 1643; with Nathaniel Ward he "perfected" the early code of Massachusetts laws. He was a busy, practical man, who wrote history from personal experience rather than intellectual curiosity. Because of his homely approach to history, he recorded many useful facts about everyday colonial life which more cultured writers were inclined to ignore. Johnson may be inferior to Bradford and Winthrop in grandeur of spirit, but his work is rendered forceful by hot zeal and confident dogmatism. No reader of Johnson's pages is left in doubt as to where the author stood on controversial issues; his obtrusive bias is refreshing, and easily discounted. Johnson wrote from the middle class point of view, whereas most other Puritan writings sprang from a clerical or other superior element. He has been called John Smith's "quaint counter-type among the Puritans." There is something to the comparison but not a great deal; both men wrote rather gossipy and amusing narratives, but Smith was more earthy, and much better acquainted with events and historical writing beyond the horizon of his immediate experience. John-

son's subconscious mind dwelt in heaven rather than on earth: he heard angelic trumpet calls to battle against the forces of evil, and saw the working of Divine Providence in little things. His book not only gives insight into the average Puritan mind, but contains much solid information on the planting of towns and churches, the results of annual elections, and the peccadillos of local politicians and ministers. *Wonder-Working Providence* is a rare combination of mundane record and psychological revelation. The author's frequent excursions into verse may be overlooked by those with a fastidious taste for good literature.[1]

Johnson opens his book with a view of the poor state of England in 1628, when popery and vice were so general that Christ sent out heralds to call for volunteers to plant a colony for his service in the western world. Johnson's opening paragraphs proclaim the plot of the narrative to follow: Puritans are God's soldiers engaged in war with all non-Puritans, who are at least traitors if not active enemies to the true cause. Teachers and churchmen are advised to be of military carriage, "for assure your selves the time is at hand wherein Antichrist will muster up all his Forces, and make war with the People of God." Store yourselves with swords, the militia captain adds, and with rapiers, powder, bullets, match, and lusty mares.[2]

Proceeding to the origins of the Bay Colony, Johnson generalizes, not too precisely, on the Massachusetts charter, and declares that Christ warned the Indians of the coming of His chosen people by a bright blazing comet, and that He also made room for His flock by visiting upon the natives a great plague. On the Great Migration of 1630, Johnson includes data on the cattle, horses, arms and other supplies shipped out of England, not omitting the emotional factors involved in the uprooting of a settled people from their homeland: "Many make choise of some solitary place to eccho out their bowell-breaking affections in bidding their Friends farwell."

Johnson describes the founding of churches at Charlestown, Dorchester, and Boston, and prophesies a handsome metropolis at the latter place, a center with "buildings beautifull and large, some fairely set forth with Brick, Tile, Stone and Slate, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall inlargement presages some sumptious City." Then follow accounts of other early churches, the details of their origin being enlivened by home-made verse. One of the lines to John Eliot at Roxbury kept that worthy apostle to the Indians in reminder of his end:

> "Although small gaine on Earth accrew to you,
> Yet Christ to Crowne will thee to Heaven soon fet[ch]."

Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, author of the *Simple Cobler of Aggawam,* is chided for his levity:

"Why do'st thou stand and gaze about so long?
Do'st war in jest? why, Christ in earnest is."[3]

Poetical thumb-nail sketches and admonitions are interspersed with miscellaneous data on a cold winter which froze the Charles River out beyond its mouth, the well-ordered streets of Cambridge, and the fair appearance of Harvard College.

Considering his prejudices, Johnson deals rather mildly with "heretics" like Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and lesser disturbers of the peace. He does not mention the agitators by name, preferring to call them "certain sectaries" who tried to drive an unholy distinction between Christ and His graces, between the word and the spirit. However, one can easily identify the anonymous knaves. Williams appears as the man who "betooke him to a narrow Indian path, in which his serious Meditations soone led him, where none but sencelesse Trees and eccohing Rocks make answer to his heart-easeing mone," while Anne Hutchinson flits by as "a little nimble tongued Woman." Some commentators have felt that Johnson's restraint in dealing with dissenters is evidence of his kindly disposition, but like Bradford, Johnson did not wish to perpetuate the names of traitors to God's army. Johnson was dogmatic, and he knew that he was, and that others of his day, whether orthodox or heretical, were just as opinionated. New England has found by experience, he acknowledges, "that every man will most favour his own way of Profession, and labor tooth and naile to maintaine it."[4]

In the latter half of *Wonder-Working Providence,* a great mass of diffuse material is strung together with little rhyme or reason save chronology. The reader is transported from an Indian skirmish to a church synod, then placed on a reviewing stand to witness the founding of Harvard and of towns in Connecticut and New Hampshire, with interludes on a sickness among cattle, trouble with Samuel Gorton, and the beginning of iron manufacture. Johnson's account of the founding of Woburn has long been considered a classic passage for students of the origins of New England towns and churches.[5] The explanation for the author's frequent mixture of unrelated items is simple enough; with few exceptions, Johnson strung together all sorts of happenings in chronological order; he wrote in the method of sixteenth century chroniclers.

The final pages of Johnson's book include scattered references to Virginia, Barbados, and the Indian mission work of John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew. Three pages of verse conclude his narrative on a note of confidence for all true Puritan soldiers:

"No Captive thou, nor Death can on thee seize,
Fight, stand, and live in Christ thou dayly dost."[6]

One may disparage Johnson's point of view, itch to reorganize his exposition, and to correct many of his dates, but no reader can lay aside *Wonder-Working Providence* without having gained a vivid impression of seventeenth century Puritanism. The contemporary work has a flavor lacking in any modern interpretation, no matter how scholarly or "scientific" it may be. By the definition of Benedetto Croce, this work is real history, which lived in the mind and soul of its creator.

Nathaniel Morton

According to all signs and portents, Nathaniel Morton should have written an excellent history of Plymouth and Massachusetts. His failure to do so may be ascribed to two circumstances: although an industrious and conscientious man, Morton was a poor writer, and furthermore, he was kept from acquiring a perspective on what happened about him by the press of official duties.

Morton was born in Leyden; he came to Plymouth in 1623, where he was taken into the family of his uncle, Governor Bradford, whom he served in the capacity of private clerk. From 1647 until his death, Morton was secretary of Plymouth Colony; he probably drafted most of the colony's laws, he was tax collector and assessor, town clerk, member of the military council in King Philip's War, and a member of various other committees to survey lands, lay out roads, and to supervise countless operations that would be entrusted to a public spirited citizen.

After Bradford's death, Morton became custodian of his uncle's papers. Having acquired the reputation of being a most well-informed man, he was requested by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to undertake a history. The result was *New-England's Memoriall,* published at Cambridge in 1669, the first long historical narrative to come from the Massachusetts press, the first extensive treatment of Plymouth's history to be printed since 1623, and the only comprehensive account of eastern New England to appear between the work of Edward Johnson and Cotton Mather's *Magnalia.* But in spite of these unique considerations, Morton's work is very disappointing. For events to 1646 he relied upon his uncle's manuscript, digesting the longer work to its detriment, and for later occurrences he compiled an uninspiring chronicle of strange happenings in nature, and of ministerial obituaries.[7]

The *Memoriall* was recommended to its contemporary readers as "a Useful Piece . . . Compiled with Modesty of Spirit, Simplicity of Style, and truth of Matter." The soberness with which Morton undertook his task may be judged from his dedication: "The consideration of the weight of duty that lieth upon us, to commemorize to future generations the memorable passages of God's providence to us and our predecessors in the beginning of this plantation, hath wrought in me a restlessness of

spirit, and earnest desire, that something might be achieved in that behalf, more (or at least otherwise) than as yet hath been done."

Although professing to write of New England at large, Morton confined his attention largely to Plymouth, and he omitted the useful data on climate, soil, and commodities usually found in other contemporary works. Since Morton was so modestly aware of his limitations, it is a slightly ungracious task to criticise his efforts. Morton's book had a moral rather than a material purpose; he wished to make clear that "what we have seen, and what our fathers have told us, we may not hide from our children, shewing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord."[8]

Since the first part of the *Memoriall* is largely based on William Bradford's manuscript, the nobility of language that marks Morton's opening pages is reflected glory. A comparison of Morton with his source will show that the reflection has lost much brilliance in a dull mirror. Morton introduces into the story of Plymouth the often repeated but unproved charge that Captain Jones of the *Mayflower* was hired by the Dutch to land the Pilgrims on the Hudson River. Perhaps he was right. At least Morton was not a fancifier, for he features no mythical Plymouth Rock. Writing as late as 1669, Morton used Bradford's simple account of the landing in 1620, with no mention of a rock which any sane boatman would have avoided when landing on a sandy beach.[9]

Morton was a chronologist; he presented his story in annual chapters, each one beginning with "At the spring of this year," or some similar expression. He paid less attention than did Edward Johnson to supposed interventions of Divine Providence on behalf of God's elect. Morton devoted considerable space to the early troublemakers in Plymouth—John Lyford, John Oldham, and Thomas Morton—but he did not judge them too severely. Neither did he subscribe to the common Puritan doctrine that Rhode Island was a sink of iniquity. Only Samuel Gorton, who had troubled Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay as well as Rhode Isand, aroused Morton's stern censure for being "a proud and pestilent seducer."[10]

It has often been said that Morton's narrative becomes a thin rill after it passes the year 1646, since for later events the author could no longer rely upon his uncle's manuscript for information and good writing. A tendency toward anemia is evident, however, in many sections of Morton's story, early or late. Occasionally the author disposed of a whole year in five or six lines. He gave only a page to the important subject of the New England Confederation, but four times as much space to obituary verses on the Reverend Thomas Hooker of Connecticut. This may seem to us illogical or perverse, but the apparent disproportion is in keeping with the author's thesis. Morton was not interested in economics or politics; he wrote history as a sermon to later generations, appealing

to them to follow the example of their predecessors in searching to establish Christ's kingdom on earth.[11]

Until the publication of William Bradford's full narrative in the middle of the nineteenth century, Morton's work was the standard history of Plymouth, which, being partly drawn from Bradford, offered contemporaries a digest of a great work they otherwise would have entirely lacked. Morton's work was much read and well regarded. It remains our authority for the list of the signers of the Mayflower Compact; it is the first printed book to give the names of the vessels, *Mayflower* and *Speedwell,* connected with the Pilgrim exodus to America in 1620; and it still has some value for biographical material on early New England ministers.

Between Morton's *Memoriall* and Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* (see below), appeared several miscellaneous writings on New England, not all of them in the Puritan tradition. An Englishman named John Josselyn made two seventeenth century visits to the new country, resulting in two quite different books. *New-Englands Rarities Discovered,* favorably mentioned in the transactions of the Royal Society for 1672, marks the first systematic attempt to record the botanical species of the region. Josselyn divided his rarities, including birds and animals as well as plants, into those common to England, unknown to Englishmen, and native to the new country. He also included a general description of the territory, and comments on the utilitarian value of its rarities, such as, raccoon grease is good for aches and bruises, and stewed pumpkins make an excellent dish. Josselyn was a man of catholic tastes and some learning, his chief fault being gullibility. His book contains a table of important dates in New England history, and personal notes on his trip to visit his brother Henry in Scarborough, Maine.[12]

Josselyn's second book, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England,* more than fulfills the promise of its title since it offers a general sociological description of the country in addition to a journal of the author's experiences. The journal is sketchy but interesting; intermingled with notes on wolves, a hurricane, and an eclipse of the moon, are many significant social items, including the oft-quoted tale that Samuel Maverick of Noddles Island sought to increase the servant population of Boston by forcing his Negro wench to breed. Josselyn's observations on Maine are particularly valuable since no other writer had paid much attention to that province. Josselyn notes the skills of Maine people, their wages, housing conditions, and foibles, including the average fisherman's propensity for strong drink.[13] Had he written a bit more on human and less on natural history, Josselyn would have ranked very high in New England historiography, especially since he possessed considerable knack for objective interpretation.

The most notorious non-Puritan writing of the late seventeenth century is Ned Ward's *A Trip To New-England.* Edward Ward was a person of low extraction and little education who, after an advised absence from England in which he briefly visited America, returned to London as hack-writer, to publish more than a hundred pieces on any topic that could command ready sale. Copies of his New England account of 1699 are now very rare collector's items, as the original edition was apparently read to death by an English public avid for the "facts" about American society. Ward's scurrilous description of Jamaica has already been noted. On New England, begins this breezy commentator: "Bishops, Bailiffs and Bastards, were the three Terrible Persecutions which chiefly drove our unhappy Brethren to seek their Fortunes in our Forreign Colonies."

He found the buildings of Boston, like its women, neat and handsome, and the streets, "like the Hearts of the Male Inhabitants," paved with pebble. As for the Puritan saints: "Interest is their Faith, Money their God, and Large Possessions the only Heaven they Covet."

Ward doubted if statutes to enforce morality had the desired effect in Massachusetts, for: "Publick *Kissing,* and single *Fornication,* are both of a Price [same fine]; for which Reason the Women wisely consider, the latter may be done with more safety than the former; and if they chance to be Detected, and are forc'd to pay the Fine, they are sure before-hand of something for their money."

Of his many other comments on New England women, the one least likely to shock modern sensibilities is that "like Early *Fruits,* [they] are soon *Ripe* and soon *Rotten.*" The men, he deduces, must be industrious in bed though idle when up; they become grey and shrivelled of face at thirty. The Puritan leaders he disposes of as "*Saints* without *Religion, Traders* without *Honesty, Christians* without *Charity, Magistrates* without *Mercy, Subjects* without *Loyalty, Neighbors* without *Amity, Faithless Friends* and *Implacable Enemys.*" Ward's remarks on the Indians are much more complimentary; in this respect he sides with Roger Williams and Thomas Morton in praising the natives to make the colonists appear undesirable by contrast. Undoubtedly the scandal-scenting Ward found examples for his types, but many readers of his day, and since, have accepted his blanket insinuations at face value.[14] *A Trip to New-England* gives as biased a view of colonial Massachusetts as does *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the pre-Civil War South.

More consonant with the usual tone of Massachusetts history is the writing of Joshua Scottow, a Boston merchant, selectman, military officer, and one of the founders of the Old South Church. He wrote in old age *A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony.* As did Bradford, Winthrop, and Johnson before him, or Cotton Mather afterwards, Scottow viewed the blessings of Massachusetts as evidence of Divine

favor, and the colony's misfortunes as punishment for sin. Massachusetts, he contended with considerable truth, was founded by a few poor people, who flourished on opposition. They had left worldly hopes in England "to come into this Desert, & unknown Land, and smoaky Cottages, to the Society of Cursed Cannibals."[15] Much of his narrative, which is almost a sermon, proceeds in the fashion of Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*. But Scottow wrote more sentimentally than the latter; his story is worship of the past, the earliest full-scale model for the filio-pietistic school of writing which later dominated New England historiography.

Cotton Mather

Cotton Mather achieved distinction in so many fields of human endeavour that to discuss him simply as a historian may do little justice to his memory. Yet he was a historian, and one of ability. Since he wrote at a time when the pristine rigor of Puritanism was beginning to soften in New England, one of his objects was to perpetuate the memory of the older and, in his view, the more holy order. By appeal to history, Mather sought to immortalize a way of life which later generations might be induced to follow. He had many talents for the task. He was the most learned New Englander of the colonial period; one who could boast, unfortunately, that he never met in Boston another person whom he considered his intellectual equal. But Mather was no cloistered savant; he was three times married, and he mingled with politicians, doctors, scientists, and sufferers from witchcraft.

To be the grandson of two of New England's leading ministers of the founding era—Richard Mather and John Cotton—was a handicap, or a challenge, under which many a lesser soul would have succumbed. Born in 1663, Cotton Mather received part of his academic training at the Boston Latin School, but by far the greater portion from his family. He entered Harvard at the age of twelve, where he was a teacher's pet unpopular with the other students. At twenty-two he became his father's colleague in the ministry of the North Church. He was chief minister there from his father's death in 1723 to his own demise five years later.

As one of the Bay Colony's leading citizens, Cotton Mather participated intimately, though somewhat ineptly, in politics; he also supported Indian missions, the education of the poor, and the advance of science. In addition to all this, he wrote an incredible number of books and pamphlets, more than four hundred and fifty of them. Mather was neither a complete reactionary nor a thorough-going liberal. He accepted the common belief in witchcraft with little reservation, but he supported, in the face of popular antagonism, the introduction of small-pox inoculation. His writings clearly reveal that he was a hot-tempered, moody, intense

man, but also a very learned one. Much of his historical writing is pedantic, but not more so than that of certain of his modern critics who never reach his frequent heights of lucidity and power. Mather's best passages are happily free from the classical allusions and Biblical quotations which otherwise mar a great deal of his writing, and certainly render much of it difficult reading for a generation not weaned on ancient history and the Hebrew testaments.[16]

Mather's *magnum opus*, the work on which his historical reputation must stand or fall, is the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, or ecclesiastical history of New England. It is the most famous book by this indefatigable writer, and one of the longest produced by a colonial American. For the bulk of his output, Cotton Mather has been surpassed by few writers, historical or otherwise, notably by Martin Luther, with whom he had much in common. Both belonged in spirit to the sixteenth century, with its atmosphere of passionate religious enthusiasm. Although born in a later century, the New England clergyman went about in a state of continual emotional exaltation, or passionate afflatus and reaction, which left him little time for thoughtful deliberation. As has often been said, the *Magnalia* was thrown together in haste. Mather began this nearly eight hundred page folio in 1694 and completed it in August, 1697, during which time he was, as usual, so busy with pastoral and other duties that he could labor on the manuscript only in snatches. He could not have completed the work in such a short time had it been written *de novo*, but Mather leaned heavily on his own previously printed works; he reproduced in the *Magnalia* his biographies of Sir William Phips and of some ten clergymen, as well as the *Decennium Luctuosum* previously noted. In the rapidity of his composition, Mather paid little attention to style, but this was usual with him. He cared much more for material than for its form. In spite of all this, the *Magnalia* is seldom dull, and it surprisingly abounds with passages not only forceful but graceful. In tracing the work of God in New England from 1620 to 1698, Mather was writing nearly contemporary history. Many of the founding fathers were still alive, and their story had passed through a very short period of tradition in which to become warped. A great deal of the book is based on oral or documentary evidence now gone beyond recall.

Except for the works of a few men such as John Smith, William Bradford, John Winthrop and Edward Johnson, the seventeenth century was an age of brief reports, narrations of small episodes, or controversial tracts. Cotton Mather endeavored to cover a fair expanse of territory and a three-quarter century span of years. He had a plan and a thesis, which he makes perfectly clear in his introduction: "I write the Wonders of the Christian Religion, flying from the depravations of Europe, to the American Strand."

Mather was interested almost solely in religious civilization, and hardly at all in the geographical or other natural factors affecting society in general, but the transit from the Old World to the New he kept clearly in mind. Mather realized that there were all sorts of histories, but he believed "that the palm is to be given unto Church History; wherein the dignity, the suavity, and the utility of the subject is transcendent." Mather also had an intense love for his own province, whose worth he hoped to perpetuate through the printed word, for "whether New-England may live any where else or no, it must live in our History!" Boston's great preacher also grasped the implications involved in writing a long narrative of human actions. Should he sit in judgment on the story, or merely record what happened? As a minister, he could not refrain from passing judgment on men and events, but this process he believed to be a proper one for historians. An impartial history, he declared, can be but a bare record of facts, otherwise "how can the lives of the commendable be written without commending them?"[17]

Cotton Mather's bias is hence both evident and praiseworthy. His record is not complete, for he suppresses unpleasant truths, and exalts the people and things he deemed most worthy of remembrance. There is no scandal in the *Magnalia*. Most of the "undesirable" characters alluded to are not named, although we may, and contemporaries certainly could, guess their identity. The author preferred to write of noble actions. He addressed his work to respectable and understanding readers; waterfront and barroom critics were beneath him: "The noise that may be made by a few sordid people here and there in a room *tophetized* with smoke, and rheum, and spittle, and malice, and lies, crying out concerning the most conscientious essays to preserve memorable truths . . . " Cotton Mather valued not, but tendered to civilized readers the sage observations which it was his duty to make and theirs to mind.[18] Cotton Mather does not tell just what men were but what they wanted to be, and what loyal posterity longed to believe them.

The *Magnalia* is divided topically into seven books, of which the first, fourth, and last present the most lucid story while the others contain historical material of all sorts—biographies, catalogues of public officers, ministers, and Harvard graduates. Book I, the shortest of the seven divisions, deals with the founding of New England in clear, concise fashion. There is an admirable summary of the discovery and early exploration of America. With Nathaniel Morton, and indirectly William Bradford, to rely on, Mather gives an excellent account of the founding of Plymouth. Many commentators on the *Magnalia* have been appalled by the author's penchant for learned quotations, but many apt philosophical observations atone for this failing. Mather does not, strangely enough,

rant against the Anglican party which drove the Separatists and Puritans out of England, observing "it becomes not an historian, and it less becomes a Christian, to be passionate."

Mather journeys occasionally beyond the confines of his native province. He gives a brief account of the founding of Connecticut and New Hampshire, prefaced by the remark that in a short time after 1630, "Massachuset colony was become like an hive, overstocked with bees; and many of the new inhabitants entertained thoughts of plantations extended further into the country . . . "[19]

Book II contains the lives of governors and leading magistrates, whose true piety was to be made an example for after ages. There were no Machiavellian princes in New England, declared Mather, for Puritan magistrates possessed real virtue and not merely the appearance thereof. Mather does his best biographical work on Bradford, the first two John Winthrops, and Edward Hopkins and Theophilus Eaton of Connecticut. Bradford he summarizes as one "well skilled in History, in Antiquity, and in Philosophy," and also a holy man who took fruitful walks with God. The biographies are not mere character sketches; they include much narrative history and exposition. Apropos of the common-stock system under which the Plymouth settlers labored for seven years, Mather makes the enlightened comment that the Pilgrims should have been able to make such a communistic system work if anyone could, but that even they sank under its burden. The elder Winthrop is praised as a tolerant man who could maintain amicable correspondence with his adversaries, and a gracious man who offered wine to his guests though he himself drank only water. The younger Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, is considered great because he was "not only a christian and a gentleman, but also an eminent philosopher." Reviewing the Salem witchcraft prosecutions, which he had formerly endorsed with little question, Mather admits that some "unsearchable cheats" or faking had crept in, especially near the end of the episode.[20]

The third and longest book of the *Magnalia* contains the lives of more than sixty eminent divines. Few of these characters ranked in stature with the civil officers previously considered, so that Mather was hard pressed to give point or cogency to many of his essays. These passages justify the criticism that much of Cotton Mather's writing is of interest only to minute students of the local. Yet even the unimportant sketches are well written. If modern readers view with healthy skepticism the unadulterated praise awarded governors and lay magistrates, the encomiums bestowed on certain of the clergy often pass the bounds of credulity, even though Mather showed great ingenuity in rephrasing the prowess of his heroes in prayer. Perhaps the neatest example of the latter facility is the comment on Thomas Hooker, " . . . his prayer was usually like Jacob's ladder,

wherein the nearer he came to an end, the nearer he drew towards heaven."

Whoever can repress an aversion to eulogy, and plough through philosophical observations couched in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (those learned jewels of Mather's which are oppressive in their concentration), may uncover many a descriptive phrase of ingenuity and worth. Thus we read of the author's maternal grandfather, John Cotton: "If Boston be the chief seat of New-England, it was Cotton that was the father and glory of Boston . . . [he was] a most universal scholar, and a living system of the liberal arts, and a walking library . . . Twelve hours in a day he commonly studied, and would call that a scholar's day; resolving rather to wear out with using than with rusting."

In view of Cotton Mather's own tendency to an overdecorated style, his comments on John Norton and his paternal grandfather are very amusing: Norton, he said, realized that a scholar's effectiveness lay in clarity of judgment rather than excellency of style, so that he always sought "to furnish himself *ad pugnam*, rather than *ad pompam*," and Richard Mather avoided "obscure and foreign terms, and unnecessary citation of Latin sentences . . . aiming to shoot his arrows, not over the heads, but into the hearts of his hearers."[21] Cotton Mather may have lacked the power of self-analysis, but he was magnanimous enough to appreciate in others the virtues he himself lacked. Into his congeries of commendable Puritans he admits several laudable "outsiders," among them the first Anglican settler in Boston and Rhode Island, the hermit William Blackstone, and he attempts, although with less objectivity, a comparison between the Puritan missionary work among the Indians and that of the French Jesuits.

Book IV of the *Magnalia* describes the founding and early years of Harvard, with masterful sketches of outstanding graduates. Book VI contains an interesting but unorganized miscellany, including rescues from shipwreck, pranks played by thunder storms, wonderful recoveries of persons wounded in war, remarkable conversions of sinners after some heart-breaking calamity, and late developments in the story of Indian missions.

Critics of Cotton Mather's original position on witchcraft would do well to compare "The wonders of the invisible world" as they appear in the *Magnalia* with the author's independently published work of 1693 under similar title. On the Salem trials, Mather did *not* repeat his own previous account but substituted for it a paraphrase of John Hale's *Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft*. Since Hale's account was the first notable exposition, after Robert Calef's, to attack the soundness of the Salem proceedings, this chapter of the *Magnalia* is Cotton Mather's oblique admission that much of the criticism of his former position was just.[22]

Although miscellaneous in nature, the seventh and last section contains the most interesting material in the *Magnalia*. Entitled "A Book of the Wars of the Lord," it covers the major religious controversies of the seventeenth century, and the Indian wars. The way in which Mather deals with such contentious characters as Roger Williams, Samuel Gorton, and Anne Hutchinson may be taken as a good index to his historical attitude. The author treats Williams mildly, characterizing him as a remarkable zealot moved by the spirit of rigid separation, and "a preacher that had less light than fire in him." Whatever just praise moderns may bestow on Williams for the establishment of religious freedom in Rhode Island, it must be admitted that his career in the Bay Colony laid him open to retribution. Mather states the case fairly, making it perfectly clear that Massachusetts had to exile Williams for his threat to the validity of its charter, for his questioning the right to exact an oath of allegiance to the local government, and for his generally subversive conduct. Mather was lenient toward Williams' conduct after he had removed himself into Rhode Island, where he became a valued intermediary between white colonists and the Indians.[23]

Mather deals more sternly with Samuel Gorton, dismissing that notable individualist with the remark that after he left Plymouth he went to Rhode Island, "where he affronted what little government they had, with such intolerable insolence, that he was there whipped, and sent out of that colony." As Mather proceeds with the sectaries, his language becomes increasingly violent. He calls Anne Hutchinson a cunning dame, and a hatcher of errors that crawled like vipers about the country. He refers to Rhode Island as a "colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists . . . Ranters, and every thing in the world but Roman Catholicks, and real Christians." He was prepared to admit that the Baptists there could be useful people, at least much preferable to Quakers, who were a "vomit cast out in the by-past ages . . . [which is] lick'd up again for a new digestion, and once more exposed for the poisoning of mankind." Mather does not defend the Massachusetts persecution of Quakers in the 1660's, although he considers that stern measures of some sort were necessary. He was relieved to see that in his own day, Quakerism was becoming more respectable, under the guidance of the kindly and statesman-like William Penn.[24]

The final chapter of the *Magnalia* covers New England's wars with the Indians from 1637 to 1698. The narrative is done in the lenient tone of his father's writings on the subject rather than in the violent anti-Indian strain of William Hubbard.

The *Magnalia* has been variously appraised, for it is a book to arouse strong aversions in anyone not imbued with its own spirit. Probably no second-hand appraisal can be of great benefit to anyone, since the only

way to grasp Cotton Mather is to read his works *in extenso*, from A to Izzard. Some commentators have expressed a very low estimate of Cotton Mather as a historian. The present writer is more inclined to agree with the good opinion held by the contemporaries who contributed prefatory verses to the bulky *Magnalia*:

> " . . . Cotton Mather;
> Whose piety, whose pains, and peerless pen,
> Revives New-England's nigh-lost origin."
> "This prophet . . .
> Unseals our heroes' tombs, and gives them air;
> They rise, they walk, and talk, look wond'rous fair."[25]

Mather undertook a more ambitious history than did any New Englander before him; he had a thesis and a point of view, he stated his own limits, and kept to them. He was quite aware of the fact that he was not disinterested, but he tried to be impartial, and in the *Magnalia* he succeeded better in approaching that historical ideal than his earlier publications or his personal prejudices would lead one to think possible. What more can be expected of an historian?

Daniel Neal

A long New England narrative, cast in the Puritan tradition, was written by an Englishman, Daniel Neal. His history so pleased the people of Massachusetts that Harvard awarded him a Master's degree. Neal was the pastor of an independent congregation in Aldersgate Street, London, who had once studied at Utrecht. A progressive man, he supported the movement to introduce into England inoculation against small-pox. *The History of New-England,* published in 1720, was his first book; later he wrote a four volume account of the English Puritans, which was criticised in some quarters for occasional misrepresentation and *suppressio veri*.[26]

Certain critics have held that Neal's work is hardly more than an adaptation of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*. The judgment is too harsh. Although Neal's purpose was similar to Mather's, that is, to preserve a worthy past for the edification of the future, the English clergyman brought to his task a greater discrimination in the use of historical sources than was common to earlier Puritan writers, especially to native New Englanders.

Neal's review of his predecessors is intelligent and enlightening. Edward Winslow, he observes, was a gentleman of known probity and goodness, whose work has been universally copied by his successors. Nathaniel Morton he characterizes as one who possessed all the advantages an historian could desire. Lack of comment on what Morton did with his opportunities suggests to us that Neal did not rate him highly, but was

too polite to say so. William Wood and John Josselyn he credits with preserving interesting material, but with striving "rather to make their Readers merry, than tell them the Truth." Increase Mather, he continues, published an exact relation of the Indian Wars, whereas Cotton Mather, "as capable of knowing the Truth of the Facts he relates as any Man living," would have produced a work more acceptable to the world had he "put his Materials a little closer together, and disposed them in another Method."[27]

Assaying himself, Neal concludes that he consulted unexceptional authorities, and wrote from them with freedom and impartiality. He admits his bias as a desire to be "on the Side of Liberty, and an Enemy to Oppression in all its Forms and Colours; Accordingly, I have taken the Liberty to censure such a Conduct [oppression] in all Parties of Christians, where-ever I have found it."

It is the office of an historian, Neal concludes "to set Affairs in a true light, and to record the Political Vertues and Vices of Men of a publick Character, the one for our Imitation, and the other as a Mark to avoid the Rock on which they split."

To a laudable degree, Neal's work carries out his intentions. He consulted writers on both sides of a controversy, and presented the opposing views in the best light he could, "leaving the Reader to make what Reflections on them he pleases."[28] Being a Puritan minister, however, Neal seldom questioned the major features of Puritan polity in New England.

With few exceptions, the fourteen chapters in Neal's long work are chronological segments of a running narrative, although separate sections are set aside for a general description of the country, for Indian missions, and witchcraft. Neal makes a real contribution to New England history through an admirable account of the rise of Puritanism in England, a subject which he subsequently expanded into an independent publication. For the founding of Plymouth, the author relied on Bradford, Winslow, and Nathaniel Morton. Whoever has once read Bradford's classic account of the landing of the Pilgrims, beginning "On Munday, they sounded the harbor and founde it fitt for shipping; and marched into the land," can unerringly trace the passage, however modified, through all subsequent accounts, including this one. Neal is not as severe as Bradford on the merrymaking Thomas Morton, whose gang he credits with the awe-inspiring feat of being able to consume £10 worth of spirits in a morning![29]

Neal's treatment of the founding of the rest of New England outside of Plymouth follows closely the outline and sentiments of Mather's *Magnalia.* Roger Williams is portrayed as being "uncharitable, and of such turbulent, and boisterous Passions, as had like to have put the whole Country into a Flame." If only Williams had never dabbled in divinity,

Neal qualifies, he would have been esteemed a great and useful man.[30]

On the Antinomian controversy, Neal used the Winthrop-Welde story, hence he arrived at an overly harsh judgment on Anne Hutchinson, as one whose teachings "under a Pretence of exalting the free Grace of God, destroyed the practical Part of Religion, and open'd a Door to all Sorts of Licentiousness." The contemporary reports that Mrs. Hutchinson and Mary Dyer gave birth to monsters, however, he thrusts aside, "as being uncertain in themselves, and of no weight, as to the Merits of the Cause." In dealing with the Robert Child case, Neal consulted the anti-government source, *New-Englands Jonas*. For most of his chapter on Indian missions, he followed closely the primary sources by John Wilson, Thomas Shepard, Henry Whitfield, and John Eliot.[31]

Knowing that his readers would be much interested in his treatment of Quakerism, Neal approached the subject with caution. "This Affair having made a great Noise in the World," he writes, "I'll endeavour to relate it with the greatest Impartiality; and when the Reader has considered the whole Account, with the Reasons of the Magistrates for their Proceedings . . . let him judge of it as he pleases."

Neal handled the thorny problem well. Admitting that persecution of the Quakers placed the Massachusetts magistrates in a bad light, he separated Quaker *beliefs* from *actions*, showing that although the latter caused justifiable resentment the former possessed virtue. Neal is the first Puritan historian of New England who attempted to explain sympathetically the major Quaker tenets, especially the principle that "the Spirit of the Lord is our Rule," and the idea of the "Light within." New England magistrates, he observes, were chiefly offended by the "Seditious and riotous Manner" in which early Quakers sought to spread their faith. "I am satisfied the *Modern Quakers* cannot approve of these Things," he concludes, expressing the opinion, commonly held by 1720, that William Penn and his followers had done much to render the movement "respectable" by sloughing off the anti-social practices which had once made the sect obnoxious to civil as well as to ecclesiastical authorities.[32]

Much of the central portion of Neal's history is clogged with obituaries of magistrates and divines derived from Cotton Mather, but whereas the latter placed the biographies in separate chapters, Neal interspersed them with the narrative, so that sections of his story read in the dreary and disconnected fashion of Nathaniel Morton's *Memoriall*.

Because of strict adherence to chronology, Neal gives a confused picture of the last two decades of the seventeenth century. Related events in the Andros affair and King William's War, for instance, are separated through unnecessary attention to the calendar. The Salem witchcraft episode is fortunately dealt with as a unit. Neal followed Robert Calef's account, yet his judgment on the Salem authorities is

not too severe. Strange mistakes were committed by some of the wisest men in the country, he concludes, "which must have been fatal to the whole Province, if God by his Providence had not mercifully interposed." Without being fully aware of the details, Neal credits certain of the Massachusetts clergy with hastening the end of the witchcraft delusion by questioning the validity of spectral evidence.

Neal's narrative ends in 1700 on an optimistic note: "Thus after a long and expensive War [King William's] attended with the most threatning Commotions among themselves, the Affairs of the Country were settled on a solid Basis; Trade began to flourish, and the People rejoyced in the Blessings of Peace."[33]

In his concluding survey of New England, the author cites several well-known sources, such as Higginson, Wood and Josselyn; otherwise he must have accumulated much of his summary data from correspondence and items not referred to in his footnotes.

Although not an inspired book, Neal's *History of New-England* soberly digests or expands earlier accounts. To consider the work chiefly an adaptation of Mather's *Magnalia* does little justice to either party. Both in learning and literary style, Mather was by far the greater man, but what Neal lacked in erudition or polish he compensated for by greater objectivity. Although he followed Mather's point of view on many topics, Neal advanced beyond a paraphrase of the *Magnalia* whenever other sources were available. Neal wrote not brilliantly but clearly; few of his passages could qualify as first-rate literature, but nearly all of them leave no doubt as to the author's meaning. Neal lacked a sense of humor, and he fell too often into the contemporary habit of composing supposedly fresh chapters by extensive and verbatim transcripts from preceding authors. Being an Englishman, far removed from the scene of his narrative, Neal escaped the common American indulgence in personal animosities. He embellished the data which one can otherwise gather directly from his main sources—Winslow, Morton, and the Mathers—by greater attention to the English background of American colonial history.

* * *

The Puritan philosophy of history, declare recent authorities, is that the subject should constitute a memorial of the mercies of God, to be proclaimed abroad that posterity may recognize divine works, remember them, and give thanks therefor.[34] This basic philosophy, or purpose in historical narration, may be easily observed in most Puritan writings from William Bradford to Daniel Neal. "God can make the weak stand," declared the governor of Plymouth. "It pleased the Lord" to confer on us this blessing, or mayhap that affliction, he said many a time. Winthrop was a bit less heavenly minded, but Edward Johnson regarded his whole

story as evidence of the wonder-working providence of Sion's Saviour in New England. Nathaniel Morton was very specific in stating that his duty was "to commemorize to future generations the memorable passages of God's providence to us," so that what we have seen and what our fathers have told us may cause our children and future generations to give praise to the Lord. New England must live in its history, declared Cotton Mather, while Neal asserted that the consideration of the careers of public men "in a true light" would prove a beacon for the guidance of posterity.

In this fundamental respect, the Puritan philosophy of history is not much different from that which animates the serious study of history in general, in all times and places, for if an examination of man in his past conduct does not help man in his present conduct, there is no value in the subject whatever. The Puritans simply added more of God to the discipline. Many Puritans held that New England provided history *par excellence* because God's mercies were more evident there than elsewhere, but this outcropping of local pride does not alter the basic assumption that the major purpose of history is to furnish a past help to present and future actions.

The notable Puritan historians did not themselves maintain, as certain later commentators have alleged, that an historian should not apply human criteria to the *why* of the events narrated but should interpret them solely as revealing God's design. The latter ideal would, of course, be unattainable. An absolute historical standard based on divine judgment can never be reached, since all history is written by human, and hence fallible, persons. Few of the Puritan narrators claimed that their own judgments did not enter into their writing or selection of material. Bradford promised to regard the simple truth of all things "as near as my slender Judgmente can attaine the same." Cotton Mather proclaimed it the duty of an historian, without specific reference to divine guidance, to pass judgment on men and events. Neal frankly presented both sides of controversial issues and left his reader "to make what Reflections on them he pleases." Puritan historians did not exploit personality for its own sake, preferring to fit individuals into a general social or religious pattern, hence their narratives tend to be specific, concrete, anecdotal, and didactic.

Were Puritan historians impartial? They tried to be. There was a subconscious urge toward impartiality, because the authors felt that God would be displeased with them for any suppression or warping of the truth. But many contemporary writers, partly because they were recording current events, often observed this ideal in the breach thereof. To the extreme Puritan historians—Edward Johnson and Cotton Mather—all of New England history was a continual struggle between the forces of good and evil; the heat of controversy never cooled. On occasion, an

author could restrain himself sufficiently to deal *mildly* with a man like Roger Williams, for he had his good points, but few ever perceived any redeeming features in the conduct of unconverted Indians, or of foreigners such as Dutchmen and Frenchmen.

To the credit of these historians who wrote from a somewhat narrow and, to us, partisan point of view, however impartial they considered their own efforts, it may be observed that the typically eighteenth century idea of *progress* entered their conception of human affairs. To be sure, most advancements were more often attributed to God's aid than to the free exercise of human reason, but the concept of progress was nevertheless present. Great things have been produced from small beginnings, wrote Bradford; the Lord caused New England to increase and fructify, testified Johnson; posterity should be pleased to look back on its original, said Daniel Neal, to observe *how it has arrived* at its present station. Puritan historians were people; they thought of God but wrote of man, and they described not a *status quo* but a progression.

The most useful secondary works on the subject of Puritan historians are several of the previously cited general historiographies (see bibliography for Chapter I), especially those by J. Franklin Jameson, Allen Johnson, and Michael Kraus.

Valuable also are: Samuel E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College;* Moses Coit Tyler, *History of American Literature;* Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans;* Thomas J. Holmes, *The Mather Literature;* and Vernon L. Parrington, *The Colonial Mind.*

For the most part, however, the author's judgments on the works reviewed above are his own, based upon careful analysis of the originals.

NOTES

1 *D.A.B.*, X, 95.

2 Edward Johnson, *A History of New England* (London, 1654), or the *Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour* (J. Franklin Jameson edition, 1910), pp. 23-25, 33.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41, 51, 71, 73, 97.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27, 134, 145.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 169-76, 185-88, 210, 212-18.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

7 *D.A.B.*, XIII, 261-62. Because of criticism directed to his brevity, Morton wrote another history, the manuscript of which was burned in 1674, and then rewritten by 1680; this account was printed by The Congregational Board (Boston, 1855.) The original *New-Englands Memoriall* has reprints as follows: Boston 1721; Newport 1772; Plymouth and Boston 1826; and in facsimile for The Club of Odd Volumes (Boston, 1903), with introduction by Arthur Lord.

8 Nathaniel Morton, *op. cit.* (John Davis edition, Boston, 1826), pp. 9, 11, 13.

9 Compare the Morton passage, *Memoriall,* p. 35, on the prospect facing the Pilgrims as they sighted Cape Cod, with the corresponding passage in Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* I, 155-56. See also *Memoriall,* pp. 34-40.

10 *Ibid.,* pp. 139-41, 201 *et. seq.*
11 *Ibid.,* pp. 212-13, 228-29, 238-42, 342.
12 John Josselyn, *op. cit.* (London, 1672), pp. 1-3, 17, 91, 103-14. A reprint was edited for the American Antiquarian Society *Transactions,* IV (1860).
13 John Josselyn, *op. cit.,* (London, 1674), pp. 12-14, 28, 197 ff. Reprint in 3 M.H.S. *Collections,* III.
14 Edward Ward, *A Trip To New-England* (London, 1699), pp 3, 5, 6, 10, 11. See also introduction to the edition by The Club for Colonial Reprints (Providence, 1905).
15 Joshua Scottow, *op. cit.* (Boston, 1694), pp. 1, 7, 9. It is likely that Scottow edited *Massachusetts or the First Planters of New-England* (Boston, 1696), containing letters of John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley and others.
16 For Cotton Mather's life in general, see Barrett Wendell, *Cotton Mather* (Boston, 1891), or the excellent sketch by Kenneth Murdoch, *D.A.B.,* XII, 386-89. Ralph and Louise Boas, *Cotton Mather, Keeper of the Puritan Conscience* (New York, 1928), is colorful; the authors build most of Mather's behavior around a persecution complex. Thomas J. Holmes, *The Mather Literature* (Cleveland, 1927), Chap. VIII, contains a valuable summary of Cotton's writings.
17 Cotton Mather,*Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702); text citations are to the first American edition (Hartford, 1820); see Vol. I, 23, 26, 28.
18 *Ibid.,* II, 572.
19 *Ibid.,* I, 61, 74.
20 *Ibid.,* I, 103, 105, 111-12, 144, 187.
21 *Ibid.,* I, 232, 249, 251, 263, 312.
22 *Ibid.,* II, 388-416. The commentary on this part of Mather's work in Michael Kraus, *History of American History,* pp. 62-63, is faulty, apparently due to the author's insufficient comparison of the text of the *Magnalia* with preceding works by both Cotton and Increase.
23 Cotton Mather, *Magnalia,* II, 430, 433.
24 *Ibid.,* II, 437, 447, 450-55, 458.
25 *Ibid.,* I, 15, 17.
26 *D.N.B.,* XL, 134-36.
27 Daniel Neal, *The History of New-England* (2 vols., London, 1720); see Vol. I, preface, v-viii.
28 *Ibid.,* I, iii-iv, viii.
29 *Ibid.,* I, 86, 112.
30 *Ibid.,* I, 140-44.
31 *Ibid.,* I, 166, 178, 213, *et. seq.*
32 *Ibid.,* I, 291, 322, 324-26.
33 *Ibid.,* II, 496, 528-29, 562.
34 Miller and Johnson, *The Puritans,* pp. 81-87.

CHAPTER X

THE IMPERIALISTS

ABOUT a generation ago, an "Imperial School" of colonial history arose in the United States. Following the pioneer work of Herbert L. Osgood and Charles M. Andrews, students lifted American colonial history out of its provincial setting and made it a part of the history of the British Empire, which in all conscience it was. From the Revolution to about 1900, most of our early history was written from a narrowly American point of view. This was in part due to the upsurging patriotism of the Revolution itself, and in greater measure to the spirit of intense nationalism which animated nineteenth century American culture. In recent times, the labors of Osgood, Andrews, George Louis Beer and others have accomplished a necessary correction in perspective. Modern colonial historians have, in short, revived the original, and proper, concept of regarding early American history as a part of English or European history.

Narratives of America written by Englishmen were numerous in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and many of them were well-read on both sides of the Atlantic. It may be taken for granted that the average Briton-in-the-street did not read specialized writings on America, or even know of their existence, and also that he could not afford to buy the authoritative but bulky productions by Richard Hakluyt or Samuel Purchas. The average Englishman who read history at all probably gained most of his information on America from popular chronicles of Great Britain, or from one of the numerous compact surveys of world geography. These two sources, it must be admitted, furnished American data that was often both sparse and erroneous, but there were general or imperial histories which, by the middle of the eighteenth century, attained a substantial stature. It will be interesting to note the progress made by writers of general colonial history in keeping abreast of the broadening areas of activity on the western side of the Atlantic. The early imperial group was largely composed of Englishmen. Natives of Great Britain often wrote on American history, but few American writers gave more than incidental attention to happenings far beyond the borders of their immediate locality.

Historical writing was extensively cultivated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by chroniclers and biographers, but little of their

work was accessible to the general reader because of the lack of public libraries. The very early writers were chiefly interested in domestic happenings, although some ventured into the realm of philosophic speculation. Lodowick Lloyd, poet in the court of Queen Elizabeth, subscribed to a philosophical interpretation of history which may help to explain why the early English writers on America did not waste energy in checking accuracy of detail:

"Here, as from a Turret of Speculation, you may look down upon the Vulgar, and every where behold how near of kin is Misery to Mortality; and raising afterwards your Contemplation higher, you may looke up on those who have been the Potentates and Princes of the Earth, and observe how empty is the Title of Greatness, and how vain in the Grave is the Prerogative of Kings; insomuch that if the Dusts of Alexander the Great, and of Bucephalus his Horse, were committed both unto one Urn, I do believe that Aristotle himself could not distinguish betwixt them, either by his Philosophy, or his Flattery."[1]

Leaving aside English accounts of domestic affairs, and the discovery narratives previously considered, let us observe the early inclusion of American events in full-dress histories of Great Britain. Elizabethan chroniclers were the earliest writers to pay attention to happenings across the Atlantic. Ralph Holinshed's chronicles, first published in 1578, include a few miscellaneous references to American affairs. Sebastian Cabot is cited as having gone to "the north side of Labrador" in 1498. Holinshed mentions Martin Frobisher, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's loss at sea, and the Raleigh-Lane attempt to colonize Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina.[2]

After Holinshed came John Stow whose chronicles, first published in 1580, were revised and expanded early in the next century by Edmund Howes. In this work we are told that in 1578 Martin Frobisher's men "fraught their Shippes with . . . pretended Gold-ore out of the Mines, and then on the last of August returning thence, arrived safely in England about the first of October, but their gold Ore after great charges, proved worse than good stone, whereby many men were deceived, to their utter undoings."[3] Under an entry for the year 1614, Howes includes a three-page account of Virginia, he mentions by title John Smith's *Map,* refers to Samuel Argall's expedition against the French in Maine, and to the capture of the Indian princess Pocahontas. Howes also pays some attention to the fishery at Newfoundland, and to Raleigh's first expedition to Guiana.[4]

From an American point of view, the most satisfying of the English chroniclers is William Camden (1551-1623). He knew intimately many historians, especially the famous Richard Hakluyt. The influence of Hakluyt on Camden, and vice versa, was great. Camden established a

professorship of history at Oxford in 1622. His best-remembered work is *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha,* published in 1615. Composed in the form of annals but having more substance than a chronicle, written not brilliantly but with insight, acumen, and a wide knowledge of foreign affairs, Camden's history merits serious consideration. In the American field, Camden covers several episodes with felicity. With respect to the disaster which overtook John Hawkins on his "troublesome voyadge" of 1567, for instance, Camden gives a compressed account but one which neatly reflects the situation at Vera Cruz:

"This *Hawkins* has arrived at *Saint John de Ullua* in the Bay of *Mexico,* with five Ships for Commerce, laden with Merchandizes and Black-moor Slaves, which were now commonly bought in *Africa* by the *Spaniards,* and from their Example by the *English,* and sold again in *America,* how honestly I know not. The next day arrived there also the King of *Spains* Royal Navy; which though he might easily have kept from entring the Haven, yet suffered he them to enter, compounding for Security to him and his upon certain Conditions, lest he might seem to have broken the League . . . [here follows a description of the battle] Hereat the military and sea-faring men all over *England* fretted, and desired War against the *Spaniards* . . . But the Queen shut her Ears against them, being taken off by Scottish matters."[5]

Gilbert's death at sea in 1583 moved Camden to make an understanding comment on the hazards of American colonization: " . . . he suffered so much by Shipwrecks and want of necessary Provision, that he was constrained to give over his Enterprise, learning too late himself, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over Colonies into remote Countries upon private mens Purses, than he and others in an erroneous Credulity had perswaded themselves, to their own Cost and Detriment."[6]

Not for some time after Camden's death did other English historians show as great discernment regarding American affairs. Camden's contemporary, Sir Francis Bacon, had little occasion to mention America in his history of the reign of Henry VII, and Lord Herbert, writing later on Henry VIII, included scant notice of the John Rut voyage to the New World in 1527. Camden's concern for America is noteworthy, since the chroniclers in general were interested chiefly in the domestic and partisan activities of princes and churchmen.

The neglect of American affairs by early chroniclers, save Camden, is explicable, but the consequent failure of many English geographers to use the constantly increasing stock of colonial information is much less pardonable. At least a half-dozen early historical geographers turned out works which paid but scant attention to Britain's colonies. The worst offender in this category was George Abbott (1562-1633), one-time Archbishop of Canterbury. His *Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde,*

written as a geography text for his Oxford pupils, passed through at least thirteen editions or reprintings between 1599 and 1664. The present writer has reviewed the issues of 1608 and 1634. Only five of the 160 pages in the first of these texts relate to parts of America north of the Spanish domain. Abbott confuses the Ralph Lane and the John White colonies on Roanoke Island, and states erroneously that Virginia had been totally abandoned and left to the Indians.[7]

Admitting that Abbott's *Briefe Description* is an arid compilation, for the most part a mere catalogue of place names, it is nevertheless a significant book. Popular and widely read, it is a reliable index to what the ordinary Englishman knew of other lands. Merchants, map makers, and sea captains possessed more accurate information, but Abbott's geography suggests what the "man in the street" learned about America.

Before his death in 1633, Abbott enjoyed ample opportunity to incorporate new and accurate American data into his geography, but the improvement discernible in the 1634, or first posthumous, edition of *Briefe Description* is very slight. The settlement of Jamestown is admitted, and there is an additional line on Bermuda, but that is about all.[8] By the 1630's, there were many substantial American narratives in print, but one would not have discovered them through Abbott. The good bishop must have been too busy with his ecclesiastical duties and political troubles (he was losing influence at court to William Laud) to have examined specialized American narratives, or the compendious volumes by Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas.

Peter Heylyn (1600-1662) was a churchman-geographer of greater historical attainment than Abbott. He entered Oxford as a precocious youth at fourteen, began to lecture on historical geography immediately after receiving his B.A. at the age of seventeen, and then took holy orders. As a supporter of Archbishop Laud, he fell on hard times during the civil wars, when he lost his home and his library. Practically blind for the last eleven years of his life, he resumed his writings with secretarial aid. Heylyn's *Little Description of the Great World,* first printed at Oxford in 1621, went through seven editions by 1636. His accounts of individual American colonies were limited to a paragraph or two, yet their superiority to Abbott's work is marked. A sample on Virginia may suffice:

"Virginia, called by the natives *Apalchen,* hath on the East, Mare del Noort; on the West, wee know not what limit; on the North, *Norumbega;* and on the South, *Florida.* It is so fruitfull, that two Acres of land will returne 400 bushels of Corne. There is said to be rich veines of Allum, Pitch, Tar, Rozen, Turpentine, store of Cedar, Grapes, Oyle, plenty of sweet Gummes, Dies, Timber trees, mynes of Iron and Copper; and abundance of Fruit, Fishes, Beasts, Fowle, and of that herbe and graine

which they call Maize . . . [here follow remarks on the Indians] The chiefe Townes are, *Kequoughton, 2 James Towne, 3 Dalesguift.* It was discovered by the *English* at the directions and charges of Sr *Walter Raleigh,* ANNO 1584: and in honour of our Virgin Queene, was called *Virginia.* The *English* have divers times gone thither to inhabit . . . but now the number is much diminished; the barbarous people having in the yeare 1622, slaine treacherously about 300 of them. The Northerne part of this *Virginia,* being better discovered than the other, is called NEW-ENGLAND: full of good new Towns & Forts, & is likely to prove a happy plantation."[9]

Heylyn later wrote a *Cosmographie* in which he devoted seventy pages to America. He brought his earlier work up to date from the reports of John Smith, Bartholomew Gosnold, Henry Hudson, Lord De-la-Warre and others. The famous diarist, John Evelyn, recommended Heylyn as an authority on modern history. His works, along with those of Abbott and Camden, were in the libraries of many colonial Americans.

Samuel Purchas

Although usually considered a compiler, Samuel Purchas was also an historian of merit. He spent most of his literary career editing other men's works, but parts of his *Pilgrimage* are real history; witness this passage on early Virginia:

"In May last 1616 . . . Sir *Thomas Dale* (that worthy Commander, and best establisher of the Virginian Plantation) came from thence into England, to procure and further the common good: partly by conference with Him, and chiefly by a Tractate and Relations of M. *Rolph,* the husband of *Pokanuntas,* which came ouer with him, I haue learned, what heere I deliuer to you. The English doe now finde this Countrey so correspondent to their constitutions, that is more rare to heare of a mans death in Virginia, then in that proportion of people in England. That Aristocratical Gouerment by a President and Council, is long since remooued, and those hatefull effects thereof together: Order and diligence haue repaired, what confusion and idlenesse had distempered. The men haue bin imployed in Palazading, and building of Townes, impaling grounds to keepe their Cattell from ranging, and to perserue their Corne; and a Peace concluded betwixt the English and the Indians."[10]

Samuel Purchas, born in Essex, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, after which he became vicar of Eastwood, near the shipping center of Leigh on the Thames. Although he never left his native land nor travelled more than two hundred miles from his birthplace, Purchas was acquainted with men who had been to the far corners of the earth. About 1611 he conceived of a pilgrimage, by means of historical study, to the great world outside of Christian Europe, an idea which blossomed

forth in *Purchas his Pilgrimage* in 1613. Purchas sought to improve on Hakluyt's work by weaving separate source narratives into a connected story, a task in which he achieved considerable success. His short articles on the founding of Virginia, and the experiments in New England before the Pilgrims, are sound if not inspiring accounts, and they have the additional merit, much appreciated by modern students, of copious marginal references to the names of informants or titles of works used in the composition. Seven hundred authors were drawn upon for the first edition of the *Pilgrimage,* and many more for the later revisions; Purchas overlooked no contemporary work of importance, whether English or Continental in origin. We are told that King James read the *Pilgrimage* as a bedside book, and that Samuel Coleridge derived therefrom inspiration for Xanadu and Kubla Khan. The style of Purchas is often heavy and overly pious, but the information he imparts is frequently invaluable.[11]

The deserved success of the *Pilgrimage* led Hakluyt to invite Purchas to his study, where the two men were of much assistance to each other until the former's death in 1616. Purchas had hoped to inherit Hakluyt's material, but the two were estranged just before the latter's death, so that the younger man had to secure Hakluyt's papers, presumably by purchase, from the executors of the estate. Once in possession of Hakluyt's material, Purchas undertook a continuation of his predecessor's great work, which became the *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes,* sent to the printer in sections from 1621 on, although the completed work did not appear until 1625. The labor involved in subduing a tremendous mass of material to readable form overwhelmed the author, who was also beset by family bereavements, so that he became worn and old before his time.

The *Pilgrimes* is not well edited. It has been called an omnibus book of giant proportions, but it preserves much that otherwise would have been lost. Like Hakluyt, Purchas was an ardent advocate of colonial expansion. He has been criticised for abridging many narratives, but had he not made some compression his work would have extended to impossible length. Through the pages of Purchas, many manuscripts became quickly known to contemporaries in shortened form, whereas the full accounts disappeared or were only brought to light for printing *in toto* in the nineteenth century. Weighed down by the enormous tasks he had set himself, Purchas died in 1626. He attempted to do too much, but he suffers only in comparison with Hakluyt. Ranged along side of George Abbott, Peter Heylyn, and many later geographers, Purchas is a giant of industry and the soul of reliability.

* * *

One of the better mid-seventeenth century surveys is William Castell's *Short Discovery of the Coasts and Continent of America.* The author,

a rector and supporter of foreign missions, describes the British possessions in America seriatim from north to south, beginning with the Newfoundland fishery. New England he designates as a potentially rich area comparable to the better parts of Europe. Castell criticises the New Englanders for not making more headway in the conversion of the Indians, but otherwise he writes urbanely of American affairs. In particular, he pointed out the economic resources of the West Indies, thus strengthening, no doubt, England's growing determination to expand her interests in that area.[12] The Cromwellian expedition against Hispaniola and Jamaica was undertaken about a decade after the appearance of Castell's stimulating survey.

The Puritan divine, Samuel Clarke (1599-1683), wrote a great deal of ecclesiastical biography and some history, while in enforced retirement from the London parish of St. Bennet Fink. Part of his biographical work is very good, especially the chapters on near contemporaries. Clarke's sketch of John Cotton, for instance, the eminent minister of Boston both in Old England and New, is well written, accurate, and informing. Clarke also wrote a world geography. The first edition is superficial, parts of the American section being but a plagarism of Heylyn, but a revision benefited from the author's evident perusal of William Wood's work on New England and Richard Ligon's on Barbados.[13]

George Gardyner of Peckham, Surrey, who was especially interested in the Bahamas, wrote a *Description of the New World. Or American Islands and Continent* which is part geography and part promotion tract. His island survey, proceeding from Newfoundland southward past Martha's Vineyard and Long Island to the West Indies, is competent though brief. Under Anguilla, for instance, is hardly more than the statement that "It hath come few English on it with excellent Salt-pits, and a good Road for Ships." The information was up-to-date, however, since this small island was settled but the year previous to Gardyner's writing. The author praised Hispaniola, the island Cromwell attempted to capture in 1655, as a place of perpetual summer, undeveloped by the Spaniards. His plain implication was—Expansionists take notice!

Gardyner's survey of the North American mainland is a fair mixture of description and objective commentary. New England he declares to be "indifferently seated;" the whites have brought the natives into much awe but no gospel knowledge; the unwholesome climate of tidewater Virginia is still causing a great mortality among new arrivals; the enthusiasm there for tobacco makes it necessary to import food from New England, especially fish, biscuit, and peas.[14] On the whole, Gardyner's concise description is enlivened by a business-like directness that contrasts favorably with the more labored writings of many clerical geographers.

One of the best seventeenth century surveys of the New World is the book called simply *America,* by John Ogilby (1600-76), published in 1671. This interesting character, one-time dancing master, tutor, and deputy-master of revels in Ireland, rose to bask in the favor of Charles II, and to bear the title of "His Majesty's Cosmographer and Geographick Printer."[15]

America, a large and handsomely illustrated folio of nearly 700 pages, is but one of the many admirable typographical works brought out by the versatile cosmographer. The "ancient" American history included in the volume is of little value, but the seventeenth century information is substantial and reasonably accurate. Ogilby makes ostentatious parade of his authorities, listing more than one hundred and forty authors he claims to have consulted. Someone connected with the writing of this book was acquainted with the substantial narratives on British-America by John Smith, John Winthrop and Edward Johnson, and with Adrian Van der Donck's work on Dutch New York. The authorship of this serviceable compendium, however, is clouded by some uncertainty. Perhaps but a tenth of *America* may be considered Ogilby's own work, the rest is a translation of *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld* by Arnold Montanus, published in Amsterdam the same year.[16] Ogilby merely enlarged the Continental work with notes on colonies with which he was particularly well acquainted. Regardless of its paternity, however, *America* is a useful work. Primarily intended as a survey of geography and natural resources, it includes, from adequate sources, more narrative history than is found in most books of the sort.

In the 1680's appeared two general surveys of America, which passed through many editions, translations and revisions, to the despair of bibliographers. The authors, Robert Burton (pseudonym for Nathaniel Crouch) and Richard Blome, were miscellaneous writers credited with a great number of books on a wide variety of subjects. Blome's *Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America,* published in 1687, includes large blocks of material from Burton's *English Empire in America,* printed two years previously, while the latter in turn includes considerable data from an earlier work by Blome on Jamaica and the West Indies.[17] Regardless of the confusing relationship of the authors and their respective works, both surveys attest to the growing interest of booksellers and the contemporary reading public in affairs American.

Burton's *English Empire* is very inaccurate and badly organized; it was compiled on the principle that since novelty and variety are pleasant, what could be more diverting than relations of the New World! Burton dipped indiscrimately into early narratives of Newfoundland, John Smith's adventures with the Indians, stories of King Philip's War, John Josselyn's voyages to New England, Scottish promotion tracts for New Jersey,

William Penn's letter to the Free Society of Traders, and John Lederer's travels into the Blue Ridge Mountains. Blome's *Present State* is a more solid production, based on the premise that an adequate description of Britain's American colonies would raise in other nations an esteem and dread of the mighty power of the English crown. The accounts of Pennsylvania, Carolina, and the West Indies are the most useful sections of the work.

Of course a great deal of general American history was written by Continentals; in fact, an adequate discussion of non-English works touching on British-America would make a sizeable volume. Several of the Continentals have already been reviewed in connection with narratives of exploration and early settlement. In Holland, the outstanding seventeenth century historians of America were Jan de Laet and Arnold Montanus, previously noted. In Germany, Johann Gottfriedt, or Abelin, published a large, illustrated survey similar to Ogilby's *America,* the text of which is essentially an abridgment of De Bry. Many French writings are important to the American story because of the intercolonial wars and other numerous contacts between English and French in the New World. Pierre d'Avity, a military man, and writer by avocation, produced a good geographical survey of the Americas in the 1640's. A sea captain, William Coppier, who attempted to prove that Frenchmen were superior to all other races, wrote a travel account, with generous descriptive notes, on the Caribbean Islands.[18]

The seventeenth century wars in the West Indies occasioned other French narratives which may be consulted with profit. One of the best is by Jean Baptiste du Tertre, son of a Calais doctor, who left his studies as a youth to go to sea. He turned to religion while recovering from serious wounds, and became a Dominican missionary in the Antilles, where he acquired much of the data for his two extensive books on the West Indies.

His first work, published in 1654, was later expanded into four solid volumes entitled *Histoire Generale Des Antilles.* Although dovoted primarily to the French possessions in the Indies, Du Tertre's volumes are essential to a study of English history since they cover the conflicting interests of the two nations in St. Christopher (St. Kitts), Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Lucia, and extend also to English attacks on the Dutch islands of Tobago and St. Eustatius. Du Tertre gives with minute detail the story of the fighting on St. Kitts in the 1660's, concluding with a pessimistic prophecy, fulfilled in 1713 when the island became wholly British, that the French and the English could not continue to live there peaceably together:

"Par toutes ces choses l'on peut juger quels sont les Francois, & quels sont les Anglois; & si les Francois de i'Isle de saint Christophle se peuvent

de vivre en paix avec une Nation qui n' a point tenu de parole, dont l'orgueil est insupportable, & donc l'inhumanité est telle, qu'ils ne vouloient donner aucun quartier à ceux qui le ont si genereusement accordé."[19]

This attack on English probity is not characteristic of Du Tertre's work as a whole; the patriotic paragraph was probably inserted to aid in securing the "'Privilege du Roi" for publication. In most respects, the *Histoire Generale Des Antilles* is a thoroughly documented and impartial work. It is probably the best seventeenth century book on the West Indies, and is certainly superior to English writings on the area.

Another elaborate French account of the West Indies is the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé, dans les Isles & Terre-Ferme de l'Amerique,* published by a Paris bookseller, Gervais Clouzier, and based extensively on the journals of a naval officer, Jean Clodore. Part of the narrative is in journal style—personal and intimate—and part is substantial military history. One interesting chapter, for instance, summarizes the reasons for the lack of greater English successes in the islands considering the large forces at their command. Clodore held that the British were deficient in experienced officers; they attacked posts before the junction of all their available forces; and failed to follow up initial gains.[20] The *Relation* ends with the peace of Breda in the summer of 1667. On the military side, Clodore's work is nearly as detailed as the volumes by Du Tertre, but it lacks the former's wealth of general information on the West Indies.

To summarize very briefly "imperial" writings on British-America before 1700, it may be observed that British chroniclers included references to the New World in their annals of England; geographers added ever-increasing American notes to their descriptions of the Old World; and popularizers turned out bulky but often ill-digested volumes on the American colonies. Several Continentals produced better American surveys than the average English product, but of course they did not specialize in British-American territories. After 1700, the "imperial school" of colonial history advanced rapidly, beginning with John Oldmixon, a temperate and critical author who achieved a full-dress account of English possessions across the Atlantic.

John Oldmixon

John Oldmixon has probably been more often quoted in condemnation than praise, but his work is much better than that of many American writers who have taken him to task for minor inaccuracies. Even the pompous Cotton Mather held a good opinion of Oldmixon's *British Empire in America,* although his own *Magnalia* was frequently criticised therein. Oldmixon accomplished what Heylyn, Castell, Burton and Blome attempted but lacked either industry or perseverance to carry through—

a well-rounded account of far-flung dominions. He completed a task which John Smith and Samuel Purchas aspired to, and might have attained had they been writing at a later time.

The author of this first important imperial history of America was a poet and pamphleteer as well as an historian. At the age of twenty-three he published a book of poems, and then several not very successful plays. The *British Empire in America,* which appeared in 1708, was his first historical work, to be followed at intervals by writings on England from the days of Henry VII to George I. Much of Oldmixon's British text has been long outmoded, but the colonial volumes still command respect. Oldmixon's broad point of view raises him above the colonials who wrote only of their own provinces, and allies him with the moderns who realize that much of early American history must be surveyed from the perspective of London.

Oldmixon was well aware of the errors in detail he was likely to commit in assuming such a large-scale assignment. He hoped his readers would excuse him when they considered "what a difficult Task the History of the British West-Indies must be to an Historian that never was in America." The unusual designation of all of North America as the "West Indies" annoyed many contemporaries, especially New Englanders. Realizing that an exact history of the Empire could not be framed by a single author, either American or European, unless based on particular accounts composed on the spot by "Men of Interest and Capacity," Oldmixon sought the best authorities available. He consulted the works of Cotton Mather on New England, of William Penn on Pennsylvania, and of William Byrd and Robert Beverley for Virginia. Oldmixon did not limit his research to printed histories; he made extensive use of private and official letters, legislative papers, and the philosophical transactions of the Royal Society. He feared that such a rich fare might upset American digestions, accustomed to a provincial view of history, so with tongue in cheek he urged American readers not to condemn him "if they meet with things out of their Notice, but suspect their own Knowledge and Information, as well as his; for he treats of the Plantations historically, and was therefore to relate things past as well as present; and 'twill be unjust for any one to conclude they never were, because they never heard of them, as too many will be inclined to do."

As a final guarantee of his care for accuracy, Oldmixon assures us that every part of his manuscript was reviewed by one or more persons familiar with the locality under discussion.[21]

Oldmixon's book begins with a long essay on the value of colonies to the home country, a thesis which was bound to be unpalatable to those Americans who considered their own colony the hub of the universe. The first volume covers Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and the mainland

provinces from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Each distinct political or geographic area is handled in a separate chapter, but the author does not confine himself to water-tight compartments; he constantly points out comparisons and contrasts. Space forbids a detailed discussion of Oldmixon's treatment of every American province, but his sections on New England and Virginia may serve as a good index to the character of the whole.

The New England chapter in the 1741 edition is much more extensive than that of the first printing; the author abandoned some of Mather's passages to use Daniel Neal instead, and in the second writing he introduced more, and better, commentary. The influence of Nathaniel Morton, or shall we say of William Bradford once removed, is evident in the story of early Plymouth, but Oldmixon always brings critical curiosity to bear on his sources. When he quotes Daniel Neal as saying that the Pilgrims, in search of a site for settlement, came upon "the Remains of a House," he poses the question as to what the "remains" of an Indian house might be, a structure that had to begin with neither solid walls nor roof?[22]

Oldmixon made many small mistakes in the spelling of proper names or the location of certain towns or Indian tribes, but on broad issues his perception was clear. Whenever conflicting accounts confused him, he admits the fact. Thus in using a source (Neal) which confounded a patent to Plymouth with the Massachusetts Bay Charter, he calls attention to the discrepancy and guesses, correctly, as to the proper conclusion. Similarly, when bothered by the unfriendly relations between Massachusetts and the New England Council, Oldmixon expresses his perplexity by confessing that Sir Ferdinando Gorges "appears to be no good Friend to these Puritans, tho' one of the chief of the Council of Plymouth." The refinements of theological controversy in New England he did not pretend to understand. Religious punctillios occasionally moved him to mirth; when quoting Mather on the fact that the colonial campaign against the Pequot Indians was delayed because some soldiers "were too much under a Covenant of Works," Oldmixon observes that to be under a covenant of good work would seem to be a soldier's especial duty in time of war. But "I may very easily run into Error here," he admits, "for I am in a State of Darkness" as to the merits of this farcial controversy.[23]

Oldmixon understood perfectly well that New Englanders took their religion seriously. Personally he was tolerant of theological bickerings, reserving censure for practices which threatened harm to the civil state. For example, he condemned the Anglican disturber of Plymouth's early days—Thomas Morton—for supplying the Indians with guns and for teaching them to shoot, but he was not bothered by the alleged pagan revels at Merrymount. "They set up a May-pole, and danced round it,"

he observes, "as much out of Spight to the Puritans of Plymouth, as out of Riot and Vanity."

Oldmixon's most extended comment on religious affairs in Massachusetts appears in reference to the exile of Roger Williams: "the Brethren of New-England flying from the most flagitious Persecution in the Christian World, are so far from being deterr'd by their own Sufferings, and the Deformity of the Practices of their Persecutors, that they are scarce out of the Reach of them, before they themselves set up the most strange and cruel of all Persecution, as being against their Fellow-Sufferers and Fellow-Exiles in the Wildernesses, to which they fled from the fury of their implacable Enemies."

And further, on the Quakers, Oldmixon concludes that many of them richly deserved flogging, but not hanging. Their Massachusetts executioners, he declares, "were as real Bigots in their way, as Archbishop Laud was in his, and where Bigotry thrives, like a rank Weed it kills every good Plant about it."[24]

The second edition of the *British Empire* contains a chapter on witchcraft which did not appear in the first. By 1741 it was easy to be wise after the event, so that Oldmixon could say that he did not believe one word of the evidence on which the Salem witches were convicted. He presented a brief narrative that others might form their own conclusion, and referred those curious for further information to Cotton Mather's "surprizing Account of these things," and to Robert Calef's rebuttal.[25] "It is certainly the Duty of an Historian to prefer his Readers Judgment to his own," declares this cautious author, "to relate the Fact as it comes to him, and leave it to others to decide of it." Oldmixon was not sparing in personal judgments, but he never sought to exclude the possibility of a contrary conclusion.

Oldmixon probed fairly deeply into many of the political quarrels between the governors and the provincial assemblies. His handling of Governor Belcher's attempt to secure a permanent salary in Massachusetts is judicious. To his general New England narrative, Oldmixon appends data on geography, towns, forts, trade, currency and the naval stores industry. He characterized his New England chapters as being largely Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* with the *"Puns, Anagrams, Acrosticks, Miracles, Prodigies, Witches, Speeches,* [and] *Epistles"* omitted.[26] He underrated himself. Oldmixon's history covers not only the major narrative sections of Mather but includes in addition much political and economic material that had not interested the clerical historian. Oldmixon, furthermore, possessed a breadth of view and a tolerance that Mather wholly lacked.

Oldmixon's chapter on Virginia is better than Robert Beverley's narrative, on which much of it is based. The Englishman corrects many of

the Virginian's mistakes on the history of his own province! Oldmixon is more accurate than Beverley on Sir Walter Raleigh's experiments in colonization, and on John Smith's position in the Jamestown expedition of 1607. He expands Beverley's account of Sir Thomas Dale, making it clear that the latter enforced a rigorous rule in Jamestown chiefly to drive lazy colonists to work. On the Virginia governors after 1624, Oldmixon's political sympathies follow Beverley's in the main, although on occasion he quotes William Bullock, author of *Virginia Impartially Examined*.[27] In general, Oldmixon compressed a large mass of data, chiefly economic, already in print on Virginia, and added to it well considered political commentary.

Oldmixon's second volume, of nearly five hundred pages, is devoted entirely to the West Indies; it is the most complete and important English work on that area preceding Bryan Edwards' classic account of 1793. Oldmixon's Caribbean chapters are more "factual" and less enlivened by commentary than his mainland narratives. As in his other work, however, Oldmixon consulted all readily available authorities for his own writing. A cursory examination of his treatment of the important islands of Jamaica and Barbados will show that Oldmixon used the major English and foreign sources, such as the works of Richard Ligon, Charles de Rochfort, Henry Stubbe, Thomas Tryon, Jan de Laet, Edmund Hickeringill, and Hans Sloane.

In judging Oldmixon's stature as an historian, one must first admit his proclivity toward error in dates and names of places, and then proceed to his very real virtues. Advancing beyond most of his predecessors, Oldmixon wrote well-rounded history rather than mere geographical description, brief episodical narratives, or controversial tracts. He was more widely read and generally informed than the American historians, with the notable exception of Cotton Mather. Oldmixon was not sparing of personal opinions, but he did not insist that his readers agree with him; they had free permission to arrive at a different conclusion from his facts. The author was tolerant of human foibles, but critical of "evil," which he viewed as any tendency or course of action which would harm the state or society in general. As an historical technician, Oldmixon consulted the best authorities available in print, cited them in text or marginal notes, and supplemented book sources with correspondence, and scientific articles, especially those afforded by the publications of the Royal Society. Where previous authorities conflicted, Oldmixon gave both views if he could not himself decide which was the correct one. With a literary background which could justify self-confidence, if not an open boast, Oldmixon was modest, but not so much so that one could say of him, as of Cotton Mather, that false servility served as an invisible cloak for conceit. Lastly, and this is most noteworthy in view of the preceding half century of

bitter religious and political quarrels, Oldmixon seldom descended to personalities. On this score, he wrote his own eulogy as an objective historian: "I do not think it will be expected, that in the History of the *British Empire in America,* I should enter into the various Causes of Differences between the Governors and Assemblies, Councils and Assemblies, publick and private Persons, farther than the general Good or Evil is concerned in them."[28]

William Douglass

Oldmixon was not surpassed in his day by any Anglo-American historian in breadth of scope or judicious treatment of material. The only near contemporary to approach him was William Douglass, author of *A Summary, Historical and Political . . . of the British Settlements in North-America.* The writer of this comprehensive but not cohesive narrative was equipped to treat American history from both the provincial and the imperial point of view. A versatile Scottish physician, known to have studied medicine at Edinburgh, Leyden, and Paris, he settled in Boston in 1718, after a trip through the West Indies. The historical papers which he fashioned into the two-volume *Summary* of nearly a thousand pages were composed at odd times snatched from his professional duties, or sandwiched in between controversies with his medical colleagues and with the ministers and civil magistrates of Massachusetts. The work contains much valuable information, but is marred by the doctor's tendency to dogmatize on his pet aversions. Few generalizations could be made of the *Summary* which would not need qualification, but at least Douglass was the first American, albeit a naturalized one rather than a native, to visualize colonial history as an entity. Unfortunately he found it impossible to finish his work on a scale commensurate with its beginning.[29]

The objectives of the *Summary* were both praiseworthy and practical. Protesting that much previously published history was "imperfect, erroneous, and romantick," Douglass undertook: (1) To give Europeans, especially officers concerned with colonial government, the best available information on America, and (2) To convey to the inhabitants of any one colony a good account of their neighbors. The first objective, to educate English officials on American affairs, dominates the whole work, giving the *Summary* the character of a long political tract dedicated to the cause of better imperial regulation.[30]

With cavalier disregard for many good men who had preceded him, Douglass declared that no native had undertaken the useful work of explaining America to Americans. He cited few other historians by name, except in criticism. Douglass regarded Sir Hans Sloane as a pedantic and useless scholar, Josselyn, Neal and Oldmixon as erroneous

scribblers, and William Bradford as "a man of no family, and of no learning." For most New England history, in fact, Douglass expressed a contemptuous opinion which has often been quoted. Much of it he held to be credulous and superstitious; other sections were too trifling—the insipid accounts of every brute or man-animal little deserve transmittal to posterity, nor is it necessary to perpetuate the account of every white man and Indian "mutually kill'd or otherways dead," nor record the succession of pious pastors, elders, and deacons! To use a modern term, Douglass considered himself a debunker:

"The writer of this historical summary does not affect a studied elegancy. This is a plain narrative of incontestible facts delivered with freedom, a collection or common-place of many years observations, designed at first only for the writer's private amusement or remembrancer . . . As the writer is independent, being in no publick office, no ringleader of any party, or faction; what he writes may be deemed impartial."[31]

That the *Summary* is a collection of facts arranged with little art becomes obvious on slight acquaintance. Douglass was by no means impartial, but his prejudices are so patent that they will mislead no one. The good doctor did not like democracy, paper money, inoculation for small pox, and a good many people. Commentators have complained about his frequent digressions and ill-digested organization, but some defense may be entered under both these heads. In a great many cases, particularly with reference to medical affairs, the digressions contain the most original and valuable material in the book. The organization, if not ideal, is at least uniform and consistent. Following the introductory material which fills half the first volume, Douglass deals with the mainland colonies individually, discussing under each one some twelve topics ranging from first settlement through boundary controversies, wars, the local government and militia, courts, taxes, produce, manufactures, trade, and religion. Under each province, furthermore, the author inserts a long digression on some topic of general interest, placing the discussion where the particular subject was most in evidence. Thus his extended remarks on paper money come under Massachusetts, those on lumbering under New Hampshire, on religious sectaries under Rhode Island, and tobacco culture under Virginia. Death prevented the completion of Douglass' ambitious survey; it ends with Virginia.

A detailed examination of the *Summary* could well run to exhausting length, but would benefit only a few historiographical specialists. This review will be brief. About a quarter of the work is general in character, or not directed to a particular colony. Douglass begins with a treatise on imperial problems, including plans for the better regulation of American trade, and a strong plea for the suppression of the French, "the common nusance and disturbers of Europe" who threaten to engulf

America. He gives considerable space to the West Indies, with sub-chapters on whaling and the sugar industry. Douglass used footnotes freely, not as citations to authority but chiefly to expand or elucidate his text. On the seventeenth century Indian uprisings, he parted company with Increase Mather and William Hubbard to express the view commonly held today that native resistance did not greatly retard English colonial expansion: "Upon good enquiry it will be found, that our properly speaking Indian wars have not been so frequent, so tedious, and so desolating, as is commonly represented in too strong a light."[32]

Douglass might be called a political scientist, since he was very much concerned with colonial land grants, provincial boundaries, constitutions and charters. He had little sympathy with the independent attitude of the New England settlements, remarking that their legislatures had often "been drawn into errors and inadvertencies, by some popular, wicked, leading men, which has obliged the court of Great-Britain to make some alterations in their peculiar constitutions." New England, he concluded, would be "comparatively nothing, without the assistance and protection of some European maritime power."

Preferring imperial control to home rule, Douglass suggested the royalizing of all colonial governments; the union of Rhode Island with Connecticut, and of New Jersey with New York; the abolition of all colonial duties except by act of Parliament; and the payment of governors' salaries by Great Britain.[33]

Under Part II of his first volume, Douglass takes up the histories of particular areas, commencing with Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland. While treating Nova Scotia, he includes a long account of the English capture of Louisburg in 1745, an achievement he credits to Divine Providence since the affair was badly managed, and the siege carried on in "a tumultuary random manner and [which] resembled a Cambridge commencement." For a good example of the author's power of condensation, one should read his chapter on Massachusetts religious affairs, wherein narrative is largely replaced by general conclusions, for instance: "At present the Congregationalists of New-England may be esteemed among the most moderate and charitable of Christian professions . . . The people who are called by the ludicrous name of Quakers are at present noted for a laudable parsimony or frugality, moral honesty, and mutual friendship."[34]

Especially informing are the author's accounts of the colonial post-office, the Massachusetts militia system, and Harvard College. Although he was inclined to make slight exception in favor of New England, Douglass held that much of colonial America was settled by malcontents, fraudulent debtors, and convicts, so that strong royal control over popular legislatures was essential.

New Hampshire impressed Douglass so little that he padded the history of that province with a great deal of extraneous material, the more pertinent parts of which relate to timber and naval stores. The digression on forest products is useful for its incidental notes on shipbuilding in New England, and the business of supplying cities like Boston with firewood. On the colony of Rhode Island and its religious complexion, the author follows the critical views of Cotton Mather and Daniel Neal. His brief essays on sectarianism, and the futility of Indian missions, are offset by informing notes on material or social progress as evidenced by the building of the first lighthouse on Conanicut Island, and the founding of the famous Redwood Library in Newport. Connecticut is treated in similar fashion, with little narrative but much sound observation. Douglass viewed the colony as "a plantation of industrious and sagacious husbandmen, notwithstanding that some of the meaner sort are villains . . . especially in not paying their just debts to the inhabitants or dealers of the neighboring colonies." "Any country is happy," he remarks, "where the meaner inhabitants are plentifully and wholsomely fed; warmly and decently cloathed: thus it is in Connecticut."[35] His account of the founding of Yale College is excellent.

Douglass grew weary after his history crossed the Hudson. Under each further colony he retells the story of first discoveries along the American shore, so that with slight variations John Cabot, Walter Raleigh, and the Virginia charter appear under New York, Maryland, and Virginia. Disliking popular movements, Douglass spared but six lines for the Leisler Rebellion, dismissing its leader as a usurper who deservedly suffered death as a traitor. But Douglass examined at length the territorial disputes in the Jerseys, noting also with a medical eye the ill effects of the colony's low and swampy land.

The Boston doctor wrote best of New England, because he was most intimately acquainted with that part of the country. Otherwise he bestowed most adequate treatment on Pennsylvania, although his story is not too complimentary. He disapproved of the location of Philadelphia at the confluence of two rivers, "which renders their people obnoxious to pleuritick, peripneumonick, dysenterick, and intermitting fevers," so that the death rate was double that in Boston. Neither did he like the evangelist George Whitefield, who had spent some time in the province, but at least Douglass was relieved to know that the tabernacle erected for his revival meetings had been transformed into a school, "a much more laudable institution than that of propagating enthusiasm, idleness and sanctified amours." The great influx of Germans bothered him, lest in short time Pennsylvania should "degenerate into a foreign colony, endangering the quiet of our adjacent colonies." He admitted, however, that many of the Germans were substantial citizens, that the material prosperity of the

province was steadily advancing, and that there might be some validity in the "melting pot" theory of American culture.[36]

Douglass' summaries of Maryland and Virginia are beneath criticism; he largely neglects the civil and religious strife in the former, and ends the story of the latter with the dissolution of the London Company in 1624. If the good doctor despaired of history south of Jamestown, he retained, however, a lively curiosity in his own profession, scattering pertinent observations on American medical practice through the closing pages of his second volume. We are told that "frontier" children, although Douglass does not use that adjective, are more "precoce" than those in Great Britain. Foreshadowing Benezet and other early temperance advocates, Dr. Douglass observes that inebriating liquors "carry the peccant humours to the nerves, from whence they are scarce to be removed; they are slow poisons, they enfeeble both body and mind, and produce mala stamina vitae in the progeny." Douglass had a very low opinion of his professional associates, declaring colonial medicine to be "so perniciously bad, that excepting in surgery, and some very acute cases, it is better to let nature under a proper regimen take her course . . . than to trust to the honesty and sagacity of the practitioner." He records asking a doctor in New England what was the common local routine? The latter replied facetiously that their practice "was very uniform, bleeding, vomiting, blistering, purging, anodyne, &c. if the illness continued, there was *repentendi,* and finally *murderandi,* nature was never to be consulted, or allowed to have any concern in the affair." In terminating this distressful account, the author made a very sensible plea for legislative regulation of medical apprenticeship and practice.[37]

The *Summary* is a difficult work to use, being repetitious and clumsily organized, but it contains a great deal of valuable material, especially on economics and government in the mid-eighteenth century. Douglass cared little for religious concerns, in which regard he reflects the growing rationalistic tendency of his time as compared with the more theocratic views of the preceding century. He was the first Anglo-American historian of colonial residence to look far beyond the confines of his own province and attempt a survey of America as a whole. Although his work may be condemned for unevenness and lack of precision, it does conform to the author's title; the *Summary* is a survey rather than a full-dress history.

* * *

Several other books on general American history appeared between 1750 and the Revolution, but few matched the standard set by Douglass and Oldmixon. Robert Rogers, a ranger and Indian fighter, wrote *A Concise Account of North America* (1765) which is chiefly notable for its geographical descriptions of the interior of the country. Rogers might

have become a great man, but desire for flattery, easy money, and an inability to remain loyal to fixed principles brought him, after a hectic career, to deathbed in a cheap London lodging house. At some time in his adventurous career, he travelled over a good deal of the Old Northwest and the upper Mississippi Valley. His *Concise Account* is a sort of John Smith's *Map* of Virginia moved inland: "The British Empire in North America is become so extensive and considerable," wrote Rogers, that a knowledge of the unsettled, interior parts will stimulate attention "to the defending and peopling it . . . to render it advantageous to the nation in general, as well as to those individuals who become adventurers in it."[38] Rogers flattered himself that his work was "as full and perfect as any at present to be come at." It probably was the most adequate account of the Old West then written in English, although the French had for years been much better acquainted with the region. Had Rogers confined his account to western lands he would have escaped much criticism, but unfortunately he attempted to review the history of the Atlantic seaboard, in which field he committed many errors. His work should be judged on its western phases, which abound with crisp verbal pictures of features unfamiliar to seaboard dwellers, such as Niagara Falls, where the traveller sees "so great a body of water falling, or rather violently thrown, from so great an height, upon the rocks below, from which it again rebounds to a very great height, appearing white as snow, being all converted into foam, thro' those repeated violent agitations."

No academic historian, Rogers composed a very readable promotion tract to glorify the West, which abounded in fish, fowl, game and forests, a country awaiting culture and improvement "to render it equal, if not superior, to any in the world."[39]

* * *

The two-volume general history of British America by the miscellaneous writer, John Huddleston Wynne, is a compilation hastily put together for a political purpose. Some regrettable misunderstandings between England and America, writes Wynne, have come about by mistake rather than design; history may remedy the situation and thus lead to a reconciliation. Hence this sizeable work, of nearly eleven hundred pages, was intended as a long tract to promote better relations between England and her colonies. Once the reader has passed Wynne's introduction, however, the author's intention becomes obscured. His *General History of the British Empire in America* contains long passages lifted almost bodily from previous works, and scrambled together with little original interpretation.[40]

Wynne drew on reliable works for his plagarisms, and he abbreviated long passages by others with some felicity, but he arranged his chapters

in very unorganized fashion. After preliminary remarks on Spanish America, and the founding of Virginia, for instance, come in confusing succession accounts of the climate and soil of New England, the history of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, short passages on the founding of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, material on the Pequot War, the New England Confederation, quotations from Douglass on New England laws, John Eliot's work with Indian missions, and the Massachusetts persecution of Baptists and Quakers. Wynne's concluding remarks on the government and business of New England resurrect the purpose of the book: "By these observations collected from the best authorities, it may be seen how flourishing this settlement is in itself, and of how much use it may be made to the mother country."[41] Wynne's *General History* is much inferior to the works by Douglass and Oldmixon.

John Entick, a schoolmaster, published several historical works in addition to miscellaneous articles on Latin and grammar. Of most value to Americans are his long compilations on the Seven Years' War (see below) and *The Present State of the British Empire.* The author clearly states the purpose of his survey:

"The principal aim and chief design of the following Work is public Utility . . . Here the Statesman may find a Compass by which to steer the Helm of Government; the People may discern the nature and excellence of that Liberty to which, by the Laws of the Land, the immemorial Usage of their Ancestors, and from the national Councils of the Antient Britons, down to the present AEra, they are indisputably intitled."

Entick wrote in language "intelligible to the multitude yet serviceable to men of the greatest refinement," but he did not supply many profound proposals to aid statesmen at the helm of government. The colonial sections of his book present very brief reviews of early settlement plus surveys, rather than a history, of individual provinces. In short, his work afforded contemporaries a handy book of reference on American geography, local news, and economic statistics.[42]

Edmund and William Burke

One of the most notable ventures in imperial history is *An Account of the European Settlements in America,* often attributed to the famous statesman Edmund Burke, but more probably compiled, for the most part, by his cousin William.

"The affairs of America have lately engaged a great deal of the public attention," wrote one of the editors, presumably Edmund. "Before the present [Seven Years'] war, there were but a very few who made the history of that quarter of the world any part of their study; though the matter is certainly very curious in itself, and extremely interesting to us as a trading people." Further introductory remarks add that much his-

torical writing on America was "dry and disgusting"; some was based on insufficient knowledge; and other parts were composed in too partisan a spirit. Particularly must one be on guard against the bias evident in all books composed by provincials. "My principal view, in treating of the several settlements, was," concluded Edmund or William, "to draw every thing towards their trade, which is the point that concerns us the most materially," civil and natural history being of less consequence.[43]

European Settlements In America is a majestic work, in two sizeable volumes, composed with such fluency that many later historians borrowed from it *in extenso*, and without acknowledgment. The survey covers all of the Americas, French and Spanish as well as British. Certain European settlements, we are patriotically advised, have been cursed by designs of overweening ambition, and thirst for gold, but in our own colonies "we are to display the effects of liberty; the work of a people guided by their own natural temper in a proper path."[44]

As might be inferred from the Burkes' declaration of purpose, the history of individual colonies is presented very sketchily, being outweighed by economic considerations, and by observations directed toward an improvement of public policy in the management of colonies in general. The Burkes describe the mainland provinces in order from New England through the Carolinas, then insert the extremities of Hudson's Bay and Georgia. Although the treatment is more a commentary than a narrative history, much of the generalizing is good. Concerning Raleigh's attempts at settlement, for instance, the authors declare that "the spirit of colonization was not yet fully raised . . . The affairs of North America were in the hands of an exclusive company; and they prospered accordingly." The Burkes do not differentiate clearly between the separate concerns of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, although they appreciated the rise of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut as a result in part of religious controversies within the Bay Colony. New Englanders are not considered "worse than the rest of mankind" in respect to religious intolerance; Salem witchcraft is treated as an extraordinary madness, "the last paroxysm of . . . puritanic enthusiasm." The authors considered New England a flourishing area economically, "the first in America, for cultivation, for the number of people, and for the order which results from both." New England, they declared, should be encouraged by Great Britain rather than checked by restraints on trade.[45]

We learn from the Burkes that Sir Robert Carr took New York from the Dutch "with so little resistance, as not to gain him any great honour by the conquest." New Jersey is aptly characterized as a province "kept for a very long time in a very feeble state" by perpetual disputes between the people and the proprietaries. The Burkes highly approved of the proprietary rule in Pennsylvania, however. They complimented the Vir-

ginians on the fine town of Williamsburg, but presented badly the early story of the Old Dominion, declaring that after 1660 "there is nothing very interesting in their history, except . . . a sort of rebellion" raised by a gentleman named Bacon. The authors were more interested in the character or genius of the American people than in history as such; thus they wrote of South Carolina: "The planters and merchants are rich and well bred; the people are showy and expensive in their dress and way of living; so that every thing conspires to make . . . [Charleston] by much the liveliest and politest place, as it is one of the richest too, in all America."[46]

European Settlements is part history, part sociology, and otherwise a long political tract pleading for an enlightened colonial policy. The statesmanlike volumes foreshadowed the liberal or Whig party attitude toward the pre-Revolutionary American legislation in Parliament. Without undue violence to historical probability, it may be said that the work presaged Edmund Burke's famous speeches on conciliation between Britain and America. Aside from these interesting political considerations, the volumes offer a concise view of British America, less detailed than the surveys by Douglass or Oldmixon, but composed in admirable style, enriched by excellent generalizations, and manifesting a notable independence and sanity of judgment.

French and Indian War

The French and Indian War, or the American part of the Seven Years' War in Europe, produced an extensive historiography of its own. It is fitting, however, to consider this subject in connection with general imperial histories. Of the many war narratives composed between 1755 and 1772, the earlier ones, published while the struggle was still going on, tended to be political tracts, while the later accounts benefited from better perspective and more complete data.

The Present State of North-America of 1755 is a tract for the times, a "whooping-on of the dogs of war," and a "clear, vigorous, and incisive attack on French pretensions" in America. There is some doubt as to the authorship of the volume. The title page gives the writer as John Huske, but the best-known gentleman of that name was an army officer who apparently wrote no history. The tract was probably composed by the general's nephew, another John Huske, born in America, but resident in England after 1745. Although Huske was writing political propaganda to bolster Britain's American claims against the rival pretensions of France and Spain, he showed good judgment in the use of preceding historical works, being specifically complimentary to Douglass and Cadwallader Colden.[47]

John Mitchell, physician, botanist, author, and maker of a map which

played an elusive part in a post-Revolutionary boundary dispute between the United States and Canada, has been credited with two histories, published anonymously. Mitchell emigrated from England to Virginia in the 1720's then returned to his home country in 1746. As a scientist, and writer on botanical subjects, he corresponded with Benjamin Franklin, Cadwallader Colden, and Linnaeus. His *Contest in America Between Great Britain and France* is a long tract setting forth the dire consequences to be expected if France were allowed to maintain her position on the English frontier in America. Pleading for national unity in the crisis, Mitchell reviewed the advantages of colonies to the empire, and implored England to pay more regard than in the past to her overseas possessions. Contrary to the contemporary consensus, he held that the mainland American provinces and territories were of equal or greater value than the island possessions. Although later events proved him a bad prophet, he declared that the American colonies had no desire for independence.

Mitchell discussed various "faulty transactions" in the colonies which had facilitated French encroachments. He pleaded for intercolonial union, and an intercolonial military force, as necessary means of retrieving early losses and preventing further defeats. A considerable part of the *Contest in America* presents the French military objectives in the war, and the likelihood of their attainment. Mitchell exaggerated French military resources somewhat, in order to arouse his countrymen to greater action. Perhaps the most valuable part of his work, as a matter of record rather than patriotic propaganda, is the descriptive material on the English frontier posts from Crown Point to Niagara and thence into western Pennsylvania.[48]

One of the first comprehensive histories of the Seven Years' War was published anonymously soon after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris in 1763. Generally attributed to John Almon, a London bookseller, friend of Edmund Burke and John Wilkes, the book covers the war in India, Europe, and on the high seas as well as in America. The American affairs are in separate paragraphs scattered through the chronology of the whole war. Almon gives a well-rounded account of the American origins of the conflict, commencing with the problems left unsettled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 and continuing through George Washington's defeat in western Pennsylvania in July, 1754. The author blames the 1755 defeat of General Braddock almost wholly on Braddock himself, saying little about the lack of colonial cooperation in some phases of that unfortunate expedition. Sir William Johnson's defeat of Dieskau near Lake George, and the later French success under Montcalm, followed by the massacre near Fort William Henry, are passed over objectively with none of the purple passages subsequently woven into the story by Francis Parkman.

Almon describes succinctly William Pitt's plans for the war in America in 1758, and their successful prosecution by Bradstreet, Forbes, Amherst and Wolfe. The latter's capture of Quebec moved him to a rare outburst of enthusiasm: "What praises, what honours, what rewards, therefore, are due to him, who by his *single opinion* prevented [a possible debacle] . . . and added to the British crown one of the brightest gems it ever wore." Almon closes with a digest of the peace terms of 1763. "What we have principally acquired," he concludes, "is some sort of security to our North American colonies."[49]

The General History of the Late War is a spacious work in five volumes by the previously noted John Entick. The author acknowledges his obligation to many "other gentlemen" in the compilation of his magnum opus, but he does not name his coadjutors. He obviously must have received a great deal of assistance in order to have completed his more than two thousand page work within a year after the ending of hostilities.

Entick's work is not primarily American history, since the greater part relates to the conflict in Europe and India, but the American sections, interwoven chronologically with the over-all narrative, are very good. The work is to some extent a piece of "war guilt" propaganda, since it purports to show that the English were innocent victims of a French and Spanish plot to disturb the peace of Europe and America. But aside from the question of responsibility for the war, Entick's American narrative is fairly complete, competent, and reasonably unbiased. The author does not conceal the fact, for instance, that George Washington, "a brave and prudent young gentleman," was responsible for the opening of hostilities in America when he attacked Jumonville's French scouting party in western Pennsylvania in May, 1754. He treats General Braddock's fiasco objectively, criticising the general for a number of errors, but pleading that the valiant if unfortunate man, now gone to his heavenly reward, be not blamed for circumstances which were beyond his control, not the least of which was a lack of colonial cooperation.[50]

Entick gave more prominence than did most other contemporary, or later, writers to Lord Loudon, Braddock's successor (next but one) in command of American operations. Entick realized that this usually unappreciated commander had diligently endeavored to provide for the security of the British frontiers, and to reconcile the jarring interests of the various colonial governments so that all would unite in the common defense. Along with Almon, Entick was chary of admitting dramatic or eulogistic passages to sober historical writing, but he did give his emotions free rein on the 1757 massacre near Fort William Henry, and on the sad death of General Wolfe at Quebec:

" . . . he formed, and executed, that great, that dangerous yet necessary plan, which drew out the French to their defeat, and will forever

dominate him *The Conqueror of Canada.* But here—tears will flow . . . [for] within the grasp of victory . . . [he was mortally wounded, roused from fainting in the last agonies by the cry] 'They run,' he eagerly asked, 'Who run?' and being told, the French, and that they were defeated, he said, 'Then I thank God; I die contented;' and almost instantly expired."[51]

Entick's conclusions restate the responsibility of the French and Spaniards for the Seven Years' War, but do not extend to a commentary on the peace settlement of 1763.

The best contemporary account of the French and Indian War is that published in 1772 by Thomas Mante, an engineer in the English expedition to Havana in 1762, and major of a brigade in Colonel Bradstreet's campaign against the Indian chieftan, Pontiac. Mante, who wrote several military histories, declared that: "The only merit we pretend to in this compilation, is, our having strictly adhered to that impartiality which ought to be the first consideration of every historian."

Mante maintained a higher standard of impartiality than that common to chroniclers of wars, ancient or modern. His *History of the Late War in North America* is objective, fair to both sides, written without panegyrics, and supplemented by near a score of excellent maps.

Mante gives a good account of George Washington's 1753 expedition into western Pennsylvania, of his subsequent defeat at Fort Necessity, and of the unfortunate misunderstanding over his "responsibility" for the death of the French officer, Jumonville. The author gives a circumstantial narrative of the Braddock campaign, criticising colonial laxity in providing supplies for the expedition, but awarding deserved praise to American courage in the battle near Fort Duquesne. Braddock, concludes Mante, did not deserve the censure commonly heaped upon him. Throughout his whole work, the author's temper is judicious; writing on the Battle of Lake George in 1755, he points out errors in strategy or tactics made by both English and French officers. He absolves the French of blame for the Fort William Henry massacre, pointing out that Montcalm tried desperately to stop the tragedy following the English surrender.[52]

Mante does not neglect the non-military features of the war, that is, conditions behind the lines which bore indirectly on the campaigns. He probes to some depth the question of Quaker pacifism in Pennsylvania, and concludes that many colonists who were not Quakers showed an equally reprehensible reluctance to support the war. He nearly equals Entick in due recognition of the organizational ability of Lord Loudon. He does not examine in detail the peace negotiations of 1762-63, but does add to the account of the French and Indian War proper an interesting chapter on Pontiac's Rebellion, with special reference to the Bradstreet expedition of 1764 in which the author was a participant.[53] In objectivity, Mante's work surpasses the other contemporary histories of

the war, and in amplitude of detail his book is of particular usefulness to American readers since it treats only the American campaigns and not the parallel operations in Europe and India.

* * *

Thus it may be seen that from Camden to Oldmixon, Douglass, Burke, and the chroniclers of the Seven Years' War, two concepts had become firmly fixed in English historical writing: One, that American colonial history was a part of British imperial history; and the other, that the story of colonial America, from Hudson's Bay to Barbados, should be treated as a whole. In short, English authors of American colonial history, and William Douglass, came to write from an imperial point of view. Compared with the work of Osgood, Andrews, and others of the modern school, the older history was rather more descriptive than analytical, and more related to individuals or physical objects than to institutions. But at least the early writing comprehended one great virtue lacking in much nineteenth century history. The early writers accepted as a matter of course the fact that man is an animal as well as a political being; they gave due consideration to the human needs for food, clothing, and shelter. In the colonial period, economics had not been set apart from history as an independent academic discipline, nor had history been defined as merely past politics.

Information about the lives and works of such diverse authors as appear in this chapter must be sought in a great variety of places, many of them obscure.

There are a few generally helpful guides. The obvious starting point for data on English writers is the *Dictionary of National Biography.* The sketches in this massive work are generally reliable, although many need minor correction. Also generally useful on the English chroniclers or historians are the *Cambridge History of English Literature,* and Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe.*

Essential bibliographical details may be tracked down in the previously cited works by Godfrey Davies, Conyers Read, Eva G. R. Taylor, and E. Fueter. For books published in the year 1755, the most scholarly reviews are in Lawrence C. Wroth, *An American Bookshelf, 1755.*

John Evelyn (1620-1706) made many interesting comments on contemporary writers in his extensive diary (*Diary and Correspondence,* 4 vols., London, 1906).

Important English or American histories published after 1749 are reviewed in the *Monthly Review,* the London magazine founded by Ralph Griffiths and edited by him to his death in 1803. The reviews, published anoymously, are painstaking and critical, and usually fairly long.

NOTES

1 Lodowick Lloyd, *The Marrow of History* (London, 1653), foreword by Robert Codrington; *D.N.B.,* XXXIII, 429-30.

2 *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (6 vols., London, 1807-

08), I, 398-99; III, 520; IV, 534, 598-99; *D.N.B.*, XXVII, 130-32.
3 John Stow and Edmund Howes, *Annales or a Generall Chronicle of England* (London, 1631), p. 685; *D.N.B.*, IV, 3-6.
4 Stow and Howes, *Annles,* pp. 1017-21. John Speed, an enthusiastic amateur map maker, member of the Society of Antiquaries, and friend of William Camden, attempted with fair success to improve on Stow by weaving chronological data into a more cohesive account, *The History of Great Britaine . . . to King James,* first published in 1611; *D.N.B.,* LIII, 318-20.
5 William Camden, English version entitled *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth* (London, 1688), p. 108.
6 *Ibid.,* p. 287. For Camden's life, see *D.N.B.,* VIII, 277-85.
7 George Abbott, *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* (London, 1608), pages not numbered. See *D.N.B.,* I, 5-19; and W. F. Hook, *An Ecclesiastical Biography* (London, 1845), I, 7-30.
8 Abbott, *Briefe Description* (1634 edition), pp. 289-90.
9 Peter Heylyn, *A Little Description of the Great World* (Oxford, 1636), pp. 785-86. *D.N.B.,* XXVI, 319-23.
10 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1617 ed.), Eighth Book, Chap. V, p. 946.
11 See the very informing treatment of Purchas in Eva G. R. Taylor, *Stuart Geography,* Chap. V.
12 William Castell, *A Short Discoverie of the Coasts and Continent of America* (London, 1644), pp. 3, 18-21, 35-41. See also *Force Tracts,* I, No. 13; and *D.N.B.,* IX, 272. Robert Stafford, *A Geographicall and Anthologicall Description of All the Empires and Kingdomes* (London, 1618 and 1634), is a small work hardly justifying its grandiloquent title.
13 *D.N.B.,* X, 441-42. Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (London, 1662); *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie* (London, 1650 and 1654); *A Geographicall Description of all the Countries in the Known World* (London, 1657), revised and incorporated into *A Mirror Looking-Glass Both for Saints, and Sinners* (London,, 1671).
14 George Gardyner, *A Description of the New World* (London, 1651), pp. 57, 71, 90-92, 95-101. Another general history of the period, Alexander Ross, *The History of the World: The Second Part* (London, 1652), was intended to be a continuation of Sir Walter Raleigh's world history, carrying the story from where Raleigh left off, about 160 B. C., to 1640 A. D. The American history included is negligible, but the author's point of view is interesting: "The Law furnisheth us with Precepts, History with Examples . . . They that sit at the Helm of Government, had [have] need of the Historical Compass to steer by."
15 *D.N.B.,* XLII, 14-17.
16 See Joseph Sabin, *Dictionary,* XII, 303-05.
17 *D.N.B.,* V, 225, VIII, 14-16. Perhaps we should consider this a contest in plagarism; see Sabin, *Dictionary,* II, 233-34; III, 162.
18 Johann Ludwig Gottfriedt, *Newe Welt Und Americanische Historien* (Franckfurt, 1655). Pierre d'Avity, *Description Generale de L'Amerique* (Paris, 1643). William Coppier, *Histoire Et Voyage Des Indies Occidentales* (Lyon, 1645). Vincent le Blanc, *The World Surveyed* (English translation by Francis Brooke, London, 1660), is anecdotal and entertaining.
19 *Nouvelle Biographie Génerale,* LXIV, 1018-19. J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire Generale Des Antilles* (4 vols., Paris, 1667-71), IV, 362.
20 *Relation de ce qui s'est passé, dans les Isles & Terre-Ferme de l'Amerique*

(2 vols., Paris, 1671), II, 231-38. One of the few contemporary English narratives which equals the French accounts of intercolonial wars in the West Indies is *A True and Faithful Relation of the Forces of Their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary, etc.* (London, 1691), by Thomas Spencer, Jr., an officer attached to the service of Sir Timothy Thornhill.

21 *D.N.B.*, XLII, 115-19. John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America* (2 vols., London, 1708); text citations are to the 1741 edition; see I, preface, vii, xii.

22 *Ibid.*, I, 48.

23 *Ibid.*, I, 53, 62, 68, 75.

24 *Ibid.*, I, 55, 64-65, 107.

25 *Ibid.*, I, 148-49.

26 *Ibid.*, I, ix.

27 *Ibid.*, I, 350, 356-57, 364, 373; and see below, Chapter XI, on Robert Beverley.

28 Oldmixon, *op. cit.*, II, 344. James MacSparran, for many years missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Rhode Island, wrote *America Dissected* (Dublin, 1753), which is brief on general data but has suggestive notes on the status of the Church of England in America.

29 *D.A.B.*, V, 407-08; L. C. Wroth, *American Bookshelf*, pp. 87-91, 176-77.

30 William Douglass, *Summary* (2 vols., London, 1755), I, 1. See also *Monthly Review*, XIII, 267-84.

31 Douglass, *op. cit.*, I, 121n, 202n, 361-62, 396; II, 1, 71n.

32 *Ibid.*, I, 2, 191.

33 *Ibid.*, I, 210-11, 243-58.

34 *Ibid.*, I, 336, 352, 441, 448.

35 *Ibid.*, II, 52-68, 76, 98, 100-01, 112 *et. seq.*, 158, 203.

36 *Ibid.*, I, 209; II, 312, 321, 326.

37 *Ibid.*, II, 345-46, 348, 351-52 (italics mine). A final digression under Virginia, II, 392-414, gives an account of small pox epidemics and contemporary methods of treatment.

38 *D.A.B.*, XVI, 108-09 Robert Rogers, *op. cit.*, iii.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73, 264. Cf. *The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels In North America* (edited by Adolph B. Benson, New York, 1937).

40 *D.N.B.*, LXIII, 263-64; *Monthly Review*, XLV, 386-94, 432-36. Wynne derived considerable material from the Burkes' *European Settlements* (see below).

41 Wynne, *op. cit.* (2 vols., London, 1770), I, 170. The anonymous *History of the British Dominions in North America* (London, 1773), is an imposing work of more than five hundred large pages, based on preceding authorities such as Daniel Neal, Cotton Mather, William Douglass, William Hubbard, etc.

42 *D.N.B.*, XVII, 378; John Entick, *The Present State of the British Empire* (4 vols., London, 1774), I, i, vii; *Monthly Review*, LI, 460-63.

43 *D.N.B.*, VII, 345-65, 369-70. *An Account of the European Settlements in America* (2 vols., London, 1777), I, preface. This is the sixth edition; the first appeared in 1757.

44 *Ibid.*, II, 59-60.

45 *Ibid.*, II, 138-39, 144-49, 158-61, 171-72, 183.

46 *Ibid.*, II, 185, 194-95, 213, 219, 223, 258.

47 L. C. Wroth, *American Bookshelf*, pp. 23-25, 135-37; *D.N.B.*, XXVIII, 322; John Huske, *The Present State of North-America* (London, 1755), pp. 30-31.

48 *D.A.B.*, XIII, 50-51. [John Mitchell], *The Contest in America* (London, 1757), pp. 21-38, 49-84, 150 *etseq. See* L. C. Worth, *American Bookshelf*, pp. 33-35. The other historical work attributed to Mitchell, *The Present State of Great*

Britain and North America (London, 1767), is largely an economic treatise on agriculture, population, and trade.

49 *D.N.B.,* I. 340-42; [John Almon], *An Impartial History of the Late War* (London, 1763), pp. 9-69, 74-77, 80-87, 209-10, 267, 387.

50 John Entick, *The General History of the Late War* (5 vols., London, 1763-64), I, 1-2, 103, 141-44; V, 466.

51 *Ibid.,* I, 468; II, 5, IV, 118. The definitive work on Lord Loudon, by Stanley M. Pargellis, was published by the Yale University Press in 1933. *A Compleat History of the Late War* (London, 1765), by J. Wright, is largely a copy or paraphrase of the *Annual Register,* the famous English yearbook begun in 1758.

52 *D.N.B.,* XXXVI, 98-99; *Monthly Review,* XLIX, 371-78. Thomas Mante, *The History of the Late War in North-America* (London, 1772), pp. 6-7, 10-14, 19-28, 38, 542.

53 Mante, *op. cit.,* pp. 45-53, 477-542.

CHAPTER XI

PROVINCIAL CHRONICLES

TO show the increasing competence in the writing of local history in the eighteenth century, it will be expedient to proceed from the weak to the strong, although this arrangement will do violence to chronology. Geographically speaking, the provincial writings improve as one proceeds from south to north, so let us begin with Florida.

When Great Britain acquired Florida in 1763, Englishmen naturally wanted to know something about their new province, inherited from Spain. To meet the demand for current information, two fairly sizeable descriptions were published on short notice. One of these, *An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida,* was a collection "from the best Authorities" by William Roberts and T. Jefferys, the latter being on record as "Geographer to his Majesty." Jefferys obtained his information from French and Spanish maps, while Roberts drew on writings by or about Ribaut, Laudonniere, Sir Francis Drake, Governor Moore of the Carolinas, and used a number of other sources only vaguely identified. The book is a compilation, with little continuity or editorial interpretation. Roberts stressed, however, the strategic value of Florida as a base of operations against Spain in the West Indies. As a means of avoiding possible race conflict, he recommended intermarriage between white colonists and native Indian women![1] This book belongs in the Hariot-Smith category of descriptive promotion tracts.

A more substantial work is the *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida,* by Bernard Romans, an energetic and capable civil engineer, naturalist, cartographer, artillery captain, and jack-of-all trades. Romans was born in Holland; after training in England, he came to America about 1757. His surveys of the southern territory were made at various times between 1769 and 1773. Romans later moved north, visiting New York and Boston, and then residing for a time in Hartford, Connecticut. After several years' military service in the Revolution, he was captured by the British; he later disappeared, perhaps being lost at sea.[2]

His natural history had an imposing list of subscribers, including various Biddles of Philadelphia, James Bowdoin, John Hancock, and John Adams of Massachusetts, Timothy Dwight and Jeremiah Wadsworth of Connecticut, and several residents of the British Isles. A large map of the region, supplied with some copies of the text, was the best

one available at the time, and for many years afterward. Romans' description of Florida is much like John Smith's work in Virginia, but it is more entertainingly written. Into a sober account of the Florida climate, Romans wove irrelevant but amusing tidbits, such as the account of an old lady who lived to be more than a hundred, but whose legs became so "calcarizated by gout" that one of them snapped off one night when she stepped into bed; or of the dutiful son who at the age of eighty-five was still tramping five miles to a stream to catch fish for his mother. The author does a creditable job on the natives—the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and the Creeks—and their customs. His account of white society is also sprightly: "the women . . . dress light and are [hence] not very expensive; happy frugality!" and, "The amazing plenty of the country in its western regions makes them keep princely tables at a small expence." To support these interesting observations, Romans gives ample data on markets, produce, and prices. To his account of the favorable aspects of Southern society, the author added a frank admission on its discomforts, through flies, gnats, fevers, sun-stroke, and elephantiasis.[3]

* * *

Various aspects of the Carolinas, other than local politics, were elucidated in a half-dozen eighteenth century writings. John Lawson's *New Voyage to Carolina* (1709) is useful on several counts. The book is well written, and of greater substance than earlier accounts of the region. Lawson appeared in Charleston in 1700, eager to explore the surrounding wilderness. In December of that year he set out with a small party on a trip to the northward, following the "Trading Path," which ran between Georgia and Virginia, to the present site of Hillsboro, North Carolina, whence the group struck off eastward to the coast settlements. While back in England in 1708, probably for the purpose of seeing his book through the press, Lawson became interested in Christopher de Graffenried's plan for a Swiss and Palatine settlement in America. The realization of this project, at New Bern, aroused the enmity of the Tuscarora Indians, and led to Lawson's capture and death at their hands in 1711, and thus to the war which resulted in the expulsion of that tribe from the Carolinas.

Lawson's *New Voyage,* later renamed *The History of Carolina,* is a combination of four elements: The journal of his 1700-01 exploring trip, a description of North Carolina, a natural history of the area, and an ethnological survey of the Indians. The whole work is punctuated by laudatory comments on the land and its people, so that the book may be classed with the promotional literature prominent in the preceding century. The thriving inhabitants of Carolina, Lawson claims, have rendered the country of more advantage to the crown of Great Britain than any of the more northerly plantations, save Virginia and Maryland. "This

place is more plentiful in Money than most," he continues, "or indeed any of the Plantations on the continent."[4] This optimistic view of the early Carolinas is much more favorable than later judgments on the country's development at the time. Since Lawson apparently did not journey outside the Carolinas, one may question his comparisons of that area with other colonies.

The most casual reader will enjoy Lawson's journal of his thousand mile exploring trip, for little escaped the inquisitive eye of this leisurely traveller, who reported his observations in language pithy and humorous. "The English traders are seldom without an Indian Female for his Bed-fellow," jibed Lawson; "English women smoke as much tobacco, as most Indians do, using pipes that will hold an ounce of tobacco."[5] (We modern pipe smokers who consume perhaps a half-ounce a day should try one of those capacious bowls!) Lawson had something to say about Indian religious beliefs, but he was more interested in good earthy topics —the great flocks of pigeons which shut out in passing the light of day and with their droppings covered the ground as with a white sheet. He describes the tonsure of prostitutes. He tells of a necromancer who went out in a hurricane to plead with the spirits, and although the wind was blowing so hard it seemed the old chap would have been whisked away "before the Devil and he could have exchang'd half a dozen words," the gale subsided in two minutes.

The second part of Lawson's book is almost wholly promotion. The land is so fruitful, he writes, and the planters so hospitable, that most housekeepers give away to "Coasters and Guests" more provisions than they expend on their own families. His remarks on the fecundity of colonial mothers parallel other contemporary observations on the subject, and his paens to fair young girls with "very brisk charming eyes" mark the rise of the legend of Southern belles.[6]

A description of South Carolina published in 1761 has been attributed to James Glen, one-time governor of the province. The printed work is, in fact, a version of a report which Glen made to the British Board of Trade about 1749, nearly doubled in length by some other person, and then published without the governor's knowledge or consent. The unauthorized expansion in another survey or "present state," giving data on the quality of local soils, methods of cultivating rice, corn, and indigo, the number of inhabitants, state of trade, and such matters. Glen notes that thirty slaves was about the right number to work a rice plantation; he mentions a "wind-fan" for winnowing grain, includes barometric readings and wind directions, the rainfall in Charleston, and statistics on maritime trade. The work is, of course, not so much a history as a source book, but it is a very good one.[7]

George Milligen Johnston's description of South Carolina, written in

1763, is chiefly of interest for its medical observations. Johnston was a lieutenant and surgeon attached to the Independent Companies of British soldiery in Charleston. The author's comments on the country are not very substantial, but his observations on local society frequently possess considerable value. Johnston credits South Carolina with more "gentry" than other parts of British America. The author's nearest approach to historical narrative is his chapter on the Indians, containing an account of the 1759-60 troubles with the Cherokees.[8]

Generally speaking, Carolina historiography in the eighteenth century flourished in statistical surveys rather than connected narrative. More substantial histories appeared in Virginia and northward provinces.

Virginia: Robert Beverley, Hugh Jones, William Stith, William Byrd, II

Enjoying the talents of Robert Beverley, William Stith, and William Byrd II, Virginia surpassed the other Southern colonies in eighteenth century historical writing. Beverley's account of his native land, first published in 1705, is perhaps more important for the view it gives of the author and his social class than for an interpretation of Virginian affairs at large. Robert Beverley, son of a Cavalier immigrant who played a conspicuous part in quelling Bacon's rebellion, was educated in England, after which he held several positions in the provincial government. After retirement from public life, about 1706, Beverley rusticated on a seven thousand acre estate on the upper Mattapony River. He was an enthusiastic viticulturist, and an educated gentleman of sound common sense.[9]

Beverley's *History of Virginia* has no profound thesis, but rather the practical, immediate purpose of correcting past misinformation about the colony. The best narrative sections of Beverley's work are in Book I, comprising about a third of the volume. Beverley begins with the Raleigh-inspired voyages and attempts to colonize North Carolina, then considered part of Virginia. He got lost occasionally in wandering through the early narratives; for instance, he claimed that in 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh himself visited the islands about Cape Hatteras. Beverley becomes more reliable on the founding of Jamestown, although he pays too much attention to Captain John Smith and Pocahontas and not enough to Sir Thomas Dale and later leaders. Oddly enough, for one who had been several times a representative in the legislature, Beverley does not emphasize the significance of Virginia's first popular assembly in 1619, being content instead with the platitude that legislatures should "unite their Endeavours and Affections for the Good of the Country."[10]

As a successful planter, Beverley was well aware of the importance of economic factors in history. On two particularly important subjects, he expressed his personal opinions freely and often. Beverley deplored

the dependence of Virginia on a single crop, tobacco, and he regretted the restrictive character of the English navigation acts, those "strange arbitrary Curbs" which prevented planters from trading directly with whatever foreign country they pleased. In treating the administrations of the various royal governors after 1624, Beverley was critical of Harvey, Culpepper, and Howard, and very sympathetic toward Sir William Berkeley. He dealt fairly with Bacon's rebellion, however, even though the uprising was against Berkeley. Beverley brought the second or revised edition of his history down to the arrival of Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1710, whom he justifiably praised as one who greatly improved the province in many ways.[11]

The second part of Beverley's book deals with the natural products "and Conveniencies" of Virginia, and with the Indians. Beverley relied on John Smith, Hennepin, and Lahontan for native culture, but he occasionally inserted original material, especially one delightful hint as to his method of research. Meeting a lone Indian at an Englishman's house, he discloses: "I made much of him, seating him close by a large Fire, and giving him plenty of strong Cyder, which I hop'd would make him good Company, and open-hearted."[12]

Beverley's survey of local resources constitutes the soundest part of his work. In that respect, the book is chiefly a "present state" rather than interpretative history. The encomiums often bestowed on Beverley would seem to follow from a desire on the part of certain historiographers to praise at least a volume or two that did not spring from New England. It is hard to find much in Beverley justifying acclaim for "tonic originality," "sprightly and easy style," and the "racy spirit of the Virginia soil," unless the earthy spirit be said to dwell in promotional comments like the following: "A Kitchin-Garden don't thrive better or faster in any part of the Universe, than there." The most moving passage in the book is a paragraph on the Indian massacre of 1622, which reads in part: "Then they fell to Work all at once every where, knocking the English unawares on the Head, some with their Hatchets, which they call Tommahauks, others with the Hows and Axes of the English themselves, shooting at those who escap'd the Reach of their Hands; sparing neither Age nor Sex, but destroying Man, Woman and Child, according to their cruel way of leaving none behind to bear Resentment."[13]

On the whole, it may be fortunate that Beverley did not write more at length on the early history of Virginia, since his "honest, unadorned style" hardly compensates for his frequent inaccuracies. Beverley was intensely patriotic, however, and unsparing in criticism of fallible public servants. He was the first native son of Virginia to make a substantial contribution to historical literature.

* * *

Following soon after Beverley's history came two more surveys of Virginia. The better known of the two, published in 1724, was composed by Hugh Jones. There has been some uncertainty as to which of two contemporaries of this name was the author, but it seems now definitely established that the writer was an Oxford M.A. who came to Virginia in late 1716 or early 1717, and ended his days as rector of St. Stephen's Church, North Sassafras Parish, Maryland, in 1760.

Jones thought well of himself as a historian; he admits that there were several other books on Virginia, but claims they were out-of-date or otherwise defective. "I have industriously avoided the ornamental Dress of Rhetorical Flourishes," he said of his own style or method, "esteeming them unfit for the naked Truth of historical Relations."[14] His *Present State of Virginia* can, assuredly, hardly command top rank for sprightliness or perspicacity, but it is invaluable to antiquarians.

Paying initial attention to the local aborigines, Minister Hugh deplored that the Gospel had not been propagated among the Indians with great success, a failure due to the "little right knowledge" which church officers had of the redman. Jones belonged to the Hebraic school of thought on Indian origins; he regarded the American natives as descendants of Shem, who were driven to the New World across the vast South Sea, and from whose seventeenth century American mores one could arrive at a clear notion of the ancient culture of the Canaanites and Hebrews![15] Jones' account of the Indians is inferior to Smith's or Beverley's, although it of course includes references to episodes of much later date than those described by the former.

The early history of Virginia as an English province Jones skips over very briefly, compressing events from 1584 to Bacon's Rebellion into three pages. Other parts of his story are presented in "guide book" style; under Williamsburg, for example, Jones describes William and Mary College, the church, the powder magazine, and other public buildings of note. Material of this sort is useful to scholars interested in the minutiae of early American culture. From certain of Jones' comments on the habits and customs of his contemporaries, the reader might infer that colonial Virginians were the Yankees of the South: "The Climate makes them bright, and of excellent Sense, and sharp in Trade, an Ideot, or deformed Native being almost a Miracle." Jones was quite ingenious in broad generalization. Witness his moral epitome of British America: "If *New England* be called a Receptacle of Dissenters, and an *Amsterdam* of Religion, *Pennsylvania* the Nursery of Quakers, *Maryland* the Retirement of ROMAN Catholicks, *North-Carolina* the Refuge of Run-aways, and *South Carolina* the Delight of Buccaneers and Pyrates, *Virginia* may be justly esteemed the happy Retreat of *true Britons* and *true Churchmen* for the most Part; neither soaring too high nor drooping too low, conse-

quently should merit the greater Esteem and Encouragement."[16]

Several sprightly summaries of this caliber help to integrate otherwise miscellaneous material on coinage, schools, entertainments, the weather, stores, Governor Spotswood's iron works, wine, hemp, coal, and mulberry trees. Almost half of the *Present State* consists of a lengthy appendix setting forth the author's suggestions for reforms or improvements in education, religion, the arts, manufacturing and trade. As an historical narrative, the work of Hugh Jones ranks below Beverley's, but it reveals a bright image of the author himself, as an intelligent and literate champion of social progress.

* * *

If William Stith had continued his story of Virginia some distance past the year 1624, he might have produced a masterpiece the equal of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* or of Thomas Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Bay* (see below). His *History of Virginia* far outranks the surveys by Beverley and Hugh Jones. Certainly no other Colonial writer gave such meticulous attention to the first twenty years of a British-American province.

Born in the Old Dominion in 1707, Stith went to England for his college education, receiving a B.A. from Queen's College, Oxford. He became an Anglican minister, returned to Williamsburg in 1731, and served for a time as chaplain to the House of Burgesses. In 1736 he took charge of Henrico Parish, where in moments of leisure, which must have been many, he composed his book of more than three hundred closely printed pages. For the last three years of his life, Stith was president (the third) of William and Mary College.

Stith amassed a great volume of source material for his definitive work. From his uncle, Sir John Randolph, he acquired a collection of papers the latter had gathered for a history of Virginia, but had never found time, amidst his public duties, to fashion into a book. Through William Byrd, Stith gained access to a copy of the official records of the London Company, which had founded Jamestown. He studied the voluminous collections of De Bry and of Samuel Purchas, as well as all previously printed Virginia narratives, for which he expressed rather slight regard: "For I need not say, how empty and unsatisfactory every thing, yet published upon the Subject, is; excepting the excellent but confused Materials, left us in Captain Smith's History." Smith, he adds, was a very honest man and a lover of truth.[17] In using Captain John's "confused Materials," Stith admirably reduced them to order.

Stith's narrative is chronological, and political and personal rather than economic or philosophical. Although critics have complained of its verbosity, the work seriously suffers only from suppression, though not utter neglect, of economic factors, a shortcoming amply compensated

for by the elaborate treatment of the personalities engaged in the struggle to establish the first permanent English colony in America.

The story begins with a good summary of the era of exploration, from Prince Henry of Portugal to Gilbert and Raleigh. Stith dissects the Virginia patent of 1606, finding it to contain a too great centralization of authority. His narrative covering the years 1607-09 is largely a digest of Captain John Smith, whom he praises as a man of courage "whose Mind was solid and provident." Stith accepts as authentic the story of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas. He expressed no sympathy for those of the London Company adventurers who had subscribed to colonial enterprise only in the hope of reaping a large and quick return from their investment: "*Virginia* is not a Country of Mines," he exploded. Stith was more certain than were some of his predecessors that John Rolfe married Pocahontas for love and not for reasons of state. He applauded the abandonment of the common-stock system in Jamestown, an improvement instituted by Thomas Dale, "who may justly be ranked among the first and best of our Governors."[18]

Stith's narrative loses some of its high impartiality when it reaches the rise of Sir Edwin Sandys to the top position in the affairs of the London Company, in 1619. We may agree with Stith that Sandys was "a Person of excellent Understanding and Judgment; of great Industry, Vigor, and Resolution," yet it is unfortunate that his activities have been glorified to the disparagement of those who differed with him. Stith expounds the improvements in Virginia affairs backed by the Sandys faction—representative government, plans for a college, the importation of wives for the planters, the establishment of iron works and other projects for a diversification of industry. He dilates upon the "tobacco contracts," or the maneuverings of the planters and the London Company to gain a privileged position for their staple in the English market. Stith did not personally approve of the colony's economic reliance on the "stinking, nauseous, and unpalatable Weed . . . neither of Necessity nor Ornament to human Life." The story of the fall of the London Company—its charter was annulled in 1624—comprises about a third of Stith's work. The author casts the Earl of Warwick as chief villain in the "plot" against the Company. The first period of Virginia's history came to an end, as did Stith's book, with the conversion of the chartered enterprise into a royal colony. "This was the End of the *Virginia* Company;" he wrote, "one of the noblest, most illustrious, and publick-spirited Societies, that ever yet engaged in such an Undertaking." Stith was not purblind, however, in his championship of the "patriot" or liberal elements in the defunct company. He confessed that royal government proved better for Virginia than proprietary control, even though the change from one to the other was brought about by unrighteousness.[19]

Stith was no economic determinist. Rarely did his attention wander from political goals, although he could on occasion proffer a bouquet to scholars and literati. In this respect, colonial Virginia's greatest historian was closer akin than his contemporaries to the political historians of the nineteenth century. Stith was recognized by his near associates, and successors, as a most intelligent and well-informed historian, a judgment time has not altered.

* * *

Although his writings were not published until long after his death, William Byrd II can no more be omitted from Virginia's colonial historiography than William Bradford from that of Plymouth. Byrd was a Southern aristocrat both by birth and achievement; he increased the family estate from 26,231 to 179,440 acres, secured a large tract on the Roanoke River in North Carolina which he called the "Garden of Eden," and had designs for reclaiming the Dismal Swamp. Many years of his life were spent abroad; he was educated by English tutors, he studied law at the Middle Temple, and travelled on the Continent. He also acted as Virginia's official agent in England. In the Old Dominion, Byrd served as auditor, receiver-general of quit-rents, and member of the governor's council from 1708 to his death. When not engaged in public duties, or away from home on exploring trips, Byrd held court at Westover, the lordly estate inherited from his father. Here he accumulated a library of four thousand volumes, and in old age indulged his love of letters, writing four works of an historical nature between 1732 and 1740.[20]

The History of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, first printed in 1841, is the best known of Byrd's works. The occasion for the narrative was a boundary controversy between Virginia and North Carolina. Commissioners representing the two colonies met at the north end of Currituck Inlet in March, 1728, and worked westward, surveying a line agreeable to both parties. The Carolinians abandoned the project early in October, but the Virginia commissioners pushed on until approaching winter and the Appalachians turned them back.

As one of the Virginia commissioners, Byrd kept a rough diary of the trip, which he later expanded into two accounts, the one already noted and *The Secret History of the Line,* which was not published until 1929. Apparently Byrd composed the *Secret History* first, intending it only for the private entertainment of a few of his friends, and then he wrote the longer account, which was more suitable for public circulation. In the *Secret History,* the author frankly discloses the disputes among the commissioners, and impugns the personal character of most of the Carolina officials and of one of the Virginians. The identities of the persons involved he veils by descriptive pseudonyms: Firebrand (the Virginian,

Fitz-William, who lusted after damsels, white or red), Judge Jumble, Plausible, Puzzlecause, and Dr. Humdrum (the chaplain). Byrd called himself Steddy. The disagreements within the Virginia delegation, between Byrd and Fitz-William, were diplomatically omitted from the longer history, as were many of the dissensions between the whole Virginia group and that from the neighboring colony. Hence the *Secret History* contains many personal observations, and other "revelations," not to be found in the more general account. On the other hand, the better-known story includes many items not covered, or only briefly mentioned, in the *Secret History,* such as a sketch of English colonization in America, the fauna and flora of the regions traversed, elaborate notes on the natives, and unfavorable criticism of North Carolina settlers in general. The longer history may hence be considered a piece of promotional literature which suppresses certain unpalatable facts about Virginians, paints a very favorable picture of the southern Virginia country, and implicitly glorifies Virginian society by heaping abuse on North Carolinians. For all of its tendentious nature, the *History of the Dividing Line* deserves a notable place in colonial literature since the author expressed himself with great wit and charm. Byrd was a master of humor and irony; through the unlikely medium of a camp journal, he portrayed a true Virginian aristocrat, himself, who could preserve his dignity in a swamp as well as in the dining room of a Georgian mansion.

Byrd's survey of early colonial history is amusing but trivial; he states that Jamestown was founded by "Riprobates of good Familys," and Pennsylvania by the "Harmless Sect" of Quakers who have "no Vices but such as are Private." The journalistic section of the work comprises more valuable historical material. The purely descriptive passages are much like John Lawson's, although Byrd's have a slightly higher literary polish. Byrd apparently relied on Lawson for certain of his stories about Indian torture, and the power of snakes to charm their victims. The unique aspects of the journal are its oft-quoted aspersions on North Carolina, that "Lubberland" where the men "are Sloathfull in everything but getting of Children." The curse of this criticism is slightly tempered by Byrd's reluctant admission that many southern Virginia inhabitants were equally shiftless, and that both areas suffered from the intermeddling of depraved New England traders who flooded the country with an unwholesome rum called "Kill-Devil." Byrd's best-founded objection to Carolinians was their excessive use of pork, which often ruined their health. Byrd had an eye for pretty women. He regretted that few white colonists had married Indian girls, whose red skins might have been blanched in two or three generations, and who were certainly as virtuous as many of the white girls imported for wives.[21]

Some passages in Byrd are starkly realistic, others poetically descrip-

tive, as for example his contrasting passages on a hermit and on the Dismal Swamp:

The hermit, living with a wanton female: "Like the Ravens, he neither plow'd nor sow'd, but subsisted chiefly upon Oysters, which his Handmaid made a Shift to gather from the Adjacent Rocks . . . as for raiment, he depended mostly upon his Length of Beard, and she upon her Length of Hair, part of which she brought decently forward, and the rest dangled behind quite down to her Rump, like one of Herodotus's East Indian Pigmies."

In the Dismal Swamp, the surveyors "laid Eyes on no living Creature; neither Bird nor Beast, Insect nor Reptile . . . Doubtless, the Eternal Shade that broods over this mighty Bog, and hinders the sun-beams from blessing the Ground, makes it an uncomfortable Habitation for any thing that has life."[22]

Through the latter part of the journal are scattered many illuminating passages on the Indians, and their dealings with the white traders. Byrd proffers a recipe for "Glue-Broth," a method of boiling meat juice down into concentrated capsules like the modern soup cube, nutritious, and compact to carry. Byrd deprecated the use of horses on rough forest trails, preferring mules for that strenuous business, but he observed good naturedly that "my Dear Countrymen have so great a Passion for riding, that they will often walk two miles to catch a Horse, in Order to ride One." The *Secret History* is a very racy book indeed, with its tart comments on the amours of some of the boundary line commissioners, and its more circumspect reflections of the author's own reactions to female society. Present canons of good taste forbid verbatim report of Firebrand's escapades, so let us be content with a closing glance at Steddy Byrd as he felt the smiles of one lady sweeten his tea, and observed how, when he saluted her, Mrs. Hix "bobb'd up her mouth with more than Ordinary Elasticity [for a kiss] and gave Us a good Opinion of her other Motions."[23]

Byrd's other writings need little comment; like the *History of the Dividing Line,* they are journals of field trips. *A Progress to the Mines* tells of the author's tour in 1732 to Fredericksburg and former governor Spotswood's iron mines around Germanna. The style is a little more artificial than that of the Dividing Line histories; the commentary is less humorous. Historically the *Progress* is significant for its explicit description of contemporary methods of iron manufacture, and reflection of the colonial apprehension that England was intending to restrict that industry (the restrictive Iron Act came in 1750). *A Journey to the Land of Eden* describes Byrd's trip in 1733 to survey his Raleigh River lands; in style and content it matches the journal section of the *History of the Dividing Line.*[24]

It would not be fair to judge William Byrd II as an historian, for he was not one, professionally speaking. Byrd did not assume to write either an extensive narrative or profound exposition. His talents were literary rather than historical. As a diarist and homespun philosopher, the author concocted charming little tales to amuse and edify his friends. His works have historical value, partly for their content, partly for their unconscious delineation of an aristocratic gentleman a shade higher in wealth and refinement than his brother-in-law, Robert Beverley.

Pennsylvania: William Smith

With one exception, Pennsylvania historical writings of the mid-eighteenth century were not of broad significance; they related chiefly to brief episodes in the Indian wars, the vagaries of the Quakers, or to quarrels between the colonists and the Penn family.

William Smith (1727-1803), provost of Philadelphia Academy, a man of wide interests and political activities, wrote two or three semi-historical tracts, including a blast against the Quaker attitude on imperial defense, entitled *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania.* The booklet could appropriately have been called "Defenseless Pennsylvania" or the "Scourge of Quaker Pacifism." In the form of a letter from a gentleman in America to his friend in London, Smith tried to explain to puzzled Englishmen why Pennsylvania, esteemed one of the richest colonies, was so backward in contributing to the defense of the British dominions against the invasions of the French. In 1755, when the tract was published, both Washington and Braddock had been thrown back from their attempts to hold western Pennsylvania for the English. Smith painted a very pessimistic picture of the situation in his province: "The People on our Frontiers liable to be murdered or driven from their Habitations." He laid the responsibility for this parlous state of affairs squarely on the Quakers, who refused to vote money for military defense: "For this Cause, they will suffer the Country to fall into the last Extremity, hoping that when it is so, our Neighbours will, for their own Sakes, defend it, without obliging them to pass a Law, which, they fear, would so soon strip them of their darling Power."

He added that the Quakers exercised undue influence over the German settlers in the province, especially through the agency of the hireling printer, Christopher Sauer. There was much truth in this. Smith was no mere complainer; his data was authentic and his opinion well considered. Smith suggested the Anglicising of the Germans, and temporary aid from Great Britain. If the critical situation went too long unmended, the author threatened to spend his remaining days in England, "to leave my Bones in the Land where I drew my first Breath."[25]

Caustic attacks on the *Brief State* led Smith to publish the following

year a longer and weightier work in similar vein, *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the Year 1755.*[26] He gained his point, or it was won for him. Partly as the result of advice from their co-religionists in England, a number of Quakers withdrew from the Pennsylvania legislature, so that the province was enabled to vote more adequate military appropriations for the prosecution of the war against the French and Indians.

The most important account of the period is *An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania,* sometimes attributed to Benjamin Franklin. According to the latter's own statement, he was not the author. Franklin's influence and point of view, nevertheless, guided the pen of the anonymous writer, so that for practical purposes Franklin may be considered the designer of *An Historical Review.* The book launched a full-scale attack against the privileges of the Penn family. In protesting the burden of proprietary control, declared the popular controversialist, Pennsylvania is fighting the cause of free Britons everywhere: "The Constitution of *Pennsylvania* is deriv'd, first, from the *Birthright* of every *British* subject . . . [next from the royal charter and Penn's charter of privileges] . . . The Birthright of every *British* Subject is, to have a Property of his own, in his Estate, Person and Reputation; subject only to Laws enacted by his own Concurrence, either in Person or by his Representatives: And which Birthright accompanies him wheresoever he wanders or rests; so long as he is within the Pale of the *British* Dominions, and is true to his Allegiance."[27]

Through some four hundred pages, the *Review* criticises the conduct of the Penn family toward their province. Although the original charter was a good one, it is charged that as soon as founder Penn set foot in America, "Less of the Man of God now appeared, and more of the Man of the World." The author investigates in great detail the dealings of successive governors, particularly John Evans, Charles Gookin, and Sir William Keith, with the popular party in the province, not all of whom were above human frailties, but who were tenacious of "the Rights and Claims of the People."

This book offers us today, although not written for that purpose, a case study of the background of the American Revolution. At tedious length, the author quotes gubernatorial admonitions to the assemblies, the replies of the latter, then replies to the latter, and so on *ad infinitum.* The main controversies aired are those relating to proprietary quit-rents, quarrels over paper money, Indian relations, and the unwillingness of the Penn's to let their private estates be taxed for the general welfare. The long diatribe ends with the obvious question—should Parliament allow such things to continue?[28] In comparison with the writings of William Byrd on Virginia, the *Historical Review of . . . Pennsylvania*

is a very dull book, but it is a carefully composed one, shedding much light on a typical phase of the early American struggle between democracy and privilege.

Delaware: Thomas Campanius, Israel Acrelius

Closely related to Pennsylvania writings, geographically and politically, are two accounts of Delaware or New Sweden, a territory which for some time in the seventeenth century included parts of present Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The first of these, by Thomas Campanius, is not of great value, but the second, by Israel Acrelius, deserves more notice than it usually receives.

Thomas Campanius, sometimes called Thomas Campanius Holm because he hailed from Stockholm, was the grandson of a minister of the same name who came to New Sweden with Governor Printz in 1642. The younger Campanius was never in America; he wrote his *Description of . . . New Sweden* from observations by his grandfather, his father, and from printed accounts of the English colonies and New Netherland. Campanius set forth a general geographical description of the New World, a brief history of New Sweden (parts taken almost verbatim from a manuscript by Peter Lindström), an account of the Indians, and certain "fabulous reports" of America current in Europe.[29] Campanius was not a talented writer, nor one of particularly good judgment, but his book did provide his fellow countrymen a general survey of that part of America which had been a Swedish colony between 1638 and 1655.

Israel Acrelius, author of the more extensive and reliable book on the land around the Delaware River, was a Lutheran clergyman, graduate of Uppsala, who was provost of the Swedish churches in America, with residence at Christina (Wilmington) from 1749 to 1756. He learned English, so that he could preach in that language when away from his Swedish congregation; he was friendly with Henry Muhlenberg and the Pennsylvania Germans; and he possessed the attributes of a scholar, combined with an understanding and equtable temper. His *History of New Sweden,* three-fifths of which is ecclesiastical, stands as the chief literary monument to the Swedes on the Delaware.

The kindly pastor-historian apologized for taking time away from his parish work to compose a more than five hundred page book, pleading in extenuation that New Sweden had been untruthfully or ignorantly represented as a poor and unprofitable land. Acrelius secured his material from several Swedish authors, including Campanius, whom he corrected in many particulars, and from many more intimate sources such as local parish records, and documents in the New York archives.

Acrelius gets off to a poor start on the story of American discovery and early settlement, but some of his errors were inherited from Cam-

panius. With the building of Fort Christina in 1638 he reaches home ground, and begins to correct mistakes in other writings, notably the work of Van der Donck. Acrelius thoroughly documents his political passages. In so far as this temperate author may be said to have bias, he was anti-Dutch and anti-Quaker, although he held William Penn as an individual in high regard.[30] His prejudice against the Friends may have resulted from the fact that a Quaker official had badly managed the financial affairs of the Christina church before the author's arrival as minister.

Inasmuch as Acrelius wrote a century after the dissolution of New Sweden as an independent colony, most of his political narrative relates to Pennsylvania. He re-examined the subjects covered in the *Historical Review* of that province, namely the quarrels between the popular party and the proprietor, and the legislative bickerings over military appropriations for defense against the French and Indians. Acrelius says little about the events of the French and Indian War, probably because he left the country soon after it began.

The best parts of Acrelius are the sections on social rather than political history. The Swedish pastor observed contemporary society closely, and wrote about it with discrimination. He regretted that church attendance depended on the weather, that some of his parishioners merely looked at their hymn books in church without taking part in the singing, and that many young Swedish folk were copying the English habit of hasty marriages. He recorded the material comforts of the day, having much to say about house furnishings, cocktails or other drinks, roads, taverns, imports, and public buildings.[31]

Few modern readers will have the time or inclination to plough through the parish records in the *History of New Sweden,* but they will find it a rewarding experience to resurrect Acrelius for his social commentary. There is a startling contrast, too, between this professed church history and Cotton Mather's *Magnalia.* The Swedish pastor made no pretense to erudition, saw no divine providences in petty happenings, condoned although he criticised human shortcomings, and sympathized with followers of religious faiths other than his own.

New Jersey: Samuel Smith

Samuel Smith's history of New Jersey (1765) is the pioneer work in a perplexing field; many episodes in the early history of that province remain obscure in our day, even after the unearthing of much material unknown to Smith. The author was a benevolent man, of Quaker background, a resident of Burlington, the holder of several public offices, and a man of some literary pretension. He considered his book a statement of "plain facts," which it is; a collection of data both significant and trivial,

put together with little art, but published for the honor of the province and the enlightenment of the human race.

Smith begins the story of New Jersey by speculating on pre-Columbian discoveries of America, possibly by the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and the Carthaginians, but otherwise he pays very little attention to happenings before the English took over the region from the Dutch in 1664. He gave the best survey he could of the confused and conflicting Jersey land titles, but awarded more space to less controversial topics, such as Indian culture and local resources as set forth in previously printed promotion tracts.

The eighteenth century portion of Smith's book is much like the *Historical Review* of Pennsylvania—a political narrative studded with long quotations from governors' messages to the assemblies, and the appropriate replies. What would otherwise be an exceedingly dull story is enlivened by incidental remarks, such as: The multiplicity of "musketoes" forced the Swedes to abandon one of their towns; the year 1686 must have been a dangerous one in East Jersey since there had to be a law passed against the wearing of swords; "On the 5th of September [1732], about noon, a small shock of earthquake was felt."[32]

Smith polished off a few good character sketches of contemporary officials. The latter part of his book is a "present state," or general survey of conditions at the time. Smith's work is by no means one of the best provincial histories, but it represents a laudable attempt to create a semblance of order in the story of an area where confusion was endemic.

New York: William Smith

William Smith of New York surpassed the Smiths of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. His comprehensive history of New York is not only the best colonial account of the province, but also one of the best local histories published in the colonial period. It ranks next to the outstanding work of Thomas Hutchinson on Massachusetts (see below).

William Smith was primarily a jurist, although he dabbled in Greek philosophy and Christian divinity. A graduate of Yale in 1745, he was soon after admitted to the New York bar. Prior to the Revolution, he was a leader of the Whig-Presbyterian forces in the province, but he turned Loyalist in the war, remaining in the British occupied city of New York until 1783. In 1780, Smith was one of the commissioners who visited General Washington to try to prevent the execution of Major André as a spy. He was chief justice of Canada from 1786 to his death. Smith's *magnum opus* is available in two substantial volumes carrying his story to 1762, although only the first volume, extending to the year 1732, was published in the author's lifetime.[33]

For the most part, *The History of the Late Province of New York*

is a political narrative, although an appendix includes a survey of the population, government, trade and religion in the mid-eighteenth century. Smith begins his story with the discovery of the Hudson River, but he does not pay very much attention to the Dutch period of New York history. He viewed the Hollanders as interlopers in a land which rightfully reverted to England in 1664. "Justice obliges me to declare," he adds somewhat apologetically, "that for loyalty to the present reigning family, and a pure attachment to the protestant religion, the descendants of the Dutch planters are perhaps exceeded by none of his majesty's subjects."[34]

In treating the period from 1664 to the Leisler insurrection of 1689-90, Smith elaborates on Indian affairs, for which he relied more on Cadwallader Colden's *Five Nations* than his occasional footnotes suggest. Although Colden once deplored Smith's habit of giving "biased characters" to distinguished persons, the latter's thumbnail sketches of royal governors make some of the best reading in the book. Francis Lovelace is portrayed as "a man rather of a phlegmatic than an enterprising disposition, always pursuing the common road, and scarce ever acting without the aid of his council." Sir Edmund Andros is pilloried as a syncophantic tool, "an arbitrary tyrant over the people committed to his care," who wreaked less ruin on New York than New England "through want of more opportunities to show himself in his true light."[35]

Smith preserved a detached point of view on the Leisler rebellion. He regarded Leisler as a man of "tolerable esteem" but one lacking the qualifications necessary for great enterprise. Much of the opposition to Leisler he laid to the disinclination of aristocrats like Bayard and Schuyler to work with a man "inferior in his degree." He deprecated the unsuccessful uprising because it created "intestine divisions . . . and sowed the seeds of mutual hatred and animosity, which for a long time after greatly embarrassed the public affairs of the colony."[36]

For the remainder of his political narrative to 1732, Smith had the task, agreeable to his critical talents, of surveying the administrations of several very poor governors, notably Fletcher and Cornbury. He missed no opportunity to award weak officials their desserts. In treating the conflict between executive pretension and popular government, Smith makes a discerning comment on the difference between political controversy in the early eighteenth century and that immediately preceding the American Revolution: "The colony politicians of early days contented themselves with general declarations owning a subordination, and yet claiming English privileges; leaving it to their posterity to ascertain the boundary between the supremacy of England and the submission of her colonies." The boundary, as we know, was never ascertained. Smith's record of the early governors is not one of wholly unrelieved gloom. He

could praise the Earl of Bellomont for his "art and polite manners, and being a mortal enemy to the French, as well as a lover of liberty," and commend William Burnet as "a well read scholar, sprightly, and of a social disposition," who had an extensive view of Indian affairs, and succeeded in stopping for a time the New York trade with the French, which threatened to have bad effects on the allegiance of the Iroquois to the English cause.[37]

Smith ended his first volume, the one published contemporaneously, with the arrival of Governor Cosby. He felt that he could not write impartially of the later years, partly because his father had been closely connected with the events of the period. "To suppress truth on the one hand, or exaggerate it on the other, are both inexcusable faults," he concludes, "and perhaps it would be difficult for me to avoid those extremes. Besides, a writer who exposes the conduct of the living, will inevitably meet with their fury and resentment. The prudent historian of his own times will always be a coward, and never give fire till death protects him from the malice and stroke of his enemy."[38]

Smith did not, however, withhold his fire from manuscript; he wrote a continuation of the history, to 1762, which would have exposed him to no uncertain fury had it been published at the time. He continued to condemn royal governors without at the same time praising the popular opposition to them. He had no use for demagogues, yet he loved his country and hoped that good would ensue from the welter of partisan conflict. His second volume opens with the trial of John Peter Zenger, whom Smith does not cast in the heroic rôle often ascribed to him. Smith regarded the German printer simply as the tool of the opposition to Governor Cosby. He depicts lawyer Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, usually considered the hero of the libel trial, as an able charlatan who could "artfully convert the guilty nakedness of the cause of his client into a defense." Smith did not view the outcome of the case as a creditable victory for freedom of the press; " . . . the scribblers of the day grew more wanton than ever," he lamented, "and a low printer, dandled upon the knee of popular applause, gave in to prodigalities, which contributed to his indolence, and ended, as the ferment subsided, in the ruin of his family."[39]

Smith's version of the Negro Plot of 1741 is certainly at variance with Horsmanden's account previously reviewed. He suggests that contemporary fears were unfounded, that some of the fires were accidental, and that others may have been set as a screen for theft but not murder. He ridicules Judge Horsmanden's history of the conspiracy, as an apologetic piece written for fame and money. Although hypercritical of the deeds and motives of many persons, Smith was an enlightened and humane man. He endorsed a modification of the current harsh slave code, and

supported his father's demand for the extension of suffrage to the Jews. In this connection, it may be appropriate to observe that the senior Smith is the only person in his son's history who entirely escapes censure.

Smith devotes deserved attention to Governor George Clinton, whose career has importance in colonial administrative history since it marked the crisis in the struggle over a permanent revenue for royal officials. Clinton, says Smith, was sent to America to mend his fortunes until his friends could recall him "to some indolent and more lucrative station." But personalities aside, we are indebted to Smith for a meticulous account of the controversy between royal prerogative and the popular assemblies. Beneath the dull verbiage of contemporary speeches and resolutions lay the fundamental issue of the control of the purse, complicated by the exigencies of defense against the French and Indians. On these important questions the author's sympathies were divided; he did not subscribe to the unlimited right of the English crown to bind the colonial assemblies, but neither did he overlook the fact that the military policy of the executive was usually more statesmanlike than that of the legislative.[40]

Smith does not give much prominence to the intercolonial congress held at Albany in 1754, save to express regret at its failure to secure appreciably greater unity in colonial defense. Neither does he tell us very much about the French and Indian War except incidentally, through criticism of several of the leading participants. Peter Wraxall, the secretary for Indian affairs, is disparaged as one to whose "blazoned accounts" Sir William Johnson owed his knighthood and exaggerated reputation. Lord Loudon, who honorably endeavored to invigorate and centralize British-American resistance to the French, is unfairly dismissed as an arbitrary and incompetent officer.[41]

The bulk of Smith's work, however, cannot be waved aside as the product of pique; his history contains *the facts,* the record of what happened and when. Colden admitted that his rival's book contained adequate data, but complained that "little can be learned from thence of the Motives and Springs of Action and the . . . great use of it [history] is in discovering these first Motives and Springs of Action. There are many things in his History of which he could have no information from the Records."[42] Smith did not, assuredly, attempt to extract the motives of human conduct solely from official records, but he did assign motives, usually ulterior, to nearly every important action. Smith was hypercritical rather than unreasonably biased. He feared the extension of royal government in New York but he gave worthy governors their due; he sympathized to a certain extent with the popular cause, but regretted that the general run of assembly membership was uneducated and incompetent.

Smith criticised many things about New York political life not because he disliked the province but because he wished to improve it. If he could

not view the problems of imperial government from the vantage point of London, he did at least discern the virtue of intercolonial cooperation from the strategic location of New York. Much of Smith's writing is dull, but no more so than were the eighteenth century wranglings themselves, those preliminary skirmishes out of which finally blazed the War of Independence. One who is imbued with the patriot interpretation of American colonial history may be unfavorably impressed by the fact that Smith makes no great ado over the Albany Congress, or the final defeat after Governor Clinton's time of the royal demand for a permanent revenue. In comparison with many nineteenth century writers who viewed colonial history from 1607 onward as a conscious and irresistible surge toward a free United States, William Smith may appear perverse or stupid to have missed the significance of early trends toward American unity. But would they have had significance without the Revolution? The Declaration of Independence and the Battle of Yorktown gave to the Albany Congress a posthumous importance it would otherwise never have had. Smith wrote of things as they were in the 1750's, and not as they appeared to later historians who thought in terms of a successful war of liberation from Great Britain. To his English contemporaries, Smith's narrative of domestic bickerings in America appeared disgustingly prolix, but nevertheless eminently sane and authoritative.[43] We may heartily subscribe to that conclusion.

Rhode Island: John Callender

The colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, as previously observed, boasted many great personalities in the seventeenth century, but no historians. This deficiency was later remedied to some extent by John Callender, who preached in 1739 a "Century Sermon," subsequently amplified for publication. Callender's *Historical Discourse* is notable not only as the first considerable narrative on Rhode Island but also as the first of an interminable list of centennial surveys of American communities.

Callender was the grandson of the minister of the first Baptist Church in Boston; he attended Harvard, was for a short time minister in Swansea, Massachusetts, and then head of the Baptist Church in Newport, Rhode Islalnd, from 1731 to his death. In the latter city, he joined the philosophical society which had grown out of Dean Berkeley's visit to the community, and he collected historical manuscripts which later aided Isaac Backus to write an extensive history of the Baptists. Although associated with the Baptist church from his youth, Callender did not write history as a sectary; his discourse could equally well have been composed by an Anglican or a Deist.

Callender expressed the hope that his discourse would "recover some account of this happy Island." The word "recover" indicated Callender's

problem. There were no previous narratives of any comprehensiveness on Rhode Island's early years to which he could turn for aid. Both the story and its supporting data were in danger of eclipse. In imitation of Thomas Prince (see below), whom he greatly admired, Callender urged his readers to collect and preserve historical material.

Happily the Rhode Island historian did not imitate Prince in feeling it necessary to explain his colony by going back to the birth of Adam. He kept the story of Roger Williams' expulsion from Massachusetts to reasonable length, and handled with scholarly restraint the Massachusetts situation which caused other migrations from the Bay Colony to Rhode Island. Callender, in fact, wrote more understandingly of the Massachusetts position on religious nonconformity than have most other Rhode Islanders, either before his time or since:

"In reality, the true grounds of liberty of conscience were not then known, or embraced by any sect or party of Christians; all parties seemed to think that as they only were in the possession of the truth, so they alone had a right to restrain, and crush all other opinions . . . So that it was not singular or peculiar in those people at the Massachusetts to think themselves bound in conscience to use the sword of the civil magistrate to open the understandings of heretics, or cut them off from the State, that they might not infect the church or injure the public peace. These were not the only people who thought they were doing God good service, when smitting their brethren and fellow-servants."[44]

Some of Roger Williams' supporters, Callender was frank to admit, made themselves obnoxious by assuming too much freedom "in venting and pressing their peculiar opinions." He wrote little of Roger Williams as a person, being more interested in the founder's ideology. Callender did not try to explore fully the confusing career of Samuel Gorton, and he used the story of John Clarke's persecution in Massachusetts in 1651 chiefly to illustrate a point in historical methodology: In reporting such an episode, he said, the historians on both sides may agree on the main facts, "only they must be allowed to express, in their own way, their own sentiments of the opinions of the other side, and they add such shades as darken and disfigure the opinions of the opposite party, and set off their own to the best advantage."[45]

Callender gave little space to the founding of individual towns, made hardly any reference to the rise of sea-borne commerce, and digested very briefly the local government, which "has been always more or less democratical." With a professional interest in organized religion, he described more adequately the rise of Quaker, Sabbatarian, Congregational, and Episcopal church groups, thus refuting an erroneous dictum of Daniel Neal's, that soon after the founding of Providence, religion had fallen into disrepute throughout Rhode Island. Callender treated the

seventeenth century Indian Wars judicially, interposing illuminating comments on the failure of missionary work among the natives, with particular reference to the fact that in later life Roger Williams revised the overly-favorable opinion of the Indians he had formerly expressed in his famous *Key*.

Callender's *Historical Discourse* is rather narrowly conceived history, since it stresses religious liberty and church affairs to the near exclusion of civil govenment, trade, and commerce. The author's attitude is the most significant feature of the book. Callender demonstrated that, within a century of Rhode Island's contentious birth, it was possible for a local scholar to write about the colony's former oppressors with impartiality and Christian forbearance.

Massachusetts: Thomas Prince, Thomas Hutchinson

Colonial ministers were often eulogized as "painefull preachers." Thomas Prince, a theologian and bibliophile, may well be termed a painful scholar. He labored with diligence and care, and should be honored for his historical standards, however unserviceable may have been their results. A bibliographer rather than a writer, he anticipated Karl Ploetz and other encyclopaedists of world history.

Thomas Prince graduated from Harvard in 1709, enjoyed two years' travel in the West Indies and Europe, held a ministry in Coombs, England, then returned to America, where he served Boston's "Old South" from 1718 to his death. In the preface to his *Chronological History of New-England,* the author says that the first history book put into his hand as a youth was Nathaniel Morton's *Memoriall,* and that other histories of New England which he later acquired—"excited in me a Zeal of laying hold of every Book, Pamphlet, and Paper . . . that have any Tendency to enlighten our History."

Prince amassed from books and documents a tremendous collection of facts. Unfortunately he gained from the data very little inspiration. Morton's dreary annals remained the model which Prince imitated, to the boredom of all his readers. Perhaps it is superfluous to inquire into Prince's concept of history, since almost no interpretation was permitted entry to his pages, but as a matter of record it may be observed that the author declared himself—"on the side of *pure Christianity,* as also of *Civil* and *Religious Liberty* . . . [and] on the side of *Meekness, Patience, Gentleness,* and *Innocence.*"[46]

Whether the author could have exercised these virtues in treating the chief topics of discord in Massachusetts will ever remain in doubt, since his chronology stops at 1633, before the major dissensions had arisen.

Prince justified the method of his book by saying it was—"not in the specious Form of a *proper History,* which admits of artificial Ornaments

and Descriptions to raise the Imagination and Affections of the Reader; but of a *closer* and more naked REGISTER, comprising only *Facts* in a *Chronological Epitome,* to enlighten the Understanding."[47] This concept contains within it the seeds of its own destruction, since a list of unrelated facts grouped together solely by chronology enlightens the understanding hardly a whit. As for the exclusion of "ornaments and descriptions," Prince selected short passages from other writers to accompany his dates, thus abdicating his own function as an interpreter but preserving previous illustrations in truncated form. Prince possessed all the attributes of a scholar, save imagination. He was educated, travelled, and well-read, and his library was one of the largest in colonial New England, ranking with that of the Mathers and Thomas Hutchinson. For his chronology, he amassed about a thousand books and pamphlets, and a great number of manuscripts. It is evident, from his bibliography and footnotes, that he consulted every important source on American history from Peter Martyr to his immediate predecessor in the New England field, Daniel Neal. No colonial had devoted so much time to a comparison of sources, or sought so diligently to place by day and hour a trifling fact. Admitting that Prince was amply qualified to compile a manual, what did he produce?

Twenty pages of his *Chronological History* are taken up by a list of subscribers to the project. More than a hundred pages of the text, or forty per cent of the first volume, are dispersed over "ancient" events, from the birth of Adam to the death of Queen Elizabeth. More relevant New England chronology extends from the accession of King James to the founding of Boston. By no means all of the data in the latter section of the book applies to New England, however, since the author included many miscellaneous facts having little to do with his immediate subject. Because of the disproportionate amount of effort spent on Biblical and ancient history, Prince was able to carry the definitely New England section of his first volume only to 1630; a continuation extended the record only to August, 1633.

Prince deserves remembrance for his intentions; questioning the validity of every statement admitted to his manual, he was objective to the point of diffidence, and he so venerated sources as to preserve their wording in preference to his own. It is not surprising that, on the appearance of the first volume, Prince received little encouragement to continue his work. The *Chronological History* is unreadable; it can only be consulted; and modern readers will do well to consult instead the authorities cited, since most of them are now available elsewhere in full text. Many commentators have hailed Prince as the first scientific American historian, notable for exhaustive research, and minute accuracy in statement of fact. In these respects, however, Prince differed from his predecessors in de-

gree rather than in kind. Many writers from Hakluyt onward made wide search for materials, and conscientious craftsmen like Samuel Purchas, Nathaniel Morton, and Cotton Mather were most industrious in collation of sources. If we must award Prince unique distinction for something, let it be for that heavy lumber of modern scholarship—voluminous footnotes and source citations. Truly great scholars, however, write from rather than with their notes. Prince was a patient gleaner of minutiae, an extreme antiquarian, whose example has long blighted many New England historical societies.

* * *

Thomas Hutchinson not only wrote history more ably than any other British-American in the colonial period, but he also took prominent part in many of the events of which he wrote. The next-to-last royal governor of Massachusetts, he had to flee the country because of his loyalty to British law and order. Nearly a century and a half earlier, his great-great-grandmother, Anne Hutchinson, had been banished from the Bay Colony for her religious radicalism. Thomas retired from the scene because of political conservatism. From Anne to Thomas, however, the Hutchinsons were prominent in one fashion or another in Massachusetts, hence it was eminently fitting that the last notable colonial member of the family should write of the land whose story he knew so well.

Born in Boston in 1711, Thomas was a serious and precocious youngster who entered Harvard at the age of twelve, where he indulged a fondness for reading, especially history. After college he went into business, and soon acquired a modest fortune. In 1737 he became a selectman of Boston and a member of the General Court. From the latter year until his departure from the colony on the eve of the Revolution, Hutchinson was prominent in public life. In 1749, he became a member of the Massachusetts Council; in 1760 he was made Chief Justice, much to the discomfiture of the Otis family which sought the position for one of its members. When Governor Bernard returned to England in 1769, Hutchinson became the active executive head of the colony, having been Lieutenant-Governor since 1758. He was commissioned Governor in his own right in 1771. The controversies which Governor Hutchinson waged with the General Court, the Boston town meeting, and with other patriot groups moving toward independence, all form a part of the well-known Revolutionary story.

When this staunch upholder of Britain's imperial system was replaced as governor by General Gage in 1774, Hutchinson went to England to report to his monarch on his recent stewardship. He expressed the hope "that there would yet be a possibility of the restoration of peace and order" without war, that "last resort in all governments." Since war did come, Hutchinson remained an exile in England. He declined a baronetcy,

accepted the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from Oxford, wrote a critical pamphlet on the Declaration of Independence, and sought what comfort he could in the company of other loyalist exiles, and of English historians. He died before the conclusion of the conflict he so greatly deplored.

Hutchinson had two Massachusetts homes, a quiet country seat at Milton, and a town house in Boston. It was in the latter that he began, probably in 1763, the task of writing a history of the colony. His first volume, solidly packed with information, was completed in an incredibly short time, being published in Boston in 1764. The second volume, carrying the story from 1692 to 1750, was rudely interrupted in the summer of 1765 when an anti-Stamp Act mob ransacked Hutchinson's house, scattering his books and manuscripts into the street. Undismayed by this insult to his office and person, the author completed the second volume for publication in 1767. The third volume, which continues the story to the end of Hutchinson's administration as governor, was not published until many years after the author's death.[48]

Commentary on Hutchinson has run full gamut from commendation of his work as interesting and instructive to condemnation for being dull and dry. The present writer has found the *History of Massachusetts Bay* rather longwinded, but seldom dull. Hutchinson's writing bears similarity to that of one of the great moderns in the colonial field, Charles M. Andrews. Both were concerned with institutions, and with the tortuous turnings of man as a political animal. Hutchinson was not a particularly good military historian, though his facility in that line increased as he advanced from early wars to those of his own day. His interests were not exclusively political, although ecclesiastical affairs appealed to him chiefly for their political consequences. There is no frivolity in Hutchinson's history whatsoever, nor any literary conceit. The relatively infrequent character sketches are restrained and eminently fair. Hutchinson apologized for appearing to be a preserver of small facts. He need not have done so. Hutchinson was no mere recorder of miscellaneous data; he introduced minute detail only to explain circumstances he considered of special importance. Of Hutchinson's three volumes, the last is the most prolix, chiefly because the author recognized the significance of colonial attacks on British prerogatives in the 1760's and '70's, and wished to make the "anatomy of revolution" as clear as possible.

The author began his story with the first English discoveries along the New England coast, but he skipped rapidly over the period of exploration, rejecting as learned ostentation the long introductory chapters, common to other writers, which stretched back to the dawn of mankind: "Historia, non ostentationi, sed fidei, veritatique componitur." Hutchinson admitted that most of us "are fond of knowing the minutiae which relate to our own ancestors," but declared that he wished to get at other

facts, more important if perhaps less interesting, in order to save them from oblivion. He modestly confessed to having "found some difficulty in guarding against every degree of prejudice, in writing the history of my own country."[49] All commentators on Hutchinson have complimented his success in writing objectively on the contentious pre-Revolutionary years in which he himself played an active part. Such detachment with regard to one's own actions deserves all the credit that has been bestowed upon it, but let it be remembered, also, that Hutchinson wrote with laudable impartiality about many a debatable episode in the earlier years of the Bay Colony. He handled seventeenth century religious controversies, witchcraft, and the Indian wars in an impartial spirit more readily attained when the historian is several centuries removed from the subject of his narration.

Hutchinson was not overly critical of the initial instances of American disregard for British control. John Endicott's zeal to cut the cross out of the English flag moved the author to one of his rare outbursts of humor; he questioned whether Endicott's independency "would have carried him so far, as to refuse to receive the King's coin because of the cross upon it." Hutchinson's shrewd comments on the relationship between colony and mother country, which increase in frequency as his narrative progressed, begin with the creation of the representative system of government in Massachusetts in 1634: "The government in every colony," he writes with reference to both Massachusetts and Virginia, "like that of the colonies of old Rome, may be considered as the *effigies parva* of the mother state." He noted that within a year, the rulers of Massachusetts felt that they had full liberty to establish any government they thought proper. He believed that the failure of England to curb the independent tendency *at that time* explained in great measure the repetition of similar errors in later English dealings with the colonies.[50]

Although he was a politician rather than an economist, Hutchinson never assumed that the colonists lived in a material vacuum. Comments on trade and farming appear occasionally in his work, always to good purpose. On rare occasions the author added a social touch, such as the remark that "Beards were left off early in New-England, and about the same time as they were in Old," John Leverett being the first governor to have his portrait painted without a beard. The author treated men in their political capacities rather than as persons, but his brief character sketches are excellent. He wrote of the first Governor Winthrop: "His virtues were many, his errors few, and yet he could not escape calumny and detraction, which would sometimes make too great an impression upon him. He was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren, before he left England, but afterwards he grew more contracted, and was disposed to lay too great stress upon indifferent matters,"

With his own unfortunate career in mind, no doubt, Hutchinson remarked that William Stoughton had many opponents, which must be expected by every man "who makes it more his aim to serve than to please the people." Similarly he wrote sympathetically of Joseph Dudley, as one who had attempted "to maintain what appeared to him to be the just prerogative of the crown, and at the same time to recover and preserve the esteem of the country." Biographical touches are most profuse in the pre-Revolutionary section of the narrative. Hutchinson's personal comments on his adversaries are not markedly unfair. John Hancock's ruling passion is correctly given as a "fondness for popular applause," and Samuel Adams is credited with the talent, which he assuredly did possess, of being able to insinuate artfully "into the minds of his readers a prejudice against the characters of all whom he attacked." In all ages, Hutchinson observed, mobs have committed deeds which "most of the individuals . . . [in the groups], acting separately, would have been ashamed of."[51]

Although a royal prerogative man by inclination, Hutchinson wrote judiciously of the Dominion of New England in the 1680's. He admits that the province had several real grievances against the Dominion experiment, depicts Edmund Andros as tyrannical but able, and considers the 1691 charter of Massachusetts an improvement over the old one. Progressing into the first half of the eighteenth century, Hutchinson develops the theme that "The constitution and historical occurencies of the colonies in America become, every day, more and more, subjects of speculation in Great-Britain." Realizing that he would become more subject to charges of prejudice as his writing touched the actions of men still living, the author courageously observed that he desired "no more candour from those who differ from me, than I ever have been, and ever shall be ready to shew to them."[52]

Large sections of Volume II are devoted to the several French and Indian wars, a topic which Hutchinson handled capably but without flair. Being a civilian officer himself, Hutchinson was less concerned with tactics and strategy than with the equally important, if less dramatic, details of material equipment and preparations for campaigns in the field. He gave deserved attention to the important topic of naval stores, and particularly to the contest between the colonists and royal officials over mast trees. Hutchinson admitted that the colonials were justified in their opposition to blanket prohibitions against the local use of any tree exceeding a specified trunk diameter. He was fair to the notorious French missionary, Father Rale, who caused the English settlers in Maine a great deal of trouble. His account of the Louisbourg expedition in King George's War is excellent. In reviewing the last French and Indian War, the important

campaigns of which were fought at a distance from Massachusetts, Hutchinson presents a succinct account of Braddock's defeat, with no mention of the later overpublicized stories of George Washington's part in the affair. Had the governor been writing a century later, he probably would have taken issue with Longfellow's "Evangeline," since he held that the Acadians exiled from Nova Scotia were generally treated with great humanity.[53]

Since Hutchinson perched on, or near, the pinnacle of excutive authority in Massachusetts from 1758 to his departure for England in 1774, the part of his history, roughly Volume III, which covers those crucial years has been of major interest to his critics. The author's commentary on the relation of colonies to the Mother Country was, as we have already observed, by no means confined to events immediately preceding the Revolution. Hutchinson's faith in the beneficence of imperial control pervades his whole book. He naturally enlarged on the theme when it became most controversial. Hutchinson records in great detail the partisan maneuverings of the early 1760's, especially the trouble aroused by the choice of himself over James Otis for chief justice of the province. He relates briefly, however, and with great restraint, the story of the Stamp Act riot in which his Boston house was ransacked.[54]

In spite of personal disappointments, Hutchinson did not indulge in self-pity: "It requires no small degree of fortitude to stand against a popular torrent, when it runs with violence," he remarked, with no more particular reference to himself than to other royal governors scorned by the populace they had tried to serve. Dudley, Shirley, and others had earlier learned by sad experience the truth of the old observation "that you are to number your friends so long as you continue in prosperity, and no longer." Much as Hutchinson deplored the goal of the independent party, he did not impugn the motives of the patriot group, nor consider their methods more reprehensible than those common to radicals of other days. He said: "It has been the general practice, in all ages and all countries, to make use of plausible and specious arguments, though often inconclusive, to promote the end designed to be attained by such contests."

Hutchinson realized that the colonies enjoyed about as much freedom as they could, short of complete independence. It would have been hard, he concluded, to have devised a system of subordinate government "less controlled by the supreme" than the English rule of America, adding that he knew "of no line between the supreme authority of parliament, and the total independency of the colonies."[55]

The astute and magnanimous governor-historian closed his narrative with the Boston Tea Party, the immediate consequences of which indicated to him that British authority in Massachusetts had already collapsed. Posterity has awarded Hutchinson as an historian the greatness which

contemporaries denied him as an administrator. He wrote the most discriminating and best documented history produced in the colonial era. Hutchinson focussed his attention on Massachusetts, but kept other parts of the British dominions within his range of vision. He was tolerant of religious intolerance, sympathetic to the often despised Indian, and scrupulously honest in all his dealings with his adversaries. Few histories of any time have been written with such an unusual combination of philosophic detachment and a rugged appreciation of worldly strife.

The Islands

To review other historians, after Thomas Hutchinson, will prove an anti-climax; nevertheless, a few from off the American mainland should be noted in closing. Newfoundland received little attention from historical writers in the eighteenth century, but the West Indies fared better.[56] *A Short History of Barbados . . . to the End of the Year 1767,* attributed to a George Frere, is a neat, compendious account of "one of the best islands" under British rule in the Caribbean. Frere's style and point of view were slightly superficial, but the author did attempt a broad coverage of soil conditions, climate, trade, and local politics. Frere approved of the fact that Barbados appeared to be a place "where labour was of more vitality than learning." Whether as a result of this alleged virtue or not, he declared that Barbados was most loyal to the British crown, and of great value to the empire because its local treasury was solidly self-supporting. For a good deal of his eighteenth century treatment, Frere's chronological entries are brief, in the manner of Nathaniel Morton's *Memoriall* of New England. Rosters of local officials are occasionally lightened by observations reminiscent of Burke: "A quiet, easy governor suits best a colony; such was Mr. Pinfold, whose qualities were wholly negative." Frere's account is no masterpiece, but at least it did provide a modicum of information on an area otherwise much neglected in contemporary writing.[57]

Jamaica received more attention from local historians. A traveller to the island, Charles Leslie, published a long account in 1739, covering almost every conceivable topic from the island's early history to the life of Sir Henry Morgan, and from an abstract of laws to comments on Negro mistresses and a cure for stomach ache. It is unlikely, however, that Leslie himself was a direct or even close authority for much of this material; he evidently compiled it from various scattered sources, including the work of Hans Sloane. Leslie's conclusion stressed the importance of Jamaican trade to the British empire.[58]

The most extensive West Indian writing of the period is Edward Long's three volume history of Jamaica, published in 1774, which, for several reasons, made a strong impression on English readers. Whereas

earlier writers had stressed botany and natural history, Long plunged boldly into civil polity, the conduct of public officers, and the precise economic status of the planters. As one-time lieutenant-governor of the island, and admiralty judge, he was well qualified to handle these important topics. The writer was also something of a publicist, throwing out lures to attract people to the island, but Long's "advertising" was tempered by honest appraisal of the shortcomings of the country and its inhabitants. His comprehensive account made Englishmen very well acquainted with the defects as well as with the real virtues of Jamaica. Last but not least, Long's history impressed Britons with the advisability of carefully nurturing their West Indies possessions in view of the "threatened secession of the Americans" on the mainland.[59]

* * *

The writing of provincial or local history made great strides in America in the eighteenth century. Before 1700, of course, there was not a great deal of local history to review. Early accounts of colonies dealt with first settlement, natural resources, encounters with the natives, or with local controversies of circumscribed scope. As time went on, successive historians encountered increasing challenges to their powers of appraisal and interpretation. These increasing demands upon historical prowess were met with varying degrees of success, geographically. As previously observed, historical production was not of outstanding merit in the southern colonies of Florida and the Carolinas. Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the island of Jamaica fared somewhat better.

At the risk of arousing local jealousies, and all sorts of professional qualifications, the present writer will hazard his personal opinion that the most competent provincial histories written in the eighteenth century were, in order of excellence, Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Bay,* William Smith's *New York,* and Acrelius' *New Sweden.*

Events of the third quarter of the eighteenth century proved a great stimulus to historical writing. The reading public, European or American, was avid to learn about the Seven Years' War, and the pre-Revolutionary quarrels between England and her colonies. Historical writers, printers, and booksellers combined in diligent enterprise to gratify the popular demand. Widespread interest in historical accounts of near contemporary events did not, of itself, improve the character of historical writing. The demands of the "market," that is, the opportunities for quick sales, could well have led to a slackening of historical standards, but in the long run they did not. The average level of professional competence rose in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

The Revolutionary War, and the foundation of an independent United States, furnished American writers with an impelling, patriotic subject,

so that an American nationalist school of writing, replacing the earlier British imperial theme, developed rapidly in the nineteenth century. The former provincial histories of individual colonies were eventually rewritten as state histories, but competence or excellence in the local field lagged considerably behind that in the national, perhaps because of the much wider "appeal" of the latter, both to authors and their readers.

There are no comprehensive works devoted to eighteenth century provincial histories or historians. Some general assistance may be gained from the bibliographies, historiographies, or histories of literature already noted, particularly for Chapters I and X.

NOTES

1 William Roberts and T. Jefferys, *An Account . . . of Florida* (London, 1763), v-vii. William Stork, *An Account of East-Florida* (London, 1766), is an outright promotion tract, stressing the prospective profits to be gained from rice, silk, cotton and sugar.

2 P. Lee Phillips, "Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans," Florida State Hist. Soc. *Publications,* No. 2 (1924).

3 Bernard Romans, *op. cit.,* (New York, 1775), pp. 11-12, 38 *et. seq.,* 112-13, 255-56.

4 *D.A.B.,* XI, 57-58. John Lawson, *The History of Carolina,* see preface (Raleigh, N. C., edition 1860), and pp. 2-4.

5 *Ibid.,* pp. 29-30.

6 *Ibid.,* pp. 35, 44-45, 49, 63-64, 84. Dr. Daniel Coxe, an influential New Jerseyite, wrote *A Description of the English Province of Carolina* (London, 1722), unique for its advocacy of intercolonial union on terms closely resembling those later brought forward by Benjamin Franklin. Mark Catesby, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* (London, 1731, 1743) is illustrated with the author's own paintings, the first one of which is of the Bald-headed eagle, America's national emblem today. *The Natural History of North-Carolina* (Dublin, 1737), by John Brickell, is a copious plagarism of John Lawson.

7 Compare Glen's original report in P. C. J. Weston, *Documents Connected With the History of South Carolina* (London, 1856), with *A Description of South Carolina* (London, 1761).

8 *A Short Description of the Province of South-Carolina* (London, 1770), Chaps. III, VI.

9 D.A.B., II, 233; Louis B. Wright, *First Gentlemen of Virginia* (San Marino, 1940).

10 Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1705; citations following from second edition 1722). See preface, and pp. 3-8, 11-12, 14-19, 30-31, 35.

11 *Ibid.,* pp. 37, 48-55, 67-99.

12 *Ibid.,* p. 169.

13 *Ibid.,* p. 39.

14 On the identity of Hugh Jones, see Grace Warren Landrum's study in *William and Mary Quarterly,* 2nd Series, XXIII (1943), 474-92. Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (London, 1724), was republished in *Sabin's Reprints,* No. 5 (New York, 1865).

The quotation on Jones' estimate of himself is from original edition, vii. The other description of the period is Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia, and the College* (1727; see Hunter D. Farish edition with notes, Williamsburg, 1940).

15 Jones, *Present State* (1724 ed.), pp. 1, 3, 5.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 25-32, 43, 48. Perhaps the most valuable part of Jones' commentary is that relating to the church and the clergy, on which the author is critical but not destructively so.

17 *D.A.B.*, XVIII, 34-35. William Stith, *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1747), preface. There are reprints, London, 1753 and New York, 1865.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 2-11, 35-42, 55, 77, 81, 129-30, 136, 139-40.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 159-70, 182-83, 329-31.

20 *D.A.B.*, III, 383-84; Louis B. Wright, *First Gentlemen of Virginia*, Chaps. V, XI; Richmond C. Beatty, *William Byrd of Westover* (Boston and New York, 1932), Chaps. IX-X. Byrd's works have been variously edited: Edmund Ruffin, *The Westover Manuscripts* (Petersburg, 1841); *History of the Dividing Line and Other Notes* (edited by T. H. Wynne, Richmond, 1866); *The Writings of "Colonel William Byrd in Virginia, Esq."* (edited by J. S. Bassett, New York, 1901); *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line* (edited by William K. Boyd, Raleigh, 1929). There is also a one volume edition of Byrd's writings in the American Bookshelf series (Vanguard Press, 1928). The present author has used Boyd's work, which is much superior to previous editions or commentaries.

21 William Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line* (Boyd ed.), pp. 2, 4, 10, 66, 90, 92, 304. Byrd added that the desirability of the Indian girls would have been enhanced by a bath.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 70.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 258, 313. There is a most amusing yarn, p. 204, about an Indian conversation with a white man respecting thunder showers. The colonist said the thunder and lightning was caused by the white man's god up in the clouds firing upon the Indian diety. The native considered this for a moment, and then allowed as how it might well be, and that the resulting rain came because the Indian god was "so scar'd he could not hold his Water."

24 William Byrd, *A Progress to the Mines* (Vanguard Press edition, 1928), pp. 331-32, 336. *A Journey to the Land of Eden* was published by the same Vanguard Press.

25 William Smith was a Scotsman, a graduate of Aberdeen, who came to America as a tutor in 1751; *D.A.B.*, XVII, 353-57, and *Monthly Review*, XII, 191-99. Smith, *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania* (as in *Sabin's Reprints*, No. IV, New York, 1865), pp. 20, 26, 33-34, 40-42, 44.

26 *Monthly Review*, XIV, 208-23. Joseph Galloway published anonymously in 1759 *A True and Impartial State of the Province of Pennsylvania*, which defended the Quakers and Germans from charges of unpatriotic conduct; see L. C. Wroth, *American Bookshelf*, pp. 28-29, 146-47. Lewis Evans, the map maker, published in 1755 and 1756 a series of short essays on the military position of the British and colonial forces on the frontier. See L. H. Gipson, *Lewis Evans* (Philadelphia, 1939), and *Monthly Review*, XIV, 29-37.

27 William I. Hull, *Eight First Biographies of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 111-15. *An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania* (London, 1759), p. 7.

28 See commentary in *Monthly Review*, XXI, 46-57.

29 There is an English translation of the original Swedish (Stockholm, 1702), with notes by Peter S. Du Ponceau, *Description of the Province of New Sweden* (Philadelphia, 1834).
30 *D.A.B.,* I, 32-33. There is an English translation of the original Swedish (Stockholm, 1759), by William M. Reynolds, *A History of New Sweden* (Philadelphia, 1874); see pp. 18-19, 79, 107, 111, 115, 127.
31 *Ibid.,* pp. 156 *et. seq.,* 301, 311, 353, 357.
32 Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey* (Burlington, 1765); see Trenton, 1877, edition, xiii, and pp. 23-24, 36, 194, 424.
33 *D,A,B.,* XVII, 357-58, and the biographical memoir by his son in Vol. I, ix-xvi, of the 1830 edition of Smith's history. The first volume was originally published in London in 1757.
34 William Smith, *op. cit.* (1830 ed.), I, 33.
35 Smith, *op. cit.,* I, 46-47, 49, 51; "Colden Letters on Smith's History," N. Y. Hist. Soc. *Collections* (1868), pp. 187-90.
36 Smith, *op. cit.,* I, 91, 97.
37 *Ibid.,* I, 156, 180, 247-49.
38 *Ibid.,* I, 292.
39 *Ibid.,* II, 9, 14, 27-29.
40 On royal prerogative in general, see L. W. Labaree, *Royal Government in America* (New Haven, 1930).
41 Smith, *op. cit.,* II, 219-24, 292-94. The nearer Smith's writing approached the events whereof he told, the less could the author keep his prejudices in check. The concluding chapter of the second volume is an almost continuous tirade against Cadwallader Colden.
42 "Colden Letters on Smith's History," p. 182.
43 *Monthly Review,* XVI, 517-18.
44 Two or three "century sermons" preceded Callender's but the latter was the first important one to be printed (Boston, 1739). See reprint in R. I. Hist. Soc. *Collections,* IV (1838), pp. 9-25, 49, 54, 70-71.
45 Callender, *op. cit.,* pp. 76, 91.
46 *D.A.B.,* XV, 232-33; it is difficult to understand, however, how the editors of this series let pass E. H. Dewey's claim that Prince's history was "lively and discursive" and free from pedantry. A continuation of the original volume was published in three separate pamphlets in 1755 (reprinted in 2 M. H. S. *Collections,* VII, 189-295). Text quotations are from Prince, *Chronological History of New-England* (Boston, 1736), preface.
47 *Ibid.,* dedication to Governor Jonathan Belcher.
48 The best biography of Hutchinson is that by James K. Hosmer. See also the "Memoir" in the first volume of the L. S. Mayo edition of Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay* (Cambridge, 3 vols., 1936).
49 Hutchinson, *op. cit.,* title page and xxix of the second edition (London, 1765).
50 Hutchinson, *op. cit.,* (Mayo ed.), I, 34-35, 39.
51 *Ibid.,* I, 129, 131, 133, II, 95, 111, III, 212.
52 *Ibid.,* I, 301, 305-06, II, ix, xi.
53 *Ibid.,* II, 142, 167 *et. seq.*
54 *Ibid.,* III, 64 *et. seq.,* see particularly p. 90.
55 *Ibid.,* III, 35, 143, 215, 254, 267.
56 *An Account of the Island of Newfoundland* (London, 1765), by Captain Griffith Williams, is largely a plea for the exclusion of the French from the fisheries.
57 *A Short History of Barbados* (London, 1768), pp. 34, 77. See *Monthly Review,*

XXXIX, 13-18. Of less historical value but more interesting than Frere's account is the description of the West Indies (published in Barbados in 1767) in blank verse by John Singleton; he dramatized such miscellaneous topics as hurricanes, barbacues, and Negro burials.

58 Charles Leslie, *A New and Exact Account of Jamaica* (Edinburgh, 1739).

59 *Monthly Review,* LI, 431-41, review of Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (3 vols., London, 1774).

Chapter XII

OVERVIEW

IN bringing to conclusion this survey of historical writings on British-America from Columbus to the War of Independence, the author wishes to make clear that he is not undertaking to formulate a new philosophy of history. Neither will he attempt to prove that the early writers were influenced by complex concepts of purpose or methodology in history. The "philosophy of history" is a fairly modern concept, on which more has been written, with inconclusive result, in the past fifty years than in all the preceding centuries.[1]

Individual authors of the colonial period had personal reasons for authorship. The reasons were usually of an immediate and practical sort. Hence their writings may be summarized by rule-of-thumb classifications designed to aid the present day student, teacher, or "lay" historian interested in re-exploring the old but still vital literature. Presumably most of us are more interested in "the facts" about early America than in speculating on such "causal theories" as to whether history is the doings of priests and princes, or the result of Divine intervention in the affairs of man, or the scientific product of man-made institutions.[2]

Any summary which attempts to assess the historical writings on British-America for a span of nearly three centuries is bound to be arbitrary and imperfect. The time expanse is great, the area extensive, and the individual authors widely different in capacity and attainment.

In preceding chapters, titles have been grouped roughly by subject matter, and under each subject have been considered largely in chronological order by dates of publication. This arrangement was for the purpose of indicating the expanding scope, with the passage of time, of printed historical literature available to the contemporary reading public. The historical works treated in this survey may be summarized under four headings:

(1) Simple narratives or descriptions of discovery and settlement.

(2) Controversial literature on wars, insurrections, or politico-religious troubles.

(3) More or less formal provincial histories or accounts of geographic sub-divisions of British-America.

(4) Large scale or "Imperial" histories ranging over all or a considerable part of British-America.

Intermingled with these fairly precise categories were many miscellaneous writings included for their unique character, or simply because they appealed to this writer.

Simple narratives, under the oft-recurring titles of "Brief Report" or "True Relation," were indigenous to the American scene from the earliest voyages of discovery along the coast to the later travels of explorers and traders into the foothills of the Appalachians.

These numerous and variegated works had one factor in common—they were to a large extent eye-witness accounts written by men who participated in the events related, or who personally surveyed a fair sampling of the topography described. Partly for this reason, the "brief reports" are reliable sources of information. To large degree the accounts are "first hand"; they constitute original rather than second-hand or hearsay evidence.

In most cases, the authors were reliable characters who endeavored to tell the truth as they saw it. Some authors, to be sure, padded their surveys by drawing on previously published material. Reliance on the work of others is inevitable in most historical composition, but to a greater degree in complex works than in the simple "true relations" of early colonial days. Wherever the early writers found it necessary to use second-hand material they seldom, unfortunately for us, indicated the source of such passages by precise footnotes. More often the borrowed material is vaguely indentified by some such casual phrase as "Master Hakluyt has said," or by marginal note giving simply the other author's last name or an abbreviated title of his book. Whenever a modern reader suspects plagiarism, usually the only way to prove the case is to read all previously printed books to which the suspect might have had access. Several instances of extensive and unacknowledged borrowing have been noted in foregoing chapters.

Few of the writers in our "brief report" category were scholars or professional men of letters. They wrote because they were personally interested in the newly discovered hemisphere, and wanted to tell others about it. Save that everyone of any time, whether historian, farmer, banker, nurse or housewife, has a personal "slant on life," practically none of the early writers were concerned with a formal philosophy of history. They did not bother their heads about whether history is "contemporary thought about the past," or "the specious present," or "the re-enactment of past experience." They were concerned about putting down on paper a simple record of things said and done. They were concerned with telling a good story which people would read. They were largely concerned with the physical wants of man—with food, clothing and shelter. Hence it may be concluded that much of the early writing on America was economic rather than political history. It might better

be said that it was very catholic history. The explorers and early settlers were interested in all facets of life. They included a little bit of everything—economics, geography, natural history, nautical history, medicine, ethnology, entomology, and demonology. Fortunately for our discovery of what early colonial America was like, no seminarian had cramped the style of Captain John Smith, or William Wood, or William Byrd by deluding them into considering history simply as past politics.

Perhaps the one troublesome matter that may arise in connection with the early works is the question as to whether or not the survey-narratives painted too optimistic a picture of the natural features of the Western hemisphere. Many of the accounts seem too good to be true. Undoubtedly a few writers let their enthusiasm run away with them a little. The descriptions do not, however, appear to be much more rosy than one might expect from the exuberance an Englishman or a Frenchman or a Dutchman probably felt on being turned loose in a verdant land. If some of us today hesitate to accept the ultra-favorable surveys at face value, the fault is more likely ours than that of the colonial writers. We have difficulty imagining what the Atlantic coast was like before it became cluttered up with cities, factories and summer resorts.

The question of historical veracity arises more acutely in connection with the "promotion tracts"—those books or pamphlets written for the express purpose of stimulating settlement or investment in the New World. The initial difficulty here is to decide what is a promotion tract. To some degree, *all* the descriptive writers on early America were promoting or advertising the new land. The degree of promotion depended on the writer and his motives. Thomas Hariot, for instance, was a trained observer rather than a conscious propagandist. He endeavored to report the scientific truth about Roanoke Island. At the other end of the scale, landed proprietors like William Penn and Cecil Calvert tended to let promotion outweigh simple description in the accounts of their provinces. The difference between historical surveys and promotion tracts is one of degree rather than kind. The two merge imperceptibly. Survey-narratives often included some unfavorable aspects of life along with the good; promotion tracts specialized in the good.

The promotion tracts cannot, however, be lightly dismissed on the ground that they are propaganda rather than history. Except for a few theoretical pieces—for example, those by William Alexander, Christopher Carleill, and George Scot—the promotion tracts include some narrative, miscellaneous data on settlement and local government, and, inevitably, a survey of the natural resources and advantages of the area under consideration.

The promotion tracts are useful for their "facts" aside from their advertising. In a broad sense, the early translators of Continental works

on America—Richard Eden, John Frampton, and Thomas Nicholas—were promoters too. Their scholarly work was dedicated to the stimulation of English interest in the New World. So too could the great compilers—Ramusio, Theodore De Bry, and Richard Hakluyt—be called promoters of European enterprise in America. In fact, who of us is not a promoter of something? The present writer is endeavoring to promote renewed interest in early writings on America as one way of increasing our pride in our national heritage and our desire to build an increasingly strong and happy country, continuously worthy of our pride. Whether they realize it or not, all historians are promoters. Some promote a theory of history. Some promote a "field" for specialization in teaching or writing. Some promote added income through writing popular textbooks, and some promote academic prestige through the production of scholarly monographs. Promotion is life, and hence historical.

One further virtue, as noted earlier in this review, may be ascribed to eye-witness surveys and brief narratives. To their "first-hand" authors, history was a living thing that they felt and saw. History was to them real and earnest; it was not gleaned from books but dredged up from the ocean swells beneath their boats, absorbed from the soil beneath their feet, breathed from the forests bordering their fields.

Proceeding to the category of controversial literature—the narratives of wars, insurrections, and other disturbances of the body-politic or the human spirit—offer the historiographer challenging opportunities—not to say pitfalls—in evaluation. But to be forewarned is to be forearmed. When investigating witchcraft, for instance, or the Andros rebellion, or a French and Indian war, the record is not only very incomplete, as is true of *all* of the past, but it is likely to be extremely biased. There are a few rudimentary rules for dealing with controversial literature:

(1) Take the bias for granted. There is no such thing as an absolutely impartial history, but one who examines controversial writings can take comfort in the thought that the author's bias will usually be so patent as to be readily discounted.

(2) Read accounts on both sides of the issue, and endeavor to arrive at a defensible middle ground between the opposing sides.

(3) Determine, if possible, whether the author was *unwilling* or *unable* to tell a true story. Unwillingness to tell the truth usually results in misstatements of fact. Inability to tell the truth results in errors of omission, hence a story that is out of perspective because it fails to include important items (presumably favorable to the other side) and thus overemphasises those it does include (presumably favorable to the author's side).[3] In other words, the *data* presented by opposing sides in a controversy may be acceptable as far as it goes, but the *selection* of data is designed to support the author's predilections.

Judged on the basis of the controversial writings reviewed in Chapter VIII above, it would appear that the degree of bias varies according to the nature of the controversy and the side the author is on. In the field of *political* controversies, supporters of the status quo, or the party in power, tend to be more temperate than the opposition. The protesting party usually makes the most noise.

Politico-*religious* quarrels seem to generate more heat than purely governmental wrangles, probably because religious matters stir the emotions deeply, and are less capable of material proof. Church quarrels plagued every American colony to some degree, but were most violent in New England. In religious controversies, as compared to political quarrels, the generality on bias is reversed—the supporters of the status quo tend to be more violent than the dissenters. A similar conclusion holds good for writings on witchcraft—the disbelievers in demonology tend to be more rational in their interpretation of strange happenings than the supporters of belief in evil spirits.

From a present day point of view, the chief shortcoming in contemporary narratives of colonial wars is that they give only one side of the story. Since many accounts were written while the struggles were still in progress, or soon after the close of hostilities, there was little opportunity for the Anglo-American authors to examine the evidence on the opposing side. This criticism applies chiefly to the intercolonial wars. With respect to encounters with the Indians, few colonials would have admitted that there was any other side to consider. For the most part, the narratives of early Indian wars—those before the Indians became allies of the French—are stories of unprovoked aggression on white colonists by irresponsible redmen. The narratives are useful, however, for their careful account of the course of events, that is, for dates, places, towns attacked, people killed, etc. Most of them give good word pictures of the physical and spiritual impact of hostilities on the white settlements. The best war narratives of the colonial period were the comprehensive accounts of the last French and Indian War, 1754-63, by English rather than American authors.

The category of provincial histories is less susceptible to generalization than the two other classes of writings just considered. Passing over various exceptions, however, the late 17th or the 18th century writers on America differed from the earlier narrators of "brief reports" in several respects. For one, the authors of formal accounts of a particular colony were *conscious* historians. They were not dashing off a quick survey of new, and strange, natural phenomena, nor rushing into print with a "scoop" on the sudden outbreak of an Indian war, nor the latest twist in the Salem witchcraft trials. The major provincial historians

girded themselves conscientiously for the task in hand. Whereas not all of them were professional scholars, they approached the writing of history in scholarly fashion, through study of documents and previously published works on the area and peoples under consideration.

The provincial historians also developed some sort of "philosophy of history," or at least they had clearly in mind some good reason as to *why* they were writing history. The New Englanders, for example, regarded history as a sort of hortatory guide to good future conduct. Nathaniel Morton, as already observed, considered the history of Plymouth as a sermon appealing to later generations to follow the God-like example of their predecessors. Daniel Neal (although he was an Englishman, writing about New England) sought to record the virtues of good men for imitation, and the vices of the evil as horrible examples to be shunned. Cotton Mather sought to perpetuate the pristine habits and customs of early Puritanism.

Naturally there was considerable variation in the character, or what might be termed the effective carrying through, of these ambitious projects in local history. Let us admit first that nearly all were provincial, confined strictly to the subject colony, with little reference to conditions elsewhere that may have influenced the course of internal affairs. This circumscribed view of local history, however, was more defensible then than it would be today. Self-sufficiency was more nearly possible in the colonial period than it is now.

As for divergences in method, several writers kept closely to the journal or diaristic style, for example, William Bradford, John Winthrop, Edward Johnson, Daniel Neal, and particularly Nathaniel Morton. Fortunately the diction of only a few of the provincial writers—notably of Nathaniel Morton of Plymouth and Samuel Smith of New Jersey—was poor or unutterably dull. Many others—for example, Robert Beverley and William Byrd II—combined sound reporting with wit and humor.

The provincial histories are solidly based on "facts." With few exceptions, they may be said to offer an almost overwhelming load of data, the trivial along with the significant. Many of the writings suffer by comparison with modern monographs in what is usually termed "interpretation." The colonial writers were, in short, more concerned with *what* happened than with *why* things happened. There were, of course, exceptions. Israel Acrelius undertook in his history of New Sweden an interpretation of the whole colonial movement. William Smith and Cadwallader Colden of New York, aërated the solid "facts" of their narratives with commentary and objective criticism. Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts most nearly approached modern canons of good historical writing from the point of view of both scholarly handling of sources and impartiality of judgment. His *History of Massachusetts Bay* is, in the opinion

of this reviewer, the most able historical work written in the colonial era.

Some of the "lumber of scholarship" became evident in the work of the later provincials. Such things as footnotes or bibliographies were unnecessary, if not obviously impossible, in "brief reports" based largely on the author's personal observation. As historical writing became further removed from the events described, documentation, marginal notes, footnotes, and reference lists to other books multiplied. Cotton Mather paid considerable attention, often too much, to this phase of historical scholarship. William Stith of Virginia was a meticulous user of sources. John Ogilby made a great parade of his authorities. Thomas Prince dressed up his *Chronological History of New-England* with elaborate footnotes and a critical bibliography that would delight the most exacting user of a present day monograph. By the time of the Revolution, the writing of provincial or local history had achieved a high level of professional competence, one which was not greatly elevated for a century or more thereafter.

The "Imperialist" class of writings on British-America made greater progress from early days to 1775 than any other type of composition considered in this survey. Beginning with brief and often inaccurate passages in the general histories or chronicles of Great Britain—such as those by Holinshed and Stow—broad-gauge treatments of the American scene grew into comprehensive and reliable volumes. This is an even more praiseworthy growth than that noted for provincial histories, since the imperial theme was more demanding because of the much greater geographical area covered.

Most of the "Imperialists," as might be expected, were Englishmen rather than natives or residents of the colonies. Exception may be made of Captain John Smith, who was in America for a short time, and of William Douglass who was educated abroad but spent the last part of his life in America. Cadwallader Colden might also be termed a native "Imperialist." Although his writings on the Iroquois have an ethnological core, military policy connected with Indian affairs led Colden to cast his historical gaze far beyond the bounds of New York. Otherwise an imperial or internationalist outlook was slow in migrating to America. Scholarly surveys of the general American scene appeared first on the Continent, next in England, and last in the colonies.

The "West" was a somewhat neglected area. Until well into the 18th century, when the French and Indian wars focussed attention on the western borders of the colonies, few British-American writings gave much attention to areas very far removed from the Atlantic seaboard. This was a pardonable oversight since the most thickly settled areas were largely confined to the coast.

The "Imperial" writings not only had broad geographical scope but also in most cases a broad and statesmanlike purpose. Edmund and Wil-

liam Burke, for instance, devoted a great deal of attention to colonial trade in hopes of improving England's public policy toward her colonial domain. John Wynne dedicated his work to improving the relations between England and America. William Douglass wrote with the laudable purpose of better informing England about America, and the American colonists about each other.

* * *

In conclusion, the writer hopes that this fairly comprehensive but nevertheless incomplete survey of early writings on America will have induced some of his patient readers to look up the "ancients" whose company he has so greatly enjoyed. The sampling passages quoted in this survey are but random bits from a great storehouse of riches. Some of the old books are hard to come by, but others are accessible, in whole or in part, in modern reprints.

Whatever shortcomings modern scholarship may detect in some of the early histories, the contemporary works convey the full flavor of early America, an authentic flavor that can be gained from no other source. The minds and hearts of the early historians were sound. Their limitations were largely physical. Information gathering was many times harder then than now. There were few libraries or bibliographies, and no historical journals, typewriters, or photostat machines.

We moderns may perfect a technique of research and exposition, but who of us can much improve on Hakluyt's ambition to write "for the benefit and honor of my countrey," or go far beyond the goal of William Bradford to compose "with singular regard to the simple truth in all things," or have a greater love for his work than John Smith, who held history to be "the memory of time, the life of the dead, and the happiness of the living"?

NOTES

1 See *Saturday Review of Literature,* March 17, 1951, pp. 14-15, on G. J. Renier, *History: Its Purpose and Method,* and Herman Ausubel, *Historians and Their Crafts: A study of the Presidential Addresses of the American Historical Association, 1884-1945.*

2 Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method* (New York, 1950), Chapter X. In spite of its subtitle, which would imply that this book is chiefly a guide to help the young graduate student find his way through the dust of seminars, many sections are tailored to the lay reader who would like to find out what history is, or is not. In addition, Gottschalk's book is much more entertainingly written than most historiographies.

3 See the very helpful treatment of the problem of credibility in Gottschalk, *op. cit.,* Chapter VII.

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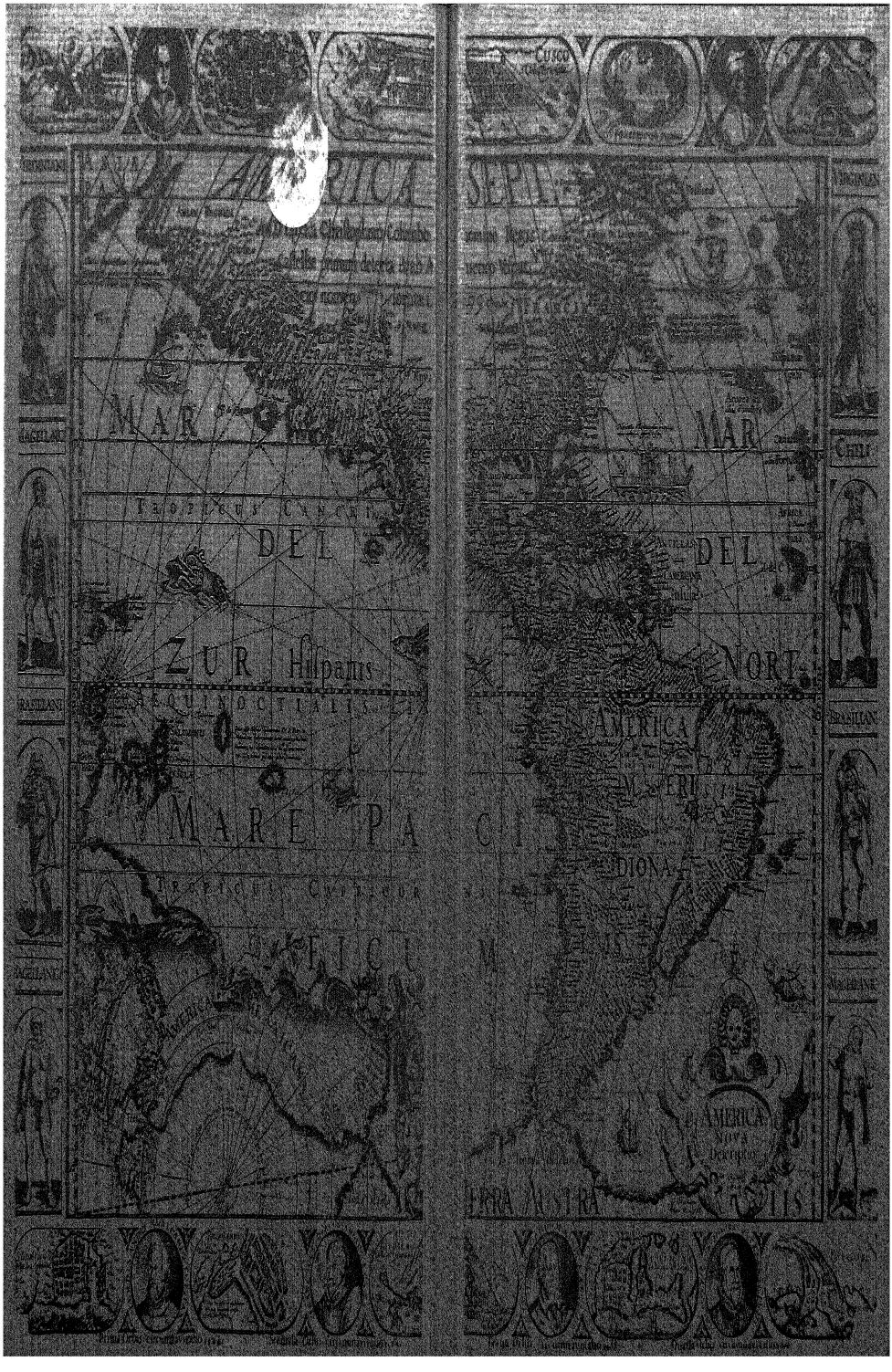
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