

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Volume 1: To the Civil War

James Truslow Adams

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THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



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To the Civil War

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

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A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

TO THE CIVIL WAR

By
James Truslow Adams
Author of "The Epic of America," etc.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE

THE history of America as contrasted with that of Europe is as yet brief but by no means simple. Beginning with conditions in the Old World which resulted in the discovery and peopling of the New, we have to trace the rise of thirteen distinct commonwealths, the formation of a new nation welded out of them, the hostile alignment of great sections in that nation, one of the greatest military struggles of modern times, and the emergence of a united country with the development of one of the greatest of modern democratic and industrial civilizations.

Both in the earlier and latest periods of our history, we have been entangled in the politics and wars of Europe. We have never really been isolated, and not only streams of immigrants but streams of cultural influence have steadily come to us from across the sea. These, as well as the political and military entanglements, require frequent digressions from our own domestic story to enable us to understand it by reference to European currents. Moreover, the simplicity of the older writing of history, dealing almost wholly with wars and politics, has long since passed. The story of how thirteen small agricultural dependencies became the Federal nation of today, independent, highly industrialized, with a culture and an outlook becoming daily more and more "American," is a story which must be woven of many strands, strands somewhat difficult to gather owing to the vastness of our territorial extent and the differences in our several sections.

In dealing with the United States in a single volume or two, one must to a great extent choose between a narrative of events and a philosophical interpretation. I have at various times and in different ways tried to do what I could to interpret both our past and present. But it is impossible either to interpret for ourselves or properly to appraise the interpretations of others, unless we have a clear understanding of the course of events in the past. Generalizing and philosophizing are delightful and fascinating tasks, but likely to be of

PREFACE

little worth without a more prosaic basis of correct factual knowledge.

In the history now offered, to be completed to the present day in two volumes, I have therefore undertaken to lay such a foundation for the reader, and to tell as accurately and impartially as possible the story of the rise of our nation, touching on as many aspects in as much detail as space permits. The old type of history of a generation or two ago had its faults of omission. There is some danger, however, that in correcting these, we may have run somewhat into another fault, that of stressing too much one or another of the factors, such as the economic one, which are rightly considered to be of great influence. History, like human nature, is vastly complex. There is no one key,—economics, religion, politics or what-not,—to an understanding of the whole. Here again I have tried to hold the balance even, and not to substitute for the old “drum and trumpet” merely the voices and motives of the market place, or a picturesque account of manners and arts and thought.

I realize fully the difficulties of such a task, and gladly acknowledge my obligation for many valuable suggestions and corrections made by Professor Allan Nevins and Doctor Will D. Howe.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
April 19, 1932.

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CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

NOTHING is known with any certainty as to the origin of human life on the American continent. The history of the race which has been called "Indian," owing to the mistake of Columbus which we shall note presently, is shrouded in the mist of inference. The earliest ancestors of the barbarians whom the white men found inhabiting the more temperate and tropical regions of the New World may have come from Asia by way of the islands in Behring Strait or even across a land bridge which may have existed in earlier geologic ages.

Nothing, however, can be determined with the evidence yet at hand, and in any case these primitive "Americans" have little to do with the America of today. Unlike the original Britons, whose blood became intermingled with that of the successive invading hordes of Saxons, Danes, and Normans, the Indians never mixed their blood with that of the English settlers who were to become dominant in North America. The history and present culture of Mexico cannot be understood without ample consideration of Indian influence, but those of the present United States need take little heed of the aborigines. They have, indeed, left their traces. A good many words of Indian origin are embedded in our vocabulary and we owe to the savages a large number of our most beautiful and interesting place-names. The earliest white settlers were greatly helped by the Indian's knowledge of woodcraft, by the use of important foods, notably Indian corn or maize, known to the natives, and by other items in the Indian culture. But such influences were comparatively slight as compared with those of races elsewhere who have really fused their blood, language and culture with those of the conquering race.

The white man himself, for the most part, regarded the Indian merely as forming the same sort of obstacle to his own advance and success as was offered by the wild animals or the hindrances of

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climate and topography. Indeed, until very recently, we have treated them as we have treated all other forces opposing our steady advance across the continent and our subduing of it as quickly as possible to our own wants. The record of our dealings with the first owners of our soil is one in which, except for isolated instances, we can take no pride, and which has left a bloody stain on the pages recording almost every decade of our history.

That history, unlike the records of the great powers of the Old World, begins with marked abruptness. In Europe, race gives place to race, and civilization to civilization, and in tracing them back the authentic record merges into myth and legend. It is true that our roots lie deep in the past of the European nations from which came the multitudes of immigrants who, with their descendants, have peopled the United States. Nevertheless, the passage overseas combined with our later breaking of all political ties and our failure to assimilate and mingle with any native population has served to delimit our history within a comparatively short period of recorded time.

Many of our institutions, like our language, come to us from England, and we must take account of influences from the many ancestral lands whence our people are descended, but as generally understood and accepted by us, our history begins with the first discoveries and settlements along our coasts, little more than four centuries ago at most.

Nearly five hundred years before that beginning, Europeans may indeed have landed on our shores. Almost as little is definitely known, however, of the possible explorations of the Norsemen within the present limits of the United States as of the origin of the Indians whom they may have encountered. About 982 Erik Thorwaldson, sailing from Norway, discovered Greenland, and a colony was later planted there. His son, Leif Erikson, and others discovered lands farther west, and efforts have been made to locate their landings all the way from Labrador to Long Island Sound but nothing can be ascertained with certainty as to the localities suggested by the very uncertain data given in the old Sagas.

Some remains, formerly believed to have dated from their time, such as the old mill at Newport, have long since been proved to belong to later periods, and learned discussions over such inscrip-

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tions as those on the Dighton Rock have proved nothing. One of the most interesting of these relics, and one which seems to have some real claim to authenticity, is the "Kensington Stone" found in the roots of a tree at Kensington, Douglas County, Minnesota, in 1898. The runic inscription on it indicates that the point where it was found marks the southern limit of an expedition of Norsemen who came overland from Hudson's Bay in 1362; and the summing up of the evidence in 1932 would seem to give this record the best claim, which, however, is only a claim, to being the earliest monument by white men within our limits. These Norse voyages and explorations, wherever they may have been made, were without further influence on history and apparently had nothing to do with the later and authentic discoveries.

These latter were occasioned by reasons quite dissimilar to the more or less adventurous spirit which led Leif and possibly others to voyage westward from the little colony in Greenland.

The European world of the fifteenth century, descended from Greece and Rome, was hemmed in on all sides by impassable barriers of sea and desert or by the barbarian hordes which were beginning to press in on it from the East. This outer Barbarian world was practically as little known geographically as it had been in the days of the Roman Empire. It was a world, however, with which Europe, as always, had commercial relations, the greatest and most lucrative trade being with the mysterious "East." From China, the Spice Islands, India and many lands, the spices, pearls, jewels, rugs, silks, and other commodities of which Europe had need found their way by trade routes hidden from the knowledge of European merchants. These routes had their western termini in ports of the Mediterranean, encircling its eastern end from Constantinople to Alexandria.

In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries, the war-like hordes of the Ottoman Turks spread out from their centre in Asia Minor. Steadily pursuing their conquests, they passed the Bosphorus and captured Constantinople in 1453, and had overrun Egypt by 1522. All the termini of Europe's greatest trade routes thus fell into their hands. The process had been gradual, and the Turks did not prohibit all trade, but in the long period of conquest, the disturbances of violence and war, new taxes, and other hindrances

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to the old established commerce gravely affected the trading life of Europe.

This threatened throttling of the business of the European peoples came at just the period when, after ten centuries of readjustments, they were beginning to feel a great rebound of energies within the new forms of institutional and intellectual life which they had slowly evolved. Moreover, due to the steady northwestward thrust of the Turks, this superabundant energy, greater even than that of the Roman Empire, was compressed within a comparatively small area. To the south, the Sahara Desert and the hordes of Islam set an impassable barrier. To the west and north were unknown or frozen seas, mysterious and terrifying. European energy was rapidly rising but walls seemed to be closing in on it. It was as though a liquid were being brought to the boiling point in a container which was contracting. Vent or explosion was inevitable. Thanks to ocean exploration a vent was found, and within four centuries European civilization was to spread over the whole globe.

In the fifteenth century, sensitive to the increasing difficulties of the Oriental trade by the old routes, and ignorant of the great downward protuberance of the African continent, Portuguese explorers sought to find a way to the Orient by sailing eastward south of the Sahara. If successful they hoped to tap the trade at its source and to eliminate the land routes and the Turks. Finally after two generations of advance, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. He had proceeded far enough, before being forced to turn back by a mutinous crew, to make him sure that the goal lay just beyond. In 1498 Vasco da Gama, following the track of Diaz, reached India and saw the welcome domes of Calicut. After a voyage of 18,000 miles he returned to Portugal with a rich cargo and yet more precious knowledge. Even his predecessor, Diaz, had discovered, however, a dozen years before, that this route to the Indies would be portentously long.

Certain that the East could be reached by sea, and believing in the theory, thought by many to be incredible, that the world was round, Columbus had conceived the idea of reaching the Indies by sailing West. He hoped thus to save the long and useless journey around Africa, and had the globe been as small as he thought and had the then unknown American continents not blocked the way,

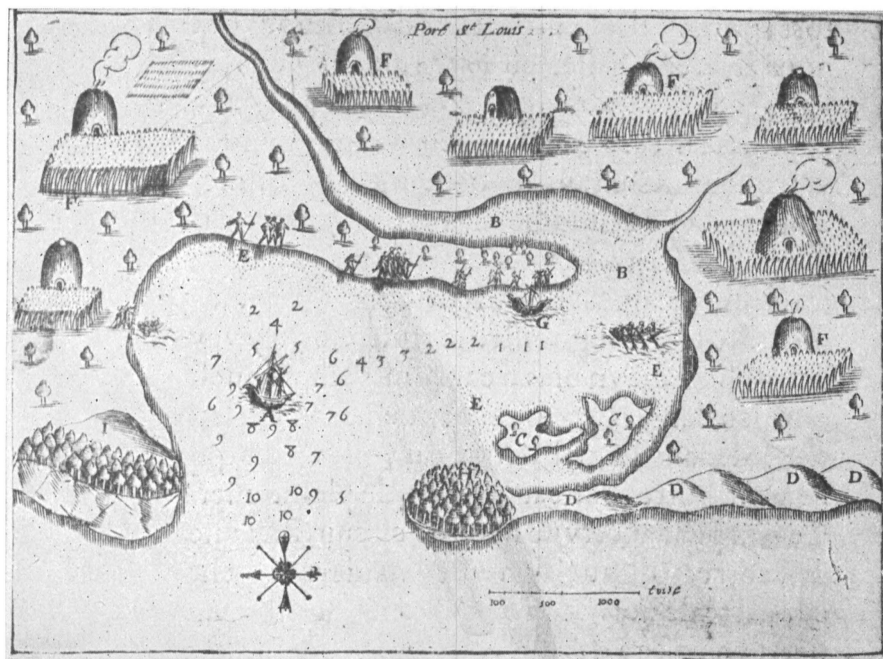


THE KENSINGTON STONE

Courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.



THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISHMEN IN VIRGINIA
 From a drawing by John White of Raleigh's First Colony, 1585, in De Bry's
 "Grand Voyages," Frankfurt, 1590.



CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF PLYMOUTH HARBOR
 From Champlain's "Voyages," 1613, in the Lenox Collection, New York Public Library.

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he would have outflanked the Portuguese, as they had outflanked the Turk. At last, helped by the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, he set sail from Palos August 3, 1492, with his crew of eighty-nine in three tiny vessels, of which only one had a deck.

With the days passing into weeks, and the weeks into months, he and his companions voyaged westward until on the evening of October 11 a flaring light was seen as though on a shore. The next morning the explorers landed on the beach of some small island in the Bahamas which we cannot accurately identify. The story has been told so often that in the efforts to make a "fresh presentation" of American history a number of recent historians have gone so far as not to mention Columbus at all! He belongs forever, nevertheless, with the small and select band of men who by novel vision and indomitable will have influenced the entire subsequent course of history. Even to his death, after subsequent voyages, Columbus continued to believe that he had attained Cathay or "The Indies" as the Orient was called, which error accounts for the name Indians given to the inhabitants of the lands which he explored. In reality he had found a New World in which Europeans could live and which would absorb their surplus energies for centuries.

Once it was demonstrated that land could be reached by sailing west and, quite as important, that a return was possible, the original discoverer had many successors. In 1497 John Cabot, an Italian like Columbus, sailed from Bristol in the employ of the English King Henry VII, and landed either on the Newfoundland, Canadian or Labrador coasts. In 1524 Verrazano, under the flag of France, explored our shore possibly from Carolina to Newfoundland. The Spaniard Gomez was somewhere within the same limits the year following, and the maps of the time show the rapidly increasing geographical knowledge gained.

It is not necessary to chronicle the many explorations, along the coasts or in the interior, which were made in the ensuing century, for, with Verrazano, the chief three contestants to claims on America had appeared,—Spanish, English, and French. Nor is it necessary to relate the diplomatic struggles of the claimants or the first abortive attempts at settlement by the English under such dreamers of empire as Sir Humphrey Gilbert or Sir Walter Raleigh. We may pass on to the opening of the seventeenth century by which time

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the claims to what was at last realized to be a new continent and not the Indies had taken somewhat definite shape.

With the exception of Portuguese Brazil, Spain, with a well-established empire in Peru and Mexico, claimed—and in part possessed by colonization,—all of South and Central America, our present Gulf coast, our Southwest, and the land between the Rockies and the Pacific. France claimed all of Canada and the Mississippi Valley, while England considered as hers the whole of the North American continent from Florida to Canada and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The conflicting character of these claims is evident, and was more than once to plunge the world into war.

The new land which had been found by Columbus and his followers was no gorgeous East with silk-clad princes, teeming millions, spices, and precious jewels. For the most part it was a forbidding wilderness inhabited by naked savages. Only where the Spaniards, encountering the barbaric cultures of the Aztecs and the Incas, had discovered treasure of silver and gold, mines, and an ample labor supply, was there easy wealth to be reaped. Quickly a transplanted Spanish culture was established based on the riches and populousness of the older barbaric kingdoms. The 160,000 Spaniards who it has been estimated were in New Spain by 1574 had libraries, printing presses, scholars, and universities long before a single Englishman had been able to establish a foothold in the North.

The French, after trying colonization in Florida, whence they were driven out by the Spaniards, established a fortified post at Quebec under the indomitable Champlain, who had explored and mapped our New England coast. From that year, 1608, they continued to hold Canada until 1763, although always with a sparse population. The French empire in America was to be ever far-flung, a sort of combined trading post and missionary enterprise gilded by imperial dreams. Since Canada apparently lacked mineral or agricultural wealth, the Indian fur trade became the dominant interest, and French traders and explorers roamed west to the Great Lakes and down the valley of the Mississippi, establishing forts and trading centres in the vast hinterland behind the Appalachians.

The influence of the French on the destinies of the continent, however, was to prove out of all proportion to the numbers and

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strength of the colonies. Had France not established New France and had she not been despoiled of it by the English in 1763, she would probably have had no motive to abet the English colonies in their revolt of 1776, and that revolt instead of being successful would have been merely one more of the innumerable suppressed rebellions in the history of the British Empire.

The year before Champlain built his fort at Quebec and faced the first terrible winter from which only eight of the twenty-eight settlers were to emerge alive, a handful of Englishmen had planted the first successful English colony far south in Virginia. To them the future belonged, but before picking up the thread of our own history, which will thenceforth be continuous, we must turn to observe the England of the seventeenth century, which with a population half that of London today was to send out the swarms which were destined to found a new English nation overseas.

In some respects that little, bustling, fast-changing England of 1600 was in the lead of the European nations. France was dissipating her energy in continental wars and entanglements. Spain, which in spite of the huge annual supply of gold derived from her American possessions had been steadily sinking in power and prestige, had received a staggering blow when the English defeated her Armada in 1588. Even before that the English sea-dogs—Drake, Hawkins, and the rest—had been yelping on her trail like wolves, and bringing down galleon after galleon laden with treasure. When the entire “invincible” Armada had been sunk or scattered to the winds, the daring and pretensions of English seamen rose to new heights. Spain was no longer a deterrent to any New World venture.

England was also the first of the great nations to pass from the stage of feudalism to more modern conditions, and, though both government and society were aristocratic, her plain citizens were the freest in the world. Under the Tudors, who were English to the core in all their aspirations, there had been a great outburst of conscious nationalism and patriotism. Henry the Eighth had declared the English Church independent of the Pope, and to the hatred of the French and Spanish as competitors and foreigners had been added that of Protestant for Catholic in an age when religion was a passion. Robust individualism was rampant and took many forms, whether in men of action like Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, and

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others, or in the brilliant band of men of letters, with Shakespeare at the head, who are still the glory of English literature. This individualism extended to more ordinary folk, business men intent on extending trade, or independent-thinking citizens deciding for themselves the problems of their spiritual life.

Puritanism was one of the forces of the period. The word has been used in many meanings but we may here consider it as applied to the movement against what were considered errors, abuses or evils in the ecclesiastical or moral life of the time. Protestantism, when it had denied the authority of the single Catholic Church, had opened the way to an anarchic individualism in the interpretation of the Bible as the Word of God; and in an era of increasing intellectual energy and personal liberty it was impossible that any organization should say to all individuals "thus far and no farther" in schism.

The Puritans were made up of all sorts of minds, from those of great noblemen, like the Earl of Warwick, or thinkers, like Milton, to illiterate cobblers or farmhands. Their protests against tenets or ceremonies of the English Church and against the manners and morals of non-Puritans were of all degrees of intensity. Some wished to reform Church or society from within, others, the Separatists, felt they must withdraw entirely. In those days, religious heresy aroused passions similar to those aroused today by economic heresies, and too radical religious beliefs were held to be as inimical to the safety of the State as are Socialism or Communism in the America of our own century. The extremer Puritans therefore suffered some persecution and feared worse. Moreover, among Protestants themselves, the demand to the right of individual interpretation of the Bible did not lead, as might have been expected, to tolerance. The individual, having found for himself what he believed to be the Truth, and convinced of its universal validity and importance, all too often felt compelled to force it on other men, and to found sects or societies in which it alone should be recognized.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century profound economic changes were also in progress. Among other things, the steady and vast flow of gold from New Spain had thrown the old price structure of goods and labor into confusion. Some classes were

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rising and others were falling in the economic scale. This, added to the changes from feudalism to capitalism and from agriculture to an incipient industrialism, was rapidly upsetting long-established conditions in the nation. There was much unrest and unemployment among the laboring and lower middle-classes. In the upper middle-class of "gentlemen" those who could not adjust themselves to the new order were slipping down, while others, making use of the rather abundant capital due to the great increase in Europe's gold supply, were making ventures in new trades overseas and growing rich.

Many "companies" were being formed to permit groups of these men to join in trading to Moscovy, the Levant, India, Guinea, and elsewhere, such companies being typical of a new form of economic adventure not only in England but in France, Holland, and other countries. In some cases they were formed to buy land and to colonize it, as in Ireland. In others they were primarily trading companies, but on account of the conditions of commerce this meant also control of the depot or trading station and its inhabitants established at the end of a trade route in a foreign and frequently uncivilized land.

Thus, at the time we have reached, all the conditions were ripe for England to begin the attempted exploitation of some part of the New World. Briefly, there was an enormous reservoir of energy seeking an outlet. There were many people, only a part of whom were being drained off by the colonizing projects in Ireland, who were discontented with the religious, social or economic situation in which they found themselves at home. Much unemployment on the one hand was offset by accumulations of new capital on the other in possession of energetic and adventurous merchants seeking profitable investment and accustomed to take large risks for corresponding gains.

Spanish profits from America had been colossal but that nation was no longer powerful enough to act as the growling dog in the manger of such parts of the New World as she did not actually occupy. France, although she had explored our Atlantic seaboard, had chosen to concern herself with Canada and the fur trade of the interior. The Portuguese had been excluded from North America by the Papal Bull of 1493, and the enterprising Dutch had as yet

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shown no interest in Western schemes or exploration. With the formation of the East India Company in 1600 the great English chartered companies had covered practically all quarters of the globe open to exploitation by English capitalists except the New World.

VIRGINIA CHARTERS. NUMBER I.

King JAMES I.'s LETTERS PATENT to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, for two severall Colonies and Plantations, to be made in VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories of AMERICA. Dated April 10, 1606.

I. JAMES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Whereas our loving and well disposed subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hacklitt, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, Esqrs. William Parker and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving subjects, have been humble suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government; Do, by these our letters patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended desires.

IV. And do therefore, for Us, our heirs and successors, Grant and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hacklitt, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, adventurers of and for our city of London, and all such others, as are, or

KING JAMES CHARTER

As the opening of it appears in *The Charters—A Narrative of the Proceedings of the North American Colonies in Consequence of the Late Stamp Act*. Printed in London in 1766.

From the Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library.

Consequently the next step in commercial expansion inevitably pointed to North America.

On April 10, 1606, King James I granted a charter to two groups of capitalists, one group being mostly resident in London and the other in and around Plymouth. In this document, usually called the first Virginia Charter, England definitely claimed the right to that part of North America between the 34th and 45th parallels of latitude, or from about Cape Fear River to Passamaquoddy Bay. Each chartered group, or "company," was given the right to a hundred miles of coast, stretching a hundred miles inland, for colonization, the London Company having the exclusive right to plant south of latitude 38 and the Plymouth Company north of 41. The interven-

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ing strip was open to either of them, but neither was allowed to plant within a hundred miles of the other.

In spite of an ineffective protest from Spain, the London Company, under the chief patronage of Sir Robert Cecil, at once proceeded to make use of its privileges. The main hopes for profit lay in the possible discovery of precious metals and of a water passage through what was thought to be a narrow continental barrier to the markets of the East. A colony, however, was desirable for several reasons, and in December, 1606, 120 persons were sent out in three ships which did not reach the shore of Chesapeake Bay until the 6th of the following May.

About thirty years earlier Raleigh had made two unsuccessful attempts to plant a settlement in Virginia, one of them being notable for the birth of the first English child in America, a little girl who was christened Virginia Dare, and whose fate is shrouded in the mystery which surrounds the entire colony of 1587, no trace of which could be discovered when help was sent out to it four years later. They may have perished of starvation or been massacred by the Indians. When the attempt was again made to plant a colony in 1607, it is possible that the savages recalled the previous intrusion. In any case they at once attacked the first landing party of new settlers. The site chosen for what was to prove the cradle of the American people was at Jamestown, then called James Fort, and was marshy and malarial. What with sickness, the savages, an ill-devised form of government, and inexperience with pioneering needs, the first few years were stark with tragedy.

The tragedy is certain though the details are largely shrouded in mystery. One of the chief actors, the famous Captain John Smith, has left us an account of them but in the long and crowded career of that adventurous person it is difficult to pick out truth from fiction as told with great gusto by himself. We know, at any rate, that when the supply ships sailed for England the second time in April, 1608, 144 out of a total of 197 immigrants had died.

Renewed efforts were made by the London promoters, who grossly misrepresented conditions to intending emigrants, and in June, 1609, nine more vessels were despatched with about 500 persons of both sexes and all ages. One vessel sank. One ran ashore on Bermuda. Plague and fever stalked the decks, and when the survivors reached

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Jamestown they found there only a hundred whites, some encamped about twenty miles away and some living with the savages. There was no food on shore and hardly any on the ships. Disease and hunger worked on the immigrants like scythes on wheat. In their madness for food, men dug up dead and putrid Indians, and sat by their dying comrades waiting to seize on their flesh.

It was more than humanity could stand and the decision was made to abandon the colony. There was in store, however, a sudden and dramatic turn in events. At the very moment when the 150 survivors of the 900 adventurers were sailing for home down the James, a ship was sighted bringing Lord de la Warr with food and help. All decided to make one more effort, and the frightful "starving time" of 1609-10 was a turning point in the settlement of the United States. A severe military government was instituted and order came to the colony. With the expiration of the seven years during which property was to be held in common stock, private ownership was instituted and did much to stimulate hope and ambition. Peace was bought with the Indians. Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Thomas Dale, and George Yeardley, all soldiers of a "hard-boiled" type, succeeded as governors in bringing the colony through its trials. Dreams of gold and silver or the Northwest Passage evaporated and the colony settled down to the cultivation of tobacco as its staple.

It has been estimated that by 1625, when at last the colony had become firmly established, 1095 persons were living in Virginia, but to secure this result and to establish what was to be the American nation, over 4500 had perished from starvation, massacre or disease. The 5649 immigrants who may be called the first Virginians, were of all types,—a few gentlemen with servants, a few genuine criminals, some soldiers and professional men, more or less riff-raff and much excellent material in the way of artisans, mechanics and so on. When stability and private ownership came after the first few horrible years, the types of newcomers most in evidence were men with capital to build plantations and those known as indentured servants. The latter, who were of considerable importance in our history, were of all grades. Some came from jails but that means little as in that day men were imprisoned in England for very minor offences and even trifling debts. Under an indenture, men, women, and children were sold or sold themselves into service in the colony

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for a term of years,—two or three up to seven or more,—to pay for their passage. Their term of service completed they could claim land and start life afresh in the New World. Under the strain of the mal-adjustments in the economic condition of England, many of good standing at home took advantage of this way of making a new beginning, and the word servant, which covered schoolmasters, younger sons of good families, and others, is misleading. It meant merely in many cases those who sold themselves into service in exchange for the costly voyage to America which they could not otherwise pay for. As the trade became organized, wicked ships' captains began to kidnap boys and girls on the streets and sell their time in America.

The original charter granted by King James in 1606 was followed by others in 1609 and 1612, the last being revoked completely in 1624, when Virginia became a Royal Colony. There ensued, however, no disturbance to property rights or popular liberties. The first charter, happily, in words which the Americans were always to cherish and remember, had provided that the colonists and their descendants "shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our Realm of England or any other of our said dominions." That promise of liberty had been the original basis on which Englishmen had first been induced to settle in America.

For the first decade, however, the colonists had had little or no voice in managing their own political affairs. In April, 1619, Sir George Yeardley arrived from London with new instructions as governor, the most important of which was that thereafter the people were to have a share in their own government and that twenty-two burgesses were to be elected from nine "plantations" and three "cities" to form the lower house of the new legislature. Actually at first, there were eleven little local organizations, variously called "city," "borough," "hundred" or "plantation," each represented by two burgesses in the lower legislative house. This with the council of six as an upper house, and the governor, brought the governmental machinery to a type that was to be familiar in its broad outlines, though with local variations, throughout colonial America.

On July 30, 1619, the legislature met and political self-government

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was formally inaugurated on the American continent. The following year it was likewise instituted in the colony of Bermuda. A significant but less happy event in the same year that the Burgesses thus started at Jamestown on their colonial Parliamentary career was the arrival of a Dutch ship whose captain sold twenty negro slaves to the planters.

Although the stability and prosperity of Virginia were now in striking contrast to the early years, disease continued to take an appalling toll, and in 1622 there was an unexpected attack by the savages, the result of both these factors being that after the massacre there were fewer than 900 settlers left in the colony. Nevertheless, emigrants continued to pour out from England, but the mismanagement and scandals connected with the London Company finally brought about the voiding of its charter, as we have stated, in 1624. However, in spite of all vicissitudes the colony grew, as did its confidence in governing itself, so that in 1635 the House of Burgesses dared even to depose a royal governor. The English character as well as race had indeed established itself in the New World.

Meanwhile efforts by the Plymouth Company to found a colony in New England had not succeeded, one experiment of wintering in Maine with inadequate resources having signally failed. Every year, however, French, Spanish, Dutch or English ships were to be found along our shores for fishing, fur trading or exploring, and the New England coast had become well known. In 1609, Henry Hudson, often miscalled "Hendrik," an Englishman in Dutch employ, had discovered the river that bears his name; and in 1614 Captain John Smith was exploring and mapping the Massachusetts coast and acquiring unlimited faith in the possibilities of the region. Virginia, however, was thirteen years old before the first band of settlers were to effect a permanent lodgment in the North, and then by accident.

In 1606, the year when the first emigrants embarked on their ships for Chesapeake Bay, another small group made up of the Separatists we have mentioned above, fearful of being able to continue peaceably their religious life in England, had emigrated to Holland, settling in Leyden. Being English, they were not happy living among foreigners; they feared demoralization for their children; and found it hard to make comfortable livings. For these and

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other reasons, they determined, as an endless stream of emigrants of all races has since, to try their fortune in the New World.

The Virginia colony having proved successful, they decided to settle near that. Having secured the needed financial backing of capitalists in London, 102 passengers crowded into the *Mayflower*

54

*Acto by them done (this their condition considered) might
be as firme as any patent; and in some respects more sure
The forme was as followeth.*

*In y^e name of god Amen We whose names are underwritten,
the loyall subjects of our dread soueraigne Lord King James,
by y^e graco of god, of great Britaine, France, & Ireland King
defondor of y^e faith, &c
Hauing undertaken, for y^e glorio of god, and aduancement
of y^e christian ^{faith} and honour of our king & countrey, a voyago to
plant y^e first Colonie in y^e Northward parts of Virginia. Do
by these presents solemnly & mutually in y^e presence of god, and
one of another, Couenant, & combine our selues together into a
Ciuill body politick, for y^e better ordering, & preservation & fur=
therance of y^e ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte,
constitute, and frame such just & equall Lawes, ordinances,
Acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought
most meete & conuenient for y^e generall good of y^e Colonie. Vnto
which we promise all due submission and obediencie In witness
whereof we haue hereunder subscribed our names at Cap=
Codd y^e 11 of Nouember, in y^e year of y^e raigne of our soueraigne
Lord King James of England, France, & Ireland y^e eighteenth,
and of Scotland y^e fiftie fourth, An: Dom. 1620.]*

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

The first part, from the original Bradford manuscript.

In the Massachusetts State Library.

and set sail from Southampton in the summer of 1620. Only a third of these, under the lead of William Brewster, were "Pilgrims" from Leyden, the rest being a nondescript lot of settlers picked up in London or elsewhere and shipped by the capitalists. It may be pointed out that a "Mayflower descendant" may thus have had a far from desirable ancestor!

It was November before they sighted Cape Cod and, after running into dangerous shoals in an effort to make southward for Vir-

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ginia, they decided to disembark at some favorable spot near at hand. It was thus by chance that the famous landing at Plymouth was made. Finding themselves outside the limits of the Virginia Government, with no charter of their own, and with a very mixed lot of persons to control, the more substantial passengers decided before landing to draw up a covenant to be signed by all the men providing for a simple form of self-government under which officers were to be elected and laws enacted.

During the first few years of this second American settlement many of the troubles which the Virginians had encountered were met again,—heavy sickness, occasional attacks from the savages, and economic difficulties until private ownership replaced the partly communal form of economic life forced on them by their capitalist backers. Neither the disorders nor the trials were so severe, however, as they had been in the Southern adventure, and the little democracy governed itself with notable success.

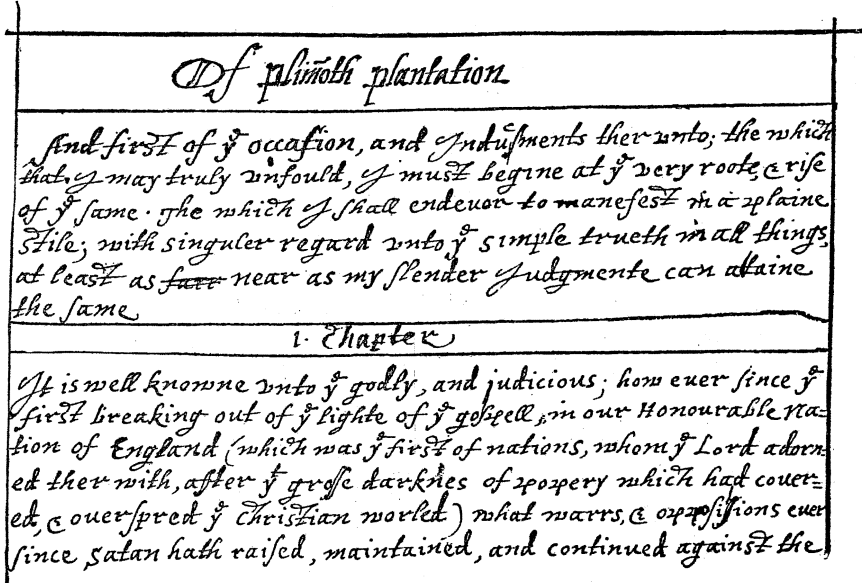
Chief among the leaders which it developed was William Bradford, a Puritan at once determined and lovable, a man of strong will, high courage, sound sense, and, although a farmer's son, of scholarly tastes. His *History of Plymouth Plantation* is the earliest contribution of importance to American historical writing, and still has a charm that few other American books could claim until nearly two centuries later. The peppery tempered but loyal little soldier, Captain Myles Standish, was the sword of the colony.

Meanwhile other English settlers, some worthy and others distinctly not so, began to settle singly or in small groups along the New England coast. Colonies of English were also going out to the West India islands,—St. Kitts in 1623, Barbadoes and St. Croix in 1625, Nevis and Barbuda in 1628. These and other islands were to become of great value to the Empire later, and we cannot understand some points in our own subsequent relations to England if we do not bear that fact in mind. It is also important at this stage of our story to think of the movement of colonization, now setting out from England in every direction, as a whole. By 1640 probably over 65,000 English people had left their homes for the New World, without counting the large numbers who went to Ireland. Many different motives animated them, these often being combined in the same individual. Religion was only one of the moving impulses, but

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it was to be especially notable in the next, and by far the largest, colony yet to be planted in America, just as it had been the chief motive with the minority Pilgrim band on the *Mayflower*.

In the eastern section of England Puritanism was particularly strong among a group of influential families and clergy, and in that same section economic distress among the lower middle and labor-



FACSIMILE OF PART OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF
BRADFORD'S HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION

From the original in the Massachusetts State Library.

ing class was unusually acute. In 1628 a group of men of that district, some of whom had already been interested in a fishing company at Cape Ann, secured a patent for land running from 3 miles north of the Merrimac River to 3 miles south of the Charles, a strip about 60 miles wide and 3000 long, as it ran to the Pacific Ocean!

They at once despatched John Endicott with about 60 persons to take possession and prepare for a colony. There was already a little settlement at Salem and there Endicott wintered. The next year 400 people were sent out, and a Royal charter was secured for a Massachusetts Bay Company, much on the lines of the other com-

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pany charters. This provided, in part, that the members of the company, known as "freemen," should constitute the "General Court" which was to meet quarterly and once a year elect a governor, deputy-governor, and board of assistants. The "Court" was also given power to make such rules, or laws and ordinances, as should not be repugnant to the laws of England.

Events in that country were moving rapidly, and the future was becoming dark. The King dissolved Parliament in anger and was to rule for the next eleven years without one. Nine of the popular leaders had been imprisoned in the Tower. Important Puritan, and what we might call today "Liberal," families were deeply anxious, and were considering the New World as a possible asylum.

Probably on account of this situation, the influential men in control of the Massachusetts Bay Company decided upon taking an unprecedented and what was to be a unique step in the history of English company colonization. They determined to send the actual charter to the colony itself. By doing so they, in practice, transformed what was intended to be a mere trading company charter into what they came, without legal justification, to consider the constitution for an almost self-governing State. The step was to prove of great importance in the subsequent relations of Massachusetts to the British Government, and to the development of colonial political thought.

The first governor elected, in England, was John Winthrop, a gentleman of good family and position who, like so many others, had found himself unable to keep up his accustomed scale of living under the altered economic conditions of the time. He had been used to living well, with seven or eight servants, and the future for himself and his children had already seemed black to him when a final blow fell with the loss of a government office which he held. He was also a Puritan, and the outlook seemed as unpromising from the standpoint of enjoying his religious beliefs as it did from that of maintaining his inherited social position in his county. In his case, as in most, various motives thus reinforced one another in urging him to the experiment of going out to the American wilderness. The letters of himself, his wife and children reveal a singularly affectionate and cultured family life, and it must have been with heavy hearts that they left their old Suffolk home.

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However, in 1630, Winthrop sailed for Massachusetts with a band of nearly a thousand colonists, who settled what later became the towns of Charlestown, Boston, Medford, Watertown, Roxbury, Lynn, and Dorchester. By 1634 he estimated the total population at four thousand, and Massachusetts had become the most powerful settlement on the entire North American coast.

The new colony was as strong in convictions as in numbers. There was a marked Puritan tinge in all the colonies, as in England itself, and the laws passed by the settlers in Virginia with regard to manners, morals, dress, and church-going differed but little from those to be passed in Massachusetts, though Virginia established the Church of England and New England became Non-Conformist. The Massachusetts leaders, however, both lay and clerical, were of the strictest sect of the Puritans and gave the tone to the whole community. They attempted to make their State a theocracy with themselves as the sole interpreters of the Word of God in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, which they considered practically as one, and in 1631 the General Court declared that only church members could be admitted as free-men, that is have a vote in the government. It was hoped by the leaders that by this device they could maintain strict political as well as religious control. They had come to the New World to worship as they chose and had no intention of being interfered with by those of different belief whether in England or within their own newly established settlements. John Endicott exemplified best the dogmatic, harsh, unyielding, and intolerant type which the movement evolved, but even gentler and sweeter characters, like those of Winthrop or the Reverend John Cotton, grew less broadly humane under the conditions of life in the Theocracy.

The hard years of first settlement, the sectarian's belief in his own monopoly of Truth, the subtle infection of suddenly acquired power both as civil rulers and religious prophets, all tended to emphasize what we have come to regard as Puritanism in its most exaggerated and least charitable form. The leaders disliked and distrusted democracy or even permitting the ordinary citizen a voice in government, and did their best to stave off civil as well as religious dissent. But if too often they seemed intent on making the wilderness blossom like the thistle instead of like the rose, they developed around the core of "the New England conscience" a character which, with

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all its ugly excrescences, was to form an invaluable strain in the nation of the future. It is only just to point out, however, that this same strain accounts for much of the fanaticism and intolerance which have too often marked our national life and opinion.

Colonizing had by this time passed beyond the stage of doubtful success, and in 1632 the foundations for yet another colony were laid next to Virginia. Lord Baltimore, a Catholic peer, received a charter from King Charles which permitted him to found a settlement where Catholics would be tolerated, named in honor of the Queen, Mary-land. Although this charter was not that of a trading company like the others, but created a Palatinate like the Bishopric of Durham, it was notable that, whereas in England the Bishop had practically uncontrolled power of legislation, Baltimore could make laws only "with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen or the greater part of them or their representatives." Unlike the French and Spanish colonies, the seed of liberty and self-government was thus dropped into the ground of every English town, plantation, and colony at their very beginning. From their inception, the English colonies throughout the New World were the freest communities then in the world, a fact which, combined with other conditions, immensely favored their progress on democratic lines.

Our main concern has been thus far with the genesis of the United States, but we must recall that during all the period we have covered there was amazing activity all over the globe,—England, France, and Holland, for example, contending with one another for commerce and empire out in India and the Islands of the Far East. The dispelling of the mystery and terror of the earth's open seas had afforded the needed vent to Europe, and the danger of explosion had been replaced by a furious burst of energy as the possibilities of world exploitation dawned on the European mind. The rise of the United States is but one, though for us the most important, of the results of Europe having found a way to break through the fifteenth-century encirclement of barbarous races, forbidding deserts and innavigable waters.

CHAPTER II

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM TAKES FORM

THE period covered by this chapter, roughly from 1634 to 1690, was notable for the gradual evolution of a colonial system out of the scattered beginnings made at haphazard by the commercial ambitions of a few groups of capitalists or needy courtiers, partly assisted in the process of colonization by the religious hopes or fears of particular groups. The evolution proceeded in two directions—first, the actual peopling of the American coast and the Caribbean islands in a vast semicircle extending from Maine to Barbadoes, and, secondly, in the attempt to develop in England a theory of imperial needs, obligations and government. We shall speak of the second point later, and with regard to the first our attention must be almost wholly directed to the continental half of the semicircle. We may note, however,—to get the proper perspective from the imperial point of view,—that in addition to the greater importance of her natural products, the island of Barbadoes alone in 1642 had a larger English population than all the New England colonies combined.

The New England population, however, had increased rapidly from the Puritan settlement until about 1640, when the prospects for Puritans in England altered completely, and for the better, with the Puritan revolution there. After that, the stream of emigration to New England dried up almost entirely for well on to two centuries. Within eight years after the arrival of Winthrop the number of settlers in the section had increased to perhaps seventeen thousand, and besides the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts four new ones had been founded—Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1636, New Haven in 1638, while there had been settlements in a New Hampshire since 1622, and a number in Maine. The date of “founding” of many of the colonies is somewhat vague for in many of them there were occasional stray single settlers or even small groups who

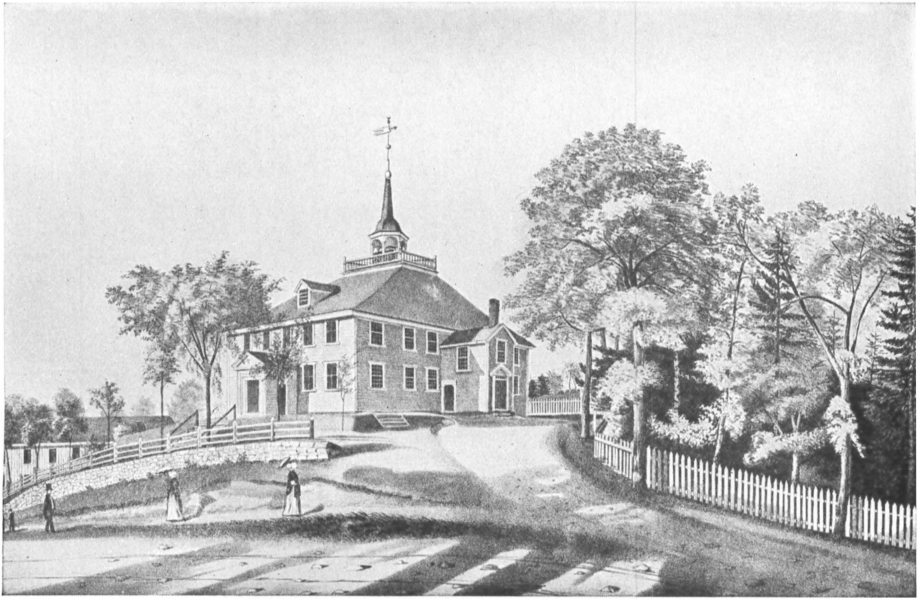
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had squatted on lands or more lawfully preceded larger bodies sent out after legal possession had been secured by charter or otherwise. There is no advantage in waxing too hot over what is often a verbal quibble. The settlement of a solitary, like the interesting Blackstone, for example, removing to live in Rhode Island, can scarcely be called the founding of a new colony, the term being better applied to the establishment of a permanent and fairly strong body of citizens with established forms of local government.

We may note that the establishment of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut was owing in each case to the opposition aroused in the minds of many by the narrow and tyrannical ruling Puritan oligarchy in control of Massachusetts. Just as the leaders of that colony had fled or been forced from England, so now many were fleeing or being forced from their colony in the New World to seek for greater liberty, as well as for new and well-located lands. As we have pointed out, resistance to intellectual or religious authority and insistence upon private judgment do not, unfortunately, necessarily result in tolerance. Indeed, the exaggerated importance given to his own views by the protesting individual seems rather to be likely to result in an aggressive *intolerance*. Moreover, there is no intolerance more overbearing than that springing from the belief by persons of rather narrow experience in their own superior morality or brand of religious truth. The local Massachusetts leaders had been people of no importance whatever in England when they suddenly found themselves ruling a commonwealth. They had also taken heavy risks to find a place where they not only could worship as they chose but could raise themselves in the social and economic scales. Having found it, they had no intention of allowing affairs to slip from their grasp. This was all quite human but militated strongly in some ways against the best interests of Massachusetts.

For many generations there were to be two strands in the history of that commonwealth,—resistance by the colony as a whole to any encroachments by England, and resistance by the more liberal elements among the colonists themselves to the ruling oligarchy, who believed not that the people should rule but that they should *be* ruled by the specially elect of God.

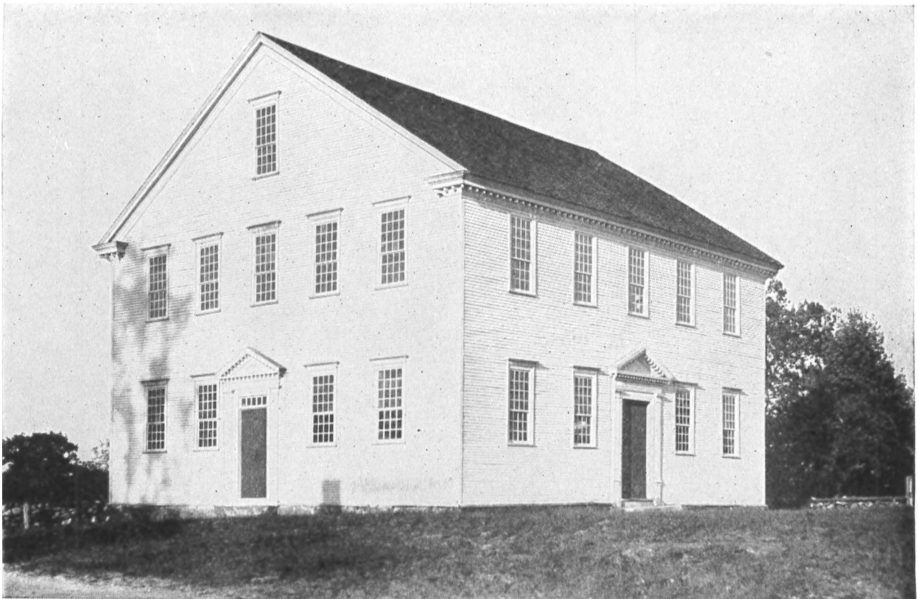
For a while, the leaders refused to allow the people even to see



THE OLD SHIP CHURCH, HINGHAM, MASSACHUSETTS, BEGUN IN 1681

An example of the earliest type of town meeting-house which was a rectangular building with hipped roof surmounted by a belfry containing a bell.

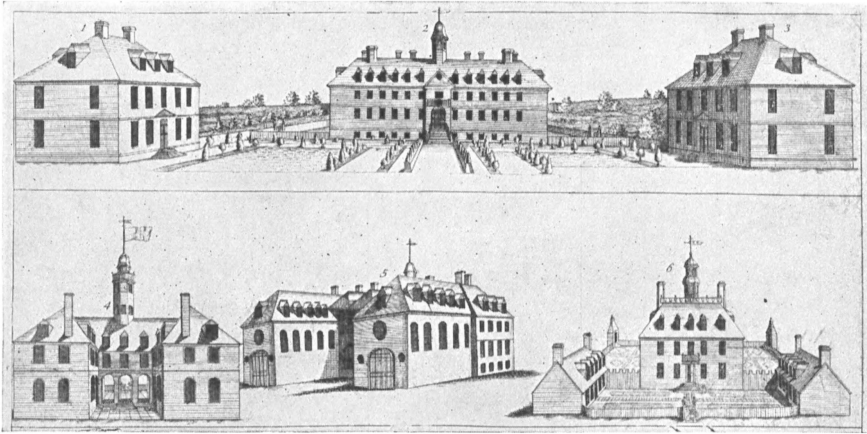
From a later print, courtesy of the State Street Trust Company, Boston.



OLD MEETING-HOUSE, SANDOWN, NEW HAMPSHIRE, BUILT IN 1774

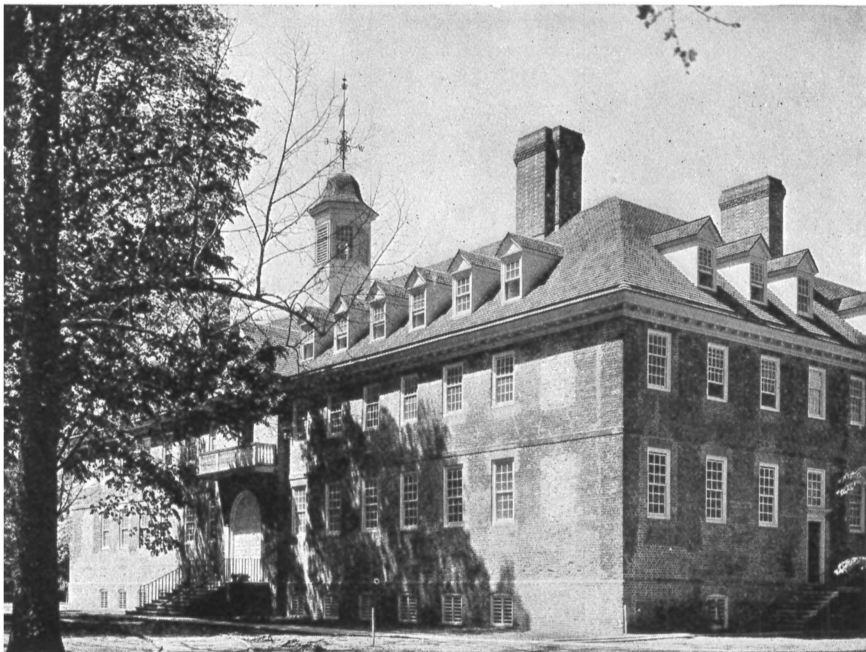
Prior to the Revolution, the smaller meeting-houses outside of the towns were usually without a steeple.

By courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.



AN OLD PRINT OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA
SHOWING IT AS IT WAS ABOUT 1732

This print was taken from the so-called "Copper Plate" recently found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford by research workers on the staff of the Williamsburg Holding Corporation which is engaged in restoring a part of Williamsburg to its eighteenth-century appearance. The building in the centre is the Wren Building.



THE WREN BUILDING AS IT IS TODAY

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM TAKES FORM

the charter, and carried matters with a high hand. In 1631 the men of Watertown protested against paying a tax levied on them, rightly claiming that only the freemen could tax themselves. It was in that year the oligarchy ruled that only church members could be freemen. In 1634 two representatives elected from each town were finally granted a sight of the charter, when they found that they had been deprived of their rights under it. It was then decided, after a mild uprising against Winthrop and the other leaders, that the General Court, made up of delegates from the towns, should meet four times a year, and that it alone should have power to pass laws, elect and remove officials, lay taxes and grant lands.

Almost from the beginning, the Congregational form of church had been adopted in Massachusetts. By this system each church was independent of all others, chose its own pastor, and was composed only of such persons as could satisfy the rest of the congregation of their regenerate state. They were bound together by a covenant, and this church group and the political organization of the town became the two cells from which the New England social organism was built up. Adding the village or town school, soon introduced, the three ideas are to be found throughout our history wherever New England influence has penetrated. The tendency of all three was profoundly democratic, but this in no way altered the attempt of the leaders, such as even Winthrop and Cotton, who were opposed to democracy, to prevent its application to civil government.

Many complaints had been made about affairs in the colony in London when its peace in America was disturbed in 1635 by the ideas of Roger Williams. Williams had a gentle and winning personality, and soon fell foul of the bigotry of the Massachusetts lay and clerical leaders. Unfortunately, besides preaching religious toleration he added certain dangerous doctrines, claiming, for example, that title to American soil was vested in the Indians and not in the King. After a trial, in which both religious and political motives bore their part, he was sentenced by the Massachusetts authorities to be banished the following spring. Escaping from prison in mid-winter, after having heard he was to be shipped to England, he made his way through the snows and bitter cold of a New England January to Narragansett Bay where he founded the new colony of Rhode Island, for which he obtained a charter in 1644.

THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY

Meanwhile others wished, voluntarily, to emigrate from Massachusetts, and the beautiful valley of the Connecticut attracted some of these. In 1635 a law was enacted that no one could leave Massa-

Chriftenings

make not

CHRISTIANS,

OR

A Briefe Discourfe concerning that
name *Heathen*, commonly given to
the INDIANS.

*As also concerning that great point of their
CONVERSION.*



Published according to Order.

London, Printed by Iane Coe, for I. H. 1645.

A FACSIMILE OF A REPRINT OF THE ORIGINAL
TRACT WRITTEN BY ROGER WILLIAMS IN 1643
Contained in "*Rhode Island Historical Tracts*," 1st Series,
No. 14.

chusetts without consent of the authorities, but it was finally decreed that the Reverend Thomas Hooker and a band of settlers might go. By the end of the following year there were probably 800 people at Hartford and neighboring places, and thus our endless western migration from the "settled East" had begun.

The government of Massachusetts, as we have said, as much as the rich Connecticut meadows, was probably the cause of the exodus. When the form of government of the new settlements was under consideration in 1638, the settlers having no charter, Hooker preached his famous sermon, arguing for fixed laws and popular control of the government and magistrates. Those

who have the power to elect, he claimed, have the power to control, and "the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people." When the "Fundamental Orders" were accepted as the basis of government, they contained no reference to the King, and, probably as a reaction against conditions in Massachusetts, provided that the governor should not be eligible for re-election and that there should be no religious qualification for the franchise.

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM TAKES FORM

In the same year, 1638, in which Hooker was preaching his liberalism at Hartford, New Hampshire received its most important early accession to population in a group of refugees from Massachusetts. This emigration was consequent upon the trial of Ann Hutchinson, followed by her banishment, and the fining or disfranchisement of many of her followers. Just when this affair was at its height an important body of intending settlers arrived in Boston from England headed by the Reverend John Davenport and several wealthy laymen. Resisting entreaties to remain in Massachusetts, they decided on New Haven as the site for their rather rigid theocracy, and settled there in 1638. Like Hooker and his followers they had no charter, but unlike them they entered into a reactionary covenant, making church membership essential for freemen and entrusting all government to an elected body and governor who for many years were restricted in authority only by the laws of Moses. For various reasons the colony, although it grew, never prospered, and in 1661 was absorbed by Connecticut.

New England was thus rapidly expanding, and it was able to do so in comparative safety as a result of the terrible Pequot War in 1637. It was the story of white aggression and racial hatred which was unhappily to be repeated on almost all of our frontiers for two and a half centuries. The chief incident of this first New England war was the surprise by the Puritans, under the lead of Captain John Mason, of the main village of the savages. In the dark, with a strong wind blowing, the two entrances to the stockade were guarded to prevent any escape, and then a torch was applied. Five hundred Indian men, women, and children were burned to death, the Puritan leader merely remarking that by the Providence of God there were 150 more than usual at home that awful night.

The fear of a general Indian uprising in 1642 led to a league among the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut. Under the name of the New England Confederation this league functioned rather feebly for forty years, and was of slight importance. Its chief significance is in showing how easily these colonies, which were beginning to plant themselves without charters or thought of King or Parliament, were slipping toward a belief in entire political independence in managing all their own affairs.

THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY

A step toward intellectual independence also was taken by Massachusetts in 1636 when Harvard College was established to train up a godly ministry. Much used to be made of this event, but when we contrast the courses of study and the scholarship produced in our first "college" with what the Spaniards had achieved long before at such universities as those in Mexico City or Lima, perhaps a more modest estimate of this event in our educational history may be preferable. It tended, moreover, to increase the provincialism of New England by encouraging it to keep students at home for an inferior training instead of sending them, as the other colonies later did, to enjoy the better opportunities in the universities of Europe.

By the mid-century, Massachusetts was hardening into the most cruel and narrow period of its long, and in many ways glorious history. Winthrop died in 1649, and Cotton in 1652. Such mild restraining influences as there had been of gentleness, charity, and toleration appear for a while to have lost their power. Civil and ecclesiastical control passed to men of the type of Endicott. New England may well be proud of four such founders of her States as Bradford, Winthrop, Williams, and Hooker, but by 1657 only Williams remained, and his colony of Rhode Island was alone to play a noble part in refraining from the persecutions of the Quakers which blotted New England history between 1656 and 1663.

In the earlier of these years, a few weeks after the Massachusetts government had hung Ann Hibbens as a witch, two Quaker women, from England by way of Barbadoes, arrived in Boston. At once persecution began, and as others came it was increased in severity. The penalties, which included beside the selling of Quaker children into slavery in the West Indies, the imprisonment, beating, and torturing of their elders, culminated in the hanging of three men and one woman. At the request of Massachusetts all the other New England colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, passed severe laws against the sect, though none tortured or killed them as did the leading Puritan State, then largely under the influence of Endicott and the Reverend John Norton.

Williams replied to the request of Massachusetts (though his colony was threatened with dangerous reprisals if it did not comply), that the Rhode Islanders had no laws against any one declaring by words only their religious beliefs, whatever they might be, and that

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM TAKES FORM

although he conceived the doctrines of the Quakers tended to the subversion of civil government, nevertheless it would be found always that if Quakers were allowed to preach in peace and were not persecuted, they would gain fewer adherents by their sayings than they would by suffering and martyrdom. The General Assembly of Rhode Island added that the colony prized freedom of



The Wages of Sin ;
O R,
Robbery justly Rewarded ;

A
P O E M.

Occasioned by the untimely Death of

Richard Wilfon,

Who was Executed on *Boston Neck*, for Burglary,

On *Thursday* the 19th of *October*, 1732.

THis Day from Goal must *Wilfon* be
conveyed in a Cart,
By Guards unto the Gallows-Tree,
to die as his Desert.



Here we may see what Men for Stealth
and Robbing must endure ;
And what the Gain of Ill got Wealth
will in the End procure.

NEW ENGLAND PUNISHMENT

A facsimile of a broadside in the Library of Congress.

conscience “as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world.”

In the forty years since the passengers on the *Mayflower* had unexpectedly been landed on the shores of Massachusetts instead of Virginia, New England must have seemed to its old inhabitants to have made astounding progress. In spite of the terrible conflict with the savages yet in store,—King Philip’s War of 1676,—the older settlements were now as safe as shire towns in England, though the frontier, that ever-present factor in American life, was open and liable to sudden attack and massacre. It would be a mistake to think even of Massachusetts as a land only of dour countenances, and hangings of witches or Quakers. Our first woman poet, Anne Bradstreet, had penned her love verses there, students ragged each other

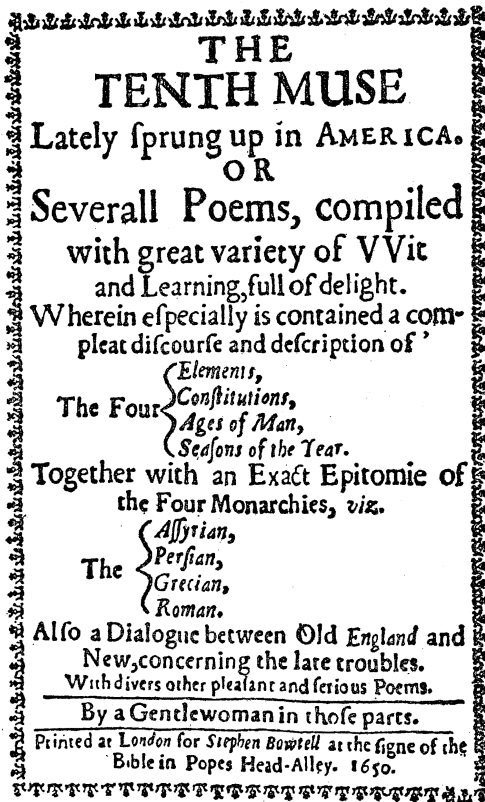
THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY

at Harvard, children played around school doors. Literature had begun in New England, and though much of it is musty theology that no one reads today, Bradford and Winthrop had written valuable histories, and Wil-

liams in Rhode Island and Hooker in Connecticut had wrought out the ideals of the rule of the people, and of intellectual toleration.

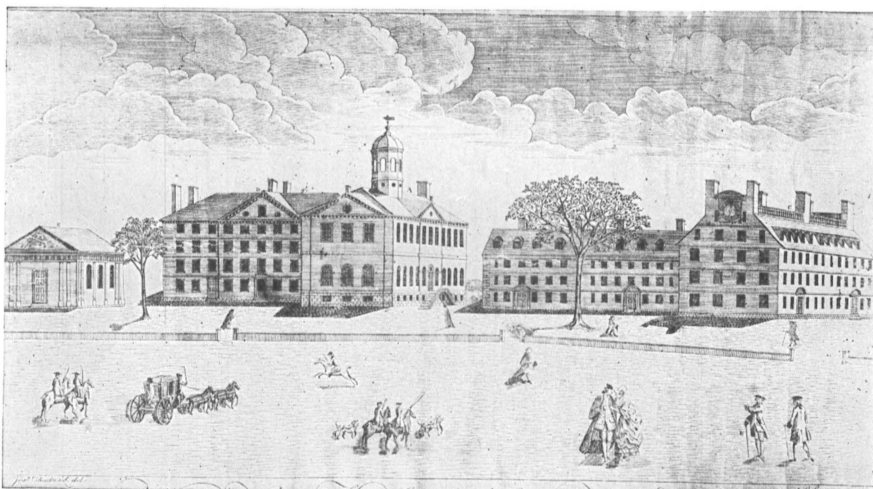
The ordinary citizen, living on his farm owned in fee simple, untroubled by any relics of feudalism, untaxed save by himself, saying his say to all the world in town-meeting, had gained a new self-reliance. Wrestling with his soul and plough on week days, and the innumerable points of the minister's sermon on Sundays and Meeting days, he was coming to be a tough nut for any imperial system to crack. All were not farmers, though most were, and a merchant

class of larger or smaller traders was springing up in the seaports and in villages along navigable rivers, carrying on a commerce with the mother country, the Wine Islands, Africa for slaves, the West Indies, and their own fellow continental colonists to the south. For part of the century, however, between the English of New England and those of Maryland and Virginia lay colonies of Dutch and Swedes.



TITLE-PAGE (REDUCED) OF THE FIRST EDITION OF ANNE BRADSTREET'S POEMS

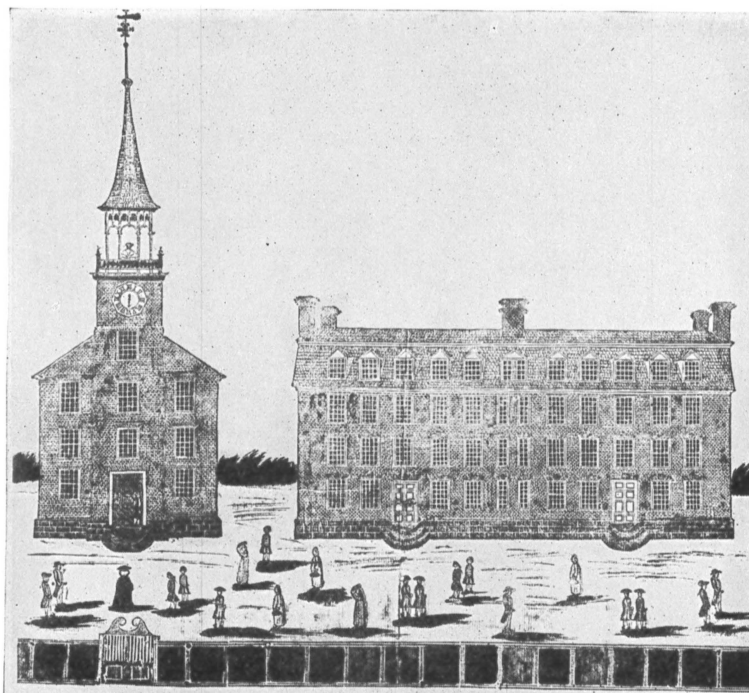
From the New York Public Library.



HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

From left to right the buildings are: Holden Chapel, 1737; Hollis Hall, 1762; Harvard Hall, built in 1766 upon the site of the original building which had been destroyed by fire; Stoughton Hall, the gift of William Stoughton, presiding judge at Salem witch trials, which was torn down and replaced in 1805; Massachusetts Hall, 1720.

From the engraving by Paul Revere, in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.



BOWEN'S VIEW OF YALE COLLEGE, 1786

Left: the Athenæum erected in 1761. Right: Connecticut Hall, 1750.

By courtesy of Yale University Library.