THE NATIONS SHALL WORSHIP BEFORE THEE

AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE COLONIAL ERA

J. Parnell McCarter
This textbook in American History is dedicated to Christian Homeschool Educators Like My Wife and to the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who is redeeming the Nations unto Himself.

Part of the Puritans Home School Curriculum

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The cover photo is the Baptism of Pocahontas, https://lccn.loc.gov/2016817263

Psalm 22:27

All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the LORD: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee.
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Editor’s Preface

American history is first the history of Christ’s redemption of many nations and peoples unto Himself. American history is second the history of the strong opposition encountered by the work of Christ’s redemption. American history is third the history of God’s judgments upon professing Christians and Christian societies which have become weary of upholding God’s truth and obeying his statutes. And ultimately, American history is and will be the triumph of Christ in His redeeming work over all opposition.

This textbook has been written, compiled, and edited in order to help present that history so that the next generation being taught by Christian educators will appreciate the direction of history and give glory to Jesus Christ. It is the role of educators to train our youth to understand Christ’s work of redemption and to be prepared for the opposition which will necessarily arise until all opposition is crushed by the rod of God.

As much as possible, it has been my intention to incorporate quotes of those that lived at the time, to bring alive what they were thinking. In addition, it should train the students’ minds to refer to source documents, and not to be content with mere commentaries on source documents. Such critical thinking is needed in a day when people gullibly believe what they are taught by the politically correct elite. But the discerning reader always asks for the source. And the discerning Christian reader always asks whether what he is reading is consistent with God’s word, the Bible.

J. Parnell McCarter

Author and Editor
It pleased God to raise up a great beacon of gospel light in the sixteenth century, in a flowering of the reformation which John Wycliffe of England initiated by God’s grace in the 14th century. The Protestant Reformation swept across continental Europe and the British Isles, overcoming superstitious Romish darkness. England and later Scotland became explicitly Protestant Christian countries. They adopted reformed national confessions in which they declared themselves subjects of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ through grace alone. They declared that salvation was by grace alone through faith alone, and that the Bible- God's infallible word- is the foundation of all knowledge and laws and moral principles. While this wave of reformation was imperfect and incomplete, nevertheless it was a great advance in furthering Christ's rightful rule on earth.
British Protestants were not just inward looking, but they saw in the New World a wonderful opportunity to spread the gospel of grace in Jesus Christ. British colonization of North America began in no small measure because certain Protestants took it as their duty from God to promote such colonization.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert

One notable example was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the founder of the first English colony in North America. In 1578 Gilbert obtained from Queen Elizabeth the charter he had long sought, to plant a colony in North America. His first attempt failed, and cost him his whole fortune. He sailed again in 1583 for Newfoundland. In the August of that year he took possession of the harbor of St. John and founded his colony, but on the return voyage he went down with his ship in a storm south of the Azores.

The following narrative is an excerpt from the account of this last voyage of Gilbert's, told by Edward Haies, commander of "The Golden Hind," the only one to reach England of the three ships which set out from Newfoundland with Gilbert:

“A report of the Voyage and success thereof, attempted in the year of our Lord 1583, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countries extended northward from the Cape of Florida, lying under very temperate climes, esteemed fertile and rich in minerals, yet not in the actual possession of any Christian prince. Written by Mr. Edward Haies, gentleman, and principal actor in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and, by God’s special assistance, returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

Many voyages have been pretended, yet hitherto never any thoroughly accomplished by our nation, of exact discovery into the bowels of those main, ample, and vast countries extended infinitely into the north from thirty degrees, or rather from twenty-five degrees, of septentrional latitude, neither hath a right way been taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment upon the same, as well may appear both by the little we yet do actually possess therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travel and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they cannot challenge such right and interest unto the said countries as we, neither these many years have had opportunity nor means so great to discover and to plant, being vexed with the calamities of intestine wars, as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace, yet have they both ways
performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled government of many provinces in those northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those foreign and remote lands had not been impeached by their garboils at home.

The first discovery of these coasts, never heard of before, was well begun by John Cabot the father and Sebastian his son, an Englishman born, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the Cape of Florida unto those islands which we now call the Newfoundland; all which they brought and annexed unto the crown of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countries had been followed, as the discovery upon the coast and outparts thereof was performed by those two men, no doubt her Majesty's territories and revenue had been mightily enlarged and advanced by this day; and, which is more, the seed of Christian religion had been sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought forth a most plentiful harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chief intent of such as shall make any attempt that way; or else whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtain happy success nor continuance.

And although we cannot precisely judge (which only belongeth to God) what have been the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countries, yet the events do shew that either God's cause hath not been chiefly preferred by them, or else God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of His word and knowledge of Him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time. But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept back, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectual and complete discovery and possession by Christians both of those ample countries and the riches within them hitherto concealed; whereof, notwithstanding, God in His wisdom hath permitted to be revealed from time to time a certain obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the minds of men that way, which else will be dull enough in the zeal of His cause, and thereby to prepare us unto a readiness for the execution of His will, against the due time ordained of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

In the meanwhile it behoveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this attempt, to examine his own motions, which, if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himself it cometh not of God, and therefore cannot have confidence of God's protection and assistance against the violence (else irresistible) both of sea and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use [as] an instrument to further His cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motives be derived from a virtuous and heroical mind, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poor infidels captived by the devil, tyrannising in most wonderful and dreadful manner over their bodies and souls; advancement of his honest and well-disposed countrymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; relief of sundry people within this realm distressed; all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith He is well pleased, who will assist such an actor beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himself, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is complete of receiving
also these gentiles into His mercy, and that God will raise Him an instrument to effect the same; it seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spaniards and French sundry times, that the countries lying north of Florida God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discovered the islands and continent of the West Indies for Spain, John and Sebastian Cabot made discovery also of the rest from Florida northwards to the behoof of England.

And wheroever afterwards the Spaniards, very prosperous in all their southern discoveries, did attempt anything into Florida and those regions inclining towards the north, they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable success of many both religious and valiant in arms, endeavouring to bring those northerly regions also under the Spanish jurisdiction, as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed; as by their own gests recorded may be aptly gathered."

So some of Sir Gilbert’s crew made it back safely to England after exploration of Newfoundland in North America. But Sir Gilbert laid down his life to bring the gospel of Jesus Christ to the New World.

Richard Hakluyt

Perhaps the foremost voice for English colonization was Richard Hakluyt. Hakluyt devoted his life to recording every piece of evidence that could contribute to English participation in the colonization of the New World. He listened to the stories of returning voyagers and repeated them for a broad reading audience. He supported the expeditions of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh; he urged England to confront Spain and claim the great rewards of "raising trades" and other profits that England could have if it applied itself with zeal and purposefulness to colonization. He reminded England that Protestant peoples must spread the gospel in the New World to correct the errors propagated by Roman Catholic Spain. He reminded Protestant England of Spanish atrocities against Protestants and Protestantism.

Here is an excerpt from Richard Hakluyt's book of 1584 entitled "Discourse of Western Planting":

"A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde comoditie that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted, Written In the yere 1584 by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr. Walter Raghly [Raieigh] nowe Knight,
before the comynge home of his Twoo Barkes: and is devlded into xxi chapiters, the Titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe.

1. That this westerne discoverie will be greatlye for the inlargement of the gospell of Christe whereunto the Princes of the reformed relligion are chieflye bounde amongst whome her Majestie is principall.

2. That all other englishe Trades are growen beggerly or daungersous, especially in all the kinge of Spaine his Domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their Bibles and prayer Bokes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their relligion and conscience and consequently theyr obedience to her Majestie.

3. That this westerne voyadge will yeld unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica, and Asia, as far as wee were wonte to travell, and supply the wantes of all our decayed trades.

4. That this enterprise will be for the manifolde impoyment of nombers of idle men, and for bredinge of many sufficent, and for utterance of the greate quantitie of the commodities of our Realme.

5. That this voyage will be a great bridle to the Indies of the kinge of Spaine and a means that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of teime weekes or three monethes every yere, one or twoo hundred saile of his subjectes shippes at the fysshinge in Newfounde lande.

6. That the rischesse that the Indian Threasure wrought in time of Charles the late Emperor father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideracion of the Q. moste excellent Majestie, lest the contynuall comynyng of the like threasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoy of this Realme, whereof already wee have had very dangerous experience.

7. What speciall meanes may bringe kinge Phillippe from his high Throne, and make him equal to the Princes his neighbours, wherewithall is shewed his weakenes in the west Indies.

8. That the limites of the kinge of Spaines domynions in the west Indies be nothinge so large as is generally imagined and surmised, neither those partes which he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsely given oute by the popishe Clergye and others his suitors, to terrifie the Princes of the Relligion and to abuse and blinde them.

9. The Names of the riche Townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the northe side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of America under the kinge of Spaine.

10. A Brefe declaracion of the chefe Ilands in the Bay of Mexico beinge under the kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what commodities they yeide.

11. That the Spaniardes have executed most outrageous and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the west Indies, whereby they are every where there, become mooste odious unto them, whore woulde joyne with us or any other moste willingly to shake of their moste
intollerable yoke, and have begonne to doo it already in dyvers places where they were Lordes heretofore.

12. That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie Princes, nor nere their Contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all tymes of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde, that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and west sides, is the nerest parte of Europe to it, which by this trade shall be in more securitie, and the sooner drawn to more Civilitie.

13. That hereby the Revenewes and customes of her Majestie bothe outwarde and inwarde shall mightely be inlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties which without oppression may be raised.

14. That this action will be greatlye for the increase, mayneteynaunce and safetie of our Navye, and especially of greate shippinge which is the strengthe of our Realme, and for the supportation of all those occupacions that depende upon the same.

15. That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these luckye westerne discoveries for feare of the daunger of being prevented by other nations which have the like intentions, with the order thereof and other reasons therewithall alleaged.

16. Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe and the enterprisers from shame and dishonor.

17. That by these Colonies the Northwest passage to Cathaio and China may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute as well by river and overlande, as by sea, for proofe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare Testymonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius and other grave authors.

18. That the Queene of Engleande title to all the west Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes or any other Christian Princes.

19. An aunswer to the Bull of the Donacion of all the west Indies graunted to the kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the VI whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.

20. A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.

21. A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge which is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideracion then for any other reason for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, without which the voyadge is maymed.”

Richard Hakluyt's arguments prepared on behalf of Sir Walter Raleigh and presented to Queen Elizabeth thus propelled the English towards colonization of North America.
Sir Walter Raleigh’s Roanoke Colony

The first British Colony of Roanoke, originally consisting of 100 householders, was founded in 1585, 22 years before Jamestown and 37 years before the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts, under the ultimate authority of Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1584 Raleigh had been granted a patent by Queen Elizabeth I to colonize America. Raleigh's group of 109 Englishmen and two natives sailed from England April 9, 1585, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. They arrived at what is now North Carolina's Pamlico Sound on June 26, and settled on Roanoke Island. Grenville stayed two months before returning to England, leaving Ralph Lane as the colony's governor.

One of Governor Lane’s first actions was to construct a fort on the north side of Roanoke Island.

They next engaged in exploration of the region, and securing of food supplies.

Governor Ralph Lane wrote the following account of his colony's exploration experiences in his report to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586:

"To the Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130 miles. Our passage thither lies through a broad sound, but all fresh
water, and the channel of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the channel full of shoals... Chawanook itself is the greatest province and Seigniorie lying upon that river, and that the town itself is able to put 700 fighting men into the field, besides the force of the province itself.

The king of the said province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country, and the disposition of his own men, but also of his neighbors round about him as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yields.

When I had him prisoner with me, for two days that we were together, he gave me more understanding and light of the country than I had received by all the searches and savages that before I or any of my company had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Among other things he told me, that going three days' journey in a canoe up his river of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within four days' journey to pass over land Northeast to a certain king's country, whose province lies upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an island situated, as he described unto me, in a bay, the water round about the island very deep.

Out of this bay he signified unto me, that this King had so great quantity of pearls, and does so ordinarily take the same, as that not only his own skins that he wears, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the said pearls, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that he has such quantity of them, that it is a wonder to see...

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go overland into that king's country whensoever I would: but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victual, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his country, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any pearls there, and
that he was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which he said would fight very well...

And for that not only Menatonon, but also the savages of Moratoc themselves do report strange things of the head of that river, it is thirty days, as some of them say, and some say forty days' voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springs out of a main rock in that abundance, that forthwith it makes a most violent stream: and further, that this huge rock stands so near unto a Sea, that many times in storms (the wind coming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water for a certain space, grows salt and brackish: I took a resolution with myself, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransom agreed for, and sent his son into the pinnace to Roanoak, to enter presently so far into that river with two double whirries, and forty persons one or other, as I could have victual to carry us, until we could meet with more either of the Moraroks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kind of savages, dwelling more to the westward of the said river: but the hope of recovering more victual from the savages made me and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discovery before our return, as ever men did, that missed the same...

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the country, that there is a province to the which the said Mangoaks have resource and traffic up that river of Moratoc, which has a marvelous and most strange mineral. This mine is so notorious among them, as not only to the savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the savages of Chawanook, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the main: the country's name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The mineral they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every metal whatsoever: they say it is of the color of our copper, but our copper is better than theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the said metal out of a river that falls very swift from high rocks and hills, and they take it in shallow water: the manner is this.

They take a great bowl by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the mineral: that done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the color of the water, and then suddenly chop down the said bowl with the skin, and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melts, and does yield in five parts at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore.

Of this metal the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the savages adjoining, that they beautify their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I received by report of all the country, and particularly by young Skiko, the King of Chawanooks son of my prisoner, who also himself had been prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set down all the particulars to me before mentioned: but he had not been at Chaunis
Temoatan himself: for he said it was twenty days' journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said mineral country, and that they passed through certain other territories between them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

Upon report of the premises, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of by all the savages that dwelt towards these parts, and especially of Menatonon himself, who in everything did very particularly inform me, and promised me guides of his own men, who should pass over with me, even to the said country of Chaunis Temoatan, for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey from sun rising to sun setting, whereas by water it is seven days with the soonest: These things, I say, made me very desirous by all means possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yielded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelihood: for after two days' travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we could never see man, only fires we might perceive made along the shore where we were to pass, and up into the country, until the very last day.

In the evening whereof, about three of the clock we heard certain savages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us: which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shore, but there lighted a volley of their arrows among them in the boat, but did no hurt to any man...

Choosing a convenient ground in safety to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of guard, and putting out good sentinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sun to be going back again, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto: for they were now come to their dog's porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape.

The end was, we came the next day by night to the river's mouth within four or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day down the current, much as in four days we had done against the same: we lodged upon an island, where we had nothing in the world to eat but pottage of sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meat was never used before as I think. The broad sound we had to pass the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the wind blew so strongly and the billow so great, that there was no possibility of passage without sinking of our boats. This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truly. Upon Easter day in the morning the wind coming very calm, we entered the sound, and by four of the clock we were at Chipanum, whence all the savages that we had left there were left, but their wares did yield us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were far spent. The next morning we arrived at our home Roanoak...
This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came advertisement to me from captain Stafford, lying at my lord Admiral's Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sails: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discern. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the said month he himself came unto me, having that night before, and that same day traveled by land twenty miles: and I must truly report of him from the first to the last; he was the gentleman that never spared labor or peril either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the General Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountiful and honorable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were entered into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnaces, and boats; they also by him to be victualed, manned and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harbor: and coming there to an anchor, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honorably to perform that which in writing and message he had most courteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks unto him and his captains for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and myself, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weak and unfit men for any good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oar-men, artificers, and others.
That he would leave us so much shipping and victual, as about August then next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lack of needful provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it would please him withal to leave some sufficient Masters not only to carry us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harbor, if there were any, and especially to help us to some small boats and oar-men...

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my said masters being also gone aboard, my said barks having accepted of their charge, and my own officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the said general the 12 of the said month) the 13 of the same there arose such an unwonted storm, and continued four days...

This storm having continued from the 13 to the 16 of the month, and thus my bark put away as aforesaid, the general coming ashore made a new proffer unto me; which was a ship of 170 tons, called the bark Bonner, with a sufficient master and guide to tarry with me the time appointed, and victualed sufficiently to carry me and my company into England, with all provisions as before: but he told me that he would not for anything undertake to have her brought into our harbor, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto myself, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to do for us; which being within his power, he did assure me as well for his captains as for himself, should be most willingly performed.

Hereupon calling such captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as myself to the general’s offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed bark, with those two special masters, with our principal provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honorable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbor: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve myself with my company to go into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the general in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him...

From whence the general in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the relief of whom he had in that storm sustained more peril of wreck than in all his former most honorable actions against the Spaniards, with praises unto God for all, set sail the nineteenth of June 1596, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same year."
So as described in the above account, on June 7, 1586, Sir Francis Drake and his fleet of 23 ships stopped by the Roanoke colony to resupply the English colonists. Drake had just successfully destroyed the Spanish colony of St. Augustine as part of England's on-going war with Spain. While Drake's ships were anchored off the coast facing the Roanoke colony, a violent hurricane blasted through, doing more damage to the ships than in all their battles with Spain. At the same time the colonists under Lane were desperately in need of supplies, and Grenville's return was delayed. The colonists were persuaded based upon these providences of God that they should return to England with Drake. So on June 19, just one week short of a year from the day they arrived, they headed back to England with Drake's fleet. Drake's fleet, along with Lane's colonists, reached England in July 1586. Upon arrival, the colonists introduced tobacco, maize, and potatoes to England. Interestingly, when Drake had picked up these colonists, he left behind 15 of his own men, who were never heard from again.

The disappearance of these 15 foreshadowed one of the great mysteries of North America, Roanoke's so-called "Lost Colony" of 90 men, 17 women and 9 children, founded in 1587 and led by Governor John White. The colony included White’s daughter Eleanor and her husband Ananias Dare. The colony was beset with the challenge of hostile Indians, but was blessed by the birth of the first English person in North America to Ananias and Eleanor Dare, their daughter christened Virginia Dare.

The colonists' food supplies soon began to grow short, and in late 1587 the settlers pressed Governor White to return to England "for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries." He reluctantly did, but was unable to return until 1590 due to challenges back in England in war with Spain and their Armada of ships. Upon return, the colony was discovered to be missing, but for the word "Croatan" carved on a post.
Although both the English and the Spanish searched for clues to the colony's disappearance for many years, the mystery has never been solved.

These colonization efforts in Roanoke under Sir Walter Raleigh therefore never resulted in a permanent settlement in North America, but they lay the groundwork for the next effort of English settlement which would prove successful.

Tobacco use was catching on and growing back in England, which would end up being an important economic engine for English settlement in North America. Most importantly, English efforts to bring Protestant Christianity to North America had begun.
CHAPTER TWO
THE SETTLEMENT AND ESTABLISHMENT OF VIRGINIA

During the reign of King James in England a joint stock company (the Virginia Company) was formed for the purpose of establishing a colony in North America. This was a different model of colonial enterprise than used previously. The stockholders of the company would invest in the company, with the hope that the colony would yield a return on their investment. This new method of economic enterprise in order to achieve religious, political and economic objectives would be the means used in North American colonization by the English for the next twenty-five years.

The Virginia Company received a charter from King James to establish the colony. Captain John Smith, who became the leader of what became the Jamestown colony of Virginia, wrote this account of "The Settlement Of Jamestown" in 1607:

"It might well be thought, a country so fair (as Virginia is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this have been quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memory of those that effected it. But because all the world do see a failure; this following treatise shall give satisfaction to all indifferent readers, how the business has been carried: where no doubt they will easily understand and answer to their question, how it came to pass there was no better speed and success in those proceedings.

Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, one of the first movers of this plantation, having many years solicited many of his friends, but found small assistance; at last prevailed with some gentlemen, as Captain John Smith, Master Edward-maria Wingfield, Master Robert
Hunt, and divers others, who depended a year upon his projects, but nothing could be
effectuated, till by their great charge and industry, it came to be apprehended by certain of
the nobility, gentry, and merchants, so that his Majesty by his letters patents, gave
commission for establishing councils, to direct here; and to govern, and to execute there.
To effect this, was spent another year, and by that, three ships were provided, one of 100
tons, another of 40 and a pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was
committed to Captain Christopher Newport, a mariner well practiced for the western
parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened,
nor the governors known until they arrived in Virginia.

On the 19 of December, 1606, we set sail from Blackwall, but by unprosperous winds,
were kept six weeks in the sight of England; all which time, Master Hunt our preacher,
was so weak and sick, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twenty
miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the
stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than atheists,
of the greatest rank among us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him
so much as a seeming desire to leave the business, but preferred the service of God, in so
good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godless foes whose disastrous
designs (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrown the business, so many
discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly
exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envy,
and dissension...

The first land they made they called Cape Henry; where thirty of them recreating
themselves on shore, were assaulted by five savages, who hurt two of the English very
dangerously.

That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnol, John
Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratliff, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the council, and to choose a president among them for a year, who with the council should govern. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices.

Until the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in; then the council was sworn, Master Wingfield was chosen president, and an oration made, why Captain Smith was not admitted of the council as the rest.

Now falls every man to work, the council contrive the fort, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clapboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, etc. The savages often visited us kindly. The president's overweening jealousy would admit no exercise at arms, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the form of a half moon by the extraordinary pains and diligence of Captain Kendall.

Newport, Smith, and twenty others, were sent to discover the head of the river: by divers small habitations they passed, in six days they arrived at a town called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses, pleasantly seated on a hill; before it three fertile isles, about it many of their cornfields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans. To this place the river is navigable: but higher within a mile, by reason of the rocks and isles, there is not passage for a small boat, this they call the falls. The people in all parts kindly entreated them, till being returned within twenty miles of Jamestown, they gave just cause of jealousy: but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise than those at the fort, there had then been an end of that plantation; for at the fort, where they arrived the next day, they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slain by the savages, and had it not chanced a cross bar shot from the ships struck down a bough from a tree among them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slain, being securely all at work, and their arms in dry fats.

Hereupon the president was contented the fort should be pallisaded, the ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults, and ambuscades of the savages, and our men by their disorderly straggling were often hurt, when the savages by the nimbleness of their heels well escaped.

What toil we had, with so small a power to guard our workmen by day, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our business, to relade the ships, cut down trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corn, etc., I refer to the reader's consideration.

Six weeks being spent in this manner, Captain Newport (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships.
Now Captain Smith, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefs (envying his repute) who fained he intended to usurp the government, murder the council, and make himself king, that his confederates were dispersed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederates that revealed it, would affirm it; for this he was committed as a prisoner.

Thirteen weeks he remained thus suspected, and by that time the ships should return they pretended out of their commiserations, to refer him to the council in England to receive a check, rather than by particulating his designs make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrow his reputation. But he so much scorned their charity, and publicly defied the uttermost of their cruelty; he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppress their envy; yet so well he demeaned himself in this business, as all the company did see his innocency, and his adversaries' malice, and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many untruths were alleged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a general hatred in the hearts of the company against such unjust commanders, that the president was adjudged to give him 2001; so that all he had was seized upon, in part of satisfaction, which Smith presently returned to the store for the general use of the colony.

Many were the mischiefs that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher Master Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted of the council.

The next day all received the communion, the day following the savages voluntarily desired peace, and Captain Newport returned for England with news; leaving in Virginia 100 the 15 of June 1607.

Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten days scarce ten among us could either go, or well stand, such extreme weakness and sickness oppressed us. And thereat none need marvel, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this.

While the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of biscuit, which the sailors would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us, for money, sassafras, furs, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither tavern, beer house, nor place of relief, but the common kettle. Had we been as free from all sins as gluttony, and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for Saints; but our president would never have been admitted, for ingrossing to his private, oatmeal, sack, oil, aquavitse, beef, eggs, or what not, but the kettle; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was half a pint of wheat, and as much barley boiled with water for a man a day, and this having fried some 26 weeks in the ship's hold, contained as many worms as grains; so that we might truly call it rather so much bran than corn, our drink was water, our lodgings castles in the air.

With this lodging and diet, our extreme toil in bearing and planting pallisades, so strained and bruised us, and our continual labor in the extremity of the heat had so weakened us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native country, or any other place in the world.
From May, to September, those that escaped, lived upon sturgeon, and sea-crabs, fifty in this time we buried, the rest seeing the president's projects to escape these miseries in our pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sickness) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established Ratcliff in his place, (Gosnol being dead) Kendall deposed. Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliff was by his care preserved and relieved, and the most of the soldiers recovered with the skillful diligence of Master Thomas Wotton our surgeon general.

But now was all our provision spent, the sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each hour expecting the fury of the savages; when God the patron of all good endeavors, in that desperate extremity so changed the hearts of the savages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits, and provision, as no man wanted...

But our comedies never endured long without a tragedy; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captain Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamania river, and taxed by the council, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage he proceeded so far that with much labor by cutting of trees insunder he made his passage; but when his barge could pass no farther, he left her in a broad bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should go ashore till his return: himself with two English and two savages went up higher in a canoe; but he was not long absent, but his men went ashore, whose want of government gave both occasion and opportunity to the savages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not to have cut off the boat and all the rest.

Smith little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the river's head, twenty miles in the desert, had his two men slain (as is supposed) sleeping by the canoe, while himself by fowling sought them victual: who finding he was beset with 200 savages, two of them he slew, still defending himself with the aid of a savage his guide whom he bound to his arm with his garters, and used him as a buckler, yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrows that stuck in his clothes but no great hurt, till at last they took him prisoner.

When this news came to Jamestown, much was their sorrow for his loss, few expecting what ensued.

Six or seven weeks those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphs and conjurations they made of him, yet he so demeaned himself among them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the fort, but procured his own liberty, and got himself and his company such estimation among them, that those savages admired him more than their own Quiyouckosucks...

At last they brought him to Meronocomoco, where was Powhatan their emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had been a monster; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun (raccoon?) skins, and all the tails hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 years, and along on each side the house, two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red: many of their
heads bedecked with the white down of birds; but every one with something: and a great chain of white beads about their necks.

At his entrance before the king, all the people gave a great shout. The queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beat out his brains, Pocahontas the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves.

For the king himself will make his own robes, shoes, bowes, arrows, pots; plant, hunt, or do anything so well as the rest.

They say he bore a pleasant show,
But sure his heart was sad. For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That lives in fear and dread: And having life suspected, doth It still suspected lead.
Two days after, Powhatan having disguised himself in the most fearful manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and thereupon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behind a mat that divided the house, was made the most doleful noise he ever heard; then Powhatan more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more as black as himself, came unto him and told him now they were friends, and presently he should go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns, and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahowosick, and forever esteem him as his son Nantaquoud.

So to Jamestown with 12 guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every hour to be put to one death or other: for all their feasting. But almighty God (by his divine providence) had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith having used the savages with what kindness he could, he showed Rawhunt, Powhatan's trusty servant, two demiculverins and a millstone to carry Powhatan: they found them somewhat too heavy; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles the ice and branches came so tumbling down, that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toys; and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children such presents, as gave them in general full content.

Now in Jamestown they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the pinnace; which with the hazard of his life, with Sakre falcon and musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sink.

Some no better than they should be, had plotted with the president, the next day to have put him to death by the Levitical law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry; pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly took such order with such lawyers, that he laid them by the heels till he sent some of them prisoners for England.

Now every once in four or five days, Pocahontas with her attendants, brought him so much provision, that saved many of their lives, that else for all this had starved with hunger.

Thus from numb death our good God sent relief,
*The sweet assuager of all other grief.*

*His relation of the plenty he had seen, especially at Werawocomoco, and of the state and bounty of Powhatan, (which till that time was unknown) so revived their dead spirits (especially the love of Pocahontas) as all men's fear was abandoned.*

*Thus you may see what difficulties still crossed any good endeavor; and the good success of the business being thus often brought to the very period of destruction; yet you see by what strange means God has still delivered it.*

*As for the insufficiency of them admitted in commission, that error could not be prevented by the electors; there being no other choice, and all strangers to each other's education, qualities, or disposition.*

*And if any deem it a shame to our Nation to have any mention made of those enormities, let him peruse the Histories of the Spaniard's Discoveries and Plantations, where they may see how many mutinies, disorders, and dissensions have accompanied them, and crossed their attempts: which being known to be particular men's offenses; does take away the general scorn and contempt, which malice, presumption, coveteousness, or ignorance might produce; to the scandal and reproach of those, whose actions and valiant resolutions deserve a more worthy respect.*

*Now whether it had been better for Captain Smith, to have concluded with any of those several projects, to have abandoned the country, with some ten or twelve of them, who were called the better sort, and have left Master Hunt our preacher, Master Anthony Gosnol, a most honest, worthy, and industrious gentleman, Master Thomas Wotton, and some 27 others of his countrymen to the fury of the savages, famine, and all manner of mischiefs, and inconveniences, (for they were but forty in all to keep possession of this large country;) or starve himself with them for company, for want of lodging: or but adventuring abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserve the action, and save all their lives; I leave to the censure of all honest men to consider....*”

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Captain John Smith thus proved a competent leader of this first permanent English settlement in North America. His ability to enforce discipline helped hold the little colony together through its first year. The survival of this colony depended upon his competent leadership, the godly influence of men like Master Hunt, the generosity of Indians like Pocahontas, but ultimately it depended upon God's sovereign kindness and determination. The Jamestown colony founded in 1607 was the first permanent English settlement in North America.
The Colony’s Development

But its early survival did not mean the challenges ceased. In 1609 Smith returned to England, and in his absence, the colony descended into anarchy. During the winter of 1609-1610, the majority of the colonists succumbed to disease. Only 60 of the original 300 settlers were still alive by May 1610. That same year the town of Henrico (now Richmond) was established farther up the James River.

It was not long, however, before a development occurred that revolutionized Virginia's economy. In 1612 John Rolfe began cross-breeding imported tobacco seed from the West Indies with native plants and produced a new variety that was pleasing to European taste. The first shipment of this tobacco reached London in 1614. Within a decade it had become Virginia's chief source of revenue.

It was this same John Rolfe who married Pocahontas, the Indian princess who was pivotal in saving the life of Captain Smith and the colony some years before. Rolfe was a very religious man who agonized for many weeks over the decision to marry a "strange wife," a heathen Indian. He finally decided to marry Pocahontas after she had been converted to Christianity, "for the good of the plantation, the honor of our country, for the glory of God, for mine own salvation ..."

Pocahontas was baptized, christened Rebecca, and later married John Rolfe on April 5, 1614. A general peace and a spirit of goodwill between the English and the Indians resulted from this marriage.
Prosperity did not come quickly, however, and the death rate from disease and Indian attacks remained extraordinarily high. Between 1607 and 1624 approximately 14,000 people migrated to the colony, yet only 1,132 were living there in 1624. On recommendation of a royal commission, the king dissolved the Virginia Company, and made it a royal colony that year.

As news of the opportunities in Virginia and the other colonies increased, more people became interested in emigrating to the New World. But few colonists could finance the cost of passage for themselves and their families to make a start in the new land. In some cases, ships' captains received large rewards from the sale of service contracts for poor migrants, called indentured servants, and every method from extravagant promises to actual kidnapping was used to take on as many passengers as their vessels could hold.

In other cases the expenses of transportation and maintenance were paid by colonizing agencies like the Virginia Company (and later the Massachusetts Bay Company as well). In return, indentured servants agreed to work for the agencies as contract laborers, usually for four to seven years. Free at the end of this term, they would be given "freedom dues," sometimes including a small tract of land.

It has been estimated that half the settlers living in the colonies south of New England came to America under this system. Although most of them fulfilled their obligations faithfully, some ran away from their employers. Nevertheless, many of them were eventually able to secure land and set up homesteads, either in the colonies in which they had originally settled or in neighboring ones. No social stigma was attached to a family that had its beginning in America under this semi-bondage. Every colony had its share of leaders who were former indentured servants.

There was one very important exception to this pattern: Africans brought to America. The first blacks were brought to Virginia just 12 years after the founding of Jamestown. In 1619 slave traders forced Africans to get on a slave ship, and took them to Virginia. The approximately 20 Africans on that ship, originally from the present-day Angola, had been
seized by the British crew from a Portuguese slave ship. Initially, many were regarded as indentured servants who could earn their freedom. In March 1620, 32 Africans were documented as residing in Virginia. By 1650, this had increased to about 300 Africans, about 1% of an estimated 30,000 population of people of English and European ancestry. They were still considered to be indentured servants, like the approximately 4,000 white indentured people, since a slave law was not passed in Virginia until 1661.

By the 1660s, however, as the demand for plantation labor in the Southern colonies grew, the institution of slavery began to harden around them, and Africans were brought to America in shackles for a lifetime of involuntary servitude. While this was unfortunate in many respects for both African American and Anglo-American alike, yet God used even this to bring Protestant Christianity to a people who had formerly resided in heathendom. By the late 17th century, Virginia's and Maryland's economic and social structure rested on the great planters and the yeoman farmers. The planters of the tidewater region, supported by slave labor, held most of the political power and the best land. They built great houses, adopted an aristocratic way of life and kept in touch as best they could with the world of culture overseas. At the same time, yeoman farmers, who worked smaller tracts of land, sat in popular assemblies and found their way into political office. Their outspoken independence was a constant warning to the oligarchy of planters not to encroach too far upon the rights of free men.

In 1675 Bacon's Rebellion, the first significant revolt against royal authority, broke out in the colony of Virginia. The original spark was a clash between Virginia frontiersmen and the Susquehannock Indians, but it soon pitted the common farmer against the wealth and privilege of the large planters and Virginia's royal governor, William Berkeley.

The small farmers, embittered by low tobacco prices and hard living conditions, rallied around Nathaniel Bacon, a recent arrival from England. Berkeley refused to grant Bacon a commission to conduct Indian raids, but he did agree to call new elections to the House of Burgesses, which had remained unchanged since 1661.

Defying Berkeley's orders, Bacon led an attack against the friendly Ocaneechee tribe, nearly wiping them out. Returning to Jamestown in September 1676, he burned it, forcing Berkeley to flee. Most of the state was now under Bacon's control. His victory was short lived, however; he died of a fever the following month. Without Bacon, the rebellion soon lost its vitality. Berkeley re-established his authority and hanged 23 of Bacon's followers.
The colony of Virginia recognized the established Church of England, or Anglican church, as its own established church. As the established church, it received the support of government, while other sects and factions were discouraged by government. As the colony grew in size and population, a strong church-state institution was established whereby Virginia's assembly created new Anglican parishes and enacted laws governing religious and moral behavior. Some of these laws regulated church attendance, while others extended rights to the parishes to levy taxes for church support, care for the destitute, and public works.

Parish vestries (the governing body), usually consisting of twelve laymen, oversaw the administration of church affairs. The duties of the vestry included collecting annual tithes from parishioners, enforcing laws governing church attendance and moral behavior, administering parish workhouses, overseeing repairs and improvements to church buildings, confirming the land boundaries in the parish every four years, and selecting and dismissing the parish rector.

This church’s confession of faith was the Thirty-Nine Articles (see Appendix 1). This confession is reformed in its essentials, recognizing God's grace in the salvation of sinners and the Christian faith as based solely upon scripture. However, it was in need of further refinement in areas such as church worship and government.

Anglicanism as applied in colonial Virginia (and the other Southern colonies) was “low church”, lacking bishops and other features carried over to the Church of England from its Roman Catholic days. Not only did she lack bishops and arch-bishops in America, her services were generally simple, consisting of a sermon, Psalm-singing, and prayer. Communion service was generally once per quarter. Presbyterians moving into Virginia in the 17th century generally joined the Anglican established church there, so similar was it to Presbyterianism. It was not until the 18th century that Protestant dissent began to grow in Virginia. Until then, the Anglican church was the common church of the people of Virginia. There was a sad tendency as the decades passed, however, for moral laxity and compromise to grow.

The Anglican church met with some success in evangelizing the American Indians. Education of the Indians was regarded as paramount, that they might be able to read and understand the scriptures. One of the earliest of these educating missionaries was Reverend Alexander Whitaker, who served from 1611 until his death in 1616. He established two churches near the Jamestown colony, was known as "The Apostle of Virginia" by contemporaries, and was the
minister who baptized Pocahontas. In his sermon entitled *Good Newes from Virginia* (1613), he describes the native population as "servants of sinne and slaves of the divill," but also recognizes them as "sons of Adam," who are "a very understanding generation, quicke of apprehension, suddaine in their despatches, subtile in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labour."

Efforts in the early 17th century to establish a school for the Virginia Indians at Henricus were abandoned following the Indian Massacre of 1622. This school, the first chartered college in the English colonies, was designed initially for Powhatan boys who were carefully chosen from their own communities to attend school for trades, agriculture, and Christian education. Despite such setbacks as the closure of this school, the Nansemond tribe was converted in 1638, and the other Powhatan tribes were converted to Christianity by 1791.

Meanwhile, the plantation economy of Tidewater Virginia continued to develop and expand, even as yeoman farmers pushed further into the hinterland of Virginia as Virginia’s frontiersmen.

We may obtain important insights into Virginian life that developed around the plantation economy and Virginia’s Anglican church by reading these sample diary entries of Virginian planter William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712:

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*February 8, 1709.* I rose at 5 o'clock this morning and read a chapter in Hebrew and 200 verses in Homer’s *Odyssey*. I ate milk for breakfast. I said my prayers. Jenny and Eugene were whipped. I danced my dance. I read law in the morning and Italian in the afternoon. . . .

*February 22, 1709.* I rose at 7 o'clock and read a chapter in Hebrew and 200 verses in Homer’s *Odyssey*. I said my prayers and ate milk for breakfast. I threatened Anaka with a whipping if she did not confess the intrigues between Daniel and Nurse, but she prevented by a confession. I chided Nurse severely about it, but she denied, with an
impudent face, protesting that Daniel only lay on the bed for the sake of the child. I ate nothing but beef for dinner.

€ June 10, 1709. I rose at 5 o'clock this morning but could not read anything because of Captain Keeling, but I played at billiards with him and won half a crown of him and the Doctor. George B-th brought home my boy Eugene. In the evening I took a walk about the plantation. Eugene was whipped for running away and had the [bit] put on him. I said my prayers and had good health, good thought, and good humor, thanks be to God Almighty.

€ September 3, 1709. I read some geometry. We had no court this day. My wife was indisposed again but not to much purpose. I ate roast chicken for dinner. In the afternoon I beat Jenny for throwing water on the couch.

€ September 1709. About one o'clock this morning my wife was happily delivered of a son, thanks be to God Almighty. I was awake in a blink and rose and my cousin Harrison met me on the stairs and told me it was a boy. We drank some French wine and went to bed again and rose at 7 o'clock. I read a chapter in Hebrew and then drank chocolate with the women for breakfast. I returned God humble thanks for so great a blessing and recommended my young son to His divine protection.

€ December 1, 1709. I rose at 4 o'clock and read two chapters in Hebrew and some Greek in Cassius. I said my prayers and ate milk for breakfast. I danced my dance. Eugene was whipped again for pissing in bed and Jenny for concealing it.

€ December 3, 1709. I rose at 5 o'clock and read two chapters in Hebrew and some Greek in Cassius. I said my prayers and ate milk for breakfast. I danced my dance. Eugene pissed abed again for which I made him drink a pint of piss. I settled some accounts and read some news.

€ June 17, 1710. I set my closet right. I ate tongue and chicken for dinner. In the afternoon I caused L-s-n to be whipped for beating his wife and Jenny was whipped for being his whore. In the evening the sloop came from Appomattox with tobacco. I took a walk about the plantation. I said my prayers and drank some new milk from the cow.
February 27, 1711. I rose at 6 o'clock and read two chapters in Hebrew and some Greek in Lucian. I said my prayers and ate boiled milk for breakfast. I danced my dance and then went to the brick house to see my people pile the planks and found them all idle for which I threatened them soundly but did not whip them. . . . In the afternoon Mr. Dunn and I played at billiards. Then we took a long walk about the plantation and looked over all my business. In the evening my wife and little Jenny had a great quarrel in which my wife got the worst but at last by the help of the family Jenny was overcome and soundly whipped. At night I ate some bread and cheese. I said my prayers and had good health, good thoughts, and good humor, thank God Almighty...

May 22, 1712 I rose about 6 o'clock and read two chapters in Hebrew and some Greek in Lucian. I said my prayers and ate boiled milk for breakfast. I danced my dance. It rained a little this morning. My wife caused Prue to be whipped violently notwithstanding I desired not, which provoked me to have Anaka whipped likewise who had deserved it much more, on which my wife flew into such a passion that she hoped she would be revenged of me. I was moved very much at this but only thanked her for the present lest I should say things foolish in my passion. I wrote more accounts to go to England. My wife was sorry for what she had said and came to ask my pardon and I forgave her in my heart but seemed to resent, that she might be the more sorry for her folly. She ate no dinner nor appeared the whole day. I ate some bacon for dinner. In the afternoon I wrote two more accounts till the evening and then took a walk in the garden. I said my prayers and was reconciled to my wife and gave her a flourish in token of it. I had good health, good thoughts, but was a little out of humor, for which God forgive me...

Virginia set the pattern for religious, economic and cultural life that developed throughout the southern colonies, as we will read in a coming chapter.
CHAPTER THREE

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF PURITAN MASSACHUSETTS BY THE PILGRIMS

The settlement of Massachusetts had as its ends an even more noble Christian vision than that of Virginia. Its objective was not only to expand the Protestant Church of England to the New World, but in the process to establish a more reformed version of it. This was to a remarkable extent achieved, serving in the words of its Governor Winthrop as a "shining city upon a hill", not only to other dominions in its own day, but even to future generations in America and abroad. Indeed, Puritan Massachusetts and the Puritan colonies which it spawned are an excellent example of the Great Commission set into actual practice: "go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." It is one step in the fulfillment of the Father's promise to the Son: "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession."
Among those who desired greater reformation of the Church of England, there were two schools of thought. Separatists believed Christians should separate from the Church of England and form a church more in keeping with the model of the best practices of reformed churches in Europe. Most Puritans, however, believed Christians should remain within the Church of England and seek to reform it from within. Both groups had the same basic goals for the church, but they had different convictions as to how Christians should proceed to attain these goals. They both wanted to raise up a church which followed more the pattern of the churches of Calvin's Geneva, the Huguenots of France, and the Scottish Presbyterian Church of the days of Knox and Melville. And they both wanted a government which would establish and support such a church, while suppressing heresy and wickedness.

The Pilgrims Flee to Holland

The initial colonists of Massachusetts - the Pilgrims - were separatists. The account of their efforts to establish the Plymouth colony in Massachusetts is related by one of their leaders, William Bradford.

It explains how they had earlier fled England due to persecution in England, and later returned to England in order to set out on the ship Mayflower for the New World. Here are excerpts from that account ("Of Plymouth Plantation") which reveal the goals and trials up to the point of embarking for Massachusetts:

"And first of the occasion and inducements thereunto; the which, that I may truly unfold, I must begin at the very root and rise of the same. The which I shall endeavor to manifest in a plain style, with singular regard unto the simple truth in all things; at least as near as my slender judgment can attain the same.

CHAPTER I

It is well known unto the godly and judicious, how ever since the first breaking out of the light of the gospel in our honorable nation of England, (which was the first of nations whom the Lord adorned therewith after the gross darkness of popery which had covered
and overspread the Christian world), what wars and oppositions ever since, Satan hath raised, maintained and continued against the Saints, from time to time, in one sort or other. Sometimes by bloody death and cruel torments; other whiles imprisonments, banishments and other hard usages; as being loath his kingdom should go down, the truth prevail and the churches of God revert to their ancient purity and recover their primitive order, liberty and beauty.

But when he could not prevail by these means against the main truths of the gospel, but that they began to take root in many places, being watered with the blood of the martyrs and blessed from Heaven with a gracious increase; he then began to take him to his ancient stratagems. That was by the bloody and barbarous persecutions of the heathen emperors he could not stop and subvert the course of the gospel, but that it speedily overspread, with a wonderful celerity, the then best known parts of the world; he then began to sow errors, heresies and wonderful dissensions amongst the professors themselves, working upon their pride and ambition, with other corrupt passions incident to all mortal men, yea, to the saints themselves in some measure, by which woeful effects followed. As not only bitter contentions and heartburnings, schisms, and other horrible confusions; but Satan took occasion and advantage thereby to foist in a number of vile ceremonies, with many unprofitable canons and decrees, which have since been as snares to many poor and peaceable souls even to this day.

So as in the ancient times, the persecutions by the heathen and their emperors was not greater than of the Christian one against other: the Arians and other their complices against the orthodox and true Christians. As witnesseth Socrates in his second book. His words are these:

The violence truly (saith he) was no less than that of old practice towards the Christians when they were compelled and drawn to sacrifice to idols; for many endured sundry kinds of torment, often rackings and dismembering of their joints, confiscating of their goods; some bereaved of their native soil, others departed this life under the hands of the tormentor, and some died in banishment and never saw their country again, etc.

The like method Satan hath seemed to hold in these later times, since the truth began to spring and spread after the great defection made by Antichrist, that man of sin.

For to let pass the infinite examples in sundry nations and several places of the world, and instance in our own, when as that old serpent could not prevail by those fiery flames and other his cruel tragedies, which he by his instruments put in use everywhere in the days of Queen Mary and before, he then began another kind of war and went more closely to work; not only to oppugn but even to ruinate and destroy the kingdom of Christ by more secret and subtle means, by kindling the flames of contention and sowing the seeds of discord and bitter enmity amongst the professors and, seeming reformed, themselves. For when he could not prevail by the former means against the principal doctrines of faith, he bent his force against the holy discipline and outward regiment of
the kingdom of Christ, by which those holy doctrines should be conserved, and true piety
maintained amongst the saints and people of God.

Mr. Fox recordeth how that besides those worthy martyrs and confessors which were
burned in Queen Mary's days and otherwise tormented, "Many (both students and others)
 fled out of the land to the number of 800, and became several congregations, at Wesel,
Frankfort, Basel, Emden, Markpurge, Strasburg and Geneva, etc." Amongst whom (but
even those at Frankfort) began that bitter war of contention and persecution about
the ceremonies and service book, and other popish and antichristian stuff, the plague of
England to this day, which are like the high places in Israel which the prophets cried out
again, and were their ruin. Which the better part sought, according to the purity of the
gospel, to root out and utterly to abandon. And the other part (under veiled pretences)
for their own ends and advancements, sought as stiffly to continue, maintain and defend.
As appeareth by the discourse thereof published in print, anno. 1575; a book that
deserves better to be known and considered.

The one side labored to have the right worship of God and discipline of Christ
established in the church, according to the simplicity of the gospel, without the mixture
of men's inventions; and to have and to be ruled by the laws of God's Word, dispensed in
those offices, and by those officers of Pastors, Teachers and Elders, etc. according to the
Scriptures. The other party, though under many colors and pretences, endeavored to
have the episcopal dignity (after the popish manner) with their large power and
jurisdiction still retained; with all those courts, canons and ceremonies, together with all
such livings, revenues and subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly
upheld their antichristian greatness and enabled them with lordly and tyrannous power
to persecute the poor servants of God. This contention was so great, as neither the honor
of God, the common persecution, nor the meditation of Mr. Calvin and other worthies of
the Lord in those places, could prevail with those thus episcopally minded; but they
proceeded by all means to disturb the peace of this poor persecuted church, even so far
as to charge (very unjustly and ungodly yet prelatelike) some of their chief opposers
with rebellion and high treason against the Emperor, and other such crimes.

And this contention died not with Queen Mary, nor was left beyond the seas. But at her
death these people returning into England under gracious Queen Elizabeth, many of
them being preferred to bishoprics and other promotions according to their aims and
desires, that inveterate hatred against the holy discipline of Christ in His church hath
continued to this day. In somuch that for fear it should prevail, all plots and devices have
been used to keep it out, incensing the Queen and State against it as dangerous for the
commonwealth; and that it was most needful that the fundamental points of religion
should be preached in those ignorant and superstitious times. And to win the weak and
ignorant they might retain divers harmless ceremonies; and though it were to be wished
that divers things were reformed, yet this was not a season for it. And many the like, to
stop the mouths of the more godly, to bring them on to yield to one ceremony after
another, and one corruption after another; by these wiles beguil ing some and corrupting
others till at length they began to persecute all the zealous professors in the land (though
they knew little what this discipline meant) both by word and deed, if they would not
submit to their ceremonies and become slaves to them and their popish trash, which
have no ground in the Word of God, but are relics of that man of sin. And the more the light of the gospel grew, the more they urged their subscriptions to these corruptions. So as (notwithstanding all their former pretences and fair colors) they whose eyes God had not justly blinded might easily see whereto these things tended. And to cast contempt the more upon the sincere servants of God, they opprobriously and most injuriously gave unto and imposed upon them that name of Puritans, which is said the Novatians out of pride did assume to take unto themselves. And lamentable it is to see the effects which have followed. Religion hath been disgraced, the godly grieved, afflicted, persecuted, and many exiled; sundry have lost their lives in prisons and other ways. On the other hand, sin hath been countenanced; ignorance, profaneness and atheism increased, and the papists encouraged to hope again for a day.

This made that holy man Mr. Perkins cry out in his exhortation to repentance, upon Zephaniah ii:

Religion (saith he) hath been amongst us this thirty-five years; but the more it is published, the more it is contemned and reproached of many, etc. Thus not profaneness nor wickedness but religion itself is a byword, a mockingstock, and a matter of reproach; so that in England at this day the man or woman that begins to profess religion and to serve God, must resolve with himself to sustain mocks and injuries even as though he lived amongst the enemies of religion.

And this, common experience hath confirmed and made too apparent. But that I may come more near my intendment.

When as by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the North parts, many became enlightened by the Word of God and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them, and began by His grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways; the work of God was no sooner manifest in them but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude; and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced. And the poor people were so vexed with apparitors and pursuivants and the commissary courts, as truly their affliction was not small.

Which, notwithstanding, they bore sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days, to see further into things by the light of the Word of God. How not only these base and beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted unto; which thus, contrary to the freedom of the gospel, would load and burden men's consciences and by their compulsive power make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God. And that their offices and callings, courts and canons, etc. were unlawful and antichristian; being such as have no warrant in the Word of God, but the same that were used in popery and still retained. Of which a famous author thus writeth in his Dutch commentaries, at the coming of King James into England:

The new king (saith he) found there established the reformed religion according to the reformed religion of King Edward VI, retaining or keeping still the spiritual state of the
bishops, etc. after the old manner, much varying and differing from the reformed churches in Scotland, France and the Netherlands, Emden, Geneva, etc., whose reformation is cut, or shapen much nearer the first Christian churches, as it was used in the Apostles' times.

So many, therefore, of these professors saw the evil of these things in these parts, and whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for His truth, they shook off this yoke of antichristian bondage, and as the Lord's free people joined themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all His ways made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something this ensuing history will declare.

These people became two distinct bodies or churches, and in regard of distance of place did congregate severally; for they were of sundry towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire where they border nearest together. In one of these churches (besides others of note) was Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts and a good preacher, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these afterwards falling into some errors in the Low Countries, there (for the most part) buried themselves and their names.

But in this other church (which must be the subject of our discourse) besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clyfton, a grave and reverend preacher, who by his pains and diligence had done much good, and under God had been a means of the conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man Mr. John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years, till the Lord took him away by death. Also Mr. William Brewster a reverend man, who afterwards was chosen an elder of the church and lived with them till old age.

But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as fleabittings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapped up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to flee and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood.

Yet these and many other sharper things which afterward befell them, were no other than they looked for, and therefore were the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of God's grace and Spirit.

Yet seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men; as also how sundry from London and other parts of the land had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, and were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam and in other places of the land. So after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or other, exercising the worship of god amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to
get over into Holland as they could. Which was in the year 1607 and 1608; of which
more at large in the next chapter.

Chapter 2 : Of their departure into Holland
and their troubles there about, with some of
the many difficulties they found and met
withal. Ano. 1608.

Being thus constrained to leave their native soil and country, their lands and livings, and
all their friends and familiar acquaintances, it was much, and thought marvelous by
many. But to go into a country they knew not (but by hearsay), where they must learn a
new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, and subject
to the miseries of war, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case
intolerable, and a misery worse than death. Especially seeing they were not acquainted
with trades nor traffic, (by which that country doth subsist,) but had only been used to a
plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry. But these things did not dismay
them (though they did sometimes trouble them) for their desires were set on the ways of
God, and to enjoy his ordinances; but they rested on his providence, and knew whom
they had believed. Yet this was not all, for though they could not stay, yet were they not
suffered to go, but the ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were fain to
seek secret means of conveyance, and to bribe and fee the mariners, and give
extraordinary rates for their passage. And yet were they often times betrayed (many of
them), and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised, and thereby put to great
trouble and charge, of which I will give an instance or two, and omit the rest.

There was a large company of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincolnshire,
and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the
master to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods in, at a convenient
place, where they accordingly would all attend in readiness. So after long waiting, and
large expenses, though he kept not day with them, yet he came at length and took them in,
in the night. But when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having
beforehand complotted with the searchers and other officers so to do; who took them,
and put them into open boats, and there rifled and ransacked them, searching them to
their shirts for money, yea even the women further then became modesty; and then
carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude,
which came flocking on all sides to behold them. Being thus first, by the catchpole
officers, rifled, and striped of their money, books, and much other goods, they were
presented to the magistrates, and messengers sent to inform the lords of the Council of
them; and so they were committed to ward. Indeed the magistrates used them
courteously, and showed them what favor they could; but could not deliver them, till
order came from the Council-table. But the issue was that after a months imprisonment,
the greatest part were dismissed, and sent to the places from whence they came; but seven of the principal were still kept in prison, and bound over to the assizes.

The next spring after, there was another attempt made by some of these and others, to get over at another place. And it so fell out, that they light of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own belonging to Zealand; they made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him, then in the former of their own nation. He bade them not fear, for he would do well enough. He was by appointment to take them in between Grimsbe and Hull, where was a large common a good way distant from any town. Now against the prefixed time, the women and children, with the goods, were sent to the place in a small barke, which they had hired for that end; and the men were to meet them by land. But it so fell out, that they were there a day before the ship came, and the sea being rough, and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by, where they lay on ground at low water. The next morning the ship came, but they were fast, and could not stir till about noon. In the mean time, the ship master, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to be getting the men aboard whom he saw ready, walking about the shore. But after the first boat was got aboard, and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills, and guns, and other weapons; for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman seeing that, swore his countries oath, "sacrament," and having the fair wind, weighed his anchor, hoisted sails, and away. But the poor men which were got aboard, were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps; and themselves also, not having clothes to shift them with, more then they had on their backs, and some scarce a penny about them, all they had being aboard the barke. It drew tears from their eyes, and anything they had they would have given to have been ashore again; but all in vain, there was no remedy, they must thus sadly part. And afterward endured a fearful storm at sea, being fourteen days or more before they arrived at their port, in seven whereof they neither saw sun, moon, nor stars, and were driven near the coast of Norway; the mariners themselves often despairing of life; and once with sheiks and cries gave over all, as if the ship had been foundered in the sea, and they sinking without recovery. But when man's hope and help wholly failed, the Lord's power and mercy appeared in their recovery; for the ship rose again, and gave the mariners courage again to manage her. And if modesty would suffer me, I might declare with what fervent prayers they cried unto the Lord in this great distress (especially some of them,) even without any great distraction, when the water ran into their mouths and ears; and the mariners cried out, "We sink, we sink"; they cried (if not with miraculous, yet with a great height or degree of divine faith), "Yet Lord thou canst save, yet Lord thou canst save"; with such other expressions as I will forbear. Upon which the ship did not only recover, but shortly after the violence of the storm began to abate, and the Lord filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as everyone cannot understand, and in the end brought them to their desired Haven, where the people came flocking admiring their deliverance, the storm having been so long and sore, in which much hurt had been done, as the masters friends related unto him in their congratulations.
But to return to the others where we left. The rest of the men that were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before the troop could surprise them; those only staying that best might, to be assistant unto the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were carried away in the ship as is before related; others not knowing what should become of them, and their little ones; others again melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear, and quaking with cold. Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in the end they knew not what to do with them; for to imprison so many women and innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable and all would cry out of them; and to send them home again was as difficult, for they alleged, as the truth was, they had no homes to go to, for they had either sold, or otherwise disposed of their houses and livings. To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms; for all were wearied and tired with them. Though in the mean time they (poor souls) endured misery enough; and thus in the end necessity forced a way for them.

But that I be not tedious in these things, I will omit the rest, though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured and underwent in these their wanderings and travels both at land and sea; but I haste to other things. Yet I may not omit the fruit that came whereby, for by these so public troubles, in so many eminent places, their cause became famous, and occasioned many to look into the same; and their Godly carriage and Christian behavior was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts and sharp beginnings, (as it was no marvel,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, and greatly animated others. And in the end, notwithstanding all these storms of opposition, they all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, and some in one place and some in another, and met together again according to their desires, with no small rejoicing.

Chapter 3: Of their Settling in Holland, and their Manner of Living, and Entertainment there

Being now come into the Low Countries, they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled and guarded with troops of armed men. Also, they heard a strange and uncouth language, and beheld the different manners and customs of the people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from that of their plain country villages (wherein they were bred and had so long lived) as it seemed they were come into a new world. But these were not the things they much looked on, or long took up their thoughts, for they had other work in hand and another kind of war to wage and maintain. For although they saw fair and beautiful cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grim and grisly face of poverty coming upon them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter, and from whom they could not fly. But they were armed with faith and
patience against him and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foiled, yet by God's assistance they prevailed and got the victory.

Now when Mr. Robinson, Mr. Brewster and other principal members were come over (for they were of the last and stayed to help the weakest over before them) such things were thought on as were necessary for their settling and best ordering of the church affairs.

And when they had lived at Amsterdam about a year, Mr. Robinson their pastor and some others of best discerning, seeing how Mr. John Smith and his company was already fallen into contention with the church that was there before them, and no means they could use would do any good to cure the same, and also that the flames of contention were like to break out in that ancient church itself (as afterwards lamentably came to pass); which things they prudently foreseeing thought it was best to remove before they were any way engaged with the same, though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estates, both at present and in likelihood in the future; as indeed it proved to be.

For these and some other reasons they removed to Leyden, a fair and beautiful city and of a sweet situation...

In these times also were the great troubles raised by the Arminians, who, as they greatly molested the whole state, so this city in particular in which was the chief university; so as there were daily and hot disputes in the schools thereabouts. And as the students and other learned were divided in their opinions herein, so were the two professors or divinity readers themselves, the one daily teaching for it, the other against it. Which grew to that pass, that few of the disciples of the one would hear the other teach. But Mr. Robinson, though he taught thrice a week himself, and wrote sundry books besides his manifold pains otherwise, yet he went constantly to hear their readings and heard the one as well as the other; by which means he was so well grounded in the controversy and saw the force of all their arguments and knew the shifts of the adversary. And being himself very able, none was fitter to buckle with them than himself, as appeared by sundry disputes, so as he began to be terrible to the Arminians. Which made Episcopius (the Arminian professor) to put forth his best strength and set forth sundry theses which by public dispute he would defend against all men...

Chapter 4: Showing the reasons and causes of their removal

After they had lived in this city about some eleven or twelve years, (which is the more observable being the whole time of that famous truce between that state and the Spaniards,) and sundry of them were taken away by death, and many others began to be well stricken in years, the grave mistress Experience having taught them many things, those prudent governors with sundry of the sages members began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, and wisely to foresee the future, and think of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discourse of things hereabout, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of removal to some other place. Not out of any newfangledness, or other such like giddy humor, but which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt and danger, but for sundry weighty and solid reasons; some of the chief of which I will here briefly touch.
And first, they saw and found by experience the hardness of that place and country to be such, as few in comparison would come to them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure that great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent and were contented with. But though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honored their sufferings, yet they left them as it were weeping, as Orpah did her mother-in-law Naomi, or as the Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused and born with, though they could not all be Catoes. For many, though, they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the Gospel with them, yet alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred and chose the prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many, and take away these discouragements. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those who both wrote and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practice as they did.

Secondly, they saw that though the people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully, and with a resolute courage, being in the best and strength of their years, yet old age began to steal on many of them, (and their great and continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time,) so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessity pressing them, or sink under their burdens, or both. And therefore according to the divine proverb, that a wise man seeth the plague when it cometh, and hideth himself, Pro. 22:3, so they like skillful and beaten soldiers were fearful either to be entrapped or surrounded by their enemies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flee; and therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger, if any such could be found.

Thirdly; as necessity was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants, but in a sort, to their dearest children; the which as it did not a little wound the tender hearts of many a loving father and mother, so it produced likewise sundry sad and sorrowful effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear the yoke in their youth, and willing to bear part of their parents burden, were, oftentimes, so oppressed with their heavy labors, that their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reigns off their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took up them far voyages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonor of God. So that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

 Lastly, (and which was not the least), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though
they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work.

These, and some other like reasons, moved them to undertake this resolution of their removal; the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties, as by the sequel will appear.

The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only savages and brutish men, which range up and down, little otherwise then the wild beasts of the same. This proposition being made public and coming to the scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears and doubts amongst themselves. Some, from their reasons and hopes conceived, labored to stir up and encourage the rest to undertake and prosecute the same; others, again, out of their fears, objected against it, and sought to divert from it, alleging many things, and those neither unreasonable nor unprobable; as that it was a great design and subject to many unconceivable perils and dangers; as, besides the casualties of the seas (which none can be freed from) the length of the voyage was such, as the weak bodies of women and other persons worn out with age and travail (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of the land which they should be exposed unto, would be too hard to be born; and likely, some or all of them together, to consume and utterly to ruinate them. For there they should be liable to famine, and nakedness, and the want, in a manner, of all things. The change of air, diet, and drinking water, would infect their bodies with sore sickness, and grievous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yet be in continual danger of the savage people, who are cruel, barbarous, and most treacherous, being most furious in their rage, and merciless where they overcome; not being content only to kill, and take away life, but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner that may be; flaying some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting of the members and joints of others by piecemeal and broiling on the coals, eat the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live; with other cruelties horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but the very hearing of these things could not but move the very bowels of men to grate within them, and make the weak to quake and tremble.

It was further objected, that it would require greater sums of money to furnish such a voyage, and to fit them with necessities, then their consumed estates would amount to; and yet they must as well look to be seconded with supplies, as presently to be transported. Also many precedents of ill success, and lamentable miseries befallen others in the like designs, were easy to be found, and not forgotten to be alleged; besides their own experience, in their former troubles and hardships in their removal into Holland, and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, though it was a neighbor country, and a civil and rich commonwealth.

It was answered, that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain; it might
be sundry of the things feared might never befall; others by provident care and the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be born, or overcome. True it was, that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground and reason; not rashly or lightly as many have done for curiosity or hope of gain, etc. But their condition was not ordinary; their ends were good and honorable; their calling lawful, and urgent; and therefore they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet might they have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honorable. They lived here but as men in exile, and in a poor condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place, for the twelve years of truce were now out, and there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America, and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there, and their liberty less to look out for remedy. After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part, to put this design in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could..."

The Pilgrims secured a means by use of a joint stock company to establish a colony in Massachusetts. King James of England granted "The Charter of New England" in 1620, excerpts of which follow:

"JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all whom these Presents shall come, Greeting, Whereas, upon the humble Petition of divers of our well disposed Subjects, that intended to make several Plantations in the Parts of America, between the Degrees of thirty-four and forty-five; We according to our princely Inclination, favouring much their worthy Disposition, in Hope thereby to advance the in Largement of Christian Religion, to the Glory of God Almighty, as also by that Meanes to streatch out the Bounds of our Dominions, and to replenish those Deserts with People governed by Lawes and Magistrates, for the peaceable Commerce of all, that in time to come shall have occasion to traffique into those Territories, granted unto Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Knights, Thomas Hanson, and Raleigh Gilbert, Esquires, and of their Associates, for the more speedy Accomplishment thereof, by our Letters-Pattent, bearing Date the Tenth Day of Aprill, in the Fourth Year of our Reign of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the fourtieth, free Liberty to divide themselves into two several Collonyes; the one called the first Collonye, to be undertaken and advanced by certain Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, in and about our Cyty of London; the other called the Second Collonye, to be undertaken and advanced by certaine Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, and their associates, in and about our Citties of Bristol, Exon, and our Towne of Plymouth, and
other Places, as in and by our said Letters-Patents, amongst other Things more at large it doth and may appears...

And lastly, because the principall Effect which we can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Worship of God and Christian Religion, in which Respect, Wee would be loath that any Person should be permitted to pass that Wee suspected to affect the Superstition of the Chh of Rome, Wee do hereby declare that it is our Will and Pleasure that none be permitted to pass, in any Voyage from time to time to be made into the said Country, but such as shall first have taken the Oathe of Supremacy; for which Purpose, Wee do by these Presents give full Power and Authority to the President of the said Councill, to tender and exhibit the said Oath to all such Persons as shall at any time be sent and employed in the said Voyage.

And Wee also for us, our Heires and Successors, do covenant and grant to and with the Councill, and their Successors, by these Presents, that if the Councill for the time being, and their Successors, or any of them, shall at any time or times hereafter, upon any Doubt which they shall conceive concerning the Strength or Validity in Law of this our present Grant, or be desirous to have the same renewed and confirmed by Us, our Heires and Successors, with Amendment of such Imperfections and Defects as shall appear fitt and necessary to the said Councill, or their Successors, to be reformed and amended on the Behalfe of Us, our Heires and Successors, and for the furthering of the Plantation and Government, or the Increase, continuing, and flourishing thereof, that then, upon the humble Petition of the said Councill for the time being, and their Successors, to us, our Heires and Successors, Wee, our Heires and Successors, shall and will forthwith make and pass under the Great Seall of England, to the said Councill and their Successors, such further and better Assurance, of all and singular the Lands, Grounds, Royalties, Privileges, and Premisses aforesaid granted, or intended to be granted, according to our true Intent and Meaneing in these our Letters-patents, signified, declared, or mentioned, as by the learned Councill of Us, our Heires, and Successors, and of the said Company and their Successors shall, in that Behalfe, be reasonably devised or advised. And further our Will and Pleasure is, that in all Questions and Doubts, that shall arise upon any Difficulty of Instruction or Interpretation of any Thing contained in these our Letters-patents, the same shall be taken and Interpreted in most ample and beneficial Manner, for the said Council and their Successors, and every Member thereof. And Wee do further for Us, our Heires and Successors, charge and command all and singular Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Generals, Commanders, Captaines, Justices of Peace, Majors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs Constables, Customers, Comptrollers, Waiters, Searchers, and all the Officers of Us... And Wee also do by these Presents, ratifie and confirm unto the said Councill and their Successors, all Priviliges, Franchises, Liberties, Immunities granted in our said former Letters-patents, and not in these our Letters-patents revoked, altered, changed or abridged, altho' Expressed, Mentioned, &c.

In Witness, &c.

Witness our selfe at Westminster, the Third Day of November, in the Eighteenth Yeare of our Reign over England, &c.

Par Breve de Privato Sigillo, &c."
Departure for the New World on the Ship Mayflower

Having secured this charter and transportation to the New World on the ship Mayflower, they thus traveled and arrived, after no small trials in even departing from the Old World.

William Bradford describes the travel to the New in "Of Plymouth Plantation" as follows:

"Chapter 9: Of their voyage, and how they passed the sea, and of their safe arrival at Cape Cod

September 6. These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued divers days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet according to the usual manner many were afflicted with sea sickness. And I may not omit here a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the sea-men, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be condemning the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had; and if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his
curses light on his own head; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with cross winds, and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger; and rather to return then to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion among the mariners themselves; fain would they do what could be done for their wages sake, (being now half the seas over,) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; and for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place; the which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and other-ways bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works they would caulk them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God, and resolved to proceed. In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce, and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull, for divers days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was, with a seale of the ship thrown into the sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the topsail halyards, which hung overboard, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again, and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and commonwealth. In all this voyage there died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast. But to omit other things, (that I may be brief,) after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson’s River for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half a day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God’s providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape-harbor where they rid in safety. A word or two by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnold and his company, Anno. 1602, and after by
Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst seamen. Also that point which first showed these dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabar, by reason of those perilous shoals, and the losses they have suffered there.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather-beaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor. It is recorded in scripture as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pigsah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hew. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succor them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company? But that with speed they should look out a place with their shallop, where they would be at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victuals consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their return. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply and succor they left behind them, that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; and how the case stood between them
and the merchants at their coming away, hath already been declared. What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace?

May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: "Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity, etc. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercies endure forever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, show how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in, both hungry, and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men."

We know about the life of the Plymouth colony both from Bradford's written account of it, but also from what is called "Mourt's Relation". Mourt's Relation was written primarily by Edward Winslow, although William Bradford appears to have written most of the first section. Written between November 1620 and November 1621, it describes in detail what happened from the landing of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod, though their exploring and eventual settling at Plymouth, to their relations with the surrounding Indians, up to the First Thanksgiving and the arrival of the ship Fortune. Mourt's Relation was first published in London in 1622, presumably by George Morton (hence the title, Mourt's Relation).

Establishing the Plymouth Colony

Mourt's Relation includes the Mayflower Compact. The Mayflower Compact was agreed to and signed on November 11, 1620 on board the Mayflower which was at anchor in Provincetown Harbor. The Mayflower Compact was drawn up after the London and Leyden contingents started factionalizing, and there were worries of a possible mutiny by some of the passengers. The primary argument was over the fact the Pilgrims were supposed to have settled in Northern Virginia, near present-day Long Island, New York. Northern Virginia was governed by the English. But if the Pilgrims settled at Plymouth, there would be no government in place there. The Mayflower Compact established that government, by creating a Christian "civil body politic" covenanted to by its signers.

Here are excerpts from Mourt's Relation, explaining both the signing of the Mayflower Compact and the first Thanksgiving:

Wednesday, the sixth of September, the winds coming east north east, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plymouth, having been kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boisterous storms, at length, by God's providence, upon the ninth of November following, by break of the day we espied land which was deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. And the appearance
of it much comforted us, especially seeing so goodly a land, and wooded to the brink of the sea. It caused us to rejoice together, and praise God that had given us once again to see land. And thus we made our course south south west, purposing to go to a river ten leagues to the south of the Cape, but at night the wind being contrary, we put round again for the bay of Cape Cod; and upon the 11th of November we came to an anchor in the bay, which is a good harbor and pleasant bay, circled round, except in the entrance which is about four miles over from land to land, compassed about to the very sea with oaks, pines, juniper, sassafras, and other sweet wood; it is a harbor wherein a thousand sail of ships may safely ride: there we relieved ourselves with wood and water, and refreshed our people, which our shallop was fitted to coast the bay, to search for a habitation; there was the greatest store of fowl that ever we saw.

And every day we saw whales playing hard by us, of which in that place, if we had instruments and means to take them, we might have made a very rich return, which to our great grief we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed we might have made three or four thousand pounds worth of oil; they preferred it before Greenland whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for whale here. For cod we assayed, but found none, there is good store, no doubt, in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great mussels, and very fat and full of sea-pearl, but we could not eat them, for they made us all sick that did eat, as well sailors as passengers; they caused to cast and scour, but they were soon well again.

The bay is so round and circling, that before we could come to anchor we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come near the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us, for our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow shot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was nigh times freezing cold weather.

This day before we came to harbor, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows word for word.

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, covenant, and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient
for the general good of the colony: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names; Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord King James, of England, France and Ireland eighteenth and of Scotland fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620.

The same day, so soon as we could we set ashore 15 or 16 men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a small neck of land; on this side where we lay is the bay, and the further side the sea; the ground or earth, sand hills, much like the downs in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth a spit’s depth excellent black earth; all wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut; the wood for the most part open and without underwood, fit either to go or ride in; at night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation, and laded their boat with juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Monday, the 13th of November, we unshipped our shallop and drew her on land, to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the people’s lying in her, which kept us long there, for it was 16 or 17 days before the carpenter had finished her. Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need. But whilst we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in five or six days at the furthers, but our
carpenter made slow work of it, so that some of our people, impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travel by land into the country, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision, but on their backs, to see whether it might be fit for us to seat in or no, and the rather because as we sailed into the harbor there seemed to be a river opening itself into the main land; the willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing itself, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved, and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteen men were set out with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish, unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advice, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Wednesday, the 15th of November, they were set ashore, and when they had ordered themselves in the order of a single file and marched about the space of a mile, by the sea they espied five or six people with a dog, coming towards them, who were savages, who when they saw them, ran into the wood and whistled the dog after them, etc. First they supposed them to be Master Jones, the master, and some of his men, for they were ashore and knew of their coming, but after they knew them to be Indians they marched after them into the woods, lest other of the Indians should lie in ambush; but when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and main and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to go, but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ran up a hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging, so they set forth three sentinels, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our rendezvous that night.

In the morning so soon as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey, and had the track until we had compassed the head of a long creek, and there they took into another wood, and we after them, supposing to find some of their dwellings, but we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and valleys, which tore our very armor in pieces, and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houses, nor find any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in need of, for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aquavitae, so as we were sore athirst. About ten o'clock we came into a deep valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grass, through which we found little paths or tracks, and there we saw a deer, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat us down and drank our first New England water with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives.

When we had refreshed ourselves, we directed our course full south, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where we were (as we had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed river. And as we went in another valley we found a fine clear pond of fresh water, being about a musket shot broad and twice as long. There grew also many fine vines, and fowl and deer haunted there; there grew much sassafras. From thence we went on, and found much plain ground, about fifty acres, fit for plow, and some signs where
the Indians had formerly planted their corn. After this, some thought it best, for nearness of the river, to go down and travel on the sea sands, by which means some of our men were tired, and lagged behind. So we stayed and gathered them up, and struck into the land again, where we found a little path to certain heaps of sand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooding thing like a mortar whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We, musing what it might be, dugged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows, but they were rotten. We supposed there were many other things, but because we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again and made it up as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransack their sepulchers.

We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year, and many walnut trees full of nuts, and great store of strawberries, and some vines. Passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another which had also been new gotten, and there we found where a house had been, and four or five old planks laid together; also we found a great kettle which had been some ship’s kettle and brought out of Europe. There was also a heap of sand, made like the former—but it was newly done, we might see how they had paddled it with their hands—which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian corn, and digged further and found a fine great new basket full of very fair corn of this year, with some thirty-six goodly ears of corn, some yellow, some red, and others mixed with blue, which was a very goodly sight. The basket was round, and narrow at the top; it held about three or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst we were busy about these things, we set our men sentinel in a round ring, all but two or three which digged up the corn. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle, and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn. So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle for two men to bring away on a staff; besides, they that could put any into their pockets filled the same. The rest we buried again, for we were so laden with armor that we could carry no more.

Not far from this place we found the remainder of an old fort, or palisade, which as we conceived had been made by some Christians. This was also hard by that place which we thought had been a river, unto which we went and found it so to be, dividing itself into two arms by a high bank. Standing right by the cut or mouth which came from the sea, that which was next unto us was the less; the other arm was more than twice as big, and not unlike to be a harbor for ships. But whether it be a fresh river, or only an indraught of the sea, we had no time to discover, for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here also we saw two canoes, the one on the one side, the other on the other side; we could not believe it was a canoe, till we came near it. So we returned, leaving the further discovery thereof to our shallop, and came that night back again to the fresh water pond, and there we made our rendezvous that night, making a great fire, and a barricade to windward of us, and kept good watch with three sentinels all night, every one standing
when his turn came, while five or six inches of match was burning. It proved a very rainy night.

In the morning we took our kettle and sunk it in the pond, and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would go off because of the wet, and so coasted the wood again to come home, in which we were shrewdly puzzled, and lost our way. As we wandered we came to a tree, where a young sprit was bowed down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said it had been to catch some deer. So as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came looked also upon it, and as he went about, it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making and having a noose as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with us. In the end we got out of the wood, and were fallen about a mile too high above the creek, where we saw three bucks, but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges, and as we came along by the creek we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks, but they were very fearful of us. So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees, till at length we came near the ship, and then we shot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us. Master Jones and Master Carver being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meet us. And thus we came both weary and welcome home, and delivered in our corn into the store, to be kept for seed, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing, so soon as we could meet with any inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first discovery, whilst our shallop was in repairing.

(The account next explained their next day of discovery which concluded with ‘Thus much of our second discovery.’)

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversial amongst us what to do touching our abode and settling there; some thought it best, for many reasons, to abide there. As first, that there was a convenient harbor for boats, though not for ships. Secondly, good corn-ground ready to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which would agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same. Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fishing, for we saw daily great whales of the best kind for oil and bone, come close aboard our ship, and in fair weather swim and play about us. There was once one, when the sun shone warm, came and lay above water as if she was been dead, for a good while together, within half a musket shot of the ship, at which two were prepared to shoot to see whether she would stir or no. He that gave fire first, his musket flew to pieces, both stock and barrel, yet, thanks be to God, neither he nor any man else was hurt with it, though many were about. But when the whale saw her time, she gave a snuff, and away. Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthful, secure, and defensible.

But the last and especial reason was, that now the heart of winter and unseasonable weather was come upon us, so that we could not go upon coasting and discovery without danger of losing men and boat, upon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise. Also, cold and wet
lodging had so tainted our people, for scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long in that estate it would endanger the lives of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst us. Again, we had yet some beer, butter, flesh, and other such victuals left, which would quickly be all gone, and then we should have nothing to comfort us in the great labor and toil we were like to undergo at the first. It was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the ship would stay with us, but when that grew low, they would be gone and let us shift as we could.

Others again, urged greatly the going to Anguam, or Angoum, a place twenty leagues off to the northwards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbor for ships, better ground, and better fishing. Secondly, for anything we knew, there might be hard by us a far better seat, and it should be a great hindrance to seat where we should remove again. Thirdly, the water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in the summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched up a steep hill. But to omit many reasons and replies used hereabouts, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Anguam. Besides, Robert Coppin, our pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbor in the other headland of this bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being in a right line not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had been once; and because that one of the wild men with whom they had some trucking stole a harping iron from them, they called it Thievish Harbor. And beyond that place they were enjoined not to go, whereupon a company was chosen to go out upon a third discovery. Whilst some were employed in this discovery, it pleased God that Mistress White was brought a-bed of a son, which was called Peregrine.

The 5th day, we, through God's mercy, escaped a great danger by the foolishness of a boy, one of Francis Billington's sons, who, in his father's absence, had got gunpowder and had shot a piece or two, and made squibs, and there being a fowling-piece charged in his father's cabin, shot her off in the cabin; there being a little barrel of powder half full, scattered in and about the cabin, the fire being within four foot of the bed between the decks, and many flints and iron things about the cabin, and many people about the fire, and yet, by God's mercy, no harm done.

Wednesday, the 6th of December, it was resolved our discoverers should set forth, for the day before was too foul weather, and so they did, though it was well o'er the day ere all things could be ready. So ten of our men were appointed who were of themselves willing to undertake it, to wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Howland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Doty, and two of our seamen, John Allerton and Thomas English. Of the ship's company there went two of the master's mates, Master Clarke and Master Coppin, the master gunner, and three sailors. The narration of which discovery follows, penned by one of the company.

Wednesday, the 6th of December, we set out, being very cold and hard weather. We were a long while after we launched from the ship before we could get clear of a sandy point which lay within less than a furlong of the same. In which time two were very sick, and Edward Tilley had like to have sounded with cold; the gunner also was sick.
unto death, (but hope of trucking made him to go), and so remained all that day and the next night. At length we got clear of the sandy point and got up our sails, and within an hour or two we got under the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sailing, but it was very gold, for the water froze on our clothes and made them many times like coats of iron. We sailed six or seven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creek; at length we met with a tongue of land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point. We bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but we made right over the land before us, and left the discovery of this income till the next day. As we drew near to the shore, we espied some ten or twelve Indians very busy about a black thing—what it was we could not tell—till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro as if they had been carrying something away. We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put ashore anywhere, it lay so full of flat sands. When we came to shore, we made us a barricade, and got firewood, and set out our sentinels, and betook us to our lodging, such as it was. We saw the smoke of the fire which the savages made that night, about four or five miles from us.

In the morning we divided our company, some eight in the shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discover this place, but we found it only to be a bay, without either river or creek coming into it. Yet we deemed it to be as good a harbor as Cape Cod, for they that sounded it found a ship might ride in five fathom water. We on the land found it to be a level soil, though none of the fruitfullest. We saw two becks of fresh water, which were the first running streams that we saw in the country, but one might stride over them. We found also a great fish, called a grampus, dead on the sands; they in the shallop found two of them also in the bottom of the bay, dead in like sort. They were cast up at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice. They were some five or six paces long, and about two inches thick of fat, and fleshed like a swine; they would have yielded a great deal of oil if there had been time and means to have taken it. So we finding nothing for our turn, both we and our shallop returned.

Yet still the Lord kept us, and we bore up for an island before us, and recovering of that island, being compassed about with many rocks, and dark night growing upon us, it
pleased the Divine Providence that we fell upon a place of sandy ground, where our
shallop did ride safe and secure all that night, and coming upon a strange island kept our
watch all night in the rain upon that island. And in the morning we marched about it and
found no inhabitants at all, and here we made our rendezvous all that day, being
Saturday, 10th of December.

On the Sabbath day we rested, and on Monday we sounded the harbor, and found it a
very good harbor for our shipping. We marched also into the land, and found divers
cornfields, and little running brooks, a place very good for situation, so we returned to
our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their
hearts.

On the 15th day we weighed anchor, to go to the place we had discovered, and coming
within two leagues of the land, we could not fetch the harbor, but were fain to put room
again towards Cape Cod, our course lying west, and the wind was at northwest. But it
pleased God that the next day, being Saturday the 16th day, the wind came fair and we
put to sea again, and came safely into a safe harbor...

The next morning, being Tuesday the 19th of December, we went again to discover
further; some went on land, and some in the shallop. The land we found as the former
day we did, and we found a creek, and went up three English miles. A very pleasant
river, at full sea a bark of thirty tons may go up, but at low water scarce our shallop
could pass. This place we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was so far from our
fishing, our principal profit, and so encompassed with woods that we should be in much
danger of the savages, and our number being so little, and so much ground to clear, so as
we thought good to quit and clear that place till we were of more strength. Some of us
having a good mind for safety to plant in the greater isle, we crossed the bay which is
there five or six miles over, and found the isle about a mile and a half or two miles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but two or three pits, that we doubted of fresh water in summer, and so full of wood as we could hardly clear so much as to serve us for corn. Besides, we judged it cold for our corn, and some part very rocky, yet divers thought of it as a place defensible, and of great security.

That night we returned again a-shipboard, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places; so in the morning, after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution: to go presently ashore again, and to take a better view of two places, which we thought most fitting for us, for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our beer, and it being now the 19th of December. After our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could we came to a conclusion, by most voices, to set on the mainland, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago, and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hillside, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbor our shallops and boats exceedingly well, and in this brook much good fish in their seasons; on the further side of the river also much corn-ground cleared. In one field is a great hill on which we point to make a platform and plant our ordnance, which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea, and we may see thence Cape Cod. Our greatest labor will be fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile, but there is enough so far off. What people inhabit here we yet know not, for as yet we have seen none. So there we made our rendezvous, and a place for some of our people, about twenty, resolving in the morning to come all ashore and to build houses.

But the next morning, being Thursday the 21st of December, it was stormy and wet, that we could not go ashore, and those that remained there all night could do nothing, but were wet, not having daylight enough to make them a sufficient court of guard to keep them dry. All that night it blew and rained extremely; it was so tempestuous that the shallop could not go on land so soon as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About eleven o’clock the shallop went off with much ado with provision, but could not return; it blew so strong and was such foul weather that we were forced to let fall our anchor and ride with three anchors ahead.

Friday, the 22nd, the storm still continued, that we could not get a-land nor they come to us aboard. This morning good-wife Allerton was delivered of a son, but dead born.

Saturday, the 23rd, so many of us as could, went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building.

Sunday, the 24th, our people on shore heard a cry of some savages (as they thought) which caused an alarm, and to stand on their guard, expecting an assault, but all was quiet.

Monday, the 25th day, we went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day. But towards night some, as they were at work, heard a noise of some Indians, which caused us all to go to our muskets, but we
heard no further. So we came aboard again, and left some twenty to keep the court of
guard. That night we had a sore storm of wind and rain.

Monday, the 25th day, we went on shore, some to fell drink water aboard, but at night the
master caused us to have some beer, and so on board we had divers times now and then
some beer, but on shore none at all.

Tuesday, the 26th, it was foul weather, that we could not go ashore.

Wednesday, the 27th, we went to work again.

Thursday, the 28th of December, so many as could went to work on the hill where we
purposed to build our platform for our ordnance, and which doth command all the plain
and the bay, and from whence we may see far into the sea, and might be easier impaled,
having two rows of houses and a fair street. So in the afternoon we went to measure out
the grounds, and first we took notice of how many families there were, willing all single
men that had no wives to join with some family, as they thought fit, that so we might
build fewer houses, which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To
greater families we allotted larger plots, to every person half a pole in breadth, and three
in length, and so lots were cast where every man should lie, which was done, and staked
out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first for houses and gardens, to
impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill
with cold, for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod
had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more,
and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

Friday and Saturday, we fitted ourselves for our labor, but our people on shore were
much troubled and discouraged with rain and wet, that day being very stormy and cold.
We saw great smokes of fire made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us, as we
conjectured.

Monday, the 1st of January, we went betimes to work. We were much hindered in lying so
far off from the land, and fain to go as the tide served, that we lost much time, for our
shop drew so much water that she lay a mile and almost a half off, though a ship of
seventy or eighty tons at high water may come to the shore.

Wednesday, the 3rd of January, some of our people being abroad to get and gather
thatch, they saw great fires of the Indians, and were at their corn-fields, yet saw none of
the savages, nor had seen any of them since we came to this bay.

Thursday, the 4th of January, Captain Miles Standish with four or five more, went to see
if they could meet with any of the savages in that place where the fires were made. They
went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meet with any.
As they came home, they shot at an eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; it was
hardly to be discerned from mutton.

Friday, the 5th of January, one of the sailors found alive upon the shore a herring, which
the master had to his supper, which put us in hope of fish, but as yet we had got but one
cod; we wanted small hooks.
Saturday, the 6th of January, Master Martin was very sick, and to our judgment no hope of life, so Master Carver was sent for to come aboard to speak with him about his accounts, who came the next morning.

Monday, the 8th day of January, was a very fair day, and we went betimes to work...

Tuesday, the 9th of January, was a remarkable fair day, and we went to labor that day in the building of our town, in two rows of houses for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town. After the proportion formerly allotted, we agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house, in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being near finished wanted only covering, it being about twenty feet square. Some should make mortar, and some gather thatch, so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindered us much, this time of the year seldom could we work half the week.

Thursday, the 11th, William Bradford being at work (for it was a fair day) was vehemently taken with a grief and pain, and so shot to his huckle-bone. It was doubted that he would have instantly died; he got cold in the former discoveries, especially the last, and felt some pain in his ankles by times, but he grew a little better towards night and in time, though God's mercy in the use of means, recovered.

Friday, the 12th, we went to work, but about noon it began to rain that it forced us to give over work...

... the 14th of January, in the morning about six of the clock the wind being very great, they on shipboard spied their great new rendezvous on fire, which was to them a new discomfort, fearing because of the supposed loss of men, that the savages had fired them. Neither could they presently go to them, for want of water, but after three quarters of an hour they went, as they had purposed the day before to keep the Sabbath on shore, because now there was the greatest number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the return of the two men, and that the house was fired occasionally by a spark that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all up but the roof stood and little hurt. The most loss was Master Carver's and William Bradford's, who then lay sick in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had been blown up with powder, but, though God's mercy, they had no harm. The house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their muskets charged, but, blessed be God, there was no harm done.

Monday, the 15th day, it rained much all day, that they on shipboard could not go on shore, nor they on shore do any labor but were all wet.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, were very fair sunshiny days, as if it had been in April, and our people, so many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

The 19th day we resolved to make a shed to put our common provisions in, of which some were already set on shore, but at noon it rained, that we could not work. This day in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to use his lame feet, that were pitifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little spaniel with him. A little way from the plantation two
great wolves ran after the dog; the dog ran to him and betwixt his legs for succor. He had nothing in his hand but took up a stick, and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came again; he got a pale-board in his hand, and they sat both on their tails, grinning at him a good while, and went their way and left him.

Saturday, 20th, we made up our shed for our common goods.

Sunday, the 21st, we kept our meeting on land.

Monday, the 22nd, was a fair day. We wrought on our houses, and in the afternoon carried up our hogshedd of meal to our common storehouse. The rest of the week we followed our business likewise.

Monday, the 29th, in the morning cold frost and sleet, but after reasonable fair; both the long-boat and the shallp brought our common goods on shore.

Tuesday and Wednesday, 30th and 31st of January, cold frosty weather and sleet, that we could not work. In the morning the master and others saw two savages that had been on the island near our ship. What they came for we could not tell; they were going so far back again before they were descried, that we could not speak with them.

Sunday, the 4th of February, was very wet and rainy, with the greatest gusts of wind that ever we had since we came forth, that though we rid in a very good harbor, yet we were in danger, because our ship was light, the goods taken out, and she unballasted; and it caused much daubing of our houses to fall down.

Friday, the 9th, still the cold weather continued, that we could do little work...

Friday, the 16th, was a fair day, but the northerly wind continued, which continued the frost. This day after noon one of our people being a-fowling, and having taken a stand by a creek-side in the reeds, about a mile and a half from our plantation, there came by him twelve Indians marching towards our plantation, and in the woods he heard the noise of many more. He lay close till they were passed, and then with what speed he could he went home and gave the alarm, so the people abroad in the woods returned and armed themselves, but saw none of them; only toward the evening they made a great fire, about the place where they were first discovered. Captain Miles Standish and Francis Cook, being at work in the woods, coming home, left their tools behind them, but before they returned their tools were taken away by the savages. This coming of the savages gave us occasion to keep more strict watch, and to make our pieces and furniture ready, which by the moisture and rain were out of temper.

Saturday, the 17th day, in the morning we called a meeting for the establishing of military orders among ourselves, and we chose Miles Standish our captain, and gave him authority of command in affairs...

Wednesday, the 21st of February, the master came on shore with many of his sailors, and brought with him one of the great pieces, called a minion, and helped us to draw it up the
hill, with another piece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a saller, and two bases. He brought with him a very fat goose to eat with us, and we had a fat crane, and a mallard, and a dried neat's tongue, and so we were kindly and friendly together.

Saturday, the 3rd of March, the wind was south, the morning misty, but towards noon warm and fair; the birds sang in the woods most pleasantly. At one of the clock it thundered, which was the first we heard in that country; it was strong and great clasps, but short, but after an hour it rained very sadly till midnight.

Wednesday, the 7th of March, the wind was full east, cold, but fair. That day Master Carver with five others went to the great pond, which seem to be excellent fishing places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with deer, but they saw none. Amongst other fowl, they saw one a milk-white fowl, with a very black head. This day some garden seeds were sown.

Friday, the 16th, a fair warm day towards; this morning we determined to conclude of the military orders, which we had begun to consider of before but were interrupted by the savages, as we mentioned formerly. And whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again, for there presented himself a savage, which caused an alarm. He very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the rendezvous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would, out of his boldness. He saluted us in England, and bade us welcome, for he had learned some broken English among the Englishmen that came to fish at Monchiggon, and knew by name the most of the captains, commanders, and masters that usually came. He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things; he was the first savage we could meet withal. He said he was not of these parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the sagamores or lords thereof, and had been eight months in these parts, it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province, and of their sagamores, and their number of men, and strength. The wind being to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him, for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long, or little more; he had a bow and two arrows, the one headed, and the other unheded...

The next day he went away back to the Massasoits, from whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbors. They are sixty strong, as he saith. The Nausets are as near southeast of them, and are a hundred strong, and those were they of whom our people were encountered, as before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and about eight months ago slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monchiggon; they were Sir Ferdinando Gorges his men, as this savage told us, as he did likewise of the huggery, that is, fight, that our discoverers had with the Nausets, and of our tools that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought again, otherwise, we would right ourselves. These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one Hunt, a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them under color of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven men from Nauset, and carried them away, and sold them for
slaves like a wretched man (for twenty pound a man) that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit.

Saturday, in the morning we dismissed the savage, and gave him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring; he promised within a night or two to come again, and to bring with him some of the Massasoits, our neighbors, with such beavers' skins as they had to truck with us.

Saturday and Sunday, reasonable fair days. On this day came again the savage, and brought with him five other tall proper men; they had every man a deer's skin on him, and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like on the one arm. They had most of them long hosen up to their groins, close made; and above their groins to their waist another leather, they were altogether like the Irish-trousers. They are of a complexion like our English gypsies, no hair or very little on their faces, on the heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before, some trussed up before with a feather, broad-wise, like a fan, another a fox tail hanging out. These left (according to our charge given him before) their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them; they did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity; they sang and danced after their manner, like antics. They brought with them in a thing like a bow-case (which the principal of them had about his waist) a little of their corn pounded to powder, which, put to a little water, they eat. He had a little tobacco in a bag, but none of them drank but when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black, from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked. They brought three or four skins, but we would not truck with them at all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all, which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should, and they brought us all our tools again which were taken in the woods, in our men's absence. So because of the day we dismissed them so soon as we could. But Samoset, our first acquaintance, either was sick, or feigned himself so, and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning. Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words, and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist.

The Sabbath day, when we sent them from us, we gave every one of them some trifles, especially the principal of them. We carried them along with our arms to the place where they left their bows and arrows, whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to slink away, but that the other called them. When they took their arrows, we bade them farewell, and they were glad, and so with many thanks given us they departed, with promise they would come again.
Monday and Tuesday proved fair days; we digged our grounds, and sowed our garden seeds.

Wednesday a fine warm day, we sent away Samoset.

That day we had again a meeting to conclude of laws and orders for ourselves, and to confirm those military orders that were formerly propounded and twice broken off by the savages' coming, but so we were again the third time, for after we had been an hour together on the top of the hill over against us two or three savages presented themselves, that made semblance of daring us, as we thought. So Captain Standish with another, with their muskets went over to them, with two of the master's mates that follow them without arms, having two muskets with them. They whetted and rubbed their arrows and strings, and made show of defiance, but when our men drew near them, they ran away; thus were we again interrupted by them. This day with much ado we got our carpenter that had been long sick of the scurvy, to fit our shallop, to fetch all from aboard.

Thursday, the 22nd of March, was a very fair warm day. About noon we met again about our public business, but we had scarce been an hour together, but Samoset came again, and Tisquantum, the only native of Patuxet, where we now inhabit, who was one of the twenty captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had been in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Master John Slanie, a merchant, and could speak a little English, with three others, and they brought with them some few skins to truck, and some red herrings newly taken and dried, but not salted, and signified unto us, that their great sagamore Massasoit was hard by, wi

They could not well express in English what they would, but after an hour the king came to the top of a hill over against us, and had in his train sixty men, that we could well behold them and they us. We were not willing to send our governor to them, and they unwilling to come to us, so Tisquantum went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winslow, to know his mind, and to signify the mind and will of our governor, which was to have trading and peace with him. We sent to the king a pair of knives, and a copper chain with a jewel at it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a knife and a jewel to hang in his ear, and withal a pot of
strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted.

Our messenger made a speech unto him, that King James saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally, and that our governor desired to see him and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him, as his next neighbor. He liked well of the speech and heard it attentively, though the interpreters did not well express it. After he had eaten and drunk himself, and given the rest to his company, he looked upon our messenger's sword and armor which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it. In the end he left him in the custody of Quadequina his brother, and came over the brook, and some twenty men following him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept six or seven as hostages for our messenger; Captain Standish and Master Williamson met the king at the brook, with half a dozen musketeers. They saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to a house then in building, where we placed a green rug and three or four cushions. Then instantly came our governor with drum and trumpet after him, and some few musketeers. After salutations, our governor kissing his hand, the king kissed him, and so they sat down. The governor called for some strong water, and drunk to him, and he drank a great draught that made him sweat all the while after; he called for a little fresh meat, which the king did eat willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of peace, which was:

1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people.

2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.

3. That if any of our tools were taken away when our people are at work, he should cause them to be restored, and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the likewise to them.

4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.

5. He should send to his neighbor confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally.

All which the king seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers; all the while he sat by the governor he trembled for fear. In his person he is a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech. In his attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck, and at it being his neck hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drink; his face was painted with a sad red like murry, and oiled
both head and face, that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise, were in their faces, in part or in whole painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white, some with crosses, and other antic works; some had skins on them, and some naked, all strong, tall, all men in appearance.

The next morning divers of their people came over to us, hoping to get some victuals as we imagined; some of them told us the king would have some of us come see him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went venturously, who were welcomed of him after their manner: he gave them three or four ground-nuts, and some tobacco. We cannot yet conceive but that he is willing to have peace with us, for they have seen our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods at work and fowling, when as they offered them no harm as they might easily have done, and especially because he hath a potent adversary the Narragansets, that are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him, for our pieces are terrible unto them. This morning they stayed till ten or eleven of the clock, and our governor bid them send the king’s kettle, and filled it full of peas, which pleased them well, and so they went their way.

Friday was a fair day; Samoset and Tisquantum still remained with us. Tisquantum went at noon to fish for eels; at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of. They were fat and sweet; he trod them out with his feet, and so caught them with his hands without any other instrument.

This day we proceeded on with our common business, from which we had been so often hindered by the savages' coming, and concluding both of military orders and of some laws and orders as we thought behooveful for our present estate, and condition, and did likewise choose our governor for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us.

Section 2: A Journey to Pokanoket, the habitation of the great King Massasoit; as also our message, the answer and entertainment we had of him... (This section describes a trip Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins made to the home of Massasoit to make several requests and to reaffirm one another’s friendship and peace.)

Section 3: A Voyage Made by Ten of our men to the Kingdom of Nauset, to seek a boy that had lost himself in the woods; with such accidents as befell us in that voyage... (This section describes the Pilgrim expedition to the Nausets—the Indian tribe that had attacked them while they were exploring Cape Cod, to retrieve young John Billington who had got lost in the forest and was picked up and taken to Nauset.)

Section 4: A Journey to the Kingdom of Nemasket in defense of the great King Massasoit, against the Narragansets, and to revenge the supposed death of our interpreter Squanto... (This section describes a military expedition led by the Pilgrims against Corbitant, a sachem that had betrayed Massasoit and formed an alliance with their enemies the Narragansets to overthrow the Pilgrims. Corbitant had taken hostage Tisquantum and Tokamahamon, two interpreters for the Pilgrims, and had nearly taken a third, Hobomok, but he escaped.)
Section 5: A Relation of our Voyage to the Massachusetts, and what happened there...
(This section describes the Pilgrims first visit to the Massachusetts Indians who inhabited the Massachusetts Bay area, and describes their attempt to find the Squaw Sachem.)

This next section below is a letter written by Edward Winslow, describing the success of the Plymouth Colony. In his description is the only detailed account of the First Thanksgiving; and he also writes about the things people should bring when they come to America, based on his personal experience. It also details the peace and amity among the Christian settlers and the Indians of the region:

Section 6: A Letter Sent from New England to a friend in these parts, setting forth a brief and true declaration of the worth of that plantation; as also certain useful directions for such as intend a voyage into those parts.

Loving, and old Friend,

Although I received no letter from you by this ship, yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was, to write unto you truly and faithfully of all things, I have therefore at this time sent unto you accordingly. Referring you for further satisfaction to our more large relations.

You shall understand, that in this little time, that a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling-houses, and four for the use of the plantation, and have made preparation for divers others. We set the last spring some twenty acres of Indian corn, and sowed some six acres of barley and peas, and according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with herrings or rather shads, which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors. Our corn did prove well, and God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian corn, and our barley indifferent good, but our peas not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sown, they came up very well, and blossomed, but the sun parched them in the blossom.

Our harvest being gotten in, our governor sent four men on fowling, that so we might after have a special manner rejoice together after we had gathered the fruit of our labors; they four in one day killed as much fowl, as with a little help beside, served the company almost a week, at which time amongst other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and among the rest their greatest King Massasoit, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five deer, which they brought to the plantation and bestowed on our governor, and upon the captain, and others. And although it be not always so plentiful as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God, we are so far from want that we often wish you partakers of our plenty.
We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us; very loving and ready to pleasure us; we often go to them, and they come to us; some of us have been fifty miles by land in the country with them, the occasions and relations whereof you shall understand by our general and more full declaration of such things as are worth the noting, yea, it has pleased God so to possess the Indians with a fear of us, and love unto us, that not only the greatest king amongst them, called Massasoit, but also all the princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us, so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end. Yea, an Isle at sea, which we never saw, hath also, together with the former, yielded willingly to be under the protection, and subjects to our sovereign lord King James, so that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly, neither would have been but for us; and we for our parts walk as peaceably and safely in the wood as in the highways in England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestowing their venison on us. They are a people without any religion or knowledge of God, yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, ripewitted, just. The men and women go naked, only a skin about their middles.

For the temper of the air, here it agreeth well with that in England, and if there be any difference at all, this is somewhat hotter in summer, some think it to be colder in winter, but I cannot out of experience so say; the air is very clear and not foggy, as hath been reported. I never in my life remember a more seasonable year than we have here enjoyed; and if we have once but kine, horses, and sheep, I make no question but men might live as contented here as in any part of the world. For fish and fowl, we have great abundance; fresh cod in the summer is but coarse meat with us; our bay is full of
lobsters all the summer and affordeth variety of other fish; in September we can take a hogshhead of eels in a night, with small labor, and can dig them out of their beds all the winter; we have mussels and othus at our doors: oysters we have none near, but we can have them brought by the Indians when we will; all the spring-time the earth sendeth forth naturally very good sallet herbs: here are grapes, white and red, and very sweet and strong also. Strawberries, gooseberries, raspas, etc. Plums of three sorts, with black and red, being almost as good as a damson: abundance of roses, white, red, and damask; single, but very sweet indeed. The country wanteth only industrious men to employ, for it would grieve your hearts (if as I) you had seen so many miles together by goodly rivers uninhabited, and withal, to consider those parts of the world wherein you live to be even greatly burdened with abundance of people. These things I thought good to let you understand, being the truth of things as near as I could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalf give God thanks who hath dealt so favorably with us.

Our supply of men from you came the ninth of November 1621, putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from us. The Indians that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the corn which we found in caves, for which we have given them full content, and are in great league with them. They sent us word that there was a ship near unto them, but thought it to be a Frenchman, and indeed for ourselves, we expected not a friend so soon. But when we perceived that she made for our bay, the governor commanded a great piece to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at work; whereupon every man, yea, boy that could handle a gun, were ready, with full resolution that if she were an enemy, we would stand in our just defense, not fearing them, but God provided better for us than we supposed; these came all in health, not any being sick by the way (otherwise than sea sickness) and so continue at this time, by the blessing of God; the good-wife Ford was delivered of a son the first night she landed, and both of them are very well.

When it pleaseth God, we are settled and fitted for the fishing business, and other trading; I doubt not but by the blessing of God the gain will give content to all; in the mean time, that we have gotten we have sent by this ship, and though it be not much, yet it will witness for us that we have not been idle, considering the smallness of our number all this summer. We hope the merchants will accept of it, and be encouraged to furnish us with things needful for further employment, which will also encourage us to put forth ourselves to the uttermost.

Now because I expect your coming unto us with other of our friends, whose company we much desire, I thought good to advertise you of a few things needful; be careful to have a very good bread-room to put your biscuits in, let your cask for beer and water be ironbound for the first tire if not more; let not your meat be dry-salted, none can better do it than the sailors; let your meal be so hard trod in your cask that you shall need an adz or hatchet to work it out with: trust not too much on us for corn at this time, for by reason of this last company that came, depending wholly upon us, we shall have little enough till harvest; be careful to come by some of your meal to spend by the way, it will much refresh you. Build your cabins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes and bedding with you; bring every man a musket or fowling-piece, let your piece be long
in the barrel, and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands; bring juice of lemons, and take it fasting; it is of good use; for hot waters, aniseed water is the best, but use it sparingly; if you bring any thing for comfort in the country, butter or sallet oil, or both is very good; our Indian corn, even the coarsest, maketh pleasant meat as rice, therefore spare that unless to spend by the way; bring paper and linseed oil for your windows, with cotton yarn for your lamps; let your shot be most for big fowls, and bring store of powder and shot: I forbear further to write for the present, hoping to see you by the next return, so I take my leave, commending you to the Lord for a safe conduct unto us. Resting in Him,

Your loving friend,

E.W. [Edward Winslow]"

Hence English Protestant Christianity came to the Indians of New England, a great mercy indeed. The seal of Plymouth Colony, designed in 1629, captures the central theme of the Colony as the bringing of Calvinistic English Christianity to the North American Indian peoples. It depicts four figures in Indian clothing, each carrying the burning heart symbol of John Calvin, within a shield bearing St. George’s Cross.

God established and preserved the Pilgrim community at Plymouth which stood as a strong testimony of God's truth and grace. Massachusetts was well poised for the next phase in its development as a Puritan colony.
The next phase in Massachusetts' development was led by Puritans who had not separated from the Church of England like the Pilgrims. These Puritans brought more people and resources than the Pilgrims. They were organized in the project to form the Massachusetts Bay Colony as the Massachusetts Bay Company, a company of Puritan shareholders. The Colony began in 1628, and during the 1630s about 20,000 people migrated from old England to New England as part of it. The population was strongly Puritan, and its governance was dominated by a small group of leaders who were strongly influenced by Puritan teachings. Its governors were elected, and the electorate were limited to freemen who had been examined for their religious views and formally admitted to the local church.

The 1628 settlement was rather small. *The Massachusetts Bay Company* sent approximately 100 new settlers to what became the Salem settlement. The next year another 300 settlers came, led by Rev. Francis Higginson, one of the first ministers of the settlement. The first winters
were difficult, with colonists struggling against starvation and disease, resulting in numerous
deaths. Rev. Higginson provides this description of the early experiences in the Massachusetts
Bay Colony, in his "NEW ENGLAND’S PLANTATION or A SHORT and TRUE
DESCRIPTION of the COMMODITIES and DISCOMMODITIES":

"Letting pass our voyage by sea, we will now begin our discourse on the shore of New
England. And because the life and welfare of every creature here below, and the
commodiousness of the country whereas such creatures live, doth by the most wise
ordering of God’s providence, depend next unto himself, upon the temperature and
disposition of the four elements, earth, water, air and fire (for as of the mixture of all
these, all sublunary things are composed; so by the more or less enjoyment of the
wholesome temper and convenient use of these, consisteth the only well-being both of
man and beast in a more or less comfortable measure in all countries under the
heavens); therefore I will endeavor to show you what New England is by the
consideration of each of these apart, and truly endeavor by God’s help to report nothing
but the naked truth, and that both to tell you of the discommodities as well as of the
commodities, though as the idle proverb is, travelers may lie by authority, and so may
take too much sinful liberty that way. Yet I may say of myself as once Nehemiah did in
another case: “Shall such a man as I lie?” No verily; it becometh not a preacher of truth
to be a writer of falsehood in any degree. And therefore I have been careful to report
nothing of New England but what I have partly seen with mine own eyes, and partly
heard and inquired from the mouths of very honest and religious persons, who by living
in the country a good space of time have had experience and knowledge of the state
thereof, and whose testimonies I do believe as myself.

First therefore of the earth of New England and all the appurtenances thereof. It is a land
of divers and sundry sorts all about Massachusetts Bay, and at Charles River is as fat
black earth as can be seen anywhere; and in other places you have a clay soil; in others
sandy, as it is all about our plantation at Salem, for so our town is now named (Psalms
76:2). The form of the earth here in the superficies of it is neither too flat in the plains
nor too high in hills, but partakes of both in mediocrity, and fit for pasture, or for plow or
meadow ground, as men please to employ it. For all the country be as it were a thick
wood in general, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the Indians, as
especially about the plantation. I am told that about three miles from us a man may stand
on a little hilly place and see divers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be,
and not a tree in the same. It is thought here is good clay to make bricks and tiles and
earthen pots as needs to be. At this instant we are setting up a brick-kiln to make bricks
and tiles for the building of our houses. For stone there is plenty of slates at the Isle of
Slate in the bay of Massachusetts, and limestone, free-stone and smooth-stone and
ironstone and marble stone also in such a store, that we have great rocks of it, and a
harbor hard by. Our plantation is from thence called Marble Harbor.

Of minerals there hath yet been but little trial made, yet we are not without great hope of
being furnished in that soil. The fertility of the soil is to be admired at, as appeareth in
the abundance of grass that growth everywhere, both very thick, very long, and very
high in divers places. But it groweth very wildly with a great stalk and a broad and ranker blade, because it never had been eaten by cattle, nor mowed with a scythe, and seldom trampled on by foot. It is scarce to be believed how our kine and goats, horses and hogs do thrive and prosper here and like well of this country. In our plantation we have already a quart of milk for a penny, but the abundant increase of corn proves this country to be a wonderment. Thirty, forty, fifty, sixty are ordinary here. Yea, Joseph’s increase in Egypt is here outstripped with us. Our planters hope to have more than a hundred fold this year, and all this while I am within compass --- what will you say of two-hundred fold and upward? It is almost incredible what great gain some of our English planters have had by our Indian corn. Credible persons have assured me, and the party of it himself announced the truth of it to me, that from the setting of 13 gallons of corn, he hath had an increase of 52 hogsheads, every hogshead holding seven bushels of London measure, and every bushel was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth 18 shillings, and so of this 13 gallons of corn which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about £ 327 of it the year following, as by reckoning it will appear; wherefore you may see how God blesseth industry in this land. There are not such beautiful and great ears of corn I suppose anywhere else but in this country, being also of variety of colors as red, blue and yellow, etc. And of one corn there springeth four or five hundred. I have sent you many ears of divers colors that you may see the truth of it. Little children here by planting of corn may earn much more than their own maintenance.

They have tried our English corn at new Plymouth plantation, so that all our several grains grow here very well, and have a fitting soil for their nature. Our governor hath store of green peas growing in his garden as good as ever I ate in England. This country aboundeth naturally with store of roots of great variety and good to eat. Our turnips, parsnips and carrots are here bigger and sweeter than is ordinarily found in England. Here are also store of pumpkins, cucumbers, and other things of that nature which I know not. Also, divers excellent pot-herbs grow abundantly among the grass, as strawberry leaves in all parts of the country and plenty of strawberries in their time, and pennyroyal, wintersavory, sorrel, brooklime, liverwort, carvel and watercresses, also leeks and onions are ordinary, and divers medicinal herbs. Here are also abundance of other sweet herbs delightful to the smell, whose names we know not, etc., and plenty of single damask roses very sweet and two kinds of herbs that bear two kinds of flowers very sweet, which they say, are as good to make cordage or cloth as any hemp or flax we have. Excellent vines are here up and down in the woods. Our governor hath already planted a vineyard with great hope of increase. Also, mulberries, plums, raspberries, corrance, chestnuts, filberts, walnuts, smalnuts, hurtleberries and haws of whitethorn near as good as our cherries in England, they grow in plenty here. For wood there is no better in the world I think, here being four sorts of oak differing both in the leaf, timber, and color, all excellent good. There is also good ash, elm, willow, birch, beech, sassafras, juniper cypress, cedar, spruce, pines and fir that will yield abundance of turpentine, pitch, tar, masts and other materials for building both of ships and houses. Also here are store of sumac trees, which are good for dying and tanning of leather, likewise such trees yield a precious gum called white beniamen, that they say is excellent for perfumes. Also here be divers roots and berries wherewith the Indians dye excellent
holiday colors that no rain nor washing can alter. Also we have materials to make soap-ashes and saltpeter in abundance.

For beasts there are some bears, and they say some lions also; for they have been seen at Cape Anne. Also here are several sorts of deer, some whereof bring three or four young ones at once, which is not ordinary in England. Also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martins, great wild cats, and a great beast called a molke (moose) as big as an ox. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this plantation excepting lions. Also here are great store of squirrels, some greater, and some smaller and lesser. There are some of the lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certain skin will fly from tree to tree though they stand far distant.

Of the waters of New England with the things belonging to the same. New England hath water enough both salt and fresh, the greatest sea in the world, the Atlantic sea, runs all along the coast thereof. There are abundance of islands along the shore, some full of wood and mast to feed swine; and others clear of wood, and fruitful to bear corn. Also we have store of excellent harbors for ships, as at Cape Anne, and at Massachusetts Bay, and at Salem, and at many other places; and they are the better because for strangers there is a very difficult and dangerous passage into them, but unto such as are well acquainted with them, they are easy and safe enough. The abundance of sea-fish is almost beyond believing, and sure I should scarce have believed it except I had seen it with mine own eyes. I saw great store of whales, and crampus, and such abundance of mackerels that it would astonish one to behold, likewise codfish abundant on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called a bass, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eat. It is altogether as good as our fresh salmon, and the season of their coming was begun when we came first to New England in June, and so continued about three months space. Of this fish our fishermen take many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore to my admiration. Yea, their nets ordinarily take more then they are able to haul to land, and for want of boats and men they are constrained to let many go after they have taken them, and yet sometimes they fill two boats at a time with them. And besides bass we take plenty of skate and thomback, and abundance of lobsters, that the least boy in the plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my own part I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and luscious. I have seen some myself that have weighed 16 pounds, but others have had divers times so great lobsters as have weighed 25 pounds, as they assured me.

Also here is abundance of herring, turbot, sturgeon, cusks, haddocks, mullets, eels, crabs, mussels and oysters. Besides, there is probability that the country is of an excellent temper for the making of salt. For since our coming our fishermen have brought home very good salt which they found candied by the standing of the sea water and the heat of the sun, upon a rock by the sea shore. And in divers salt marshes that some have gone through, they have found some salt in some places crushing under their feet and clinging to their shoes.

And as for fresh water, the country is full of dainty springs, and some great rivers, and some lesser brooks; and at Massachusetts Bay they dug wells and found water at three foot deep in most places; and near Salem they have as fine clear water as we can desire, and we may dig wells and find water where we wish. Thus we see both land and sea
abound with store of blessings for the comfortable sustenance of man’s life in New England. Of the air of New England with the temper and creatures in it. The temper of the air of New England is one special thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world than agreeth better with our English bodies. Many that have been weak and sickly in old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed and grown healthful and strong. For here is an extraordinary clear and dry air that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, phlegmatic, rheumatic temper of body. None can more truly speak hereof by their own experience than myself. My friends that knew me can well tell how very sickly I have been and continually in physic, being much troubled with a tormenting pain through an extraordinary weakness of my stomach, and abundance of melancholic humors; but since I came hither on this voyage, I thank God I have had perfect health, and freed from pain and vomitings, having a stomach to digest the hardest and coarsest fare who before could not eat finest meat, and whereas my stomach could only digest and did require such drink as was both strong and stale, now I can and do oftentimes drink New England water very well, and I that have not gone without a cap for many years together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and do wear none at all in the day time. And whereas beforetimes I clothed myself with double clothes and thick waistcoats to keep me warm even in the summer time, I do now go as thin clad as any, only wearing a light stuff cassock upon my shirt and stuff breeches of one thickness without linings. Besides I have one of my children that was formerly most lamentably handled with sores breaking out of both his hands and feet of the kings-evil, but since he came hither he is very well ever he was, and there is hope of perfect recovery shortly, even by the very wholesomeness of the air, altering, digesting and drying up the cold and crude humors of the body. And therefore I think it is a wise course for all cold complections to come to take physic in New England: for a sip of New England’s air is better than a whole draft of old England’s ale. In the summer time in the midst of July and August, it is a good deal hotter than in old England. And in winter, January and February are much colder as they say. But the spring and autumn are of a middle temper. Fowls of the air are plentiful here, and of all sorts as we have in England as far as I can learn, and a great many of strange fowls which we know not. Whilst I was writing these things, one of our men brought home an eagle which he had killed in the wood. They say they are good meat. Also here are many kinds of excellent hawks, both sea hawks and land hawks. And myself walking in the woods with another in company, sprung a partridge so big that through the heaviness of his body could fly but a little way. They that have killed them say they are as big as our hens. Here are likewise abundance of turkeys often killed in the woods, far greater than our English turkeys, and exceeding fat, sweet and fleshy, for here they have abundance of feeding all the year long, such as strawberries: in summer all places are full of them, and all manner of berries and fruits. In the winter time I have seen flocks of pigeons, and have eaten of them. They do fly from tree to tree as other birds do, which our pigeons will not do in England. They are of all colors as ours are, but their wings and tails are far longer, and therefore it is likely they fly swifter to escape the terrible hawks in this country. In winter time this country doth abound with wild geese, wild ducks, and other sea fowl, that a great part of winter the planters have eaten nothing but roastmeat of divers fowls which they have killed. Thus you have heard of the earth, water and air of New England.
Now it may be you expect something to be said of the fire proportionable to the rest of the elements. Indeed I think New England may boast of this element more then of all the rest: for though it be something cold in the winter, yet here we have plenty of fire to warm us, and that a great deal cheaper than they sell billets and faggots in London. Nay, all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New England. A poor servant here is he that possesseth but 50 acres of land; he may afford to give more wood for timber and fire as good as the world yields than many noble men in England can afford to do. Here is good living for those that love good fires. And although New England have no tallow to make candles of, yet by the abundance of the fish thereof, it can afford oil for lamps. Yea, our pine trees that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles, which are very useful in a house; and they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven in two little slices something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch that they burn as clear as a torch. I have sent you some of them that you may see the experience of them.

Thus of New England’s commodities, now I will tell you of some discommodities that are here to be found.

First: in the summer season for these three months June, July and August, we are troubled with little flies called mosquitos, being the same they are troubled with in Lincolnshire and the fens, and they are nothing but gnats, which except they be smoked out of their houses are troublesome in the night season.

Secondly: in the winter season for two months space the earth is commonly covered with snow, which is accompanied with sharp biting frosts, something more sharp than is in old England, and therefore we are forced to make great fires.

Thirdly: this country being very full of woods and wildernesses, doth also much abound with snakes and serpents of strange colors and huge greatness. Yea, there are some serpents called rattlesnakes, that have rattles in their tails that will not fly from a man as others will, but will fly upon him and sting him so mortally, that he will die within a quarter of an hour after, except the party stung have about him some of the root of an herb called snake weed to bite on, and then he shall receive no harm. But yet seldom falls it out that any hurt is done by these. About three years since an Indian was stung to death by one of them, but we heard of none since that time.

Fourthly and lastly: here wants as yet the good company of honest Christians to bring with them horses, kine and sheep to make use of the fruitful land. Great pity it is to see so much good ground for corn and for grass as any is under the heavens, to lie altogether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in old England through the populousness thereof, do make very hard shift to live one by the other. Thus you know now what New England is, as also the commodities and discommodities thereof. Now I will show you a little of the inhabitants thereof, and their government.

For their governors they have kings, which they call saggamores, some greater, and some lesser, according to the number or their subjects. The greatest saggamores about us can not make above three hundred men, and other lesser saggamores have not above
fifteen subjects, and others near about us but two. Their subjects about twelve years since were swept away by a great and grievous plague that was amongst them, so that there are very few left to inhabit the country. The Indians are not able to make use of the one fourth part of the land, neither have they any settled places, as towns to dwell in, nor any ground as they challenge for their own possession, but change their habitation from place to place. For their statures, they are a tall and strong limbed people, their colors are tawny, they go naked, save only they are in part covered with beasts skins on one of their shoulders, and wear something before their privates. Their hair is generally black, and cut in front like our gentlewomen, and one lock longer than the rest, much like to our gentlemen, which fashion I think came from hence into England.

For their weapons, they have bows and arrows, some of them headed with bone, and some with brass. I have sent you some of them for an example. The men for the most part live idly, they do nothing hut hunt and fish. Their wives set their corn and do all their other work. They have little household stuff, as a kettle, and some other vessels like trays, spoons, dishes and baskets. Their houses are very little and homely, being made with small poles pricked into the ground, and so bent and fastened at the top, and on the sides they are matted with boughs, and covered on the roof with sedge and old mats, and for their beds that they take their rest on, they have a mat.

They do generally confess to like well of our coming and planting here; partly because there is abundance of ground that they cannot possess nor make use of, and partly because our being here will be a means both of relief to them when they want, and also a defense from their enemies, wherewith (I say) before this plantation began, they were often endangered.

For their religion, they do worship two gods: a good god and an evil god. The good god they call Tantum, and their evil god, whom they fear will do them hurt, they call Squantum.

For their dealing with us, we neither fear them nor trust them, for forty of our musketeers will drive five hundred of them out of the field. We use them kindly: they will come into our houses sometimes by half a dozen or half a score at a time when we are at victuals, but will ask or take nothing but what we give them.

We propose to learn their language as soon as we can, which will be a means to do them good. Of the present condition of the plantation, and what it is. When we came first to Neihumkek, we found about half a score houses, and a fair house newly built for the Governor (Capt. John Endecott). We found also abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well liking. And we brought with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which by common consent of the old planters were all combined together into one body politic, under the same Governor.

There are in all of us both old and new planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Neihumkek, now called Salem: and the rest have planted themselves at Massachusetts Bay, beginning to build a town there which we do call Cherton, or Charles town.
We that are settled at Salem make what haste we can to build houses, so that within a short time we shall have a fair town. We have great ordnance, wherewith we doubt not but we shall fortify ourselves in a short time to keep out a potent adversary. But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defense above all other, is that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of almighty God taught amongst us. Thanks be to God, we have plenty of preaching, and diligent catechizing, with strict and careful exercise, and good and commendable orders to bring our people into a Christian conversation with whom we have to do withal. And thus we doubt not but God will be with us, and if God be with us, who can be against us?"

In 1629 the Company leaders sought a Royal Charter for the colony because they were concerned about the legality of conflicting land claims given to several companies. The 1629 Charter Of Massachusetts Bay from King Charles I to establish the colony thus includes these words explaining its governance:

"And further, That the said Governour and Companye, and their Successors, maie have forever one comon Seale, to be used in all Causes and Occasions of the said Company, and the same Seale may alter, chaunge, breake, and newe make, from tyme to tyme, at their pleasures. And our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Us, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and graunte, That from henceforth for ever, there shalbe one Governor, one Deputy Governor, and eighteen Assistants of the same Company, to be from tyme to tyme constituted, elected and chosen out of the Freemen of the saide Company, for the twyme being, in such Manner and Forme as hereafter in theis Presents is expressed, which said Officers shall applie themselves to take Care for the best disposeing and ordering of the generall buysines and Affaires of, for, and concerning the said Landes and Premisses hereby mentioned, to be graunted, and the Plantation thereof, and the Government of the People there...

In all and every, or any of which saide greate and generall Courts soe assembled, Wee doe for Us, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, That the Governor, or in his absence, the Deputie Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, and such of the Assistants and Freeman of the saide Company as shalbe present, or the greater nomber of them so assembled, whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor and six of the Assistants at the least to be seaven, shall have full Power and authoritie to choose, nominate, and appointe, such and soe many others as they shall thinke fitt, and that shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and Body, and them into the same to admitt; and to elect and constitute such officers as they shall thinke fill and requisite, for the ordering, mannaging, and dispatching of the Affaires of the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors; And to make Lawes and Ordinances for the Good and Welfare of the saide Company, and for the Government and ordering of the saide Landes and Plantation, and the People inhabiting and to inhabite the same, as to them from tyme
This charter gave the Puritans broad powers to rule Massachusetts according to Biblical principles. Under the charter's provisions, power rested with the General Court, which was made up of "freemen" required to be members of the Puritan Church. This guaranteed that the Puritans would be the dominant political as well as religious force in the colony, in accordance with the scriptural principle that civil and ecclesiastical rule is to be under subjection to Christ and His law. It was the General Court which elected the governor.

Taking advantage of this new Royal Charter, a flotilla of ships, with the Arbella as flagship, sailed from England beginning in April 1630, sometimes known as the Winthrop Fleet.

They began arriving at Salem in June and carried more than 700 colonists, under the able leadership of Governor John Winthrop. Winthrop delivered his famous “City upon a Hill” sermon entitled “A Model of Christian Charity” while on board the Arbella. Excerpted below, this sermon lays out the great vision of the Puritan settlers:
GOD ALMIGHTY in his most holy and wise providence, hath soe disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poore, some high and eminent in power and dignitie; others mean and in submission.

The Reason hereof.

1 Reas. First to hold conformity with the rest of his world, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures, and the glory of his power in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole; and the glory of his greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, soe this great king will haue many stewards, Counting himself more honoured in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his owne immediate hands.

2 Reas. Secondly that he might haue the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit...

3 Reas. Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knitt more nearly together in the Bonds of brotherly affection. ...

3ly. The Lawe of nature would give no rules for dealing with enemies, for all are to be considered as friends in the state of innocency, but the Gospell commands loue to an enemy. Proofe. If thine Enemy hunger, feed him; Love your Enemies, doe good to them that hate you. Math. 5. 44.

This lawe of the Gospell propounds likewise a difference of seasons and occasions. There is a time when a christian must sell all and give to the poor, as they did in the Apostles times. There is a time allsoe when christians (though they give not all yet) must give beyond their abillity, as they of Macedonia, Cor. 2, 6. Likewise community of perills calls for extraordinary liberality, and soe doth community in some speciall service for the churche. Lastly, when there is no other means whereby our christian brother may be relieved in his distress, we must help him beyond our ability rather than tempt God in putting him upon help by miraculous or extraordinary meanes.

This duty of mercy is exercised in the kinds, Giueving, lending and forgiving.--

Quest. What rule shall a man observe in giueving in respect of the measure?

Ans. If the time and occasion be ordinary he is to giue out of his abundance. Let him lay aside as God hath blessed him. If the time and occasion be extraordinary, he must be ruled by them; taking this withall, that then a man cannot likely doe too much, especially if he may leave himselfe and his family under probable means of comfortable subsistence.

Object. A man must lay upp for posterity, the fathers lay upp for posterity and children, and he is worse than an infidell that provideth not for his owne.

Ans. For the first, it is plaine that it being spoken by way of comparison, it must be meant of the ordinary and usuall course of fathers, and cannot extend to times and occasions extraordinary.
For the other place the Apostle speaks against such as walked inordinately, and it is without question, that he is worse than an infidel who through his owne sloath and voluptuousness shall neglect to provide for his family.~

Object. The wise man’s Eies are in his head, saith Solomon, and foreseeth the plague; therefore he must forecast and lay upp against evill times when hee or his may stand in need of all he can gather.

Ans. This very Argument Solomon useth to persuade to liberallity, Eccle.: Cast thy bread upon the waters, and for thou knowest not what evill may come upon the land. ...

Quest. What rule must wee observe in lending?

Ans. Thou must observe whether thy brother hath present or probable or possible means of repaying thee, if there be none of those, thou must give him according to his necessity, rather then lend him as he requires; if he hath present means of repaying thee, thou art to look at him not as an act of mercy, but by way of Commerce, wherein thou art to walk by the rule of justice; but if his means of repaying thee be only probable or possible, then is hee an object of thy mercy, thou must lend him, though there be danger of losing it, Deut. 15. 7. If any of thy brethren be poore &c., thou shalt lend him sufficient. That men might not shift off this duty by the apparent hazzard, he tells them that though the yeare of Jubile were at hand (when he must remitt it, if hee were not able to repay it before) yet he must lend him and that chearefully. It may not greive thee to give him (saith hee) and because some might object, why soe I should soone impoverishe myself and my family, he adds with all thy worke &c; for our Saviour, Math. 5. 42. From him that would borrow of thee turne not away.

Quest. What rule must we observe in forgivinng?

Ans. Whether thou didst lend by way of commerce or in mercy, if he hath nothing to pay thee, must forgive, (except in cause where thou hast a surety or a lawfull pledge) Deut. 15. 2. Every seaventh yeare the Creditor was to quitt that which he lent to his brother if he were poore as appears ver. 8. Save when there shall be no poore with thee. In all these and like cases, Christ was a generall rule, Math. 7. 22. Whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you, doe yee the same to them alse.

Quest. What rule must wee observe and walke by in cause of community of perill?

Ans. The same as before, but with more enlargement towards others and lesse respect towards ourselves and our owne right. Hence it was that in the primitive Churche they sold all, had all things in common, neither did any man say that which he possessed was his owne. Likewise in theire returne out of the captivity, because the worke was greate for the restoring of the church and the danger of enemies was common to all, Nehemiah directs the Jews to liberallity and readiness in remitting theire debts to theire brethren, and disposing liberally to such as wanted, and stand not upon their owne dues which they might have demanded of them. Thus did some of our Forefathers in times of persecution in England, and soe did many of the faithful of other churches, whereof wee keepe an honorable remembrance of them; and it is to be observed that both in Scriptures and latter stories of the churches that such as have beene most bountifull to the poore saintes, especially in those extraordinary times and occasions, God hath left them
highly commended to posterity, as Zacheus, Cornelius, Dorcas, Bishop Hooper, the Cuttler of Brussels and divers others. ...

From hence we may frame these conclusions. 1. First of all, true Christians are of one body in Christ, 1 Cor. 12. 12. 13. 17. Ye are the body of Christ and members of their parte. All the partes of this body being thus united are made soe contiguous in a speciall relation as they must needs partake of each other's strength and infirmity; joy and sorrowe, weale and woe. 1 Cor. 12. 26. If one member suffers, all suffer with it, if one be in honor, all rejoyce with it. 2ly. The ligaments of this body which knitt together are loue. 3ly. Noe body can be perfect which wants its proper ligament. 5ly. This sensibleness and sympathy of each other's conditions will necessarily infuse into each parte a native desire and endeavour, to strengthen, defend, preserve and comfort the other. To insist a little on this conclusion being the product of all the former, the truthe hereof will appeare both by precept and patterne. 1 John 3. 10. Yee ought to lay doune your lives for the brethren. Gal. 6. 2. beare ye one another's burthen's and soe fulfill the lawe of Christ. For patterns wee haue that first of our Saviour whom out of his good will in obedience to his father, becoming a parte of this body and being knitt with it in the bond of loue, found such a native sensibleness of our infirmities and sorrowes as he willingly yielded himselfe to deathe to ease the infirmities of the rest of his body, and soe healed theire sorrowes. From the like sympathy of partes did the Apostles and many thousands of the Saintes lay doune theire lives for Christ. Againe the like wee may see in the members of this body among themselves. 1 Rom. 9. Paule could have been contented to have been separated from Christ, that the Jewes might not be cutt off from the body. It is very observable what hee professeth of his affectionate partaking with every member; whoe is weake (saith hee) and I am not weake? whoe is offended and I burne not; and againe, 2 Cor. 7. 13. therefore wee are comforted because yee were comforted. Of Epaphroditus he speaketh, Phil. 2. 30. that he regarded not his owne life to do him service. Soe Phebe and others are called the servants of the churche. Now it is apparent that they served not for wages, or by constrainte, but out of loue. The like we shall finde in the histories of the churche, in all ages; the sweete sympathie of affections which was in the members of this body one towards another; theire cheerfullness in serueing and suffering together; how liberall they were without repineing, harbourers without grudgeing, and helpfull without reproaching; and all from hence, because they had feruent loue amongst them; which onely makes the practise of mercy constant and easie.

The next consideration is how this loue comes to be wrought. Adam in his first estate was a perfect modell of mankinde in all their generations, and in him this loue was perfected in regard of the habit. But Adam, rent himselfe from his Creator, rent all his posteryt allsoe one from another; whence it comes that every man is borne with this principle in him to loue and seeke himselfe onely, and thus a man continueth till Christ comes and takes possession of the soule and infuseth another principle, loue to God and our brother, and this latter hauing continuall supply from Christ, as the head and roote by which he is united, gets the predomining in the soule, soe by little and little expells the former. 1 John 4. 7. loue cometh of God and every one that loueth is borne of God, soe that this loue is the fruite of the new birthe, and none can have it but the new creature. Now when this quallity is thus formed in the soules of men, it workes like the Spirit upon the drie bones. Ezek. 39. bone came to bone. It gathers together the scattered bones, or perfect old man Adam, and knitts them into one body againe in Christ, whereby a man is become againe a living soule.
The third consideration is concerning the exercise of this love, which is twofold, inward or outward. The outward hath been handled in the former preface of this discourse. From unfolding the other we must take in our way that maxime of philosophy. Simile simili gaudet, or like will to like: for as of things which are turned with disaffection to eache other, the ground of it is from a dissimilitude or arising from the contrary or different nature of the things themselves; for the ground of love is an apprehension of some resemblance in the things loved to that which affects it. This is the cause why the Lord loves the creature, soe farre as it hath any of his Image in it; he loves his elect because they are like himselfe, he beholds them in his beloved sonne. So a mother loves her child, because she thoroughly conceives a resemblance of herselfe in it. Thus it is betweene the members of Christ; eache discernes, by the worke of the Spirit, his owne Image and resemblance in another, and therefore cannot but love him as he loves himself. Now when the soule, which is of a sociable nature, findes anything like to itselffe, it is like Adam when Eve was brought to him. She must be one with himselfe. This is flesh of my flesh (saith he) and bone of my bone. Soe the soule conceives a greate delighte in it; therefore she desires nearness and familiarity with it. Shee hath a greate propensity to doe it good and receiues such content in it, as fearing the miscarriage of her beloved, shee bestowes it in the inmost closets of her heart. Shee will not endure that it shall want any good which shee can giue it. If by occasion shee be withdrawne from the company of it, shee is still looking towards the place where shee left her beloved. If shee heard it groane, shee [is with it presently. If shee finde it sadd and disconsolate, shee sighes and moanes with it. Shee hath noe such joy as to see her beloved merry and thriving. If shee see it wronged, shee cannot hear it without passion. Shee setts noe boundes to her affections, nor hath any thought of reward. Shee findes recompense enough in the exercise of her love towards it. Wee may see this acted to life in Jonathan and David. Jonathan a valiant man endued with the spirit of love, soe soone as he discovered the same spirit in David had presently his hearte knitt to him by this ligament of love; soe that it is said he loved him as his owne soule, he takes soe great pleasure in him, that hee stripps himselfe to adorne his beloved. His father's kingdome was not soe precious to him as his beloved David, David shall haue it with all his hearte. Himself desires noe more but that hee may be neare to him to rejoyce in his good. Hee chooseth to converse with him in the wildernesse even to the hazzard of his owne life, rather than with the greate Courtiers in his father's Pallace. When hee sees danger towards him, hee spares neither rare paines nor peril to direct it. When injury was offered his beloved David, hee would not beare it, though from his owne father. And when they must parte for a season onely, they thought their affections found vent by abundance of teares. Other instances might be brought to showe the nature of this affection; as of Ruthe and Naomi, and many others; but this truth is cleared enough. If any shall object that it is not possible that love shall be bred or upheld without hope of requitall, it is granted; but that is not our cause; for this love is alluayes vnder reward. It never giues, but it alluayes receives with advantage; First in regard that among the members of the same body, love and affection are reciprocall in a most equal and sweete kinde of cormercse.

2nly. In regard of the pleasure and content that the exercise of love carries with it, as wee may see in the naturall body. The mouth is at all the paines to receive and mince the foode which serves for the nourishment of all the other partes of the body: yet it hath noe cause to complaine; for first the other partes send backe, by several passages, a due proportion of the same nourishment, in a better forme for the strengthening and comforting the mouth. 2ly the laboure of the mouth is accompanied with such pleasure and content as farre exceeds the paines it takes. Soe is it in all the labour of love among Christians. The partie loving, reapes
loue again, as was showed before, which the soule covetts more then all the wealth in the
world. 3ly. Nothing yeildes more pleasure and content to the soule then when it findes that
which it may loue fervently; for to love and live beloved is the soule's paradise both here and in
heaven. In the State of wedlock there be many comforts to learne out of the troubles of that
Condition; but let such as have tryed the most, say if there be any sweetness in that Condition
comparable to the exercise of mutuall loue.

From the former Considerations arise these Conclusions.--1. First, This loue among Christians
is a reall thing, not imaginarie. 2ly. This loue is as absolutely necessary to the being of the body
of Christ, as the sinews and other ligaments of a naturall body are to the being of that body. 3ly.
This loue is a divine, spirituall, nature; free, active, strong, couragious, permanent;
undervaluing all things beneathe its proper object and of all the graces, this makes us nearer
to resemble the virtues of our heavenly father. 4thly It rests in the loue and welfare of its
beloved. For the full certain knowledge of those truthes concerning the nature, use, and
excellency of this grace, that which the holy ghost hath left recorded, 1 Cor. 13, may give full
satisfaction, which is needful for every true member of this louely body of the Lord Jesus, to
worke upon theire hearts by prayer, meditation continuall exercise at least of the speciall
[influence] of this grace, till Christ be formed in them and they in him, all in eache other, knitt
together by this bond of loue.

It rests now to make some application of this discourse, by the present designe, which gaue the
occasion of writing of it. Herein are 4 things to be propounded: first the persons, 2ly the worke,
3ly the end, 4thly the meanes. 1. For the persons. Wee are a company professing ourselves
fellow members of Christ, in which respect onely though wee were absent from each other many
miles, and had our imployments as farre distant, yet wee ought to account ourselves knitt
together by this bond of loue, and, live in the exercise of it, if wee would have comforte of our
being in Christ. This was notorious in the practise of the Christians in former times; as is
testified of the Waldenses, from the mouth of one of the adversaries Aeneas Sylvius "mutuo
ament pere antequam norunt," they use to loue any of theire owne religion even before they
were acquainted with them. 2nly for the worke wee have in hand. It is by a mutuall consent,
through a speciall overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the
Churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and Consorteshipp under a due forme
of Government both ciuill and ecclesiasticall. In such cases as this, the care of the publique
must oversway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but meare civill pollicy,
dothe binde us. For it is a true rule that particular Estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the
publique. 3ly The end is to improve our lives to doe more service to the Lord; the comforte and
increase of the body of Christe, whereof we are members; that ourselves and posterity may be
the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evill world, to serve the Lord and
worke out our Salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances. 4thly for the meanes
whereby this must be effected. They are twofold, a conformity with the worke and end wee aime
at. These wee see are extraordinary, therefore wee must not content ourselves with usuall
ordinary meanes. Whatsoever wee did, or ought to have, done, when wee liued in England, the
same must wee doe, and more allsoe, where wee goe. That which the most in theire churches
mainetain as truthe in profession onely, wee must bring into familiar and constant practise; as
in this duty of loue, wee must loue brotherly without dissimulation, wee must loue one another
with a pure hearte fervently. Wee must beare one anothers burthens. We must not looke onely
on our owne things, but allsoe on the things of our brethren. Neither must wee thinke that the
Lord will beare with such faileings at our hands as he dothe from those among whome wee have
lived; and that for these 3 Reasons; 1. In regard of the more neare bond of mariage between him and us, wherein hee hath taken us to be his, after a most strickt and peculiar manner, which will make them the more jealous of our loue and obedience. Soe he tells the people of Israell, you onely have I knowne of all the families of the Earthe, therefore will I punishe you for your Transgressions. 2ly, because the Lord will be sanctified in them that come neare him. We know that there were many that corrupted the service of the Lord; some setting upp altars before his owne; others offering both strange fire and strange sacrifices allsoe; yet there came noe fire from heaven, or other sudden judgement upon them, as did upon Nadab and Abihu, whose yet wee may think did not sinne presumptuously. 3ly When God gives a speciall commission he lookes to have it strictly observed in every article; When he gave Saule a commission to destroy Amaleck, Hee indented with him upon certain articles, and because hee failed in one of the least, and that upon a faire pretense, it lost him the kingdom, which should have beene his reward, if hee had observed his commission. Thus stands the cause betweene God and us. We are entered into Covenant with Him for this worke. Wee haue taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to drawe our own articles. Wee haue professed to enterprise these and those accounts, upon these and those ends. Wee have hereupon besought Him of favour and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to heare us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath hee ratified this covenant and sealed our Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if wee shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends wee have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnall intentions, seeking greate things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrath against us; be revenged of such a [sinful] people and make us knowe the price of the breache of such a covenant.

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke, and to provide for our posterity, is to followe the counsell of Micah, to doe justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, wee must be knitt together, in this worke, as one man. Wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection. Wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. Wee must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekeness, gentlenes, patience and liberality. Wee must delight in eache other; make other's conditions our owne; rejoice together, mourne together, labour and suffer together, allwayses haueing before our eyes our commission and community in the worke, as members of the same body. Soe shall wee keepe the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his owne people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our wayes. Soe that wee shall see much more of his wisdome, power, goodness and truthe, than formerly wee haue been acquainted with. Wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when hee shall make us a prayse and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "the Lord make it likely that of New England." For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are upon us. Soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our God in this worke wee haue undertaken, and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. Wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evil of the wayes of God, and all professors for God's sake. Wee shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause thereire prayers to be turned into curses upon us till wee be consumed out of the good land whither wee are a going.

I shall shutt upp this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithfull servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israell, Deut. 30. Beloued there is now sett before us life and good, Death
and evil, in that we are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another, to walk in his ways and to keep his Commandments and his Ordinance and his laws, and the articles of our Covenant with him, that we may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it. But if our hearts shall turn away, so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship and serve other gods, our pleasure and profits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it;

Therefore let us choose life
that we, and our seed
may live, by obeying His
voice and cleaving to Him,
for He is our life and
our prosperity.

With this as their vision, for the next ten years there was a steady exodus of Puritans from England, with about 20,000 people emigrating to Massachusetts and the neighboring colonies during what is called the Great Migration. Many Puritan ministers made the trip with their congregations, among whom were John Cotton, Roger Williams and Thomas Hooker.

The Puritans of New England realized that the only way to maintain Biblical law was to confine the governing vote to those who pledge to support and enforce Christ and His law. Mr. John Cotton, one of the most able ministers and theologians in New England, explained in 1637 this Biblical justification that only the reformed Christian church members should have the right to vote and hold civil office:

"The word of God doth contain a short ... platforme, not onely of theology, but also of other sacred sciences ... attendants, and hand maids thereunto, which he maketh ethicks,
eoconomics, politics, church-government, prophecy, academy. It is very suitable to God's all-sufficient wisdome, and to the fulnes and perfection of Holy Scriptures, not only to prescribe perfect rules for the right ordering of a private man's soule to everlasting blessednes with himself, but also for the right ordering of a man's family, yea, of the commonwealth too, so farre as both of them are subordinate to spiritual ends, and yet avoide both the churches usurpations upon civill jurisdictions ... and the commonwealths invasion upon ecclesiastical administrations ..., and conformity to the civill state. God's institutions (such as the government of church and of commonwealth be) may be close and compact, and coordinate one to another, and yet not confounded. God hath so framed the state of church government and ordinances, that they may be compatible to any commonwealth, though never so much disordered in his frame. But yet when a commonwealth hath liberty to mould his owne frame ... I conceyve the scripture hath given full direction for the right ordering of the same .... Mr. Hooker doth offer that noe man fashioneth his house to his hangings, but his hangings to his house. It is better that the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of Gods house, which is his church, than to accommodate the church frame to the civil state. Democracy I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarchy, and aristocracy, they are both of them clearely approoved, and directed in scripture, yet so as referreth the soveraigntie to himselfe, and setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best forme of government in the commonwealth, as well as in the church.

When your Lordship doubteth, that this corse will draw all things under the determination of the church ... (seeing the church is to determine who shall be members, and none but a member may have to doe in the government of a commonwealth) be pleased (I pray you) to conceyve, that magistrates are neyther chosen to office in the church, nor doe governe by direction from the church, but by civill lawes, and those enacted in generall corts, and executed in corts of justice by the governors and assistants. In all which, the church (as the church) hath nothing to doe: onely, it prepareth fitt instruments both to rule, and to choose rulers, which is no ambition in the church, nor dishonor to the commonwealth; the apostle, on the contrary, thought it a great dishonor and reproach to the church of Christ, if it were not able to yield able judges to heare and determine all causes amongst their brethren. I Cor. VI. 1 to 5. Which
place alone seemeth to me fully to decide this question; for it plainely holdeth forth this argument: It is a shame to the church to want able judges of civill matters (as v. 5) and an audacious act in any church member voluntarily to go for judgment, other where than before the saints (as v. 1.) then it will be noe arrogance nor folly in church members, nor prejudice to the commonwealth, if voluntarily they never choose any civill judges but from amongst the saints, such as church members are called to be. But the former is cleare: and how then can the latter be avoyded? If this therefore be (as your Lordship rightly conceyveth) one of the maine objections if not the onely one which hindereth this commonwealth from the entertainment of the propositions of those worthy gentlemen, wee intreate then, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to consider, in meekness or wisdome, it is not any conceite or will of ours, but the holy counsell and will of the Lord Jesus (whom they seeke to serve as well as wee) that overruleth us in this case; and we trust will overrule them also, that the Lord onely may be exalted amongst all his servants. What pittie and griefe were it, that the observance of the will of Christ should hinder good things from us!

But your Lordship doubteth, that if such a rule were necessary, then the church estate and the best ordered commonwealth in the world were not compatible. But let not your Lordship so conceyve. For, the church submitteth it selfe to all the lawes and ordinances of men, in what commonwealth soever they come to dwell. But it is one thing, to submit unto what they have noe calling to reforme; another thing, voluntarily to ordeyne a forme of government, which to the best discerning of many of us (for I speake not of my selfe) is expressly contrary to rule. Nor neede your Lordship feare (which yet I speak with submission to your Lordships better judgment) that this corse will lay such a foundation, as nothing but a mere democracy can be built upon it. Bodine confesseth, that though it be status popularis, where a people choose their owne governors; yet the government is not a democracy, whether one (for then it is a monarchy, though elective) or by many, for then (as you know) it is an aristocracy. In which respect it is, that church government is iustly denyed ... to be democratical, though the people choose their owne officers and rulers.

Nor neede wee feare, that this course will, in time, cast the commonwealth into distractions, and popular confusions. For (under correction) these three things doe not undermine, but doe mutually and strongly mainteyne one another (even those three which wee principally aime at) authority in magistrates, liberty in people, purity in the church. Purity, preserved in the church, will preserve well ordered liberty in the people, and both of them establish well-balanced authority in the magistrates. God is the author of all these three, and neyther is himselfe the God of confusion, nor are his wayes the wayes of confusion, but of peace..."

John Winthrop, along with the other Puritan leaders, thus openly set out to create a "city upon a hill" in the New World. Here are the reasons he and others then gave for their enterprise:
"Reasons to be considered for justifying the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England, and for encouraging such whose hearts God shall move to join with them in it.

1. It will be a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the Gospel into those parts of the world, to help on the fullness of the coming of the Gentiles, and to raise a bulwark against the kingdom of AnteChrist, which the Jesuits labor to rear up in those parts.

2. All other Churches of Europe are brought to desolation, and our sins, for which the Lord begins already to frown upon us and to cut us short, do threaten evil times to be coming upon us, and who knows, but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he means to save out of the general calamity, and seeing the Church hath no place left to fly into but the wilderness, what better work can there be, than to go and provide tabernacles and food for her when she be restored.

3. This England grows weary of her inhabitants, so as Man, who is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon, and of less price among us than a horse or a sheep. Masters are forced by authority to entertain servants, parents to maintain their own children, all towns complain of their burden to maintain their poor, though we have taken up many unnecessary, yea unlawful, trades to maintain them. We use the authority of the Law to hinder the increase of our people, as by urging the statute against cottages and inmates --- and thus it is come to pass, that children, servants and neighbors, especially if they be poor, are counted the greatest burdens, which if things were right would be the chiepest earthly blessings.

4. The whole earth is the Lord's garden, and He hath given it to mankind with a general commission (Gen. 1:28) to increase and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it, which was again renewed to Noah. The end is double and natural, that Mankind might enjoy the fruits of the earth, and God might have His due Glory from His creatures. Why then should one strive here for places of habitation, at such a cost as would obtain better land in another country, and at the same time suffer a whole continent as fruitful and convenient for the use of man to lie waste without any improvement? 5. We are grown to that height of intemperance in all excess of riot that as no man's estate, almost, will suffice to keep sail with his equals. He who fails herein must live in scorn and contempt. Hence it comes that all arts and trades are carried on in that deceitful and unrighteous course, so that it is almost impossible for a good and upright man to maintain his charge and live comfortably in any of them.

6. The fountains of learning and religion are so corrupted that most children (besides the unsupportable charge of their education) are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown by the multitude of evil examples and the licentious government of those seminaries, where men strain at gnats and swallow camels, and use all severity for maintenance of caps and like accomplishments, but suffer all ruffianlike fashions and disorder in manners to pass uncontrolled.

7. What can be a better work, and more honorable and worthy of a Christian than to help rise and support a particular church while it is in its infancy, and to join his forces with such a company of faithful people, as by a timely assistance may grow strong and prosper, when for want of such help may be put to great hazard, if not wholly ruined.
8. If any such as are known to be Godly and live in all wealth and prosperity here, and shall forsake all this to join themselves with this Church and to run a hazard with them of a hard and mean condition, it will be an example of great use both for removing the scandal of worldly and sinister respects which is cast upon the Adventurer, to give more life to the faith of God's people in their prayers for the Plantation, and to encourage others to join the more willingly in it.

9. It appears to be a work of God for the good of His Church, in that He hath disposed the hearts of so many of His wise and faithful servants, both ministers and others, not only to approve of the enterprise but to interest themselves in it, some in their persons and estates, and others by their serious advice and help otherwise, and all by their prayers for the welfare of it. (Amos 3:) The Lord revealed his secret to His servants, the prophets, and it is likely He hath some great work in hand which He hath revealed to His prophets among us, whom He hath stirred up to encourage His servants to this Plantation, for He doth not use to seduce His people by His own prophets, but committeth that office to the ministry of false prophets and lying spirits.”

For most of the next generation, the General Court elected men like John Winthrop and John Endicott as their governor, to carry out the enterprise.

The experience was one of great promise combined with great challenge of a people covenanted to Christ. The Christian people in each town organized a church and covenanted to follow Christ as people and societies everywhere are commanded to do. Here is a sample covenant in 1630 of the people of the Charles-Boston Church:

"In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in Obedience to his holy Will and Divine Ordinance, We whose Names are here under written, being by his most wise and good
providence brought together into this part of America in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite ourselves into one Congregation or Church under the Lord Jesus Christ our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed, and sanctified to himself, DO hereby solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy Presence) promise and bind ourselves, to walk in all our ways according to the Rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere Conformity to his holy Ordinances, and in mutual Love and Respect each to other, so near as God shall give us Grace.

John Winthrop | Thomas Dudley | Isaac Johnson | John Wilson | &c | &c"

Puritan rule in Massachusetts was not without challenge. Two early challenges came from Mrs Anne Hutchinson and another by a young clergyman named Roger Williams. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson asserted and promoted an antinomian and quasi-charismatic theology. She charged various gospel ministers in Massachusetts with preaching a covenant of works and not of grace because they held the moral law to be a rule of life for the Christian. She also asserted she had received special revelation from God on various matters.

Roger Williams originally espoused Puritanism and emigrated to the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1631. Williams became a teacher (1632) and, after a stay at Plymouth, minister (1634) of the Salem church. However, the religious beliefs and political theories he promoted—he denied the validity of the Massachusetts charter, challenged the Puritans to acknowledge they had separated from the Church of England, and declared that civil magistrates had no power over matters of conscience—were a direct assault on the legitimacy of the Puritan government in Massachusetts and even Christian government in general. It was the virtually universal view of the Christian church, from early church fathers like Augustine to the reformers as represented in all the reformed confessions, that civil government had the duty to enforce both tables of the Ten Commandments, God's moral law. Williams denied this, essentially asserting instead civil government should only enforce the second table. But he failed to prove this from scripture or to show how a government not committed to Biblical Christianity would long enforce either table of the Ten Commandments.
Neither Anne Hutchinson nor Roger Williams were willing to repent, and so both were banished from the Massachusetts colony. The Puritans recognized what most moderns have naively denied: in any society of men "a little leaven leavens the whole lump". Puritan theologians like John Cotton of New England and George Gillespie of Scotland defended the use of banishment in cases such as this, against the bitter charges of Roger Williams, as to theological propriety. We shall consider their arguments more fully in the chapter on Rhode Island, but here is one quote from Gillespie’s response:

“Sects and Schisms are to be punished as well, though not as much as Heresy and Idolatry. There are degrees of faults, and accordingly degrees of punishments. Augustine wrote an Epistle to Bonifacius [Tom. 2. Ep. 50.] upon this occasion, to shew that the Donatists had nothing to do with the Arrians, and so were not to be punished with such rigour and severity; yet he adviseth that moderate mulcts and punishments may be laid upon them, & that their Bishops or Ministers may be banished. In his 127 Epistle, he interceded most earnestly with the proconsul of Africk, that he might not put to death the Donatists, but repress them some other ways. We have also a scripture example for punishing Sectaries who are not Heretics. It is agreed among interpreters, there were in Judah two sorts of high places, some on which God was worshiped, others on which idols were worshipped, & it is most manifest from 2 Chron. 33.17, and from the reconciling of 2 Chron. 15.17, with chapter 14.3,5, the one sort was the high places of Idolatry, the other, the high places of will-worship; yet the Priests of the latter, as well as of the former, were punished by Josiah, as Tostatus proveth from 2 Kings 23, and the text itself is clear, for he put to death the Priests of Samaria, who had sacrificed in the high places of Idolatry, verse 20, but as for those who sacrificed in the high places of will-worship, because they sacrificed to the Lord only (as the word is, 2 Chron. 33.17.) therefore Josiah did not put them to death, only he caused them to go out of all the Cities of Judah, and to cease from the Priests office, so that they durst not come up to the Altar of the Lord at Jerusalem, only they were permitted to eat of the unleavened bread among their brethren, verses 8,9, which is parallel to that law, Ezek. 44.10-14, a prophecy concerning the Christian Temple, and the times of the New Testament.

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Puritan leadership passed the test at least in these early cases to maintain a Puritan society and government in conformity to Biblical principles. If it had not obeyed God in this way, God would have early on judged Puritan Massachusetts, and reduced the brightness of its candlestick, even as happened later in its history.
Early on the Puritans of Massachusetts also realized that government must protect the civil rights and liberties of its citizens even as it protects the interests of God. Protections were needed against arbitrary rule by civil leaders. Given the uncodified nature of English Common Law and the new conditions in the Colony, a body of laws and juridic procedure was apparently needed. A committee was created in 1635, and the townships were directed to present suggestions in 1637. In December 1641, the General Court adopted, with some slight amendment, the code submitted by Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich. Nathaniel Ward (c.1578 – 1652) was trained as a lawyer, and was known later as a lay clergyman, philosopher and satirist. The law he proposed for the colony was based upon Biblical moral law, applied to the New England setting, and drew upon English common law tradition (which itself is based in Biblical law). Despite the broad authority given to the General Court to override this code in certain instances, it should be remembered that the authority of the Court was directly derived by vote of all the Freemen of the Commonwealth. Its abrogative authority was to be used only in martial emergency or other extraordinary circumstances.
Seven years later the Colony better organized and refined the “General Lawes and Libertyes” in its “Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes Concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusets”, adopted in 1648. Here is the full text of that Book of Laws which is quite instructive regarding Puritan government and society:

"FORASMUCH as the free fruition of such Liberties, Immunities, priviledges as humanitie, civilitie & christianity call for as due to everie man in his place, & proportion, without impeachment & infringement hath ever been, & ever will be the tranquility & stability of Churches & Comon-wealts; & the deniall or deprivall therof the disturbance, if not ruine of both:

It is therefore ordered by this Court, & Authority therof, That no mans life shall be taken away; no mans honour or good name shall be stayned; no mans person shal be arrested, restrained, bannished, dismembred nor any wayes punished; no man shall be deprived of his wife or children; no mans goods or estate shal be taken away from him; nor any wayes indamaged under colour of Law or countenance of Authoritie unless it be by the vertue or equity of some espresse law of the Country warranting the same established by a General Court & sufficiently published; or in case of the defect of a law in any particular case by the word of God. And in capital cases, or in cases excômiticate, condemned or other, shall have full power and libertie to make their Wills & Testaments & other lawfull Alienations of their lands and estates.[1641] see children.

Actions.

All Actions of debt, accounts, slander, and Actions of the case concerning debts and accounts shall henceforth be tryed where the Plaintiff pleaseth; so it be in the jurisdiction of that Court where the Plaintiff, or Defendant dwelleth: unles by consent under both their hands it appeare they would have the case tryed in any other Court.
other Actions shall be tryed within that jurisdiction where the cause of the Action doth arise. [1642]

2 It is ordered by this Court & Authority thereof, That every person impleading another in any court of Assistants, or County court shall pay the sum of ten shillings before his case be entred, unless the court see cause to admit any to sue in forma pauperis. [1642]

3 It is ordered by the Authority aforesayd, That where the debt or damage recovered shall amount to ten pounds in every such case to pay five shillings more, and where it shall amount to twenty pounds or upward there to pay ten shillings more then the first ten shillings, which sayd additions shall be put to the Judgement and Execution to be levied by the Marshall and accounted for to the Treasurer. [1647]

4 In all actions brought to any court the Plantiffe shall have liberty to withdraw his action or to be non-suted before the Jurie have given in their verdict; in which case he shall always pay full cost and charges to the Defendant, and may afterward renew his sute at another Court. [1641] see Causes. see Records.

Age.

Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully & often proved that since the first arising of the Ana-baptists about a hundred years past they have been the Incendiaries of Common-wealths & the Infectors of persons in main matters of Religiō, & the Troublers of Churches in most places where they have been, & that they who have held the baptizing of Infants unlawful, have usually held other errors or heresies together therwith (though as hereticks use to doe they have concealed the same untill they espied a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them by way of question or scruple) and wheras divers [*2] of this kinde have since our coming into New-England appeared amongst ourselfs, some wherof as others before them have denied the Ordinance of Magistracy, and the law fulnes of making warre, others the lawfulness of Magistrates, and their Inspection into any breach of the first Table: which opinions if connived at by us are like to be increased among us & so necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection, & trouble to the Churches & hazzard to the whole Common-wealth:

It is therfore orderd by this Court & Authority thereof, that if any person or persons within this Jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of Infants, or goe about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the Congregation at the administration of that Ordinance; or shall deny the Ordinance of Magistry, or their lawfull right or authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first Table, and shall appear to the Court wilfully
and obstinately to continue therin, after due means of conviction, everie such person or persons shall be sentenced to Banishment. [1644] * * *

Arrests.

It is ordered and decreed by this Court & Authoritie therof, That no mans person shall be arrested or imprisoned for any debt or fine if the law can finde any competent means of satisfaction otherwise from his estate. And if not his person may be arrested and imprisoned, where he shall be kept at his own charge, not the Plaintiffs, till satisfaction be made; unles the Court that had cognisance of the cause or some superiour Court shall otherwise determine: provided nevertheless that no mans person shall be kept in prison for debt but when there appears some estate which he will not [*3] produce, to which end any Court or Commissioners authorized by the General Court may administer an oath to the partie or any others suspected to be privie in concealing his estate, but shall satisfie by service if the Creditor require it but shall not be solde to any but of the English nation. [1641: 1647] see sect 1. page 1. * * *

Bakers.

It is ordered by this Court and Authoritie therof, that henceforth every Baker shall have a distinct mark for his bread, & keep the true assizes as heerafter is expressed viz.

When wheat is ordinarily sold and these severall rates heerafter mentioned the peni white loaf by averdupois weight shall weigh when wheat is by the bushell

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... and so proportionably: under the penaltie of forfeiting all such bread as shall not be of the severall assizes as is aforesaid to the use of the poor of the towne where the offence is committed, and otherwise as is heerafter expressed: and for the better execution of this present Order; there shall be in everie market towne, and all other townes needfull, one or two able persons annually chosen by each towne, who shall be sworn at the next county Court. or by the next Magistrate, unto the faithfull discharge of his or their office; who are hereby authorized to enter into all houses, either with a Constable or without where they shall suspect or be informed of any bread baked for sale: & also to weigh the said bread as oft as they see cause: and to seize all such as they finde defective. As also to weigh all butter made up for sale; and bringing unto, or being in the towne or market to be solde by weight: which if found light after notice once given shall be forfeited in like manner. The like penaltie shall be for not marking all bread made for sale. and the sayd officer shall have one third part of all forfeitures for his paines; the rest to the poor as aforesayd. [1646]

It is ordered by the Authority of this Court that any debt, or debts due upon bill, or other specialtie assigned to another; shall be as good a debt & estate to the Assignee as it was to the Assigner at the time of it’s assignation. And that it shall be lawfull for the sayd Assignee to sue for and recover the said debt, due upon bill, and so assigned, as fully as the original creditor might have done, provided the said assignment be made upon the backside of the bill or specialtie. [1647] see usurie. Bond-slavery.

It is ordered by this Court and authoritie therof, that there shall never be any bond-slavery, villenage or captivitie amongst us; unlesse it be lawfull captives, taken in just warrs, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us: and such shall have the libertyes and christian usages which the law of God established in Israell concerning such persons doth morally require, provided, this exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by Authoritie. [1641] * * *

Burglarie and Theft.

Forasmuch as many persons of late years have been, and are apt to be injurios to the goods and lives of others, notwithstanding all care and meanes to prevent and punish the same; - - -

It is therefore ordered by this Court and Authoritie therof that if any person shall commit Burglarie by breaking up any dwelling house, or shall rob any person in the field, or high wayes; such a person so offending shall for the first offence be branded on the forehead with the letter (B) If he shall offend in the same kinde the second time, he shall be branded as before and also be severally whipped: and if he shall fall into the like offence the third time he shall be put to death, as being incorrigible. And if any person shall commit such Burglarie, or rob in the fields or house on the Lords day [*5] besides the former punishments, he shall for the first offence have one of his ears cut off. And for the second offence in the same kinde he shall loose his other ear in the same maner. And if he fall into the same offence a third time he shall be put to death if it appear to the Court he did it presumptously. [1642 1647]

2 For the prevention of Pilfring and Theft, it is ordered by this Court and Authoritie therof; that if any person shall be taken or known to rob any orchard or garden, that shall hurt, or steal away any grafts or fruit trees, fruits, linnen, woollen, or any other goods left out in orchards, gardens, backsides, or any other place in house or fields: or shall steal any wood or other goods from the water-side, from mens doors, or yards; he shall forfeit treble damage to the owners therof. And if they be children, or servants that shall trespass heerin, if their parents or masters will not pay the penaltie before expressed, they shall be openly whipped. And forasmuch as many times it so falls out that small thefts and other offences of a crimannal nature, are committed both by English & Indian, in townes remote from any prison, or other fit place to which such malefactors may be committed till the next Court, it is therfore heerby ordered; that any Magistrate upon complaint made to him may hear, and upon due proof determin any small offences of the aforesayed nature, according to the laws heer established, and give warrant to the Constable of that town where the offender lives to levie the same: provided the damage or fine exceed not fourty shillings: provided also it shall be lawfull
for either partie to appeal to the next Court to be holden in that Jurisdiction, giving
sufficient caution to prosecute the same to effect at the said Court. And everie Magistrate
shall make return yearly to the Court of Jurisdiction, wherin he liveth of what cases he
hath so ended. And also the Constables of all such fines as they have received. And
where the offender hath nothing to satisfie such Magistrate may punish by stocks, or
whipping as the cause shall deserve, not exceeding ten stripes. It is also ordered that all
servants & workmen imbeazling the goods of their masters, or such as set them on work
that make restitution and be lyable to all lawes & penalties as other men. [1646]
CAPITAL LAWES.

    IF any man after legal conviction shall HAVE OR WORSHIP any other
God, but the LORD GOD: he shall be put to death. Exod. 22. 20. Deut. 13. 6. & 10.
Deut. 17. 2. 6.

2.  If any man or woman be a WITCH, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar
spirit, they shall be put to death. Exod. 22. 18. Levit. 20. 27. Deut. 18. 10. 11.

3.  If any person within this Jurisdiction whether Christian or Pagan shall wittingly
and willingly presume to BLASPHEME the holy Name of God, Father, Son or
HolyGhost, with direct, expresse, presumptuous, or high-handed blasphemy, either by
wilfull or obstinate denying the true God, or his Creation, or Government of the world:
or shall curse God in like manner, or reproach the holy Religion of God as if it were but
a politick device to keep ignorant men in awe; or shalt utter any other kinde of
Blasphemy of the like nature & degree they shall be put to death. Levit. 24. 15. 16.

4.  If any person shall commit any wilfull MURTHER, which is Man slaughter,
committed upon premeditate malice, hatred, or crueltie not in a mans necessary and just
defence, nor by meer casualty against his will, he shall be put to death. Exod. 21. 12. 13.
Numb. 35. 31.

5.  If any person slayeth another suddenly in his ANGER, or CRUELTY of passion,
he shall be put to death. Levit. 24. 17. Numb. 35. 20. 21.

6.  If any person shall slay another through guile, either by POYSONING, or other
such develish practice, he shall be put to death. Exod. 21. 14.

7.  If any man or woman shall LYE WITH ANY BEAST, or bruin creature, by carnall
copulation; they shall surely be put to death: and the beast shall be slain, & buried, and
not eaten. Lev. 20, 15. 16.

8.  If any man LYETH WITH MAN-KINDE as he lieth with a woman, both of them
have committed abomination, they both shall surely be put to death: unles the one partie
were forced (or be under fourteen years of age in which case he shall be seveerly [*6]
punished) Levit. 20. 13.

9.  If any person commit ADULTERIE with a married, or espoused wife; the
Adulterer & Adulteresse shall surely be put to death. Lev. 20. 19. & 18. 20. Deu. 22. 23.
27.
If any man STEALETH A MAN, or Man-kinde, he shall surely be put to death. Exodus 21. 16.

If any man rise up by FALSE-WITNES wittingly, and of purpose to take away any mans life: he shall be put to death. Deut. 19. 16. 18. 16.

If any man shall CONSPIRE, and attempt any Invasion, Insurrection, or publick Rebellion against our Common-Wealth: or shall indeavour to surprize any Town, or Townes, Fort, or Forts therin; or shall treacherously, & persidiously attempt the Alteration and Subversion of our frame of Politie, or Government fundamentally he shall be put to death. Numb. 16. 2 Sam. 3. 2 Sam. 18. 2 Sam. 20.

If any child, or children, above sixteen years old, and of sufficient understanding, shall CURSE, or SMITE their natural FATHER, or MOTHER; he or they shall be put to death: unles it can be sufficiently testified that the Parents have been very unchristianly negligent in the eduction of such children; or so provoked them by extream, and cruel correction; that they have been forced therunto to preserve themselves from death or maiming. Exod. 21. 17. Lev. 20. 9. Exod. 21. 15.

If a man have a stubborn or REBELLIOUS SON, of sufficient years & understanding (viz) sixteen years of age, which will not obey the voice of his Father, or the voice of his Mother, and that when they have chastened him will not harken unto them: then shall his Father & Mother being his natural pares, lay hold on him, & bring him to the Magistrates assembled in Court & testify unto them that their Son is stubborn & rebellious & will not obey their voice and chastisement, but lives in sundry notorious crimes, such a son shall be put to death. Deut. 21. 20. 21.

If any man shall RAVISH any maid or single woman, committing carnal copulation with her by force, against her own will; that is above the age of ten years he shall be punished either with death, or with some other grievous punishmet according to circumstances as the Judges, or General court shall determin. [1641]

Cask & Cooper.

It is orderedy by this Court and authoritie therof, that all cask used for any liquor, fish, or other commoditie to be put to sale shall be of London assize, and that fit persons shall be appointed from time to time in all places needfull, to gage all such vessels or cask & such as shall be found of due assize shall be marked with the Gagers mark, & no other who shall have for his paines four pence for every tun, & so proportionably. And every County court or any one Magistrate upon notice given them shall appoint such Gagers to view the said cask, & to see that they be right, & of sound & wel seasoned timber, & that everie Cooper have a distinct brand-mark on his own cask, upon payn of forfeiture of twenty shilling in either case, & so proportiônably for lesser vessels. [1642 1647] * * *

[*23] Fornication.

It is ordered by this Court and Authoritie therof, That if any man shall commit Fornication with any single woman, they shall be punished either by enjoying to Marriage, or Fine, or corporall punishment, or all or any of these as the Judges in the
courts of Assistants shall appoint most agreeable to the word of God. And this Order to continue till the Court take further order. [1642]


UPON complaint of great disorder by the use of the game called Shuffleboard, in houses of common entertainment, wherby much pretious time is spent unfruitfully and much wast of wine and beer occasioned, it is therfore ordered and enacted by the Authoritie of this Court;

That no person shall henceforth use the said game of Shuffle-board in any such house, nor in any other house used as common for such purpose, upon payn for every Keeper of such house to forfeit for every such offence twenty shillings: and for every person playing at the said game in any such house, to forfeit for everie such offence five shillings: Nor shall any person at any time play or game for any monie, or mony-worth upon penalty of forfeiting treble the value therof: one half to the partie informing, the other half to the Treasurie. And any Magistrate may hear and determin any offence against this Law. [1646 1647] * * *

Heresie.

ALTHOUGH no humane power be Lord o

ver the Faith & Consciences of men, and therfore may not constrie them to beleive or professe against their Consciences: yet because such as bring in damnable heresies, tending to the subversion of the Christian Faith, and destruction of the soules of men, ought duly to be restreined from such notorious impiety, it is therfore ordered and decreed by this Court;

That if any Christian within this Jurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the christian Faith and Religion, by broaching or mainteining any damnable heresie; as denying the immortalitie of the Soul, or the resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the Regenerate, or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin: or denying that Christ gave himself a Ransom for our sins, or shal affirm that wee are not justified by his Death and Righteousnes, but by the perfection of our own works; or shall deny the moralitie of the fourth commandement, or shall indeavour to seduce others to any the herisies aforementionned, everie such person continuing obstinate therin after due means of conviction shal be sentenced to Banishment. [1646] * * *

[*25] Idlenes.

It is ordered by this Court and Authoritie therof, that no person, Houholder or other shall spend his time idelie or unprofittably under pain of such punishment as the Court of Assistants or County Court shall think meet to inflict. And for [*26]this end it is ordered that the Constable of everie place shal use speciall care and diligence to take knowledge of offenders in this kinde, especially of common coasters, unprofittable fowlers and tobacco takers, and present the same unto the two next Assistants, who shall have power to hear and determin the cause, or transfer it to the next Court. [1633] Jesuits.
THIS Court taking into consideration the great wars, combustions and divisions which are this day in Europe; and that the same are observed to be raiyed and fomented chiefly by the secret underminings, and solicitations of those of the Jesuiticall Order, men brought up and devoted to the religion and court of Rome; which hath occasioned divers States to expell them their territories; for prevention wherof among our selves, It is ordered and enacted by Authoritie of this Court,

That no Jesuit, or spiritual or ecclesiastical person [as they are termed] ordained by the authoritie of the Pope, or Sea of Rome shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this Jurisdiction: And if any person shal give just cause of suspicion that he is one of such Societie or Order he shall be brought before some of the Magistrates, and if he cannot free himselfe of such suspicion he shall be committed to prison, or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tryed and proceeded with by Banishment or otherwise as the Court shall see cause: and if any person so banished shall be taken the second time within this Jurisdiction upon lawfull tryall and conviction he shall be put to death. Provided this Law shall not extend to any such Jesuit, spiritual or ecclesiastical person as shall be cast upon our shoars, by ship-wrack or other accident, so as he continue no longer then till he may have opportunitie of passage for his departure; nor to any such as shall come in company with any Messenger hither upô publick occasions, or any Merchant or Master of any ship, belonging to any place not in enmitie with the State of England, or our selves, so as they depart again with the same Messenger, Master of Merchant, and behave themselves in-offensively during their aboad heer. [1647] * * *

[*29] In-keepers, Tippling, Drunkenes.

Forasmuch as there is a necessary use of houses of common entertainment in every Common-wealth, and of such as retail wine, beer and victuals; yet because there are so many abuses of that lawfull libertie, both by persons entertaining and persons entertained, there is also need of strict Laws and Rules to regulate such an employment: It is therefore ordered by this Court and Authoritie thereof;

[* 30]

That no person or persons shall at any time under any pretence or colour whatsoever undertake to be a common Victualler, Keeper of a Cooks shop or house for common entertainment, Taverner, or publick seller of wine, ale, beer or strongwater (by re-tale) nor shall any sell wine privately in his house or out of doors by a lesse quantitie or under a quarter cask: without approbation of the selected Townsmen and Licence of the Shire Court where they dwell: upon pain of forfeiture of five pounds for everie such offence, or imprisonment at pleasure of the Court, where satisfaction cannot be had.

And every person so licenced for common entertainment shall have some inoffensive Signe obvious for strangers direction, and such as have no such Signe after three months so licenced from time to time shall lose their licence: and others allowed in their stead. And any licenced person that selleth beer shall not sell any above two-pence the ale-quart: upon penaltie of three shillings four pence for everie such offence. And it is permitted to any that will to sell beer out of doors at a pennie the ale-quart and under.
Neither shall any such licenced person aforesaid suffer any to be drunken, or drink excessively viz: above half a pinte of wine for one person at one time; or to continue tippling above the space of half an hour, or at unreasonable times, or after nine of the clock at night in, or about any of their houses on penaltie of five shillings for everie such offence.

And everie person found drunken viz: so that he be thereby bereaved or disabled in the use of his understanding, appearing in his speech or gesture in any of the said houses or elsewhere shall forfeit ten shillings. And for excessive drinking three shillings four pence. And for continuing above half an hour tippling two shillings six pence. And for tippling at unreasonable times, or after nine a clock at night five shillings: for everie offence in these particulars being lawfully convict thereof. And for want of payment such shall be imprisoned untill they pay: or be set in the Stocks one hour or more [in some open place] as the weather will permit not exceeding three hours at one time.

Provided notwithstanding such licenced persons may entertain sea-faring men, or land travellers in the night-season, when they come first on shore, or from their journy for their necessarie refreshment, or when they prepare for their voyage or journie the next day early; so there be no disorder among them; and also Strangers, Lodgers or other persons in an orderly way may continue in such houses of common entertainment during meal times, or upon lawfull busines what time their occasions shall require.

Nor shall any Merchant, Cooper, Owner or Keeper of wines or other persons that have the government of them suffer any person to drink to excesse, or drunkenes, in any their wine-Cellars, Ships or other vessels or places where wines doe lye; on pain to forfeit for each person so doing ten shillings.

And if any person offend in drunkenes, excessive or long drinking the second time they shall pay double Fines. And if they fall into the same offence the third time they shall pay treble Fines. And if the parties be not able to pay the Fines then he that is found drunk shall be punished by whipping to the number of ten stripes: and he that offends in excessive or long drinking shall be put into the stocks for three hours when the weather may not hazzard his life or limbs. And if they offend the fourth time they shall be imprisoned until they put in two sufficient Sureties for their good behaviour.

And it is farther ordered that if any person that keepeth or hereafter shall keep a common house of entertainment [*31] of strangers horses viz: one or more inclosures for Summer and hay and provender for Winters with convenient stable room and attendance under penaltie of two shillings six pence for everie days default, and double damage to the partie thereby wronged (except it be by inevitable accident.

It is farther ordered that everie In-keeper, or Victuailer shall provide for the entertainment [*31] of strangers horses viz: one or more inclosures for Summer and hay and provender for Winters with convenient stable room and attendance under penaltie of two shillings six pence for everie days default, and double damage to the partie thereby wronged (except it be by inevitable accident.
And it is farther ordered by the Authoritie aforesaid, that no Taverner or seller of wine by retale, licenced as aforesaid shall take above nine ponds profit by the Butt or Pipe of wine (and proportionably for all other vessels) toward his wast in drawing and otherwise: out of which allowance every such Taverner or Vintner shall pay fifty shillings by the Butt or Pipe and proportionably for all other vessels to the Countrie. For which he shall account with the Auditor general or his Deputie every six months and discharge the same. All which they may doe by selling six pence a quart in re-tale (which they shall no time exceed) more than it cost by the Butt, beside the benefit of their art and mysterie which they know how to make use of. And every Taverner or Vintner shall give a true account and notice unto the Auditor or his Deputie of every vessel of wine he buyes from time to time within three daye; upon pain of forfeiting the same or the value thereof.

And all such as retale strong waters shall pay in like manners two pence upon every quart to the use of the Country, who also shall give notice to the Auditor or his Deputies of every case and bottle or other quantitie they buy within three dayes upon payn of forfeiture as before.

Also it is ordered that in all places where week day Lectures are kept, all Taverners, Victuailers and Tablers that are within a mile of the Meeting-house, shall from time to time clear their houses of all persons able to goe to the Meeting, during the time of the exercise (except upon extraordinary cause, for the necessarie refreshing of strangers unexpectedly repairing to them) upõ pain of five shillings for every such offence over and besides the penalties incurred by this Law for any other disorder.

It is also ordered that all offences against this Law may be heard and determined by any one Magistrate, who shall heerby have power by Warrant to fend for parties, and witnesses, and to examin the said witnesses upon oath and the parties without oath, concerning any of these offences: and upon due conviction either by view of the said Magistrate, or affirmation of the Constable, and one sufficient wimnes with circumstances concurring, or two witnesses, or confession of the partie to levie the said severall fines, by Warrant to the Constable for that end, who shall be accountable to the Auditor for the same.

And if any person shall voluntarily confesse his offence against this Law in any the particulars thereof, his oath shall be taken in evidence and stand good against any other offending at the same time.

Lastly, it is ordered by the Authoritie aforesaid that all Constables may, and shall from time to time duly make search throughout the limits of their towns upon Lords dayes, and Lecture dayes, in times of Exercise; and also at all other times, so oft as they shall see cause for all offences and offenders against this Law in any of the particulars thereof. And if upon due information, or complaint of any of their Inhabitants, or other credible persons whether Taverner, Victuailler, Tabler or other; they shall refuse or neglect to make search as aforesaid, or shall not to their power perform all other things belonging to their place and Office of Constableship: then upon complaint and due proof before any one Magistrate within three months after such refusall or neglect; they
shall be fined for everie such offence ten shillings, to be levied by the Marshal as in other cases by Warrant from such Magistrate before whom they are convicted, or Warrant from the treasurer upon notice from such Magistrate. [1645 1646 1647] See Gaming, Licences. ***

[*35] Lying.

Whereas truth in words as well as in actions is required of all men, especially of Christians who are the professed Servants of the God to Truth; and whereas all lying is contrary to truth, and some sorts of lyes are not only sinfull (as all lyes are) but also pernicious to the Publick weal, and injurious to particular persons; it is therefore ordered by this Court and Authoritie therof,

That everie person of the age of discretion [which is accounted fourteen years] who shall wittingly and willingly make, or publish any Lye which may be pernicious to the publick weal, or tending to the damage or injurie of any particular person, or with intent to deceive and abuse the people with false news or reports: and the same duly proved in any Court or before any one Magistrate (who hath hereby power granted to hear, and determin all offences against this Law) such person shall be fined for the first offence ten shillings, or if the partie be unable to pay the same then to be set in the stocks so long as the said Court or Magistrate shall appoint, in some open place, not exceeding two hours. For the second offence in that kinde wherof any shall be legally convicted the sum of twenty shillings, or be whipped upon the naked body not exceeding ten stripes. And for the third offence that way forty shillings, or if the partie be unable to pay, then to be whipped with more stripes, not exceeding fifteen. And if yet any shall offend in like kinde, and be legally convicted therof, such person, male or female, shall be fined ten shillings a time more then formerly: or if the partie so offending be unable to pay, then to be whipped with five, or six more stripes then formerly not exceeding fourty at any time.

The aforesaid fines shall be levied, or stripes inflicted either by the Marshal of that Jurisdiction, or Constable of the Town where the offence is committed [*36] according as the Court or Magistrate shall direct. And such fines so levied shall be paid to the Treasurer of that Shire where the Cause is tried.

And if any person shall find himselfe grieved with the sentence of any such Magistrate out of Court, he may appeal to the next Court of the same Shire, giving sufficient securitie to prosecute his appeal and abide the Order of the Court. And if the said Court shall judge his appeal causlesse, he shall be double fined and pay the charges of the Court during his Action, or corrected by whipping as aforesaid not exceeding fourtie stripes; and pay the costs of Court and partie complaining or informing, and of Witnesses in the Case.

And for all such as being under age if discretion that shall offend in lying contrary to this Order their Parents or Masters shall give them due correction, and that in the presence of some Officer if any Magistrate shall so appoint. Provided also that no person
shall be barred of his just Action of Slaunder, or otherwise by any proceeding upon this Order. [1645] ***

[*38] Masters, Servants, Labourers

1. It is ordered by this Court and the Authoritie therof, that no servant, either man or maid shall either give, sell or truck any commoditie whatsoever without licence from their Masters, during the time of their service under pain of Fine, or corporal punishment at the discretion of the Court as the offence shall deserve.

2. And that all workmen shall work the whole day allowing convenient time for food and rest.

3. It is also ordered that when any servants shall run from their masters, or any other Inhabitants shall privily goe away with suspicion of ill intentions, it shall be lawfull for the next Magistrate, or the Constable and two of the chief Inhabitants where no Magistrate is to presse men and boats or pinnaces at the publick charge to pursue such persons by Sea or Land and ring them back by force of Arms.

4. It is also ordered by the Authoritie aforesaid, that the Free-men of everie town may from time to time as occasion shall require agree amongst themselves about the prizes, and rates of all workmens labours and servants wages. And everie person inhabiting in any town, whether workman, labourer or servant shall be bound to the same rates which the said Freemen, or the greater part shall binde themselves unto: and whosoever shall exceed those rates so agreed shall be punished by the discretion of the Court of that Shire, according to the qualitie and measure of the offence. And if any town shall have cause of complaint against the Freemen of any other town for allowing greater rates, or wages then themselves, the Quarter Court of that Shire shall from time to time set order therin.

5. And for servants and workmens wages, it is ordered, that they may be paid in corn, to be valued by two indifferent Freemen, chosen the one by the Master, the other by the servant or workman, who also are to have respect to the value of the work or service, and if they cannot agree then a third man shall be chosen by the next Magistrate, or if no Magistrate be in the town then by the next Constable, unless the parties agree the price themselves. Provided if any servant or workman agree for any particular payment, then to be payd in specie, or consideration for default therin. And for all other payments in corn, if the parties cannot agree they shall choose two indifferent men, and if they cannot agree then a third as before.

6. It is ordered, and by this Court declared, that if any servant shall flee from the tyrannie and crueltie of his, or her Master to the house of any Freeman of the same town, they shall be there protected and sustained till due order be taken for their releif. Provided due notice thereof be speedily given to their Master from whom they fled, and to the next Magistrate or Constable where the partie so fled is harboured.

7. Also that no servant shall be put off for above a year to any other, neither in the life time of their Master, nor after their death by their Exectuors or Administrators,
unles it be by consent of Authorite assembled in some Court, or two Assistants; otherwise all, and everie such Assignment to be void in Law.

8. And that if any man smite out the eye, or tooth of his man-servant, or maid-servant; or otherwise maim, or much disfigure them (unles it be by meer casualtie) he shall let them goe free from his service, and shall allow such farther recompence as the Court shall adjudge him.

9. And all servants that have served diligently and faithfully to the benefit of their Masters seven years shall not be sent away emptie: and if any have been unfaithfull, negligent, or unprofitable in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their Masters, they shall not be dismissed till they have made satisfaction according to the judgement of Authoritie. [1630 1633 1635 1636 1641] see Oppression. ***

[*44] Pipe-staves.

Whereas information hath come to this Court from divers forrein parts of the insufficiencie of our Pipe-staves in regard especially of worm holes, wherby the commoditie is like to be prohibited in those parts, to the great damage of the Countrie; it is therfore ordered and enacted by the Authoritie of this Court,

That the Select-men of Boston and Charlstown, and of all other towns in this Jurisdiction where Pipe-staves use to be shipped; shall forthwith, and so from time to time as need shall require nominate two men of each town, skilfull in that commoditie, and such as can attend that service to be Viewers of Pipe-staves; who so chosen, shall by the Constable be convented before some Magistrate, to be sworn dilligently and faithfully to vie and search all such Pipe-staves as are to be transported to any parts of Spain, Portugal, or within either of their Dominions, or elsewhere to be used for making of tight cask, who shall cast bye all such as they shall judge not merchantable both in respect of worm-holes and due assize viz that are not in length four foot & half, in breadth three inches and half without sap, in thickness three quaters of an inch, & not more or lesse then an eight part of an inch then three quarters thick: well, and even hewed and sufficient for that use. And they or some one of the shall at all times upon request give attendance; & they shall enter in a book the number of all such merchantable Pipe-staves as they shall approve, and for whom.

And if any man shall put aboard any Ship, or other vessel any Pipe-staves other then shall be so searched and approved, to the end to be transported to any part of Spain or Portugal, except they should be shipped for dry cask, he shall forfeit the same whole parcell or the value therof; and the said Viewers shall be allowed two shillings for everie thousand of Pipe-staves which they shall so search, as well the refuse as the merchantable, to be paid by him that sets them a work.

And if any Master or other Officer of any Ship, or other vessel shall receive into such Ship or vessel any parcel of Pipe-staves to be transported into any of the said Dominions which shall not be searched, and allowed as merchantable, and so certified by a note under the hand of one of the said Viewers such Master shall forfeit for everie thousand
Poor.

It ordered by this Court and Authoritie therof; that any Shire Court, or any two Magistrates out of Court shall have power to determin all differences about lawfull setting, and providing for poor persons; and shall have power to dispose of all unsetled persons into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintainance, and imployment of such persons and families, for the ease of the Countrie. [1639] * * *

[*49] Strangers.

It is ordered by this Court and the Authoritie therof; that no Town or person shal receive any stranger ressorting hither with intent to reside in this Jurisdiction, nor shall allow any Lot or Habitation to any, or entertain any such above three weeks, except such person shall have allowance under the hand of some one Magistrate, upon pain of everie Town that shall give, or sell any Lot or Habitation to any not so licenced such Fine to the Countrie as that County Court shall impose, not exceeding fifty pounds, nor lesse then ten pounds. And of everie person receiving any such for longer time then is heer expressed or allowed, in some special cases as before, or in case of entertainment of friends ressorting from other parts of this Country in amitie with us, shall forfeit as aforesaid, not exceeding twenty pounds, nor lesse then four pounds: and for everie month after so offending, shal forfeit as aforesaid not exceeding ten pounds, nor lesse then fourty shillings. Also, that all Constables shall inform the Courts of new commers which they know to be admitted without licence, from time to time. [1637 1638 1647] See Fugitives, Lib. com: Tryalls. ***

Suits, vexatious suits.

It is ordered and decreed, and by this Court declared; that in all Cases where it appears to the Court that the Plaintiffe hath willingly & wittingly done wrong to the Defendant in commencing and prosecuting any Action, Suit, Complaint or Indictment in his own name or in the name of others, he shall pay treble damages to the partie greived, and be fined fourty shillings to the Common Treasurie. [1641 1646]

Swyne.

It is ordered by this Court, and by the Authoritie therof; that every Township within this Jurisdiction shall henceforth have power, and are heerby required from time to time to make Orders for preventing all harms by swine in corn, meadow, pastures and gardens; as also to impose penalties according to their best discretion: and to appoint one of their Inhabitants by Warrent under the hands of the Select-men, or the Constable where no Select-men are, to levie all such Fines and Penalties by them in that case imposed (if the Town neglect it). And where Towns border each upon other, whose Orders may be various, satisfaction shall be made accrding to the Orders of that Town where the damage is done. But if the swine be sufficiently ringed and yoaked, as the Orders of the Town to which they belong doeth require, then where no fence is, or that it be insufficient through which the swine come to trespass, the Owner of the land or fence shall bear all damages. * * *
[*50] Tobacco.

This Court finding that since the repealing of the former Laws against Tobacco, the same is more abused than before doth therefore order, That no man shall take any tobacco within twenty poles of any house, or so near as may endanger the same, or near any Barn, corn, or hay-cock as may occasion the firing thereof, upon pain of ten shillings for everie such offence, besides full recompence of all damages done by means thereof. Nor shall any take tobacco in any Inne or common Victualing-house, except in a private room there, so as neither the Master of the said house nor any other Guests there shall take offence therat, which if any doe, then such person shall forthwith forbear, upon pain of two shillings sixpence for everie such offence. And for all Fines incurred by this Law, one half part shall be to the Informer the other to the poor of the town where the offence is done. [1638 1647]

Torture

It is ordered, decreed, and by this Court declared; that no man shall be forced by torture to confess any crime against himselfe or any other, unless it be in some Capital case, where he is first fully convicted by clear and sufficient evidence to be guilty. After which, if the Case be of that nature that it is very apparent there be other Conspirators or Confoederates with him; then he may be tortured, yet not with such tortures as be barbarous and inhumane.

And that no man shall be beaten with above forty stripes for one Fact at one time. Nor shall any man be punished with whipping, except he have not otherwise to answer the Law, unless his crime be very shamefull, and his course of life vitious and profligate. [1641]"

The Massachusetts Puritans recognized the importance of gospel ministers well educated in the scriptures. They thus founded in 1636 the first college in North America: Harvard College. But literacy and education were not confined to ministers. In 1642 the Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted the Massachusetts Bay School Law requiring all heads of households to catechise those under them in the reformed Christian faith. And in 1647 it enacted the “ye olde deluder Satan” Act, requiring every town having more than 50 families to establish a grammar school (a Latin school to prepare students for college). The reason for this Act is stated within it: “It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so that at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers; and to the end that learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors.”

The first immigrants in Massachusetts
brought their own little libraries and continued to import books from London. And as early as the 1680s, Boston booksellers were doing a thriving business in works of classical literature, history, politics, philosophy, science, theology and belles-lettres. In 1639 the first printing press in the English colonies and the second in North America was installed at Harvard College.

The training of children had as its end the glorification of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Puritans were deeply concerned about children because they considered young people as repositories of the most basic evil human instincts if they were not disciplined by strict religious and cultural rules embodied in the Ten Commandments. This view arises from the doctrine of total depravity taught in scripture, which recognizes man’s native propensity to wickedness.

The Puritans assigned as many adult duties as possible to children, and filled the children’s remaining time with religious and educational activities. They sought to inculcate godly and mature habits in their children so as to reign in native evil and immaturity. Accordingly, children began to dress as adults as soon as they were six years of age.

Puritans did not believe the use of such God-appointed means was contrary to the other Biblical truth that salvation and its fruits were ultimately the product of God’s free grace in Christ. The idea of childhood as a time apart from adult problems and interests did not develop until the mid-eighteenth century, either among Puritans or in general European culture.

The first book printed in what is now the United States was printed by the Puritans in 1640. Known as The Bay Psalm Book, but really titled “The Whole Booke of Psalms Faithfully Translated into English Metre”, it represents what was most sacred to the Puritans—a faithful translation of God’s Word, to be sung in worship by the entire congregation. Here is an excerpt from the preface to this Psalm Book:

“The singing of Psalms, though it breath forth nothing but holy harmony, and melody: yet such is the subtlety of the enemy, and enmity of our nature against the Lord, and his ways, that our hearts can find matter of discord in this harmony, and crotchets [i.e., whimsical notions] of division in this holy melody.—for.—There have been three
questions especially stirring concerning singing. First, what psalms are to be sung in churches? Whether David’s and other scripture psalms, or the psalms invented by the gifts of godly men in every age of the church. Secondly, if scripture psalms, whether in their own words, or in such metre as English poetry is wont to run in? Thirdly, by whom are they to be sung? Whether by the whole churches together with their voices? Or by one man singing alone and the rest joining in silence, and in the close saying amen.

Touching the first, certainly the singing of David’s psalms was an acceptable worship of God, not only in his, but in succeeding times. As in Solomon’s time 2 Chron. 5:13. in Jehosaphat’s time 2 Chron. 20:21. in Ezra’s time Ezra 3:10,11. and the text is evident in Hezekiah’s time they are commanded to sing praise in the words of David and Asaph, 2 Chron. 29:30. which one place may serve to resolve two of the questions (the first and the last) at once, for this commandment was it ceremonial or moral? Some things in it indeed were ceremonial, as their musical instruments, etc. but what ceremony was there in singing praise with the words of David and Asaph? What if David was a type of Christ, was Asaph also? Was everything of David typical? Are his words (which are of moral, universal, and perpetual authority in all nations and ages) are they typical? What type can be imagined in making use of his songs to praise the Lord? If they were typical because of the ceremony of musical instruments was joined to them, then their prayers were also typical, because they had that ceremony of incense admixt with them: but we know that prayer then was a moral duty, notwithstanding the incense; so singing those psalms notwithstanding their musical instruments. Beside, that which was typical (as that they were sung with musical instruments, by the twenty-four orders of Priests and Levites 1 Chron. 25:9) must have the moral and spiritual accomplishment in the New Testament, in all the Churches of the Saints principally, who are made kings and priests Rev. 1:6 and are the firstfruits unto God Rev. 14:4. as the Levites were Num. 3:45. with hearts and lips, instead of musical instruments, to praise the Lord; who are set forth (as some judiciously think) Rev. 4:4. by twenty-four Elders, in the ripe age of the Church, Gal. 4:1,2,3. answering to the twenty-four orders of Priests and Levites 1 Chron. 25:9. Therefore not some select members, but the whole Church is commanded to teach one another in all the several sorts of David’s psalms, some being called by himself MyrOmzm: psalms, some Mylyht: hymns, some Myryw: spiritual songs. So that if the singing of David’s psalms be a moral duty and therefore perpetual; then we under the New Testament are bound to sing them as well as they under the old: and if we are expressly commanded to sing Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, then either we must sing David’s psalms, or else may affirm they are not spiritual songs: which being penned by an extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, for the sake especially of God’s spiritual Israel, not to be read and preached only (as other parts of holy writ) but to be sung also, they are therefore most spiritual, and still to be sung of all the Israel of God: and verily as their sin is exceeding great, who will allow David’s psalms (as other scriptures) to be read in churches (which is one end) but not to be preached also, which is another end so their sin is crying before God, who will allow them to be read and preached, but seek to deprive the Lord of the glory of the third end of them, which is to sing them in Christian churches...”
The Colony Prospers

Just as with Israel of old, God blessed the New England Puritans with prosperity as a consequence of their diligent obedience. After an initial period of high mortality, life expectancy quickly rose to levels comparable to our own. Men and women, on average, lived about 65 to 70 years, 15 to 20 years longer than in England. One result was that seventeenth-century New England was the first society in history in which grandparents were common. The eastern and northern frontier around the initial New England settlements was mainly settled by the Yankee descendants of the original New Englanders. Emigration to the New England colonies after 1640 and the start of the English Civil War decreased to less than 1% (about equal to the death rate) in nearly all years prior to 1845.

New England in the northeast has generally thin, stony soil, relatively little level land, and long winters, making it difficult to make a living from farming. Turning to other pursuits, the New Englanders harnessed water power and established grain mills and sawmills. Good stands of timber encouraged shipbuilding. Excellent harbors promoted trade, and the sea became a source of great wealth. In Massachusetts, the cod industry alone quickly furnished a basis for prosperity.

With the bulk of the early settlers living in villages and towns around the harbors, many New Englanders carried on some kind of trade or business. Common pastureland and woodlots served the needs of townspeople, who worked small farms nearby.

Compactness made possible the village school, the village church and the village or town hall, where citizens met to discuss matters of common interest.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony continued to expand its commerce. From the middle of the 17th century onward it grew prosperous, and Boston became one of America’s greatest ports. Oak timber for ships’ hulls, tall pines for spars and masts, and pitch for the seams of ships came from the Northeastern forests. Building their own vessels and sailing them to ports all over the world, the shipmasters of Massachusetts Bay laid the foundation for a trade that was to grow steadily in importance. By the end of the colonial period, one-third of all vessels under the British flag were built in New England. Fish, ship’s stores and wooden ware swelled the exports.
Nevertheless, we should not view 17th century Massachusetts society as a utopia on earth. It had its share of sins, blemishes, and trials. For example, New England shippers soon discovered that rum and slaves were profitable commodities. One of the most enterprising – if unsavory – trading practices of the time was the so-called “triangular trade.” Merchants and shippers would purchase slaves off the coast of Africa for New England rum, then sell the slaves in the West Indies where they would buy molasses to bring home for sale to the local rum producers.

Covetousness as well led the society into wrongful engagements with the Indians. Too often Indian tribal lands were wrongfully taken from them. Also, the natives were often enticed to drunkenness by whites seeking to sell them more alcohol than was proper. These sins of New England society almost devastated them in King Philip’s War. On a per capita basis this war of 1675 was the bloodiest in America’s history. At the center of this cataclysm was one man, Metacom, leader of the Pokanokets, a tribe within the Wampanoag Indian Federation. At an early age, when relations between the natives and settlers were less stressed, Metacom was given the nickname of King Philip by the English, because of his haughty mannerisms.

One of the many ironies of this conflict is that Philip was the son of Massasoit – the same Massasoit who had helped the Plymouth Pilgrims survive their first winter in the New World.
What began as a small skirmish by the killing a white man’s cattle by some Indians, precipitated into a full-fledged war with the Indians under the leadership of King Philip, fueled by Indian resentment. The loss of life and property was tremendous on both sides. And the war did not conclude until only a small Indian fighting force remained and King Philip was killed.

The government of Massachusetts acknowledged the judgment of God in King Philip’s War. It recognized that its own sins, and that of the people, were responsible for much of the devastation which occurred.

Likewise Massachusetts’ officials acknowledged their failures and errors in the infamous Salem witch trials. Unsubstantiated allegations led to the conviction, punishment and even death of a number of innocent persons in these trials. For too long civil and ecclesiastical officials allowed an almost hysteria to run through the colony. Many of the officials and participants grieved for years after at their handling of the affair. Representative of this contrition is the Petition Put Up by Mr. Sewall on the Fast Day of January 14, 1697: “Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family, and being sensible that as to the guilt contracted upon the opening of the late Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem, he is, upon many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, desires to take the blame and shame of it, asking pardon of men, and especially desiring prayers that God, who has unlimited authority, would pardon that sin and all his other sins, personal and relative. And according to His infinite benignity and sovereignty, not visit the sin of him or of any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the land. But that he would powerfully defend him against all the temptations to sin for the future, and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving conduct of His Word and Spirit.”

But the most dreadful sin of the Puritans of Massachusetts was their growing spiritual dullness and laxity in the closing days of the 17th century. They became more cautious about suppressing heresy and false religion, under the weight of criticism from outside and inside New England. The Salem witch trials were used as an excuse to abandon the principles of old. This leaven of heresy began to leaven more of the population. Once Satan has such a beachhead, he quickly seeks to infiltrate the schools for the youth and the pulpits of ministers. When men with errors in these positions were allowed to remain, it was only a matter of time before liberals would suppress the teaching of those which upheld the historic reformed faith. As Harvard College came to demonstrate, ‘tolerationism’ means tolerance for everything but Puritanism. But it would be some time before the full effects of the spiritual laxity would be felt. And in the meantime, as we shall see, many institutions would be raised up in the Puritan colonies of New England which were more faithful to scriptural Puritanism, and would maintain a beacon on the hill.

Critics of 17th century Puritan Massachusetts have pointed to its failures, especially in the Salem witch trials, in order to discredit it. But any fair assessment will remember the substantial accomplishments in addition to these failures. Indeed, it is a mark of the society’s moral strength that it was willing to acknowledge its own faults and failures.
Mr. John Winthrop told his congregation in his famous sermon, “A Model of Christian Charity,” on the Arabella in 1630: “We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, ‘the Lord make it like that of NEW ENGLAND.’ For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill.”

Some have imagined that John Winthrop’s words proved false, while in reality nothing could be further from the truth. The puritan model of government spread to neighboring colonies that were formed after it, and influenced the civil government of colonies, states, localities, and even countries far removed in time and location. In addition, there has been widespread dissemination of Puritan religious beliefs, emanating from the original Massachusetts colony. Many blessings from this colonial launching pad flow to us even to this day. And the basic vision of Puritan New England, while differing in certain details, will yet come to pass in the world. It has provided us with a precedent and a lesson which are yet useful as we proceed in the footsteps of their enterprise to make Christian disciples of all nations and peoples.
Even in their own day the New England Puritans brought the gospel to many peoples. For example, they were the early leading Protestant missionaries to the native Indians. John Eliot (1604–1690), known affectionately as “the Apostle to the Indians,” came to New England in 1631, and began his ministrations to the Indians in their own language in 1646.

John Eliot’s great work, the translation of the Bible into the tongue of the Massachusetts Indians, was finished in 1658 and published 1661–63. He wrote a number of reports on the progress of Christianity among the Indians, which inspired others to follow in such missionary efforts. His “Brief Narrative” excerpted below gives an interesting picture of the conditions of evangelism among the natives at the end of the first generation of intercourse with the colonists:
“Upon the 17th day of the 6th month, 1670, there was a Meeting at Maktapog near Sandwich in Plimouth-Pattent, to gather a Church among the Indians: There were present six of the Magistrates, and many Elders, (all of them Messengers of the Churches within that Jurisdiction) in whose presence, in a day of Fasting and Prayer, they making confession of the Truth and Grace of Jesus Christ, did in that solemn Assembly enter into Covenant, to walk together in the Faith and Order of the Gospel; and were accepted and declared to be a Church of Jesus Christ. These Indians being of kin to our Massachuset Indians who first prayed unto God, conversed with them, and received amongst them the light and love of the Truth; they desired me to write to Mr. Leveredge to teach them: He accepted the Motion: and performed the Work with good success; but afterwards he left that place, and went to Long-Island, and there a godly Brother, named Richard Bourne (who purposed to remove with Mr. Leveredge, but hindered by Divine Providence) undertook the teaching of those Indians, and hath continued in the work with good success to this day; him we ordained Pastor: and one of the Indians, named Jude, should have been ordained Ruling-Elder, but being sick at that time, advice was given that he should be ordained with the first opportunity, as also a Deacon to manage the present Sabbath-Day Collections, and other parts of that Office in their season. The same day also were they, and such of their Children as were present, baptized.

From them we passed over to the Vineyard, where many were added to the Church both men and women, and were baptized all of them, and their Children also with them; we had the Sacrament of the Lords Supper celebrated in the Indian-Church, and many of the English-Church gladly joyned with them; for which cause it was celebrated in both languages. On a day of Fasting and Prayer, Elders were ordained, two Teaching-Elders, the one to be a Preacher of the Gospel, to do the Office of a Pastor and Teacher; the other to be a Preacher of the Gospel, to do the Office of a Teacher and Pastor, as the Lord should given them ability and opportunity; Also two Ruling-Elders, with advice to ordain Deacons also, for the Service of Christ in the Church. Things were so ordered by the Lord’s guidance, that a Foundation is laid for two Churches more; for first, these of the Vineyard dwelling at too great a distance to enjoy with comfort their Sabbath communion in one place, Advice was given them, that after some experience of walking together in the Order and Ordinances of the Gospel, they should issue forth into another Church; and the Officers are so chosen, that when they shall do so, both Places are furnished with a Teaching and Ruling-Elder.

Also the Teacher of the Praying Indians of Nantuket, with a Brother of his were received here, who made good Confessions of Jesus Christ; and being asked, did make report unto us that there be about ninety Families who pray unto God in that Island, so effectual is the Light of the Gospel among them. Advice was given, that some of the chief Godly People should joynto this Church, (for they frequently converse together, though the Islands be seven leagues asunder) and after some experience of walking in the Order of
the Gospel, they should issue forth into Church-estate among themselves, and have Officers ordained amongst them.

The Church of the Vineyard were desirous to have chosen Mr. Mahew to be their Pastor: but he declined it, conceiving that in his present capacity he lieth under greater advantages to stand their Friend, and do them good, to save them from the hands of such as would bereave them of their Lands, &c., but they shall shall always have his counsell, instruction and management in all their Church-affairs, as hitherto they have had; he will die in this service of Jesus Christ.

The Praying-Indians of both these islands depend on him, as God’s Instrument for their good. [5] Advice also was given for the setting of Schools; every Child capable of learning, equally paying, whether he make use of it or no: Yet if any should sinfully neglect Schooling their Youth, it is a transgression liable to censure under both Orders, Civil and Ecclesiastical, the offence being against both. So we walk at Natick.

In as much as now we have ordained Indian Officers unto the Ministry of the Gospel, it is needed to add a word or two of Apology: I find it hopeless to expect English Officers in our Indian Churches; the work is full of hardship, hard labour, and chargeable also, and the Indians not yet capable to give considerable support and maintenance; and Men have bodies, and must live of the Gospel: And what comes from England is liable to hazard and uncertainties.

On such grounds as these partly, but especially from the secret wise governance of Jesus Christ, the Lord of the Harvest, there is no appearance of hope for their souls feeding in that way: they must be trained up to be able to live of themselves in the ways of the Gospel of Christ; and through the riches of God’s Grace and Love, sundry of themselves who are expert in the Scriptures, are able to teach each other: An English young man raw in that language, coming to teach among our Christian-Indians, would be much to their loss; there be of themselves such as be more able, especially being advantaged that he speaketh his own language, and knoweth their manners. Such English as shall hereafter teach them, must begin with a People that begin to pray unto God, (and such opportunities we have many) and then as they grow in knowledge, he will grow (if he be diligent) in ability of speech to communicate the knowledge of Christ unto them. And seeing they must have Teachers amongst themselves, they must also be taught to be Teachers: for which cause I have begun to teach them the Art of Teaching, and I find some of them very capable. And while I live, my purpose is, (by the grace of Christ assisting) to make it one of my chief cares and labours to teach them some of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the way how to analyze, and lay out into particulars both the
Works and Word of God; and how to communicate knowledge to others methodically and skilfully, and especially the method of Divinity. There be sundry Ministers who live in an opportunity of beginning with a People, and for time to come I shall cease my importuning of others, and onely fall to perswade such unto this service of Jesus Christ, it being one part of our Ministerial Charge to preach to the World in the Name of Jesus, and from amongst them to gather Subjects to his holy Kingdom. The Bible, and the Catechism drawn [6] out of the Bible, are general helps to all parts and places about us, and are the ground-work of Community amongst all our Indian-Churches and Christians.

I find a blessing, when our Church of Natick doth send forth fit Persons unto some remoter places, to teach them the fear of the Lord. But we want maintenance for that Service; it is chargeable matter to send a Man from his Family: The Labourer is worthy of his Hire: And when they go only to the High-ways and Hedges, it is not to be expected that they should reward them: If they believe and obey their Message, it is enough. We are determined to send forth some (if the Lord will, and that we live) this Autumn, sundry ways. I see the best way is, up and be doing: In all labour there is profit: Seek and ye shall find. We have Christ's Example, his Promise, his Presence, his Spirit to assist; and I trust that the Lord will find a way for your encouragement.

Natick is our chief Town, where most and chief of our Rulers, and most of the Church dwells; here most of our chief Courts are kept; and the Sacraments in the Church are for the most part here administered: It is (by the Divine Providence) seated well near in the center of all our praying Indians, though Westward the Cords of Christ’s Tents are more enlarged. Here we began Civil Government in the year 1650. And here usually are kept the General-Trainings, which seven years ago looked so big that we never had one since till this year, and it was at this time but a small appearance. Here we have two Teachers, John Speen and Anthony; we have betwixt forty and fifty Communicants at the Lord’s Table, when they all appear, but now, some are dead, and some decriped with age; and one under Censure, yet making towards a recovery; one died here the last Winter of the Stone, a temperate, sober, godly man, the first Indian that ever was known to have that disease; but now another hath the same disease: Sundry more are proposed, and in way of preparation to join unto the Church.

Ponkipog, or Pakeunit, is our second Town, where the Sachems of the Blood (as they term the Chief Royal-Line) had their Residence and Rights, which are mostly Alienated to the English Towns: The last Chief Man, off that Line, was last year slain by the Mauquzogs, against whom he rashly (without due Attendants and Assistance, and against Counsel) went; yet all, yea, his Enemies say, He died valiantly; they were more afraid to kill him, than we was to died; yet being de- [7] serted by all (some knowingly say through Treason) he stood long, and at last feel alone: Had he had but 10 Men, yea 5 in good order with him, he would have driven all his Enemies before him. His Brother was resident with us in this Town, but he is fallen into sin, and from praying to God. Our Chief Ruler is Ahauton, an old stedfast and trusty
friend to the English, and loveth his Country. He is more loved than feared; the reins of his bridle are too long. Waken is sometimes necessarily called to keep Courts here, to add live and zeal in the punishment of Sinners. Their late Teacher, William, is deceased; He was a man of eminent parts, all the English acknowledge him, and he was known to many: He was of a ready wit, sound judgment, and affable; he is gone unto the Lord; And William, the Son of Ahauton, is called to be Teacher in his stead. He is a promising young-man, of a single and upright heart, a good judgment, he Prayeth and Preacheth well, he is studious and industrious, and well accounted of among the English.

Hassunnimesut is the next Town in order, dignity, and antiquity; sundry of our chief Friends in the great work of Praying to God, came from them, and there lived their Progenitors, and there lieth their Inheritance, and that is the place of their desires. It lieth upon Nichmuke River; the people were well known to the English so long as Connecticot Road lay that way, and their Religion was judged to be real by all that made that journey, and had occasion to lodge, especially to keep a Sabbath among them. The Ruler of the Town is Anuweekin, and his brother Tuppukkoowillin is Teacher, both sound and godly Men. This Ruler, last Winter, was overtaken with a Passion, which was so observable, that I had occasion to speak with him about it; he was very penitent; I hold him, That as to man, I, and all men were ready to forgive him. Ah! Said he, I find it the greatest difficulty to forgive myself. For the encouragement of this place, and for the cherishing of a new Plantation of Praying Indians beyond them, they called Monatunkanet to be a Teacher also in that Town, and both of them to take care of the new Praying-Town beyond them. And for the like encouragement, Captain Gookins joyned Petahheg with Anuweekin. The aged Father of this Ruler and Teacher, was last year Baptized, who hath many Children that fear God. In this place we meditate ere long (if the Lord will, and that we live) to gather a Church, that so the Sabbath-Communion of our Christian Indians may be the more agreeable to the Divine Institution, which we make too bold with while we live at such distance.

Ogquonikongquamesut is the next Town; where, how we have been afflicted, I may not say. The English Town called Marlborough doth border upon them, as did the lines of the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin; the English Meeting-house standeth within the line of the Indian Town, although the contiguity and co-inhabitation is not barren in producing matters of interfering; yet our godly Indians do obtain a good report of the godly English, which is an argument that bringeth light and evidence to my heart, that our Indians are really godly. I was very lately among them; they desired me to settle a stated Lecture amongst them, as it is in sundry other Praying Towns, which I did with so much the more gladness and hope of blessing in it, because through Grace the Motion did first spring from themselves. Solomon is their Teacher, whom we judge to be a serious and sound Christian; their Ruler is Owannamug, whose grave, faithful, and discreet Conversation hath procured him real respect from the English. One that was a Teacher in this place, is the man that is now under Censure in the Church; his sin was that adventitious sin which we have brought unto them, Drunkenness, which was never known to them before they knew us English. But I account it our duty, and it is much in my
desire, as well to teach them Wisdom to Rule such heady Creatures, as skill to get them to be able to bridle their own appetites, when they have means and opportunity of high-spirited enticements. The Wisdom and Power of Grace is not so much seen in the beggarly want of these things, as in the bridling of our selves in the use of them. It is true Dominion, to be able to use them, and not to abuse ourselves by them...

Quanatusset is the last of our Praying-Towns, whose beginnings have received too much discouragement; but yet the Seed is alive: they are frequently with me; the work is at the birth, there doth only want strength to bring forth. The care of this People is committed to Monatunkanit, and Tuppunkkoowillin, the Teachers of Hassunemeeesut, as is abovesaid; and I hope if the Lord continue my life, I shall have a good account to give of that People.

Thus I have briefly touched some of the chiefest of our present Affairs, and commit them to your Prudence...”

Thus Indian missions proceeded, consistent with the historic seal of Massachusetts Bay Colony, in which is seen an Indian, naked except for a loincloth of leaves, with a bow and arrow pointing down (signifying peace) in hand, in between two evergreen trees, crying to the English Puritans, “come over and help us”:

This seal captures a theme similar to Plymouth Colony’s seal. This phrase of the Indian is an allusion to Acts 16:9, in which is described the Apostle Paul’s vision of the Macedonian man calling for help, signifying God’s will to evangelize the Gentiles of Europe.

The work of missions to the Indians was carried into the 18th century by Puritans like David Brainerd in New Jersey. This work of missions among the Indians fore-shadowed Puritan New England’s missions in places as far removed as the Pacific Islands, where yet today there are puritan societies and governments.
The Formation of Other Puritan Colonies and the New Confederation

From Puritan Massachusetts went forth settlers that formed other towns and colonies throughout New England, and even beyond. One of the first of these colonies so born was New Haven, which later merged and became part of the Puritan colony of Connecticut. New Haven and the other settlements that became Connecticut at that time included much of Long Island:

![Connecticut Colony Map 1636-1776](image)

The laws and theology of child colonies like New Haven were patterned after those in Massachusetts. In 1639, the New Haven colonists adopted a “Fundamental Agreement” for self-government, partly as a result of a similar action in Connecticut Colony. According to its terms, a court composed of 16 burgesses was established to appoint magistrates and officials, and to conduct the business of the colony. The only eligible voters were "planters" who were members of "some or other of the approved Churches of New England". They further determined "that the word of God shall be the only rule to be attended unto in ordering the affairs of government in this plantation." Below are a sample of laws for New Haven that came to be called blue laws because they were printed on blue paper:

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"The governor and magistrates convened in general assembly are the supreme power, under god, of the independent dominion."
From the determination of the assembly no appeal shall be made.
No one shall be a freeman or have a vote unless he is converted and a member of one of
the churches allowed in the dominion.
Each freeman shall swear by the blessed God to bear true allegiance to this dominion
and that Jesus is the only king.
No dissenter from the essential worship of this dominion shall be allowed to give a vote
for electing of magistrates or any officer.
No food or lodging shall be offered to a heretic.

CONCERNING THE SABBATH:
No one shall cross a river on the Sabbath but authorized clergymen.
No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair, or shave on the
Sabbath Day.
No one shall kiss his or her children on the Sabbath or feasting days. The
Sabbath Day shall begin at sunset Saturday.

Whoever wears clothes trimmed with gold, silver, or bone lace above one shilling
per yard shall be presented by the grand jurors and the selectmen shall tax the
estate 300 pounds.
Whoever brings cards or dice into the dominion shall pay a fine of 5 pounds. No one
shall eat mince pies, dance, play cards, or play any instrument of music except the
drum, trumpet, or jewsharp.
A man who strikes his wife shall be fined 10 pounds.
A woman who strikes her husband shall be punished as the law directs.
No man shall court a maid in person or by letter without obtaining the consent of her
parents; 5 pounds penalty for the first
offense; 10 pounds for the second, and for the third imprisonment during the pleasure of
the court."

The Christian character of the colonies that ultimately united to form Connecticut is
reflected in their official seals. Hence, that of New Haven colony was the cross:

![Cross](image)

And that of Connecticut was grapevines and a ribbon above with the Latin motto: *Qui
Transtulit Sustinet* (English: He who transplanted sustains):
New England settlements were receptive to plans for strengthening colonial defenses against the threat of Indian attacks as a result of the Pequot War of 1637. After several years of negotiations, a confederation of the Puritan colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth was formed, with John Winthrop as its president.

The delegates of these Puritan New England colonies established a written agreement concerning the relation of their various colonies in the “New England Articles of Confederation” (1643), and hence the confederation is commonly known as the New England Confederation. The organization was to be composed of two delegates from each of the four member colonies. Six of the eight votes were necessary to adopt any measure. Regular annual meetings were to be held, but additional conferences could be called in cases of emergency.

The graph below shows the structure of the Confederation laid out in the Articles:
Member colonies were motivated to join not only because of the fear of Indian attack, but also because of the threats posed by the Dutch in the New Netherland and the French in Canada. It also was hoped that the Confederation would seek solutions to a number of nettlesome boundary issues.

This confederation and these articles served as a lesson and precedent for the Articles of Confederation among the states over a century later following their independence from England. Some excerpts from this document read as follows:

“The Articles of Confederation between the Plantations under the Government of the Massachusetts, the Plantations under the Government of New Plymouth, the Plantations under the Government of Connecticut, and the Government of New Haven with the Plantations in Combination therewith:

V. Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity with peace; and whereas in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon the sea coasts and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot according to our desire with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity. And forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolence and outrages upon several Plantations of the English and have of late of late combined themselves against us: and seeing by reason of those sad distractions in England which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice, or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect. We therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay to enter into a present
Consociation amongst ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all our future concerns: That, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles: Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by and between the parties or Jurisdictions above named, and they jointly and severally do by these presents agree and conclude that they all be and henceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New England.

2. The said United Colonies for themselves and their posterities do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed that the Plantations which at present are or hereafter shall be settled within the limits of the Massachusetts shall be forever under the Massachusetts and shall have peculiar jurisdiction among themselves in all cases as an entire body, and that Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven shall each of them have like peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits; and in reference to the Plantations which already are settled or shall hereafter be erected, or shall settle within their limits respectively; provided no other Jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this Confederation, nor shall any other Plantation or Jurisdiction in present being, and not already in combination or under the jurisdiction of any of these Confederates, be received by any of them; nor shall any two of the Confederates join in one Jurisdiction without the consent of the rest, which consent to be interpreted as is expressed in the sixth article ensuing.

4. It is by these Confederates agreed that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, upon what part or member of this Confederation soever they fall, shall both in men, provisions, and all other disbursements be borne by all the parts of this Confederation in different proportions according to their different ability in manner following, namely, that the Commissioners for each Jurisdiction from time to time, as
there shall be occasion, bring a true account and number of all their males in every
Plantation, or any way belonging to or under their several Jurisdictions, of what quality
or condition soever they be, from sixteen to threescore, being inhabitants there. And that
according to the different numbers from which from time to time shall be found in each
Jurisdiction upon a true and just account, the service of men and all charges of the war
be borne by the poll: each Jurisdiction or Plantation being left to their own just course
and custom of rating themselves and people according to their different estates with due
respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst themselves though the Confederation
take no notice of any such privilage: and that according to their different charge of each
Jurisdiction and Plantation the whole advantage of the war (if it please God so to bless
their endeavors) whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionately
divided among the said Confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if any of these Jurisdictions or any Plantation under or in
combination with them, be invaded by any enemy whomsoever, upon notice and request
of any three magistrates of that Jurisdiction so invaded, the rest of the Confederates
without any further meeting or expostulation shall forthwith send aid to the Confederate
in danger but in different proportions; namely, the Massachusetts an hundred men
sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey, and each of the rest, forty
five so armed and provided, or any less number, if less be required according to this
proportion. But if such Confederate in danger may be supplied by their next
Confederates, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help there, and
seek no further for the present: the charge to be borne as in this article is expressed:
and at the return to be victualled and supplied with the powder and shot for their
journey (if there be need) by that Jurisdiction which employed or sent for them; But
none of the Jurisdictions to exceed these numbers until by a meeting of the
Commissioners for this Confederation a greater aid appear necessary. And this
proportion to continue till upon knowledge of greater numbers in each Jurisdiction
which shall be brought to the next meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in
any such case of sending men for present aid, whether before or after such order or
alteration, it is agreed that at the meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederation,
the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered: and if it appear that the fault lay
in the parties so invaded then that Jurisdiction or Plantation make just satisfaction, both
to the invaders whom they have injured, and bear all the charges of the war themselves,
without requiring any allowance from the rest of the Confederates towards the same.
And further that if any Jurisdiction see any danger of invasion approaching, and there
be time for a meeting, that in such a case three magistrates of the Jurisdiction may
summon a meeting at such convenient place as themselves shall think meet, to consider
and provide against the threatened danger; provided when they are met they may
remove to what place they please; only whilst any of these four Confederates have but
three magistrates in their Jurisdiction, their requests, or summons, from any of them
shall be accounted of equal force with the three mentioned in both the clauses of this
article, till there be an increase of magistrates there.
6. It is also agreed, that for the managing and concluding of all affairs proper, and concerning the whole Confederation two Commissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of these four Jurisdictions: namely, two for the Massachusetts, two for Plymouth, two for Connecticut, and two for New Haven, being all in Church fellowship with us which shall bring full power from their several General Courts respectively to hear, examine, weigh and determine all affairs of our war, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils and whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more Confederates for Plantations into combination with any of the Confederates, and all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a Confederation for amity, offence, and defence: not intermeddling with the government of any of the Jurisdictions, which by the third article is preserved entirely, to themselves. But if these eight Commissioners when they meet shall not all agree yet it [is] concluded that any six of the eight agreeing shall have power to settle and determine the business in question. But if six do not agree, that then such propositions with their reasons so far as they have been debated, be sent and referred to the four General Courts; namely, the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; and if at all the said General Courts the business so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the Conderferates and all their members. It is further agreed that these eight Commissioners shall meet once every year besides extraordinary meetings (accorling to the fifth article) to consider, treat, and conclude of all affairs belonging to this Confederation, which meeting shall ever be the first Thursday in September. And that the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted the second meeting, shall be at Boston in the Massachusetts, the third at Hartford, the fourth at New Haven, the fifth at Plymouth, the sixth and seventh at Boston; and then Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, and so in course successively, if in the meantime some middle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be commodious for all the Jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed that at each meeting of these eight Commissioners, whether ordinary or extraordinary they or six of them agreeing as before, may choose their President out of themselves whose office and work shall be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in the present meeting but he shall be invested with no such power or respect, which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any business or any way cast the scales otherwise than in the precedent article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed that the Commissioners for this Confederation hereafter a their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinary as they may have commission or opportunity, do endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the Plantations are interested, for preventing as much as may be all occasion of war or differences with others, as about the free and speedy pasage of justice in every Jurisdiction, to all the Confederates equally as to their own, receiving those that remove from one Plantation to another without due certificate, how all the Jurisdictions, may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the Confederates through such miscarriages. It is also agreed that if any servant run away from his master into any
other of these confederated Jurisdictions, that in such case, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the Jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled or upon other due proof; the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof. And that upon the escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the Jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrates, or some of them of that Jurisdiction where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hands of the officer or person who pursues him. And if there be help required for safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him that craves the same, paying the charges thereof.

9. And for that the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, especially to the smaller Plantations in the United Colonies, it is agreed that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, nor New Haven, nor any of the members of them, shall at any time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage themselves, or this Confederation, or any part thereof in any war whatsoever (sudden exigencies, with the necessary consequents thereof excepted), which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit, without the consent and agreement of the formentioned eight Commissioners, or at least six of them. As in the sixth article is provided: and that no charge be required of any of the Confederates, in case of a defensive war, till the Commissioners have met, and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sum of money to be levied, which sum is then to be paid by the several Confederates in proportion according to the fourth article.

Although the New England Articles of Confederation have many critics, primarily among those who advocate for more centralized empire, in reality they performed well under the circumstances, and largely as hoped for. In 1650, the Confederation signed a treaty, known as the Treaty of Hartford, with the New Netherland colony that established clear boundaries between English and Dutch lands. The New England Confederation never submitted the treaty for ratification in England, deciding instead to make treaties on its own in an attempt to self-govern. Circumstances outside the control of the Confederation led in 1652 to the First Anglo-Dutch war. This was a naval war between the English and the Dutch over trade routes and colonies. Connecticut and New Haven considered the First Anglo-Dutch war a threat to their safety and asked for assistance from the Confederation. Massachusetts and Plymouth considered the war to be an unnecessary conflict and refused assistance. The Confederation thus reached a stalemate when four votes were cast in favor of offering assistance and four votes were cast against it. Hence, the Confederation remained neutral on the war, just as was appropriate. In 1675 King Philip’s War broke out after a series of hostile acts by Indians of the Wampanoag tribe. The confederation voted in favor of providing military assistance for the war and officially declared war on the Native-Americans on September 9, 1675. As part of the war effort, the Confederation assembled the largest army that New England had yet mustered,
consisting of 1,000 militia and 150 Indian allies. The war lasted fourteen months, officially coming to an end in August of 1676, and is considered one of the bloodiest colonial Indian wars.

King Philip’s War was the Indian’s last major effort to drive the English colonists out of New England. In addition, the New England colonists faced their enemies without support from any outside government or military, and this began to give them a group identity separate and distinct from Britain. Thus, the New England Articles of Confederation achieved what they could under the circumstances: defense of the member parties via joint military operation, while retaining sovereignty for each member colony.
What brought the New England Articles of Confederation down, like what brought the later US Articles of Confederation down a century later, were political intrigues by those seeking centralized empire and despising distributed State political power, consisting of elected State political leaders. While the New England Articles of Confederation were in operation, each colony operated under individual charters that allowed them to organize and run their colonies as they pleased. King Charles II of England sought closer oversight of the colonies, and he tried to introduce and enforce economic control over their activities. The Navigation Acts passed in the 1660s were widely disliked in Massachusetts, where merchants often found themselves trapped and at odds with the rules. Many colonial governments did not enforce the acts themselves, particularly Massachusetts, and tensions grew when Charles revoked the first Massachusetts Charter in 1684. He died shortly after in February of 1685 and King James II took over the throne immediately thereafter. In 1686 King James II created the Dominion of New England in order to tighten control over the administration affairs of the New England colonies. This merged the New England colonies into one mega colony, known as the Dominion of New England, which officially brought the confederation to an end. The Dominion merged the colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island together into one large colony. In 1688 the Dominion was expanded to include New York and New Jersey. James expected the Dominion to increase the patronage, or political favors, he could provide to his loyal supporters – favors such as generous lead grants or colonial administrative appointments. He also expected to increase revenues by imposing duties and taxes on colonial goods in the vast region he now controlled. King James II appointed as Dominion governor Sir Edmund Andros, who was highly unpopular in the colonies, but he was especially hated in Massachusetts where he angered virtually everyone by rigidly enforcing the Navigation Acts, vacating land titles, appropriating a Puritan meeting house as a site to host services for the Church of England, and restricting town meetings, among other complaints. James was deposed in the 1688 Glorious Revolution, whereupon Massachusetts political leaders rose up against Andros, arresting him and other English authorities in April 1689.
This led to the collapse of the Dominion, as the other colonies then quickly reasserted their old forms of government. The Massachusetts colonial government was re-established but it no longer had a valid charter, and some opponents of the old Puritan rule refused to pay taxes and engaged in other forms of protest. Provincial agents traveled to London where Increase Mather was representing the old colony leaders, and he petitioned new rulers William II and Mary II to restore the old colonial charter. King William refused, however, when he learned that this might result in a return to Puritan religious rule in Massachusetts. Instead, the Lords of Trade combined the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay into the Province of Massachusetts Bay. They issued a charter for the Province on October 7, 1691, and appointed Sir William Phips as its governor. The new charter differed from the old one in several important ways. One of the principal changes was inaugurated over Mather's objection, changing the voting eligibility requirements from narrower religious qualifications to land ownership. The second major change was that senior officials of the government were appointed by the Crown instead of being elected, including governor, lieutenant governor, and judges. The legislative assembly (or General Court) continued to be elected, however, and was responsible for choosing members of the Governor's Council. The governor had veto power over laws passed by the General Court, as well as over appointments to the council. The General Court possessed the powers of appropriation, and the council was locally chosen and not appointed by either the governor or the Crown. These significantly weakened the governor's power. The New England Confederation, however, was never resuscitated, because henceforth during the colonial era most inter-colony relation was either mediated through London or handled by less formal means.

Here is an excerpt from the 1691 charter:

__________________________________

WILLIAM & MARY by the grace of God King and Queene of England Scotland France and Ireland Defenders of the Faith &c To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting Whereas his late Majesty King James the First Our Royall Predecessor by his Letters Patents vnder the Greate Seale of England bearing date at Westminster the Third Day of November in the Eighteenth yeare of his Reigne did Give and Grant vnto the Councill established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the Planting Ruleing Ordering and Governing of New England in America and to their Successors and Assignes all that part of America lying and being in Breadth from Forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctiall Line to the Forty Eighth Degree of the said Northerly Latitude Inclusively, and in length of and within all the Breadth aforesaid throughout all the Main Lands from Sea to Sea together alseoe with all the firme Lands Soiles Grounds Havens Ports Rivers Waters Fishings Mines and Mineralls as well Royall Mines of Gold and Silver as other Mines and Mineralls Pretious Stones Quarries and all and singular other Comodities Jurisdicticns Royaltys Privileges Franchises and Prehensines both within the said Tract of Land vpon the Main and alseoe within the Islands and Seas adjoyning Provided alwayes that the said Lands Islands or any the premises by the said Letters Patents intended or meant to be Granted were not then

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actually possessed or Inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State or within the bounds Limitts or Territories of the Southern Collony then before granted by the said late King James the First [to be planted (2)] by divers of his Subjects in the South parts To Have and to hold possessse and enjoy all and singular the aforesaid Continent Lands Territories Islands Hereditaments and Precincts Seas Waters Fishings with all and all manner of their Comodities Royalties Liberties Preheminences and Profitts ...respectively in the said Great and Generall Court or Assembly Provided always that noe Freeholder or other Person shall have a Vote in the Eleccon of Members to serve in any Greate and Generall Court or Assembly to be held as aforesaid who at the time of such Eleccon shall not have an estate of Freehold in Land within Our said Province or Territory to the value of Forty Shillings per Annu at the least or other estate to the value of Forty pounds Sterl’ And that every Person who shall be soe elected shall before he silt or Act in the said Great and Generall Court or Assembly take the Oaths mentionned in an Act of Parliament made in the first yeare of Our ReginEntitled an Act for abrogateing of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and appointing other Oaths and thereby appointed to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and shall make Repeat and Subscribe the Declaracon mentioned in the said Act... And we doe further for vs our Heires and Successors Give and Grant to the said Governor and the great and Generall Court or Assembly of our said Province or Territory for the time being full power and Authority from time to time to make ordaine and establish all manner of wholsome and reasonable Orders Laws Statutes and Ordinances Directions and Instructions either with penalties or without (soe as the same be not repugnant or contrary to the Lawes of this our Realme of England) as they shall Judge to be for the-good and welfare of our said Province or Territory And for the Gouernment and Ordering thereof and of the People Inhabiting or who shall Inhabit the same and for the necessary support and Defence of the Government thereof And wee doe for vs our Heires and Successors Give and Grant to the said Generall Court or Assembly shall have full power and Authority to name and settle annually all Civill Officers within the said Province such Officers Excepted the Election and Constitution of whose wee have by these presents reserved to vs Our Heires and Successors or to the Governor of our said Province for the time being and to Sett forth the severall Duties Powers and Lymitts of every such Officer to be appointed by the said Generall Court or Assembly and the formes of such Oathes not repugnant to the Lawes and Statutes of this, our Realme of England as shall be respectiuely Administered vnto them for the Execution of their severall Offices and places And alse to impose Fines mulcts Imprisonments and other Punishments And to impose and leavy proportionable and reasonable Assessments Rates and Taxes vpon the Estates and Persons of all and every the Proprietors and Inhabitants of our said Province or Territory to be Issued and disposed of by Warrant vnder the hand of the Governor of our said Province for the time being with the advice and Consent of the Councill for Our service in the necessary defence and support of our Government of our said Province or Territory and the Protection and Preservation of the Inhabitants there according to such Acts as are or shall be in force within our said Province and to dispose of matters and things whereby our Subjects inhabitants of our said Province may be Religiously peaceably and Civilly Governed Protected and Defended soe as their good life and orderly Conversation may
win the Indians Natives of the Country to the knowledge and obedience of the onely true God and Saviour of Mankinde and the Christian Faith which his Royall Majestie our Royall Grandfather king Charles the first in his said Letters Patents declared was his Royall Intentions And the Adventurers free Possession to be the Princepall end of the said Plantation And for the better secureing and maintaining Liberty of Conscience hereby granted to all persons at any time being and resideing within our said Province or Territory as aforesaid Willing Comanding and Requireing and by these presents for vs Our heires and Successors Ordaining and appointing that all such Orders Lawes Statutes and Ordinances Instructions and Directions as shall be soe made and published under our Seale of our said Province or Territory shall be Carefully and duely observed kept and performed and put in Execution according to the true intent and meaning of these presents Provided alwaies and Wee doe by these presents for vs Our Heires and Successors Establish and Ordaine that in the frameing and passing of all such Orders Lawes Statutes and Ordinances and in all Elections and Acts of Government whatsoever to be passed made or done by the said Generall Court or Assembly or in Councill the Governor of our said Province or Territory of the Massachusetts Bay in New England for the time being shall have the Negative voice and that without his consent or Approbation signified and declared in Writing no such Orders Lawes Statutes Ordinances Elections or other Acts of Government whatsoever soe to be made passed or done by the said Generall Assembly or in Councill shall be of any Force effect or validity anything herein contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding...

The oath referenced for freemen to subscribe was this:

"I, A B, do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God, etc. I, A B, do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deposed by the pope or any authority of the see of Rome may be deposed or murthered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, states or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God, etc."

The Dominion of New England forever changed the culture of the New England colonies from a strict puritan society independent of Britain into a more secular royal colony. Following the failure of the Dominion of New England, in the late 1690s and early 1700s the British government began to follow a policy of salutary neglect, during which it relaxed its enforcement of laws and trade regulations in the colonies. This came to an end though after the Seven Year’s War in 1763 when the government, saddled with debt from the war, began passing new laws and taxes in the colonies, causing the colonist’s lingering resentment to build until it erupted in the American Revolution in the late 1770s.
These political developments were accompanied by continued growth of population originating in New England. After an initial period of high mortality, life expectancy in New England rose to levels comparable to our own. There was a very high birthrate (over half of New England children had nine or more siblings) and yet a low death rate. By the 1790 census there were 1,009,408 residents in New England. As their descendants moved to the other colonies and West in the decades to come, they brought with them much of their religious, political, and social patterns. As we shall see later, such a Puritan colony that moved into Maryland made a significant difference there.

**Puritanism’s Intellectual Prominence during the Colonial Era**

Puritanism’s intellectual prominence and even dominance in the North American colonies is perhaps most reflected in the sphere of education. The formation of Harvard College has previously been noted.

In Connecticut during the early 18’th century the Collegiate School of Connecticut, later to become Yale College, was chartered. It provided another bulwark of orthodox New England Puritanism at a time when Harvard was becoming more theologically lax. In the mid-18th century another college was raised up in New Jersey, later to become Princeton College, which melded New England Puritanism with Scottish Puritanism (the latter generally referred to as ‘Presbyterianism’). Its third president was the New England minister and theologian, Jonathan Edwards. And other colleges like Dartmouth would arise from Puritan ranks as well.

Not only did Puritanism dominate colonial collegiate education, it also dominated primary education. Shortly after the Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted the “ye olde deluder Satan” Act, all the other New England colonies, except Rhode Island, followed its example. So the grammar schools of the northern colonies were generally Puritan.

Another testimony to the intellectual prominence of Puritanism was in the area of literature. Literary production in the colonies was largely confined to New England. Here attention concentrated on religious subjects. Sermons were the most common products of the press.
A famous Puritan minister, the Reverend Cotton Mather, wrote some 400 works. His masterpiece, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, presented the pageant of New England’s history.

![Rev. Mr. Cotton Mather of North Church, Boston](image)

But the most popular single work of the day was the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth’s long poem, “The Day of Doom,” which described the last judgment and begins as follows:

_I_

STILL was the night, serene and bright,  
when all men sleeping lay;  
Calm was the season, & carnal reason  
thought so 'twould last for ay.  
Soul take thine ease, let sorrow cease,  
much good thou hast in store;  
This was their song their cups among the evening before.

_II_

Wallowing in all kind of sin,  
vile wretches lay secure,  
The best of men had scarcely then  
their Lamps kept in good ure.  
Virgins unwise, who through disguise  
amongst the best were number’d,  
Had clos’d their eyes; yea, and the Wise  
through sloth and frailty slumber’d.  

…

In 1704 Cambridge, Massachusetts, launched the colonies’ first successful newspaper. By 1745 there were 22 newspapers being published throughout the colonies, following this lead.
Puritan New England had an influence not only in the New World, but also back in the mother country. Just as Calvin’s Geneva and Knox’s Scotland helped inspire the formation of a Puritan colony in the New World, so the presence of Puritan New England inspired the formation of a Puritan England and a re-vitalized Scottish Puritanism (generally referred to as Presbyterianism). In fact, some of New England’s theological leaders were invited as delegates to the Westminster Assembly, although circumstances were such that they could not attend.

Colonial Puritan scholarship continues to bless and enrich the lives of many Christians. Puritan New England indeed had a profound influence in its own day and beyond.
Godly causes on earth will almost invariably meet with opposition. While Puritan New England was by no means perfect, it was doing a noble job of spreading Christ’s kingdom. Roger Williams sought to thwart this cause based upon ignorant and unscriptural reasoning. Having been banished from Massachusetts, Roger Williams settled in what is today Providence, Rhode Island. He established a religious rival within close proximity to Puritan New England based upon unscriptural principles.

The colony he founded implemented his political theory. In his view the state was to be neutral in matters of religion. In “The Bloody Tenent of Persecution”, Williams states the case for tolerance and diversity upon which his colony of Rhode Island was founded:
“God requireth not an uniformity of Religion to be inacted and inforced in any civill state; which inforced uniformity is the greatest occasion of civill Warre, ravishing of conscience, persecution of Christ Jesus in his servants, and of hypocrisy and destruction of millions of souls.”

Two Puritan theologians that vigorously rebutted Williams’ arguments at the time were Mr. John Cotton of New England and Mr. George Gillespie of Scotland.

Gillespie represented Scotland as a commissioner at the Westminster Assembly, and he was arguably the preeminent Presbyterian theologian of his day. Excerpts from his rebuttal follow:

“Wholesome Severity reconciled with CHRISTIAN LIBERTY. OR, The true Resolution of a present Controversy concerning Liberty of CONSCIENCE. Here you have the Question stated, the middle way betwixt Popish Tyranny and Schismatizing Liberty approved, and also confirmed from Scripture, and the testimonies of Divines, yea of whole Churches: The chief Arguments and Exceptions used in The Bloody Tenent, The Compassionate Samaritane, M.S. to A.S. &c. examined.

...liberty of conscience is a sweet and taking word among the less discerning sort of godly people, newly come out of the house of bondage, out of the popish and Prelatical tyranny; I say the less discerning sort, because those of the godly who have their senses exercised to discern good and evil, know that liberty of heresy and schism is no part of the liberty of conscience which Christ hath purchased to us at so dear a rate...

...Under these fair colours and handsome pretexts do sectaries infuse their poison, I mean their pernicious, God-provoking, Truth-defacing, Church ranating, & Stateshaking toleration. The plain English of the question is this: whether the Christian Magistrate be keeper of both Tables: whether he ought to suppress his own enemies, but not God’s enemies, and preserve his own ordinances, but not Christ’s Ordinances from violation...
...lest it be thought that this is but the opinion of some few, that the magistrate ought thus by a strong hand, and by civil punishments suppress Heretics and Sectaries: let it be observed what is held forth and professed concerning this business, by the Reformed Churches in their public Confessions of Faith. In the latter Confession of Helviti... In the French Confession... In the Belgic Confession, art. 36... the Saxon Confession, Luther, Melancthon, Brentius, Bucer, Wolfangus Capito, and Bullinger. The Synod of Dort, Ses. 138, in their sentence against the Remonstrants doth not only interdict them of all their Ecclesiastical and Academical functions, but also beseech the States General by the secular power further to suppress and restrain them...

The Arguments whereby this third or middle opinion is confirmed (that we may not build upon human authority) are these.

First, the law, Deut. 13.6-9, concerning the stoning and killing of him, who shall secretly entice people, saying, Let us go after other gods...But the Law, Deut. 13, for punishing with death, as well whole Cities as particular persons, for falling away to other gods, is not the only law for punishing even capitally gross sins against the first Table. See Exod. 22.20, He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed. Exod. 31.14, Every one that defileth the Sabbath shall surely be put to death. Levit. 24.16, And he that blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death. Deut. 17.2-5, If there be found among you within any of thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the Lord thy God, in transgressing his Covenant, and hath gone and served other gods and worshipped them, &c. Thou shalt bring forth that man or that woman unto thy gates, even that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones till they die.

Now that the Christian Magistrate is bound to observe these Judicial laws of Moses which appoint the punishments of sins against the Moral law, he proveth by these reasons. 1. If it were not so, then it is free and arbitrary to the Magistrate to appoint what punishments himself pleaseth. But this is not arbitrary to him, for he is the Minister of God, Rom. 13.4. and the judgment is the Lord’s, Deut. 1.7; 2 Chron. 19.6. And if the Magistrate be Keeper of both Tables, he must keep them in such manner as God hath delivered them to him.2. Christ’s words, Matt. 5.17, Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets, I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill, are comprehensive of the Judicial law, it being a part of the law of Moses; Now he could not fulfill the Judicial law, except either by his practice, or by teaching others still to observe it; [but it was] not by his own practice, for he would not condemn the Adulteress, John 8.11, nor divide the Inheritance, Luke 12.13,14. Therefore it must be by his doctrine for our observing it. 3. If Christ in his Sermon, Matt. 5, would teach that the Moral law belongeth to us Christians, in somuch as he vindicateth it from the false glosses of the Scribes & Pharisees; then he meant to hold forth the Judicial law concerning Moral trespasses as belonging to us also: for he vindicateth and interpreteth the Judicial law, as well as the Moral, Matt. 5.38, An eye for an eye, &c. 4. If God would have the Moral law...
transmitted from the Jewish people to the Christian people; then he would also have the Judicial law transmitted from the Jewish Magistrate to the Christian Magistrate: There being the same reason of immutability in the punishments, which is in the offences; Idolatry and Adultery displeaseth God now as much as then; and Theft displeaseth God now no more than before. 5. Whosoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, Rom. 15.4, and what shall the Christian Magistrate learn from those Judicial laws, but the will of God to be his rule in like cases? The Ceremonial law was written for our learning, that we might know the fulfilling of all those Types, but the Judicial law was not Typical. 6. Do all to the glory of God, 1 Cor. 10.31; Matt. 5.16. How shall Christian Magistrates glorify God more than by observing God's own laws, as most just, and such as they cannot make better? 7. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin, Rom. 14.23. Now when the Christian Magistrate punisheth sins against the Moral law, if he do this in faith and in assurance of pleasing God, he must have his assurance from the Word of God, for faith can build upon no other foundation: it is the Word which must assure the Conscience, God has commanded such a thing, therefore it is my duty to do it, God hath not forbidden such a thing, therefore I am free to do it. But the will of God concerning Civil justice and punishments is no where so fully and clearly revealed as in the Judicial law of Moses. This therefore must be the surest prop and stay to the conscience of the Christian Magistrate.

These are not my reasons (if it be not a word or two added by way of explaining and strengthening) but the substance of Piscator's reasons: Unto which I add, (1.) Though we have clear and full scriptures in the New Testament for abolishing the Ceremonial law, yet we nowhere read in all the new Testament of the abolishing of the Judicial law, so far as it did concern the punishing of sins against the Moral law, of which Heresy and seducing of souls is one, and a great one. Once God did reveal his will for punishing those sins by such and such punishments. He who will hold that the Christian Magistrate is not bound to inflict such punishments for such sins, is bound to prove that those former laws of God are abolished, and to shew some scripture for it. (2.) That Judicial law for having two or three witnesses in judgment, Deut. 19.15; Heb. 10.28, is transferred even with an obligation to us Christians, and it concerneth all judgments, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, Matt. 18.16; 2 Cor. 13.1, and some other particulars might be instanced in which are pressed and enforced from the Judicial law, by some who yet mind not the obligation of it. To conclude therefore this point, though other judicial or forensical laws concerning the punishments of sins against the Moral law, may, yea, must be allowed of in Christian Republics and Kingdoms; Provided always, they be not contrary or contradictory to God's own Judicial laws: yet I fear not to hold with Junius, de Politia Mosis cap. 6, that he who was punishable by death under that Judicial law, is punishable by death still; and he who was not punished by death then, is not to be punished by death now; And so much for the first argument from the Law of God.

A second argument we have from divers laudable examples in the Old Testament; Moses drew the sword against Idolaters, Exod. 32.27; the children of Israel resolved to go out to war against the Reubenites and Gadites, when they understood that they were building another Altar, Josh. 22.12; Elijah commanded to slay the Priests of Baal, 1 Kings 18.40;
In Asa’s time there was a Covenant for putting to death such as would not seek the Lord God of their Fathers, 2 Chron. 15.13…

The (3.) third argument is drawn from the New Testament. The magistrate beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil, Rom. 13.4. But I assume; Heretics and Sectaries do evil, yea much evil, especially when they draw many others after them in their pernicious ways. It was the observation of one of the greatest Politicians of this Kingdom, That heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals: yea more than corruptions of manners. One of his reasons is, because every sect of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings, and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things. [See Bacons Essays, pages 11,12.] I know it will be answered, If any Sectary make a breach of peace, or disturb the State, then indeed the magistrate ought to redress it by a coercive power. So John the Baptist, page 57. So Mr. Williams, chapter 52, answereth, Rom. 13.4, is not meant of evil against the Christian estate, but of evil against the Civil State. M.S. page 53,54, tells us that he is not for the toleration of Sects and Schisms, except only upon this supposition, that the professors or maintainers of them be otherwise peaceable in the State, and every ways subject to the laws and lawful power of the civil Magistrate. I answer, the experience of former times may make us so wise as to foresee that heresy and schism tendeth to the breach of the civil peace, and to a rupture in the State as well as in the Church. What commotions did the Arrians make in all the Eastern parts? The Macedonians in Greece? The Donatists in Africke? How did the Anabaptists raise and foment the bloody war of the Boores in Germany, wherein were killed above 100,000 men?

A (4.) fourth Argument is drawn from the names which the Scripture giveth to Heretics and Sectaries, holding forth the extreme danger of tolerating and letting them alone. [See Calvin’s Refutation of the Errors of Michael Servetus.] They are called ravening wolves, Matt. 7.15; and grievous wolves not sparing the flock, Acts 20.29; thieves and robbers, John 10.8; Their word eateth as a canker, 2 Tim. 2.17, and is as a little leaven leavening the whole lump, Gal. 5.9. They are troublers of Israel, Acts 15.24, Gal. 5.12. Shall the troublers of the State be punished, and the troublers of Israel go free?…

Thus was Williams refuted on both sides of the Atlantic, but proceeded in his course of forming and maintaining Rhode Island as a colony of pretended liberty of conscience. Williams became a Baptist in 1639 but later in life became a Seeker.

Williams was joined in his efforts by other dissidents from Massachusetts like Ann Hutchinson. In its early years there was factional division among the various dissidents that settled there. For example, the antinomians like Ann Hutchinson formed a separate colony within Rhode Island from the one led by Williams in Providence.

The Providence colony adopted its First Constitution in 1640, which set forth the principles upon which the colony was to function. It reads:
Wee, Robert Coles, Chad Browne, William Harris, and John Warner, being freely chosen by the consent of our loving friends and neighbors the Inhabitants of this Towne of Providence, having many differences amongst us, they being freely willing and also bound themselves to stand to our Arbitration in all differences amongst us to rest contented in our determination, being so betrusted we have seriously and carefully endeavoured to weigh and consider all those differences, being desirous to bringe to unity and peace, although our abilities are farr short in the due examination of such weighty things, yet so farre as we conceive in laying all things together we have gone the fairest and the equallest way to produce our peace.

1. Agreed. We have with one consent agreed that in the parting those particular properties which some of our friends and neighbors have in Patuxit, from the general Common of our towne of Providence, to run uppon a straight line from a fresh spring being in the Gulley, at the head of that cove running by that point of land called Saxafras unto the towne of Mashipawogt to an oake tree standing neere unto the corn field, being at this time the nearest corn field unto Patuxit, the cake tree having four marks with an axe, till some other land marke be set for a certaine bound. Also, we agree that if any meadow ground lyeing and joineing to that Meadow, that borders uppon the River of Patuxit come within the aforesaid line, which will not come within a straight line from long Cove to the marked tree, then for that meadow to belong to Pawtuxit, and so beyond the towne of Mashipawogt from the oake tree between the two fresh Rivers Pawtuxit and Waanasquatucket of an even Distance.

2. Agreed. We have with one consent agreed that for the disposeing, of those lands that shall be disposed belonging to this towne of Providence to be in the whole Inhabitants by the choise of five men for generall disposeall, to betrusted with disposeall of lands and also of the towne Stocke, and all Generall things and not to receive in any six dayes at townesmen, but first to give the Inhabitants notice to consider if any have just cause to shew against the receiving of him as you can apprehend, and to receive none but such as subscribe to this our determination. Also, we agree that if any of our neighbours doe apprehend himselfe wronged by these or any of these 5 disposers, that at the Generall towne meeting he may have a tryall.

3. Also wee agree for the towne to choose beside the other five men one or more to keepe Record of all things belonging to the towne and lying in Common, Wee agree, as formerly hath bin the liberties of the town, so still, to hould forth liberty of Conscience.

III. Agreed, that after many Considerations and Consultations of our owne State and alsoe of States abroad in way of government, we apprehend, no way so suitable to our
Condition as government by way of Arbitration. But if men agree themselves by arbitration, no State we know of disallows that, neither doe we: But if men refuse that which is but common humanity between man and man, then to compel such unreasonable persons to a reasonable way, we agree that the 5 disposers shall have power to compel him to choose two men himselfe, or if he refuse, for them to choose two men to arbitrate his cause, and if these foure men chosen by every partie do end the cause, then to see theire determination performed and the faultive to pay the Arbitrators for theire time spent in it: But if these foure men doe not end it, then for the 5 disposers to choose three men to put an end to it, and for the certainty thereof, wee agree the major part of the 5 disposers to choose the 3 men, and the major part of the 3 men to end the cause haweing power from the 5 disposers by a note under theire hand to performe it, and the faultive not agreeing in the first to pay the charge of the last, and for the Arbitrators to follow no imployment til the cause be ended without consent of the whole that have to doe with the cause. Instance. In the first Arbitration the offender may offer reasonable terms of peace, and the offended may exact upon him and refuse and trouble men beyond reasonable satisfaction; so for the last arbitrators to judge where the fault was, in not agreeing in the first, to pay the charge of the last.

IV. Agreed, that if any person damnify any man, either in goods of good name, and the person offended follow not the cause uppon the Vendor, that if any person give notice to the 5 Disposers, they shall call the party delinquent to answer by Arbitration.

Instance. Thus, if any person abuse an other person or goods, may be for peace sake, a man will at present put it up, and it may so be resolve to revenge: therefore, for the peace of the state, the disposers are to look to it in the first place.

V. Agreed, for all the whole Inhabitants to combine ourselves to assist any man in the pursuit of any party delinquent, with all best endeavours to attack him: but if any man raise a hubbub and there be no just cause, then for the party that raised the hubbub to satisfy men for their time lost in it.

VI. Agreed, that if any man have a difference with any of the 5 Disposers which cannot be deferred till general meeting of the towne, then he may have the Clerk call the towne together at his [discretion] for a tryall.

Instance. It may be, a man may be to depart the land, or to a fare parse of the land; or his estate may lye uppon a speedy tryall or the like case may fall out.

VII. Agreed, that the towne, by the five men shall give every man a deed of all his lands lying within the bounds of the Plantations, to hould it by for after ages.

VIII. Agreed, that the 5 disposers shall from the date hereof, meete every month-day uppon General things and at the quarter-day to yeeld a new choice and give up their old Accounts.
IX. Agreed, that the Clerke shall call the 5 Disposers together at the month-day, and the general! towne together every quarter, to meete uppon general occasions from the date hereof.

X. Agreed, that the Clerke is to receive for every cause that comes to the towne for a tryall 4d. for making each deed 12d. and to give up the booke to the towne at the yeeres’ end and yeeld to a new choice.

XI. Agreed, that all acts of disposall on both sides to stand since the difference.

XII. Agreed, that every man that hath not paid in his purchase money for his Plantation shall make up his 10s. to be 30s. equal with the first purchasers: and for all that are received townsmen hereafter, to pay the like summe of money to the towne stocke.

These being those things wee have generally concluded on, for our peace, we desiring our loving friends to receive as our absolute determination, laying ourselves downe as subjects to it.”

Williams was a skillful leader and politician. He was able to bring the various factions in Rhode Island together and secure a colonial charter from King Charles II in 1663. Thus was Rhode Island born, through the skills primarily of Williams.

As Rhode Island developed during the colonial era it became increasingly commercial, gradually moving away from an agriculturally dominated economy. One blemish of the Rhode Island economy was the piracy, privateering and smuggling that grew in Newport. Overall it can be said Rhode Island remained consistent with the plan of its founder. Rhode Island became a haven for Baptists, Quakers, Jews and other religious minorities. Nearly a century after his death, Williams’ secular model for civil government inspired the leaders of the United States, who incorporated it into the US Federal Constitution.
New Netherland

Most settlers who came to America in the 17th century were English, but there were also Dutch, Swedes and Germans. Indeed, as early as 1609 Henry Hudson was exploring New York, under the employment of the Dutch East India Company. In 1621 the States General, the ruling council of the Netherlands, granted a charter to the Dutch West India Company which gave it a monopoly of trade along the shores of America. Within several years the Company had made plans for a colony in what is today New York, called New Netherland.

One settlement was started up the Hudson River near current day Albany. More settlements were started further down the Hudson River. Here is the account of how Manhattan Island was acquired:
Rcvd. 7 November 1626

High and Mighty Lords,
Yesterday the ship the Arms of Amsterdam arrived here. It sailed from New Netherland out of the River Mauritius on the 23d of September. They report that our people are in good spirit and live in peace. The women also have borne some children there. They have purchased the Island Manhattes from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders. It is 11,000 morgens in size [about 22,000 acres]. They had all their grain sowed by the middle of May, and reaped by the middle of August. They sent samples of these summer grains: wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is:

7246 Beaver skins
178½ Otter skins
675 Otter skins
48 Mink skins
36 Lynx skins
33 Minks
34 Weasel skins

Many oak timbers and nut wood. Herewith, High and Mighty Lords, be commended to the mercy of the Almighty,

Your High and Mightinesses' obedient, P.Schaghen

Manhattan Island became the settlement of New Amsterdam. It became the seat of government and trade for the enterprising Dutch of New Netherland.

The early Dutch settlers in New Netherland held informal meetings for worship until Jonas Michaelius organized (1628) a congregation in New Amsterdam, called the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. Until the English conquest of New Netherland in 1664, the Reformed Church was the established church of the colony. The Reformed Church shared the same basic beliefs with the reformed churches that arose in the British Isles, such as sola scriptura, the doctrines of grace, and justification through faith alone. Indeed, less than a decade previous representatives from the Church of England attended the famous Synod of Dort called by the Dutch Reformed Church. This Synod issued the Canons of Dort which proclaimed the total grace of Christ in salvation.

Although controlled by the Dutch, many other peoples settled in New Netherland as well. New York best illustrated the polyglot nature of America. By 1646 the population along the Hudson River included Dutch, French, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, English, Scots,
Irish, Germans, Poles, Bohemians, Portuguese and Italians – the forerunners of millions to come.

This description from the time gives us a good idea of life in the colony:

“New Netherlands in 1644”. By Rev. Isaac Jogues, S.J.

New Holland which the Dutch call in Latin Novum Belgium, in their own language Nieuw Nederland, that is to say, New Low Countries, is situated between Virginia and New England. The mouth of the river called by some Nassau river or the great North river (to distinguish it from another which they call the South river) and which in some maps that I have recently seen is also called, I think, River Maurice, is at 4030’. Its channel is deep, for the largest ships that ascend to Manhattes Island, which is seven leagues in circuit, and on which there is a fort to serve as the commencement of a town to be built there and to be called New Amsterdam.

This fort which is at the point of the island about five or six leagues from the mouth, is called Fort Amsterdam; it has four regular bastions mounted with several pieces or artillery. All these bastions and the curtains were in 1643 but ramparts of earth, most of which had crumbled away, so that the fort could be entered on all sides. There were no ditches. There were sixty soldiers to garrison the said fort and another which they had built still further up against the incursions of the savages their enemies. They were beginning to face the gates and bastions with stone. Within this fort stood a pretty large church built of stone; the house of the Governor, whom they called Director General, quite neatly built of brick, the storehouses and barracks.

On this island of Manhate and in its environs there may well be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations; the Director General told me that there were persons there of eighteen different languages; they are scattered here and there on the river, above and below as the beauty and convenience of the spot invited each to settle, some mechanics however who ply their trades are ranged under the fort; all the others were exposed to the incursions of the natives, who in the year 1643, while I was there actually killed some two score Hollanders and burnt many houses and barns full of wheat.

The river, which is very straight and runs due north and south, is at least a league broad before the fort. Ships lie at anchor in a bay which forms the other side of the island and can be defended from the fort.

Shortly before I arrived there three large vessels of 300 tons each had come to load wheat; two had found cargoes, the third could not be loaded because the savages had burnt a part of their grain. These ships came from the West Indies where the West India Company usually keeps up seventeen ships of war.
No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists, but this is not observed, for there are, besides Calvinists, in the Colony Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Muistes &c.

When any one comes to settle in the country, they lend him horses, cows &c, they give him provisions, all which he repays as soon as he is at ease, and as to the land he pays in to the West India Company after ten years the tenth of the produce which he reaps.

This country is bounded on the New England side by a river they call the Fresche river, which serves as a boundary between them and the English. The English however come very near to them, preferring to hold lands under the Dutch who ask nothing from them rather than to be dependant on English Lords who exact rents and would fain be absolute. On the other side southward towards Virginia, its limits are the river which they call the South river on which there is also a Dutch settlement, but the Swedes have at its mouth another extremely well provided with men and cannon. It is believed that these Swedes are maintained by some merchants of Amsterdam, who are not satisfied that the West India Company should alone enjoy all the commerce of these parts. It is near this river that a gold mine is reported to have been found.

See in the work of the Sieur de Laet of Antwerp the table and article on New Belgium as he sometimes calls it or the map; Nova Anglia, Novu Belgium et Virginia.

It is about fifty years since the Hollanders came to these parts. The fort was begun in the year 1615: they began to settle about twenty years ago and there is already some little commerce with Virginia and New England. The first comers found lands fit for use, formerly cleared by the savages who previously had fields here. Those who came later have cleared in the woods, which are mostly of oak. The soil is good. Deer hunting is abundant in the fall. There are some houses built of stone; they make lime of oyster shells, great heaps of which are found here made formerly by the savages, who subsisted in part by this fishery.

The climate is very mild. Lying at 40 2/3 degrees; there are many European fruits, as apples, pears, cherries. I reached there in October, and found even then a considerable quantity of peaches.

Ascending the river to the 43d degree you find the second Dutch settlement, which the flux and reflux reaches but does not pass. Ships of a hundred and a hundred and twenty tons can ascend to it.

There are two things in this settlement, which is called Renselaerswick, as if to say the colony of Renselaer, who is a rich Amsterdam merchant: 1st a wretched little fort called Ft Orange, built of logs with four or five pieces of cannon of Breteuil and as many swivels. This has been reserved and is maintained by the West Indis Company. This fort was formerly on an island in the river, it is now on the main land towards the Hiroquois, a little above the said island. 2ndly, a colonie sent here by this Renselaer, who is the
Patroon. This colonie is composed of about a hundred persons, who resident in some 25 or 30 houses, built along the river, as each one found it most convenient. In the principal house resides the Patroon’s agent, the minister has his apart, in which service is performed. There is also a kind of bailiff here whom they call Seneschal, who administers justice. All their houses are merely of boards and thatched. As yet there is no mason work, except in the chimneys. The forests furnishing many large pines, they make boards by means of their mills which they have for the purpose.

They found some pieces of ground all ready, which the savages had formerly prepared and in which they sow wheat and oats for beer and for their horses, of which they have a great stock. There is little land fit for tillage, being crowded by hills which are bad soil. This obliges them to be separated the one from the other, and they occupy already two or three leagues of country.

Trade is free to all, this gives the Indians all things cheap, each of the Hollanders outbidding his neighbor and being satisfied provided he can gain some little profit.

This settlement is not more than twenty leagues from the Agniehronons, who can be reached either by land or by water, as the river on which the Iroquois lie falls into that which passes by the Dutch; but there are many shallow rapids and a fall of a short half league where the canoe has to be carried.

There are many nations between the two Dutch settlements, which are about thirty German leagues apart, that is about 50 or 60 French leagues. The Loups, whom the Iroquois call Agotzogenens, are the nearest to Renselaerwick and Ft Orange. War breaking out some years ago between the Iroquois and the Loups, the Dutch joined the latter against the former, but four having been taken and burnt they made peace. Some nations near the sea having murdered some Hollanders of the most distant settlement, the Hollanders killed 150 Indians, men, women and children; the latter having killed at divers intervals 40 Dutchmen, burnt several houses and committed ravages, estimated at the time that I was there at 200,000 liv. (two hundred thousand livres) troops were raised in New England, and in the beginning of winter the grass being low and some snow on the ground they pursued them with six hundred men, keeping two hundred always on the move and constantly relieving each other, so that the Indians, pent up in a large island and finding it impossible to escape, on account of the women and children, were cut to pieces to the number of sixteen hundred, women and children included. This obliged the rest of the Indians to make peace, which still continues.
This occurred in 1643 and 1644.

Three Rivers in New France,

August 3d, 1646.

In the mid-17th century New Netherland was under the governorship of Peter Stuyvesant, a staunch Calvinist and defender of the Dutch territory. He sought to keep the territory free of the Quaker heresy and uphold its reformed character, but ran into stiff opposition from the town of Flushing which allowed Quaker meetings in its town on the pretext of ‘liberty of conscience.’

New York, New York

During Stuyvesant’s governorship New Netherland came under the dominion of England in a relatively smooth transition. England had long claimed the area as under its dominion, and Stuyvesant found it difficult to maintain a territory surrounded by English colonists. King Charles II of England patented much of the area to his brother the Duke of York, afterward King James II, as its special patron, and the city was rechristened in his honor.

Col. Nicolls was dispatched as James’ agent to secure the territory. Recognizing the realities of the situation, Stuyvesant peacefully surrendered the colony to Nicholls. By the terms of the surrender the Dutch settlers were guaranteed their full civil and religious rights, and as a matter of fact they were gainers rather than losers by the change. Their interests were as carefully guarded as were those of the English settlers, their prejudices were not shocked, and if anything they were allowed greater, rather than less privileges in the way of self-government. Moreover, it must be remembered that the change was not so violent as if a city peopled exclusively by one race had been suddenly conquered by the members of another. Under Dutch rule all foreigners had been freely naturalized, and had been allowed to do their share of administration. The Dutch element was largest among the wealthy people, to whom fell the duty of exercising such self-government as there was; but there were also plenty of rich men among the French Huguenots and English settlers. It is probable that at least a third of the population, exclusive of the numerous negro slaves, and inclusive of the Huguenots, was neither Dutch nor English; and to this third the change was of little moment. The English had exercised considerable influence in the government throughout Stuyvesant’s rule, and even before, ranking as third in numbers and importance among the various elements of the composite population; while on the other hand the Dutch continued, even after the surrender, to have a very great and often a preponderant weight in the councils of the city. The change was merely that, in a
population composed of several distinct elements, the one which had hitherto been of primary became on the whole of secondary importance; its place in the lead being usurped by another element, which itself had already for many years occupied a position of much prominence. There was of course a good deal of race-prejudice and rancor; and the Dutch clung to their language, though with steadily loosening grasp, for over a century. But the lines of cleavage in the political contests did not follow those of speech and blood. The constitution of the Dutch settlement was essentially aristocratic; and the party of the populace was naturally opposed to the party of the patroons and the rich merchants. The settlers who came from England direct, belonged to the essentially aristocratic Established Church. They furnished many of the great officials; and many of the merchants, and of those who became large landowners, sprang from among them. These naturally joined the aristocratic section of the original settlers. On the other hand the New Englanders, who were of Puritan blood,—and later on the Presbyterians of Scotland and Ireland—were the staunchest opponents of Episcopacy and aristocracy, and became the leaders of the popular party. Similarly, the Huguenots and the settlers of other nationality separated (though much less sharply) on lines of property and caste; and hence the fluctuating line which divided the two camps or factions was only secondarily influenced by considerations of speech and nationality.

During a brief episode the Netherlands recaptured the territory for the Dutch, but later gave it back to England as part of a treaty involving a larger dispute with the English. New York came back under the control of a royal governor appointed by the English.

An important step in establishing the principle of ‘freedom of the press’ in New York and its neighboring colonies took place with the case of Johann Peter Zenger, whose New York Weekly Journal begun in 1733, represented the opposition to the government. After two years of publication, the colonial governor could no longer tolerate Zenger’s satirical barbs, and had him thrown into prison on a charge of seditious libel. Zenger continued to edit his paper from jail during his nine-month trial, which excited intense interest throughout the colonies. Andrew Hamilton, the prominent lawyer who defended Zenger, argued that the charges printed by Zenger were true and hence not libelous. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty, and Zenger went free.

Also during the 18th century the New York colonial legislative assembly attained more powers. The experience in self-government would be vital for New York and the other colonies as they moved towards independence from the mother country.
CHAPTER EIGHT
WILLIAM PENN’S QUAKER
EXPERIMENT IN THE MIDDLE
COLONIES

The ‘holy experiment’ is what William Penn called his vision for the middle colonies under his control. He wanted to establish a society that was godly, virtuous and exemplary, according to his Quaker interpretation of what those terms mean. So to understand the political theory from which colonies like Pennsylvania, Delaware, and even New Jersey were formed and guided one must first understand Quakerism.

Quakerism was founded by George Fox in the mid-17th century in England. After a period of spiritual searching, Fox underwent a mystical experience that convinced him that Christianity was not an outward profession but an inner light by which Christ directly illumines the believing soul. Revelation was for Fox not confined to the Scriptures. Fox and his followers objected to capital punishment as well as government suppression of matters relating to religion. They regarded the sacraments of the church as nonessential to Christian church life. They refused to attend worship in the established church and to pay tithes. They also resisted the requirement to take oaths and opposed war, refusing to bear arms. Believing in the equality of all men and women, Friends would not remove their hats before their human superiors. And accordingly, they let women speak in their religious services.
Fox preached his message in England as well as the colonies of the New World. He also organized those who agreed with its tenets into the Society of Friends. One of the Society’s early converts was the young and talented William Penn.

**The Quaker Colonies**

In England Penn was imprisoned at various points for writing and distributing tracts which attacked the doctrine of the trinity and advocated religious toleration. But the visionary Penn aspired to start in America colonies framed according to Quaker principles. For his cause he was able to purchase much of New Jersey. Also, he received a charter from King Charles II for Pennsylvania in payment of a debt Charles had owed to his father. And Penn received a grant for Delaware from the Duke of York (who later became James II).

Penn helped draw up “Concessions and Agreements”, a constitution for the fledgling Quaker territory in New Jersey and an important influence upon political theory in America:
The CONCESSIONS and Agreement of the Lords Propriators of the Province of New Cesarea or New Jersey to and with all and every the Adventurers and all such as shall settle or plant there.

IMPRIMIS wee doe consent and agree That the Governor of the said Province hath Power by the advice of his Councell to Depute one in his place and Authority in case of death or removall, To continue untill our further order unless wee have Com'issionated one before.

ITEM that he hath (likewise) power to make choice of and to take to him six Councellors at least, or twelve at most, or any even number between six and twelve with whose advice and consent, or with at least three of the six, or foure of a greater number (all being sum'oned) hee is to governe according to the limitac'ons and instructions following during our pleasure.

ITEM that a Cheife Secretary or Register which wee have chosen or shall choose (wee failing that hee shall chuse) shall keep exact entries in faire bookes of all publique affaires, And to avoid deceipts and Law Suites shall record and enter All graunts of Land from the Lords to the Planters, and all Conveyances of Land house or houses from man to man As alsoe all Leases for Land house or houses made or to be made by the Landlord to any Tenant for more than one yeare, Which Conveyance or Lease shall be first acknowledged by the Grantor or Lessor, or proved by the Oath of two witnesses to the Lease or Conveyance before the Governor or some cheife Judge of a Court for the time being, who shall under his hand upon the backside of the said Deed or Lease Attest the acknowledgment or proofe as aforesaid which shalbe a Warrant for the Register to record the same, which Conveyance or Lease soe recorded shalbe good and effectual in Law notwithstanding any other Conveyance Deed or Lease for the said Land house or houses or for any part thereof, although dated before the Conveyance Deed or Deeds or Lease soe Recorded as aforesaid. And the said Register shall doe all other thing or things that wee by our instrucc'ons shall direct, and the Governor Councell and assembly shall ordeine for the good and welfare of the said Province.

ITEM That the Surveyor Generall that wee have chosen or shall choose (wee failing that the Governor shall chose) shall have power by himselfe or Deputy to Survey lay our and bound all such Lands as shall be granted from the Lords to the Planters, and all other Land within the
said Province which may concern particular men as he shall be desired to doe, And a particular thereof Certifie to the Register to be recorded as aforesaid. Provided that if the said Register and Surveyor or either of them shall misbehave themselves as that the Governor and Councell or Deputie Governor and Councell or the major part of them shall find it reasonable to suspend their Actings in their respective imployments it shall be lawfull for them soe to doe, untill further order from us. ITEM That the Governor Councellors Assembly men Secretary Surveyor and all other Officers of Trust shall sweare or subscribe (in a book to bee provided for that purpose ) That they will beare true Allegiance to the King of England his heires and successors and that they will be faithfull to the interest of the Lords Propriaters of the said Province and their heires executors and assignes And endeavor the peace and welfare of the said Province And that they will truely and faithfully discharge their respective [trusts in their respective] Offices, and doe equall Justice to all men according to their best skill and Judgment without corrupcon favour or affecon And the names of all that have sworne or subscribed to be entred in a Booke And whosoever shall subscribe and not sweare, and shall violate his promise in that subscripcon shall be liable to the same punishment that the persons are or may bee that have sworne and broken their Oathes.

ITEM That all persons that are or shall become subjects to the King of England and sweare or subscribe Allegiance to the King and faithfulness to the Lords shalbe admitted to Plant and become ffreeman of the said Province and e

joy the ffreedomes and Im'unities hereafter expressed untill some stopp or contradiction bee made by us the Lords or else the Governor Councell and Assemblie, which shalbe in force untill the Lords see cause to the contrary, Provided that such stopp shall not any way prejudice the right or continuance of any person that hath been received before such stopp or order come from the Lords or generall Assemblie.

ITEM That noe person qualified as aforesaid within the said Province at any time shalbe any waies molested punished disquieted or called in Question for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of Religious concerneiments, who doe not actually disturbe the civill peace of the said Province, but that all and every such person and persons may from time to time and at all times truly and fully have and enjoy his and their Judgments and Conciences in matters of Religion throughout all the said Province: They behaveing themselves peaceably and quietly and not using this liberty to Licentiousnes, nor to the civill injury or outward disturbance of others, any Law Statute or clause conteyned or to be
conteined usage or custome of this Realme of England to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

ITEM That no pretence may be taken by us our heires or assignes for or by reason of our right of Patronage and power of Advowsen granted by his Ma[ties] Letters Patents unto his Royall Highnes James Duke of Yorke, and by his said Royall Highnes unto us, thereby to infringe the generall clause of Libertie of Conscience aforementioned WEE doe hereby graunt unto the Generall assembly of the said Province power by Act to Constitute and appoint such and soe many Ministers or Preachers as they shall think fitt, and to establish their maintenance, Giving liberty besides to any person or persons to keep and maintaine what Preachers or Ministers they please.

ITEM That the inhabitants being freemen or cheife Agents to others of the Province aforesaid doe as soone as this our Com’ission shall arrive by Virtue of a writt in our names by the Governor to be for the present (untill our Seale comes) sealed and signed make choice of Twelve Deputies or Representatives from amongst themselves who being chosen are to joine with the said Governor and Councell for the makeing of such Lawes Ordinances and Constitutions as shalbe necessary for the present good and welfare of the said Province, But so soone as Parishes Divisions Tribes or other distinctions are made That then the Inhabitants or freeholders of the severall and respective Parishes Tribes Devisions and distinctions aforesaid doe (by our writts under our seale which wee engage shall be in due time be issued) Annually meet on the first day of January and choose freeholders for each respective division Tribe or Parish to be the Deputies or Representatives of the same Which body of representatives or the major part of them shall with the Governor and Councell aforesaid bee the generall Assembly of the said Province, the Governor or his Deputy being present unless they shall wilfullee refuse, in which case they may appoint themselves a President dureing the absence of the Governor or his Deputy Governor. “

William Penn was able to visit his colonies twice during his life, the first time during the construction of the city of Philadelphia.
Under his guidance Pennsylvania grew rapidly, in large measure due to its openness in accepting immigrants of widely varying creed. By 1685 its population was almost 9,000. The heart of the colony was Philadelphia, a city soon to be known for its broad, tree-shaded streets, substantial brick and stone houses, and busy docks. By the end of the colonial period, nearly a century later, 30,000 people lived there, representing many languages, creeds and trades. Their talent for successful business enterprise made the city one of the thriving centers of colonial America.

The first school in Pennsylvania was begun in 1683, following the lead of Puritan New England. However, the education in the Quaker schools was not as scripture-focused as the New England schools. They concentrated upon teaching reading, writing and keeping of accounts. Thereafter, in some fashion, every Quaker community provided for the elementary teaching of its children. More advanced training – in classical languages, history and literature – was offered at the Friends Public School, which still operates in Philadelphia as the William Penn Charter School. The school was free to the poor, but parents who could were required to pay tuition.
In Philadelphia, numerous private schools with no religious affiliation taught languages, mathematics and natural science; there were also night schools for adults. This accelerated the process of societal secularization and a decline in focus upon God and God’s word. Women were not entirely overlooked, but their educational opportunities were limited to training in activities that could be conducted in the home. Private teachers instructed the daughters of prosperous Philadelphians in French, music, dancing, painting, singing, grammar and sometimes even bookkeeping.

In the 18th century, the intellectual and cultural development of Pennsylvania reflected, in large measure, the vigorous personalities of two men: James Logan and Benjamin Franklin. Logan was secretary of the colony, and it was in his fine library that young Franklin found the latest scientific works. In 1745 Logan erected a building for his collection and bequeathed both building and books to the city.

Franklin contributed even more to the intellectual climate of Philadelphia. Franklin had been brought up in Puritan New England, but he rejected the reformed Christian faith for Deism, which was popular in his day in various intellectual circles. As a Deist, he believed in the existence of a supreme being but denied revealed religion, basing his belief on the light of nature and reason. As a Deist, he believed human reason could attain knowledge of metaphysical truths unaided by divine revelation, thus discounting the corrupting effect of sin in such intellectual pursuit. Given his belief, or rather faith, in human reason unaided by divine revelation, it is understandable why he formed a philosophical debating club that became the embryo of the American Philosophical Society.
Franklin’s endeavors also led to the founding of a public academy that later developed into the University of Pennsylvania. In a tract he entitled *Proposals for the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*, he advocated a new concept of higher education, one which simultaneously taught both the ornamental knowledge of the arts and the practical skills necessary for making a living. The four colleges then in existence in the English colonies – Harvard, William & Mary, Yale and Princeton – were all schools for educating the clergy and rooted in the premise that scripture was the foundation for knowledge. True to his philosophy, Franklin initiated a school that set the stage for public universities grounded on humanism.

Franklin was unquestionably brilliant, innovative, and versatile - a true Renaissance man and product of the culture William Penn wanted to cultivate. He demonstrated this in numerous fields from publishing to science to politics. He manifested this in his civil service, such as being a prime mover in the establishment of a subscription library, which he called “the mother of all North American subscription libraries.” Nevertheless, he built a ‘city of man’ and not a ‘city of God.’

Quaker ideals, many of which were manifested in Franklin, were most strongly represented in Philadelphia. And Quakers continued to dominate the life and government of Philadelphia in the 18th century.

**German and Scot-Irish Immigration**

However, elsewhere in Pennsylvania others were well represented. German immigration began in 1683 and from 1730 to 1759, 231 shiploads of Germans arrived at Philadelphia. Most of these Germans settled in Pennsylvania where they soon rose to one-third of the population but they also spread from New York to Georgia. Germans became the colony’s most skillful farmers. Important, too, were cottage industries such as weaving, shoemaking, cabinetmaking and other crafts. The Germans were of a variety of religions, including some Catholics, but mostly of small dissenting sects.

Pennsylvania was also the principal gateway into the New World for the Scot-Irish, who moved into the colony in the early 18th century. The Scot-Irish descended from Presbyterian forebears who had colonized Ireland during the reign of James I. In order to understand them, it is necessary to understand Presbyterianism and Presbyterian history.
As a branch of reformed Protestantism, Presbyterianism shared with the established Church of England an embrace of tenets such as sola scriptura, the doctrines of grace, paedobaptism, and the establishment principle. It recognized that salvation was on the basis of Jesus Christ’s merit and righteousness alone, which the believer appropriates through the God-given gift of faith. But like their fellow Puritans, Presbyterians recognized that the Church of England had not sufficiently rooted out various Romish corruptions in church worship and government. Furthermore, they objected to the extent of authority the monarch exercised over the church in England. Presbyterianism insisted that church and state were both to be subject to Jesus Christ, and both were to enforce the Ten Commandments according to their stations. But Presbyterianism also insisted the church and state are to be independent of one another, and one cannot impose upon the other un-Biblical requirements. Thus, when English monarchs would seek to impose the office of bishop or archbishop upon the church (offices which scripture never commanded), Presbyterians would insist the monarch had no such right.

The struggle of Presbyterians with the English monarchy was a long one. Early in the 17th century King James and King Charles sought to impose church rites and church offices upon the churches of the Scots and Scot-Irish which scripture had not commanded. Presbyterians had revolted against these impositions, and had entered into a National Covenant, promising to uphold the reformed faith as represented in Presbyterianism. Later joining with English Puritans in their civil war with the monarch, they had entered into a Solemn League and Covenant which promised to God for the United Kingdom much of what had been sworn in the National Covenant for Scotland. The Westminster Standards were born out of this episode (see Appendix 3 and 4 for elements of these standards), but the actual result for many years were ‘killing times’ in which Presbyterians were persecuted by the English monarchy. There was relief from this intense persecution at the end of the 17th century in the revolution that brought William and Mary to power, but the Presbyterians of Ireland were still disadvantaged. The English landlords of Ireland found the Scot settlers too similar to the Irish natives and resented them. Presbyterians were disadvantaged regarding holding office or having representation in government. Economic factors also affected their decisions to immigrate to the colonies. Anglican ministers made the majority of their income by imposing tithes on the Irish – Catholic and Presbyterian alike. The Irish tenants were charged high rents for their land adding additional economic burdens on their families. Consecutive potato crop failures in 1724, 1725, and 1726 compounded all the preceding problems and forced many Ulster Scots to seek a new life in America. “Bold and indigent strangers,” as one Pennsylvania official called them, they distrusted the English and were suspicious of over-powerful government.

The mass immigration of the Scot-Irish took place over a 58-year span between 1717 and 1775. This time period is known as the “Great Migration” and occurred in five “waves”. The immigrants from the first three waves established the major settlements of the Scot-Irish in the colonies. The immigrants from the first and second waves landed in Philadelphia and the Delaware River in Pennsylvania. But they then tended to settle in the back country,
where they cleared land and lived by hunting and subsistence farming. The third wave of immigrants moved beyond Pennsylvania into Virginia and beyond.

The Scot-Irish did not, unfortunately, avoid political strife in Pennsylvania with the Quakers and the German settlers in the early part of the 18th century. Early Quaker opposition and government interference was one factor in the frontier dispersal of the Scot-Irish from Pennsylvania into more southern colonies. Later, the Quakers did not appreciate Scot-Irish interference in politics and were especially unhappy with them when the Scot-Irish gained control of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1756.

The Germans considered themselves orderly, industrious, and frugal and thought the Scot-Irish were impetuous, reckless, and quick-tempered. Because of this and various religious and cultural differences, the Germans and the Scot-Irish often maintained settlements away from each other and avoided social contact in much the same manner as the Scots did with the Irish people while living in Northern Ireland. Circumstances during the colonial era allowed a great degree of local autonomy, just as it offered a large degree of colonial autonomy from the centralized authority.

During the colonial era many Presbyterians in the North American colonies tended to back away from their adherence to the establishment principle, contrary to the confession of the Westminster Standards. There was growing acceptance among them that national and colonial (later state) governments did not need to specially recognize a particular religion and church, based upon their experience. But most of these Scot-Irish Presbyterians had
little exposure during the colonial era to a strong government authority which was unattached to the reformed Christian religion. Local autonomy was such, especially on the frontier, that local government exercised the real authority in most circumstances. And the local government of Scot-Irish in a frontier community dominated by Scot-Irish was basically Presbyterian in orientation. It would be decades before the full effects of the Quaker experiment played out and resulted in tax-supported schools which were required by government to teach contrary to scripture and prohibited school prayer. And it would be decades before civil government unattached to the Christian faith would refuse to protect the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath and the unborn. And it would be decades before civil government unattached to Christ and Christ’s church would impose confiscatory taxation so as to fund programs to cure a disease spread primarily by sodomites given special protections by that same civil government. They did not experience the full effects of a government unattached to the Biblical, reformed faith and nursing a beast instead of Christ’s true church. Their abandonment of the establishment principle is thus understandable if it is not excusable. But the decades have passed, and we are witnesses today of the full effects of William Penn’s “holy” experiment.
CHAPTER NINE
THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

Similarities in the South

Just as there was a distinctive culture that characterized the New England colonies, there was as well a distinctive culture that characterized the southern colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Virginia had set the pattern that was to be followed by the others.

In contrast to New England and the middle colonies, the southern colonies were predominantly rural. Settlers in the south had not tended to congregate around a community as in the north, but rather to settle on farms in which homes were more distantly separated from one another. The wealthier landowners had vast tracts of land, accentuating the rural character of the region. And wealth in the south was primarily determined by acreage owned.

Second, the pattern of economic development was similar among the southern colonies. As noted in a previous chapter, in Virginia the wealthier landowners had Tidewater plantations, whereas further west there were frontier yeomen farmers and hunters. The
other southern colonies likewise tended to have large plantations on the eastern sides of the colony, and yeomen farming and hunting to the west in the hilly frontier.

An illustrious example of the southern planter was Robert “King” Carter of Virginia. Carter died in 1732 at the age of 69. By the time of his death, he owned 700 black slaves, 100 horses, over 2,000 cattle and swine, and several hundred sheep scattered among a dozen counties. In addition, he left behind thousands of acres that forthcoming generations of his family would later use. And he left a magnificent plantation mansion.

During his lifetime he had served in various prominent political positions, and had shrewdly used these to obtain more land and wealth. He arranged that his own children would marry the children of other wealthy planter families, in order to extend the wealth and social status to future generations. He worked hard and succeeded in many ventures to provide the catalyst for a dominating family empire. He died the wealthiest man in the English colonies of North America, derived primarily from accumulating vast acreage in a plantation economy.

The economic success of southern plantations employing negro slave labor meant a thriving business in the importation of slaves from Africa. Though most of the actual transportation of the slaves was conducted by ship owners located outside of the south, the destination of the majority of the slaves among the colonies was the south. So profitable did the southern planters find the use of slave labor from Africa that by 1740 negroes outnumbered the white population in the Virginian colony.
The mother country of England profited handsomely from the plantation economy as well. For example, tobacco was the leading staple of Maryland and Virginia, with these two colonies shipping 70,000 hogsheads to the mother land. Two hundred ships were engaged in this service and the revenue yielded to the British treasury was more than one million dollars annually.

Life was different, however, in the frontier south. Living on the edge of the Indian country, frontier families built cabins, cleared tracts in the wilderness and cultivated maize and wheat. The men wore leather made from the skin of deer or sheep, known as buckskin; the women wore garments of cloth they spun at home. Their food consisted of venison, wild turkey and fish. They had their own amusements – great barbecues, dances, housewarmings for newly married couples, shooting matches and contests for making quilted blankets.

In the southern-most colonies, as everywhere else, population growth in the back country had special significance. German immigrants and Scot-Irish, unwilling to live in the original tidewater settlements where English influence was strong, pushed inland.
Those who could not secure fertile land along the coast, or who had exhausted the lands they held, found the hills farther west a bountiful refuge.

Although their hardships were enormous, restless settlers kept coming, and by the 1730s they were pouring into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and into the hill regions further south. Soon the interior was dotted with farms. The majority of blacks over whites soon gave way before the influx of white immigrants. For instance, in Virginia in 1756 there was a population of 292,000, of whom only 120,000 were negroes. The population shift had social ramifications.

Third, there was a similar pattern of social stratification throughout the south, owing to its unique economy, sometimes arousing clashes. There was as great a social distance between the planters and their families on one side and the masses of people on the other, as that which separated the nobles from the yeomanry in Europe; and there was still another chasm between the small farmers and the negroes. The southern colonies, in that sense, followed more of the European pattern of social stratification than the northern colonies. In the northern colonies the social divisions were not as clear, and there was a more egalitarian atmosphere.

One aspect of the social stratification had been political power. For most of the colonial era political clout and positions resided in the plantation gentry. However, the small farmer class had grown so rapidly that the old aristocracy was in danger of being overwhelmed. The western farmers and frontiersmen, made up of the older small farmers, of the Scottish settlers, of the Germans and the Scot-Irish, far outnumbering the people of the old counties, demanded the creation of new counties. Unequal representation in the House of Burgesses denied them a fair voice in the government of the colony. They demanded proportionate representation. In 1763 through 1765, an investigation of the finances of the Virginia colony forced by the “up-country party”, showed widespread corruption and resulted in the collapse of the tidewater oligarchy, which had been in political power since 1660. Similar shifts in power were felt in other southern colonies over the years.

Fourth, there was a similar religious culture among the southern colonies. In these colonies the established church encouraged and promoted by the colonial governments was the Anglican Church of England. Establishment meant that the government recognized its Biblical duty to be a nursing mother to the church, to defend her doctrines, and to suppress efforts which would introduce heresy, idolatry, etc. into society. In other words, government recognized its duty to enforce the Ten Commandments, as prescribed in scripture. As of the early 18th century, the south had still not been deluded by calls for dis-establishment.

Accordingly, office-holding qualifications at all levels required Church of England affiliation. County courts and vestries handled nearly all governmental functions vital to
everyday life. Justices exercised an amalgam of administrative, judicial, and ecclesiastical powers. They passed judgment in all manner of cases, including absence from Anglican church services, bastardy and adultery, and other moral offenses as defined in law. Parish vestries not only levied public taxes to pay the clergy and build and repair churches but also doled out support for poor orphans and other needy persons in their parishes. The General Assembly created new parishes and set ministers’ salaries. And it spelled out the conditions under which dissenters were allowed to practice their religion. In 1705 and 1744, the Virginia Assembly enacted legislation concerning obligatory church attendance for all citizens in the colony. Virginians were required to attend their parish church at least once a month. Failure to obey this law without a reasonable excuse was punishable by a fine of 5 shillings, or 50 pounds of tobacco, or whipping of ten lashes. Exemptions were granted to Protestants who had legally declared themselves dissenters in their county courts. Exemption from church attendance did not exempt dissenters from their duty to pay the annual parish levy, however. Furthermore, with very few exceptions, all people seeking a legal union of marriage in the colony were required by law to be married by an Anglican clergyman. Dissenters in Virginia were placed under heavy restrictions by the government. They could not hold public office, for example.

In the meantime, the Presbyterians, who had been officially recognized in Virginia under the Toleration Act of 1699, had been guaranteed religious autonomy in the valley by Governor Gooch in 1738. As was the case in the middle colonies, on the frontier local autonomy meant that a community of Scot-Irish Presbyterians could in many respects run a community in accordance with Presbyterian principles. While the fact that the established church was Anglican instead of Presbyterian was wrong and hardly ideal, nevertheless the embrace of the establishment principle itself, plus allowing the Presbyterian church a great degree of autonomy in the valley and toleration everywhere, should be looked at favorably. This becomes more apparent when one compares it with what fell out in the decades and centuries after the American Revolution, when there was dis-establishment and the multiplication of sects and heresies.

Nevertheless, it must be said that the 18th century Anglican church in the south became morally lax. Too often the charge could be made that their clergy were not foremost in prayer, but rather foremost at the horse races, drinking, betting, and gambling. And the moral laxity of the clergy not surprisingly had a deleterious effect upon the spiritual condition of the society as a whole. As a result, God visited judgment upon the Anglican church during the Enlightenment and even more so following the Revolutionary War, as we will see later.

One last similarity that should be mentioned is educational policy. Unlike in the Puritan colonies and even some of the middle colonies, neither southern colonies nor communities mandated or offered schools for the children. Rather, wealthy planters and merchants imported private tutors from Ireland or Scotland to teach their children. Or some others sent their children to school in England. Having these other opportunities,
the upper classes in the south were not interested in supporting public education. In addition, the diffusion of farms and plantations made the formation of community schools difficult. However, there were a few endowed free schools in Virginia; the Syms School was founded in 1647 and the Eaton School emerged in 1659.

But it should not be thought that the frontier south was therefore bereft of education and educated people. The reformation, especially as it was manifested in Scottish Presbyterianism, emphasized the importance of Bible reading, catechism, and an educated ministry. Therefore, on the frontier, the Scot-Irish, though living in primitive cabins, were firm devotees of scholarship, and they made great efforts to attract learned ministers to their settlements.

Thus far we have described those features which set the south apart as a distinctive region with many similarities among their colonies. But, of course, there were certain distinctions and differences among the various southern colonies, and each had unique aspects with regards to its history. We will consider some of these now.

**North and South Carolina**

North and South Carolina were not bound to a single crop as Virginia was bound to tobacco. They also produced and exported rice and indigo, a blue dye obtained from native plants, which was used in coloring fabric. Dense forests also brought revenue: lumber, tar and resin from the longleaf pine provided some of the best shipbuilding materials in the world. Charleston, South Carolina became the leading port and trading center of the South. There the settlers quickly learned to combine agriculture and commerce, and the marketplace became a major source of prosperity.

By 1750 more than 100,000 people lived in the two colonies of North and South Carolina. Besides English settlers, as much as a third of the residents were of Scot and Scot-Irish Presbyterian background, living primarily in the western frontiers, as in the other colonies. The oldest town in North Carolina was Bath, settled by French Huguenots who had moved from Virginia. French Huguenots were reformed Protestants from France who had fled there due to Roman Catholic persecutions. God preserved these faithful defenders of the Christian faith, bringing many to settle in the English colonies of North America, and thereby enriching the colonies.
One of the more interesting episodes in Carolina history involved the pirates that especially plagued trade in the early 18th century along the North Carolina coast. Two of the more infamous pirates were Stede Bonnet and Edward Teach, commonly known as Blackbeard. God brought these criminals to justice by military expeditions sent from Virginia and South Carolina.

Georgia

The colony of Georgia had a unique and colorful history as well. Its early colonization was spurred on by competition between England and Spain. By the voyage of John Cabot in 1497, England laid claim to the Atlantic seaboard; while by the settlement of St. Augustine, in 1565, Spain established its authority over the southern coast. Thus the two nations were pitted in a bitter rivalry in this respect, as they were in so many other respects. With the settlement of South Carolina in 1670, Spain became especially alarmed at the territorial expansion of the Protestant English colonies. It began, by intrigues with Indians and negro slaves, to harass the safety of South Carolina. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Parliament began to feel that a military colony on the southern frontier was imperative, and this conclusion was felicitously complemented by the belief that the mulberry and the vine could be successfully cultivated on the southern hills and savannas; while a third great philanthropic consideration contributed to the final adoption of the scheme. James Oglethorpe, a noted English military and political figure, had conceived the plan of settling a colony in the New World with inmates of the wretched English prisons. Many of these prisoners had been incarcerated because they could not pay their debts.

With this threefold purpose in view, the charter of the Colony of Georgia, named after the king and embracing the territory lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha Rivers, received the great seal of England in 1732. This charter created a board of trustees for twenty-one years, who were to possess entire rights in the governing and the financing of the project, but who were not to profit, either directly or indirectly, by the venture. The board thus created, composed of many leading noblemen, clergymen, and members of Parliament of the day, met forthwith and drew up one of the most remarkable governmental documents in English colonial history. A military governor was appointed. Transportation, food, and land were given settlers for the feudal returns of labor and military service; but tenure of land was to descend only along the line of direct male issue. Other salient limitations in these by-laws were the prohibition of liquor and that of
negroe slaves. With this document and 126 passengers, carefully selected for the most part from the more worthy inmates of English prisons, Oglethorpe himself, who had been appointed “general” of the new colony, embarked on the “Anne” in 1732, arrived at Charleston the following January, and in the spring of that year founded Savannah, which took its name from that of the river above which the little cabins of the settlers were first reared.

During the twenty-one years of its proprietary government Georgia struggled along. As a frontier settlement against the Roman Catholic colonies of Spain, Georgia speedily justified its existence. War between the rival countries was declared in 1739. Oglethorpe invaded Florida in 1740, and with an insufficient force unsuccessfully besieged St. Augustine. Two years later Spain retaliated, attempting by land and sea the complete annihilation of the English colony. By a splendid strategy on Oglethorpe’s part the invasion was repulsed, and the last blow had been struck by Spain against the English colonies in the New World. Less successful was the attempt of the board of trustees to plant the mulberry and the vine in the new colony. And the philanthropic attempt to colonize Georgia with non-productive inmates from English prisons was generally unsuccessful as well. It was this class that early began to cry for rum and slavery; and had it not been for the settlement of Ebenezer in 1734, with industrious Salzburgers, expelled from Germany by reason of their religious beliefs; that of Fort Argyle, in 1735, with a colony of Swiss and Moravian immigrants; and that of New Inverness, in 1736, with a hardy band of thrifty Scot mountaineers, the philanthropic plans of Oglethorpe would have been speedily wrecked.

Mutiny became widespread in the proprietary colony of Georgia. Oglethorpe’s life was threatened and actually attempted. The trustees were disheartened. Letters of dissent and charges against Oglethorpe, written under the pseudonym of “The Plain Dealer”, reached Parliament. In 1743 Oglethorpe returned to England to face a general court martial on nineteen charges. He was entirely exonerated from charges, which were pronounced “false, malicious and without foundation”. The prohibition of slavery, a restriction which served to make restless and impermanent an unskilled and thriftless population settled so close to the slave-holding settlements of South Carolina, was removed in 1747. At the expiration of their charter in 1751, Oglethorpe and the board of trustees wearily surrendered their right of government to the Lords of the Council, and Georgia became a royal province.

In the generation before the Revolution Georgia steadily increased in population under royal governors. The cultivation of rice by slaves made the colony economically self-supporting. A better class of colonists were induced to immigrate to its woodlands and rice fields from England and the Carolinas. In 1758, the Assembly passed an Act “for constituting the several Divisions and Districts of this Province into Parishes, and for establishing Religious Worship therein”, with the Church of England as the established church of the colony. This Act provided a salary for every clergyman of the established church, but it did not restrict other Protestant denominations from worshipping in the colony. The law did prohibit Roman Catholic colonists however, similar to the pattern
throughout the southern colonies. Thus, while begun as a very distinctive colony in the south, by the end of the colonial era the Georgian economy and culture fell into the general pattern of the south, which started in Virginia.

**Virginia**

Virginia, like the other southern colonies, promoted western frontier expansion. This often provoked Indian hostility, and contributed to war with the Indians and the French. Convinced that settlements were essential to controlling lands, Virginia promoted western expansion by offering speculators 1,000 acres for every family they could place. At age 17, an ambitious George Washington was hired by Virginia’s greatest landowner at the time, Thomas Lord Fairfax, to survey lands in western Virginia. After three years, George Washington knew western Virginia as well as anyone and was well aware of its great value. For the next several decades, Washington pursued two intertwined interests, military arts and western expansion. Washington put his knowledge and connections to wise use, accumulating vast acreage himself and becoming over time one of the wealthiest men in the colonies. This same gifted Washington was destined to play a pivotal role in the formation of a new and independent nation in America.

Another notable figure in Virginia colonial history was James Blair. Since colonial Virginia did not have a resident bishop for many years, the authority to administer church orthodoxy and doctrine was given to the royal governor. Supervision of the clergy came under the jurisdiction of the commissary of the Bishop of London, however. In 1689, the Right Reverend Henry Compton appointed the Reverend James Blair as Virginia’s first commissary. For over fifty years, Blair served as the Bishop of London’s representative in Virginia. Among Blair’s greatest accomplishments were his role in establishing the College of William and Mary in 1693, the second colonial college, and his service as president of the college until he died in 1743.

As measured in terms of population, territory and natural resources, the south was the most powerful region during the colonial era, and Virginia was the most powerful colony. Although primarily rural, as a region the southern colonies were the most populous. The 1745 population of the colonies were as follows: New Hampshire 26,000, Massachusetts 168,000, Rhode Island 29,000, Connecticut 84,000, New York 71,000, New Jersey 58,000, Pennsylvania and Delaware 125,000, Carolina 65,000, Maryland 120,000 and Virginia with 237,000.

Similarly, the territory of the southern colonies as a region was more extensive than any other region and the natural resources thought to be the greatest, especially in Virginia. For example, along the James River alone, blue limestone and blue marble was found at Walker Ford, Allen Creek and Riverville. It was burned to make lime for agricultural purposes and to make mortar. Limestone was also used later in the iron furnaces up and down the river. Thomas Jefferson described natural white marble variegated with red,
blue and purple along the Rockfish River. Soapstone was used by the Indians for pots and pipes while the settlers used it for hearths, chimneys and tombstones. Quartz was mined at Wrights Shop and gneiss, a granite-like rock, was used in Lynchburg for building and street construction. Greenstone quarried in Amherst was used in Lynchburg’s Quaker Meeting House. Slate found at Snowden, glass sand found near Stapleton, iron ore, brown hematite and limonite were found in the Galt’s Mill to Allen Creek corridor. Copper was discovered in The Glades near Buffalo Ridge and rutile and ilmenite was found in the Roseland area. Stretching all the way out to the Ohio River, the other colonies were envious of all of these natural resources and it was thought that Virginia was going to take advantage of all this and tap the great future western trade leaving the other colonies wanting.

Given this prominence, it is not surprising that during the early decades of the new American republic which would form, the south- and particularly Virginia- would yield a disproportionate share of the political and military leadership. Furthermore, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia were characterized by a culture distinct from the cultures in New England and in the mid-Atlantic colonies. As we shall discuss more in the following chapter, the Mason-Dixon line came to demark the boundary between North and South.
CHAPTER TEN

ROMAN CATHOLIC MARYLAND BECOMES CULTURALLY ABSORBED INTO THE SOUTH

Painting of Baltimore, Maryland in 1752
*Under Roman Catholic Proprietorship*

Maryland was initially colonized by Roman Catholic dissenters from England due to the friendship of King James I with Sir George Calvert, a Roman Catholic. Calvert had been King James’ Secretary of State until Calvert declared his Catholicism. George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, died before the English Crown had granted his petition for a charter of colonization to the territory now known as Maryland. But George Calvert’s son, Cecil, received the charter. This charter granted Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, more powers and rights than any other colonial proprietor.
William Claiborne, a Protestant Virginian, protested this charter, having already established a trading post in an area of Maryland in 1631. He and other Protestants would dispute this outpost of Roman Catholicism in the American colonies for many years.

In 1633 nearly 200 colonists sailed from England for Maryland. They were led by Leonard Calvert, Cecil’s brother, who became Maryland’s first governor.

Father Andrew White, a Jesuit priest who accompanied them, wrote a narrative in Latin of his observations of the settlement. Excerpts from its translation reads as follows:

\[\text{Father Andrew White’s First Impressions of Maryland & Its Native Inhabitants (1634)}\]

At length, sailing from this, we reached what they call Point Comfort, in Virginia, on the 27th of February, full of fear lest the English inhabitants, to whom our plantation is very objectionable, should plot evil against us. Letters, however, which we brought from the King and Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor of these regions, served to conciliate their minds, and to obtain those things which were useful to us. For the Governor of Virginia hoped, by this kindness to us, to the more easily from the royal treasury a great amount money due to him. They announced only a vague rumor, that six ships were approaching, which would reduce all things under the power of the Spanish. For this reason all the inhabitants were under arms. The thing afterwards proved to be in a measure true.
At the very mouth of the river we beheld the natives armed. That night fires were kindled through the whole region, and since so large a ship had never been seen by them, messengers were sent everywhere to announce “that a canoe as large as an island had brought as many men as there were trees in the woods.” We proceeded, however, to Heron islands, so called from the immense flocks of birds of this kind. . . .

On the day of the annunciation of the Holy Virgin Mary, on the 25th of March, in the year 1634, we offered in this island, for the first time, the sacrifice of the mass: in this region of the world it had never been celebrated before. Sacrifice being ended, having taken up on our shoulders the great cross which we had hewn from a tree, and going in procession to the place that had been designated, the Governor, commissioners, and other catholics participating in the ceremony, we erected it as a trophy to Christ the Saviour, while the litany of the holy cross was chanted humbly on the bended knees, with great emotion of soul.

But when the Governor had understood that many sachems are subject to the chieftain of Piscataway, he resolved to visit him, that the cause of our coming being explained, and his good will being conciliated, a more easy access might be gained to the minds of the others. . . . And when he had found out that the savages had fled into the interior, he proceeded to a village which is also called Potomac, a name derived from the river. Here the tutor [guardian] of the king, who is a youth, is Archihu, his uncle, and holds the government of the kingdom—a grave man and prudent.

To father John Altham, who had come as the companion of the Governor (for he left me with the baggage,) he willingly gave ear while explaining, through in interpreter, certain things concerning the errors of the heathens, now and then acknowledging his own; and when informed that we had not come thither for the purpose of war, but for the sake of benevolence, that we might imbue a rude race with the precepts of civilization, and open up a way to heaven, as well as impart to them the advantages of remote regions, he signified that we had come acceptably. The interpreter was one of the protestants of Virginia. Therefore when the father could not discuss matters further for want of time, he promised that he would return before long. “This is agreeable to my mind,” said Archihu, “we will use one table; my attendants shall go hunt for you, and all things shall be common with us.”

From this we went to Piscataway, where all flew to arms. About five hundred men, equipped with bows, stood on the shore with their chieftain. Signs of peace being given them, the chief, laying aside his apprehensions, came on board the pinnace, and having understood the intentions of our minds to be benevolent, he gave us permission to settle in whatever part of his empire we might wish.

In the meantime, while the Governor was on his visit to the chieftain, the savages at St. Clement’s having grown more bold, mingled familiarly with our guards, for we kept guard day and night, both that we might protect our woodcutters as well as the brigantine which with boards and protect and beams we were constructing as a refuge from sudden attacks. It was amusing to hear them admiring every thing. In the first place,
where in all the earth did so large a tree grow, from which so immense a mass of a ship could be hewn? For they conceived it cut from the single trunk of a tree, in the manner of a canoe. Our cannon struck them all with consternation, as they were much louder than their twanging bows, and loud as thunder.

The Governor had taken as companion in his visit to the chieftain, Captain Henry Fleet, a resident of Virginia, a man very much beloved by the savages, and acquainted with their language and settlements. At the first he was very friendly to us — afterwards, seduced by the evil counsels of a certain Claiborne, who entertained the most hostile disposition, he stirred up the minds of the natives against us with all the art of which he was master. In the meantime, however, while he remained as a friend among us, he pointed out to the Governor a place for a settlement, such that Europe cannot show a better for agreeableness of situation.

From St. Clement’s, having proceeded about nine leagues towards the north, we entered the mouth of a river, . . . . The left bank of the river was the residence of King Yoacomico. We landed on the right, and having advanced about a thousand paces from the shore, we gave the name of St. Mary’s to the intended city; and that we might avoid all appearance of injury and of hostility, having paid in exchange axes, hatchets, hoes, and some yards of cloth, we bought from the King thirty miles of his territory, which part now goes by the name of Augusta Carolina.

The Susquehannoes, a tribe accustomed to wars, and particularly troublesome to King Yoacomico, in frequent incursions devastate all his land and compel the inhabitants, through fear of danger, to seek other habitations. This is the reason why so readily we obtained a part of his kingdom; God, by these miracles, opened a way for his law and for eternal life. Some emigrate, and others are daily relinquishing to us their houses, lands, and fallow-fields. Truly this is like a miracle, that savage men, a few days before arrayed in arms against us, so readily trust themselves like lambs to us, and surrender themselves and their property to us. The finger of God is in this; and some great good God designs to this people. Some few have granted to them the privilege of remaining with us till the next year. But then the ground is to be given up to us, unencumbered.

The natives are of tall and comely stature, of a skin by nature somewhat tawny, which they make more hideous by daubing, for the most part, with red paint mixed with oil, to keep away the mosquitoes; in this, intent more on their comfort than their beauty. They smear their faces also with other colors; from the nose upwards, seagreen, downwards, reddish, or the contrary, in a manner truly disgusting and terrific. And since they are without beard almost to the end of life, they make the representation of beard with paint, a line of various colors being drawn from the tip of the lips to the ears. They encourage the growth of the hair, which is generally black, and bind it with a fillet when brought round in a fashionable style to the left ear, something which is held in estimation by them, being added by way of ornament. Some bear upon their forehead the representation of a fish in copper. They encircle their necks with glass beads strung
upon a thread, after the manner of chains. These beads, however, begin to be more common with them, and less useful for traffic. . . .

Ignorance of their language renders it still doubtful for me to state what views they entertain concerning religion; for we trust less to protestant interpreters. These few things we have learned at different times. They recognize one God of heaven, whom they call “Our God”; nevertheless, they pay him no external worship, but by every means in their power, endeavor to appease a certain evil spirit which they call Okee, that he may not hurt them. They worship corn and fire, as I am informed, as Gods wonderfully beneficent to the human race. . . .

We have been here only one month, and so other things must be reserved for the next sail. This I can say, that the soil appears particularly fertile, and strawberries, vines, sassafras, hickory nuts, and walnuts, we tread upon every where, in the thickest woods.

The soil is dark and soft, a foot in thickness, and rests upon a rich and red clay. Every where there are very high trees, except where the ground is tilled by a scanty population. An abundance of springs afford water. No animals are seen except deer, the beaver, and squirrels, which are as large as the hares of Europe. There is an infinite number of birds of various colors, as eagles, herons, swans, geese, and partridges. From which you may infer that there is not wanting to the region whatever may serve for commerce or pleasure...

Not only Roman Catholics, but also Protestants, settled in Maryland. Among the Protestant settlers was a Puritan colony that re-located from Virginia to a town they called Providence (now Annapolis). There were great tensions between the Puritans and the Roman Catholic government of Maryland.

The Maryland Toleration Act (1649) was the solution that Lord Baltimore arrived at to address the situation in Maryland, even though he did not relish tolerationism. A majority of the residents in Maryland had become Protestants, and he had to come up with a way to protect the Roman Catholics in the colony. He was also under pressure from Cromwell in England to address the situation. Here is the text of the Act passed in 1649:

An Act Concerning Religion.

Forasmuch as in a well governed and Christian Common Wealth matters concerning Religion and the honor of God ought in the first place to bee taken, into serious consideracion and endeavoured to bee settled, Be it therefore ordered and enacted by the
Right Honourable Cecilius Lord Baron of Baltemore absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province with the advise and consent of this Generall Assembly:

That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is Curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to bee the sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity the father sonne and holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three persons of the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachfull Speeches, words or language concerning the said Holy Trinity, or any of the said three persons thereof, shall be punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary and his heires.

And bee it also Enacted by the Authority and with the advise and assent aforesaid, That whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth use or utter any reproachfull words or Speeches concerning the blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of our Saviour or the holy Apostles or Evangelists or any of them shall in such case for the first offence forfeit to the said Lord Proprietary and his heirs Lords and Proprietaries of this Province the summe of five pound Sterling or the value thereof to be Levyed on the goods and chattells of every such person soe offending, but in case such Offender or Offenders, shall not then have goods and chattells sufficient for the satisfying of such forfeiture, or that the same bee not otherwise speedily satisfied that then such Offender or Offenders shall be publiquely whipt and bee imprisoned during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary or the Lieutenant or cheife Governor of this Province for the time being. And that every such Offender or Offenders for every second offence shall forfeit tenne pound sterling or the value thereof to bee levied as aforesaid, or in case such offender or Offenders shall not then have goods and chattells within this Province sufficient for that purpose then to bee publiquely and severely whipt and imprisoned as before is expressed. And that every person or persons before mentioned offending herein the third time, shall for such third Offence forfeit all his lands and Goods and bee for ever banished and expelled out of this Province.

And be it also further Enacted by the same authority advise and assent that whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth upon any occasion of Offence or otherwise in a reproachful manner or Way declare call or denominate any person or persons whatsoever inhabiting, residing, traffiqueing, trading or comerceing within this Province or within any the Ports, Harbors, Creeks or Havens to the same belonging an heritick, Scismatick, Idolator, puritan, Independant, Prespiterian popish prest, Jesuite, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvenist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or any other name or terme in a reproachfull manner relating to matter of Religion shall for every such Offence forfeit and loose the somme of tenne shillings sterling or the value thereof to bee levied on the goods and chattells of every such Offender and Offenders, the one half thereof to be forfeited and paid unto the person and persons of whom such reproachfull words are or shalbe spoken or uttered, and the other half thereof to the Lord Proprietary and his heires Lords and Proprietaries of this Province. But if such person or persons who shall at any time utter or speake any such reproachfull words or Language shall not have Goods or Chattells sufficient and overt
within this Province to bee taken to satisfie the penalty aforesaid or that the same bee not otherwise speedily satisfied, that then the person or persons soe offending shalbe publickly whipt, and shall suffer imprisonment without baile or maineprise [bail] untill hee, shee or they respectively shall satisfy the party soe offended or grieved by such reproachfull Language by asking him or her respectively forgivenes publiquely for such his Offence before the Magistrate of cheife Officer or Officers of the Towne or place where such Offence shalbe given.

And be it further likewise Enacted by the Authority and consent aforesaid That every person and persons within this Province that shall at any time hereafter prophane the Sabbath or Lords day called Sunday by frequent swearing, drunkennes or by any uncivill or disorderly recreacion, or by working on that day when absolute necessity doth not require it shall for every such first offence forfeit 2s 6d sterling or the value thereof, and for the second offence 5s sterling or the value thereof, and for the third offence and soe for every time he shall offend in like manner afterwards 10s sterling or the value thereof. And in case such offender and offenders shall not have sufficient goods or chattells within this Province to satisfy any of the said Penalties respectively hereby imposed for prophaning the Sabbath or Lords day called Sunday as aforesaid, That in Every such case the partie soe offending shall for the first and second offence in that kinde be imprisoned till hee or shee shall publickly in open Court before the cheife Commander Judge or Magistrate, of that County Towne or precinct where such offence shalbe committed acknowledged the Scandall and offence he hath in that respect given against God and the good and civill Governement of this Province, And for the third offence and for every time after shall also bee publickly whipt.

And whereas the inforceing of the conscience in matters of Religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous Consequence in those commonwealthes where it hath been practised, And for the more quiett and peaceable governement of this Province, and the better to preserve mutuall Love and amity amongst the Inhabitants thereof; Be it Therefore also by the Lord Proprietary with the advise and consent of this Assembly Ordeyned and enacted (except as in this present Act is before Declared and sett forth) that noe person or persons whatsoever within this Province, or the Islands, Ports, Harbors, Creekes, or havens thereunto belonging professing to beleive in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth bee any waies troubled, Molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province or the Islands thereunto belonging nor any way compelled to the beleife or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent, soe as they be not unfaithfull to the Lord Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civill Governement established or to bee established in this Province under him or his heires. And that all and every person and persons that shall presume Contrary to this Act and the true intent and meaning thereof directly or indirectly either in person or estate willfully to wrong disturb trouble or molest any person whatsoever within this Province professing to beleive in Jesus Christ for or in respect of his or her religion or the free exercise thereof within this Province other than is provided for in this Act that such person or persons soe offending, shalbe compelled to pay treble damages to the party soe wronged or molested, and for every
such offence shall also forfeit 20s sterling in money or the value thereof, half thereof for the use of the Lord Proprietary, and his heires Lords and Proprietaries of this Province, and the other half for the use of the party soe wronged or molested as aforesaid, Or if the partie soe offending as aforesaid shall refuse or bee unable to recompense the party soe wronged, or to satisfy such fyne or forfeiture, then such Offender shalbe severely punished by publick whipping and imprisonment during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary, or his Lieutenant or cheife Governor of this Province for the tyme being without baile or maineprise.

And bee it further alsoe Enacted by the authority and consent aforesaid That the Sheriff or other Officer or Officers from time to time to bee appointed and authorized for that purpose, of the County Towne or precinct where every particular offence in this present Act conteyned shall happen at any time to bee committed and whereupon there is hereby a forfeiture fyne or penalty imposed shall from time to time distraine and seise the goods and estate of every such person soe offending as aforesaid against this present Act or any part thereof, and sell the same or any part thereof for the full satisfaccion of such forfeiture, fine, or penalty as aforesaid, Restoring unto the partie soe offending the the Remainder or overplus of the said goods or estate after such satisfaccion soe made as aforesaid.

The freemen have assented.

Although there was no ‘tolerationism’ at the time in any countries controlled by Roman Catholics, and in fact the Roman Catholic Church at the time frowned upon tolerationism, it was employed by Roman Catholics like Lord Baltimore as a strategy when under pressure from Protestantism. King James II of England attempted a similar strategy later in the century as a means ultimately to re-attach the United Kingdom to Rome, but his strategy failed when English Protestants saw through his designs. And it is interesting to observe that although the United States began as an overwhelmingly Protestant country, since tolerationism was introduced with the Revolutionary War and its aftermath, the largest denomination in the U.S. is now Roman Catholic, and Roman Catholic bishops press for more immigration into the U.S. from majority Roman Catholic countries like Mexico. ‘Tolerationism’ has been a subtle yet successful means throughout history- including the history of Israel- to undermine Biblical reformed faith, introduce widespread heresies and corrupt the church, and finally to lead to the subjugation of the true church under the tyranny of the false church.

Under Protestant Control

The Puritans of Maryland, just like the Puritans of New England and Scotland at this time, wisely saw through the designs of the toleration act and swept it away in Maryland
in 1654. Puritans assumed civil rule, while Lord Baltimore was deprived of it. Puritanism was established as the recognized religion of the colony, and heresies and idolatries were in various respects suppressed.

However, with the restoration of Stuart rule in England in 1660, Lord Baltimore’s governance over Maryland was again restored. But he was never able to make the Roman Catholic Church the established church of Maryland as he would have ideally liked.

There were various boundary disputes with Maryland’s neighbors beginning during this period. The most famous dispute was that between Maryland and Pennsylvania, in certain respects anticipating the North-South conflict that would erupt a century later in the USA’s most bloody internal war. This dispute was not resolved until 1767 when surveys by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon fixed the boundary line.

This became known as the Mason and Dixon Line, separating the southern and northern colonies of America.

Towards the end of the 17th century there were increasing tensions between the Roman Catholic Maryland government and the majority Protestant population, as well as the Protestant English government. In 1692 Lord Baltimore had to relinquish his governance rights in Maryland, retaining only his land rights.

At this point Maryland became a royal colony with a governor appointed by the English government. The Church of England became the established church of Maryland, as it was in Virginia and the south. This meant it was supported through general taxation. The capital of Maryland was moved from Mary’s City to Annapolis. And the rights of the Protestant-controlled legislature were recognized. Thus, the government had become Protestantized, and Maryland became more fully absorbed into the culture of the southern colonies. To cap off this string of Protestant victories, the fourth Lord Baltimore renounced Roman Catholicism in 1715 and became Protestant. Subsequently he assumed governance, with his proprietorship restored, but now as a Protestant-ruled colony.
Thus Maryland entered the mainstream of southern culture and society. As in Virginia, the major crop was tobacco. Its was strongly tied into a plantation economy, with negroes employed to do much of the agricultural labor as slaves. It faced many of the same spiritual challenges, sins, and deficiencies as the other southern colonies, but it also enjoyed the benefit of being tied into the Protestant Biblical faith.
It is often difficult for those of us living in modern Western nations to understand what life was like in the colonial era. We live in circumstances where the effects of the Enlightenment, which we will consider in another chapter, have been sustained and pronounced. Society is now quite secularized and religion has been quite compartmentalized. We still enjoy many of the fruits from that Reformation age, but typically our debt to the reformed Christian faith, and more specifically to the God of that faith, is less well recognized. But during the colonial era and even afterwards—though to a declining extent—religion permeated society. Government, law, culture and education were explicitly based upon Biblical principles, and it was openly stated that Jesus Christ was Lord over all of them. The government that made the English colonies of North America so successful, and that has continued to bless succeeding generations, was the product of divine law applied to the society. And the colonial life ordered by that law and government was distinctively Christian in principle, even if oftentimes the reality did not live up to the principle due to human sin.
The English that settled in North America had a unique opportunity to develop their own government. In all phases of colonial development, a striking feature was the lack of controlling influence by the English government. All colonies except Georgia emerged as companies of shareholders, or as feudal proprietorships stemming from charters granted by the Crown. The fact that the king had transferred his immediate sovereignty over the New World settlements to stock companies and proprietors did not, of course, mean that the colonists in America were necessarily free of outside control. But in reality, exclusive rule from the outside withered away.

To understand the governments that they established, especially in the southern colonies and the New England colonies, but which were largely copied in the other colonies as well, one must understand the history of England and English political theory up to the formation of the colonies, which we will briefly review now. Even before Britain was Christianized, it enjoyed God’s natural law written in the consciences of all men. But with Christianization, the law became more thoroughly consistent with divine law summarized in the Ten Commandments, and it was explicitly recognized that government’s authority came from the Trinitarian God. This law became known as the ‘common law’. During the days of Anglo-Saxon rule of England, King Alfred had some of this common law put in written form, but much of it remained un-written. Also during the Germanic Anglo Saxon rule, the precedent was established of having a council, called the Witan (which evolved into the parliament), as well as a King. It was the prevalent medieval view that God exercised his rule through one human representative. In the realm of church government this human representative was the Pope, and in the realm of civil government it was the King. And it was claimed by the Roman Catholic Pope that his authority superseded that of any King. This did not mean that either Pope or King had unlimited authority within their spheres in England during the Middle Ages. For example, the power of the king was limited to some extent by the Magna Carta. And there were periods of weak popes when monarchs and nobles had more actual power. Nevertheless, as a general operating principle authority rested in one person who in theory executed God’s will on earth.

The Protestant Reformation reformed this theory of government. That all authority was derived from God and exercised on God’s behalf was retained. But reformed theologians like John Calvin recognized that the church and the state were two separate spheres, each directly and independently reporting to God and having its authority derived from God. This meant that a Pope had no legitimate authority over the state, and it meant a monarch like Henry VIII or Elizabeth of England really did not have supremacy over the church. In addition, as the reformation proceeded, it was recognized that scripture authorized a particular form of church government, led not by one person (whether Pope or archbishop), but by an assembly of elders. This assembly of elders was consistent with the religious Sanhedrin of the Old Testament and the presbyterian synod of Acts 15, and is most accurately described as covenantal in nature. Such a synod of elders was established in the reformed churches of Switzerland and France. The theologian Thomas Cartwright, often called the ‘father of English presbyterianism’, further developed and
advocated this theory of church government for the English-speaking peoples. In Scotland it was implemented through the efforts of John Knox and Andrew Melville. Finally, reformed theologians came to recognize the duty of civil parliaments (or legislative councils) to insure that the monarch executed and enforced civil laws in a manner consistent with Biblical law summarized in the Ten Commandments. As the Presbyterian Samuel Rutherford succinctly noted, the 'Law is King' and not 'The King is the Law'.

The consequence of this reformed theory of government in the context of the late 16th and early 17th century was to weaken the moral authority of a monarch that over-reached his God-given power, while increasing the moral authority of a civil legislature (the parliament) and ecclesiastical synod seeking to enforce Biblical law. In England, Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) organized a presbyterian assembly with as many as 500 ministers, some of whom were outstanding leaders in the land. Presbyterianism was rising on a steep slope of popularity at the turn of the seventeenth century. Although this was rapidly becoming the people's faith, it was perceived as a dangerous threat to the Bishop and the King. Queen Elizabeth suppressed and even imprisoned Cartwright and some of his Presbyterian cohorts. However, as much as it was trampled under by the Monarch, still the resilient biblical faith kept arising and growing. It seemed as if the greater the opposition from the Crown, the greater Presbyterianism grew. Despite the opposition of the likes of King James, who clearly saw the connected threat, and reasoned "No Bishop, no King", nonetheless the groundswell of reformed believers in the British Isles demanded executive accountability to God’s law by a reformed Christian parliament and purified church government and worship. Just as in the Middle Ages, the Reformation upheld the notion of Christian government executing God’s will in church and state. But unlike the Middle Ages, the Reformation upheld the notion that this Christian government was not to be executed and enforced by one human representative, but by reformed Christian council elected by the reformed Christian people and reporting to Jesus Christ.

It was in this philosophical context that the English colonies of North America were born. So it is not surprising that in 1618 the Virginia Company issued instructions to its appointed governor providing that free inhabitants of the plantations should elect representatives- all members of the established reformed church and adhering to Protestant doctrine- to join with the governor and an appointive council in passing ordinances for the welfare of the colony. In 1619 the House of Burgesses met in Jamestown. It was the first elected legislative assembly in America.

Following them, the Pilgrims established a government for their colony even more thoroughly consistent with the reformed principles. Aboard the Mayflower, the Pilgrims adopted an instrument for government which we have already looked at, the "Mayflower Compact." Although there was no legal basis from the English Crown for the Pilgrims to establish a system of self-government, the action was not contested and, under the compact, the Plymouth settlers were able for many years to conduct their own affairs.
without outside interference. It was reformed, presbyterian, and covenantal in conception.

The rest of New England followed the lead of the Pilgrims, and it was in fact in New England among all the colonial regions where self-government reached its apex. Control of the civil government passed to Christian representatives elected by reformed church members. Their civil government was the political system modeled after that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Even though ecclesiastical (church) government was a slightly modified form of presbyterian ecclesiastical government—more congregationalist orientation—their civil government was thoroughly presbyterian in orientation, with the towns in the colony following the legislative decision of the elected representatives of the colony as a whole, who were to apply God’s moral law to their circumstances.

Just as had been instituted by reformed governments from Geneva to Scotland, God’s law—applied to a specific context—was king in New England. We have already seen the example of the laws of Massachusetts, but the younger Puritan colony of Connecticut even preceded it with a constitution. The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1639) was the first written constitution in North America, and it set the pattern for all subsequent constitutions:

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“ For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God by the wise disposition of his divine providence so to order and dispose of things that we the Inhabitants and Residents of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the River of Connectecott and the lands thereunto adjoining; and well knowing where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwealth; and do for ourselves and our successors and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into Combination and Confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also, the discipline of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said Gospel is now practiced amongst us; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such Laws, Rules, Orders and Decrees as shall be made, ordered, and decreed as followeth:

1. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that there shall be yearly two General Assemblies or Courts, the one the second Thursday in April, the other the second Thursday in September following; the first shall be called the Court of Election, wherein shall be yearly chosen from time to time, so many Magistrates and other public Officers as shall be found requisite: Whereof one to be chosen Governor for the year ensuing and until another be chosen, and no other Magistrate to be chosen for more than one year: provided always there be six chosen besides the Governor, which being chosen and

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sworn according to an Oath recorded for that purpose, shall have the power to administer justice according to the Laws here established, and for want thereof, according to the Rule of the Word of God; which choice shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the Oath of Fidelity, and do cohabit within this Jurisdiction having been admitted Inhabitants by the major part of the Town wherein they live or the major part of such as shall be then present.

2. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the election of the aforesaid Magistrates shall be in this manner: every person present and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the person deputed to receive them) one single paper with the name of him written in it whom he desires to have Governor, and that he that hath the greatest number of papers shall be Governor for that year. And the rest of the Magistrates or public officers to be chosen in this manner: the Secretary for the time being shall first read the names of all that are to be put to choice and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written upon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank; and every one that hath more written papers than blanks shall be a Magistrate for that year; which papers shall be received and told by one or more that shall be then chosen by the court and sworn to be faithful therein; but in case there should not be six chosen as aforesaid, besides the Governor, out of those which are nominated, than he or they which have the most written papers shall be a Magistrate or Magistrates for the ensuing year, to make up the aforesaid number.

3. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the Secretary shall not nominate any person, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the Magistracy which was not propounded in some General Court before, to be nominated the next election; and to that end it shall be lawful for each of the Towns aforesaid by their deputies to nominate any two whom they conceive fit to be put to election; and the Court may add so many more as they judge requisite.

4. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that no person be chosen Governor above once in two years, and that the Governor be always a member of some approved Congregation, and formerly of the Magistracy within this Jurisdiction; and that all the Magistrates, Freemen of this Commonwealth; and that no Magistrate or other public officer shall execute any part of his or their office before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the court if they be present, and in case of absence by some deputed for that purpose.

5. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that to the aforesaid Court of Election the several Towns shall send their deputies, and when the Elections are ended they may proceed in any public service as at other Courts. Also the other General Court in September shall be for making of laws, and any other public occasion, which concerns the good of the Commonwealth.

6. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the Governor shall, either by himself or by the Secretary, send out summons to the Constables of every Town for the calling of
these two standing Courts one month at least before their several times: And also if the Governor and the greatest part of the Magistrates see cause upon any special occasion to call a General Court, they may give order to the Secretary so to do within fourteen days’ warning: And if urgent necessity so required, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies when they meet, or else be questioned for the same; And if the Governor and major part of Magistrates shall either neglect or refuse to call the two General standing Courts or either of them, as also at other times when the occasions of the Commonwealth require, the Freemen thereof, or the major part of them, shall petition to them so to do; if then it be either denied or neglected, the said Freemen, or the major part of them, shall have the power to give order to the Constables of the several Towns to do the same, and so may meet together, and choose to themselves a Moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power which any other General Courts may.

7. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that after there are warrants given out for any of the said General Courts, the Constable or Constables of each Town, shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly or by going or sending from house to house, that at a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together to elect and choose certain deputies to be at the General Court then following to agitate the affairs of the Commonwealth; which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted Inhabitants in the several Towns and have taken the oath of fidelity; provided that none be chosen a Deputy for any General Court which is not a Freeman of this Commonwealth.

The aforesaid deputies shall be chosen in manner following: every person that is present and qualified as before expressed, shall bring the names of such, written in several papers, as they desire to have chosen for that employment, and these three or four, more or less, being the number agreed on to be chosen for that time, that have the greatest number of papers written for them shall be deputies for that Court; whose names shall be endorsed on the back side of the warrant and returned into the Court, with the Constable or Constables’ hand unto the same.

8. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield shall have power, each Town, to send four of their Freemen as their deputies to every General Court; and Whatsoever other Town shall be hereafter added to this Jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the Court shall judge meet, a reasonable proportion to the number of Freemen that are in the said Towns being to be attended therein; which deputies shall have the power of the whole Town to give their votes and allowance to all such laws and orders as may be for the public good, and unto which the said Towns are to be bound.

9. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the deputies thus chosen shall have power and liberty to appoint a time and a place of meeting together before any General Court, to advise and consult of all such things as may concern the good of the public, as also
to examine their own Elections, whether according to the order, and if they or the
greatest part of them find any election to be illegal they may seclude such for present
from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the Court; and if it be
proved true, the Court may fine the party or parties so intruding, and the Town, if they
see cause, and give out a warrant to go to a new election in a legal way, either in part
or in whole. Also the said deputies shall have power to fine any that shall be disorderly
at their meetings, or for not coming in due time or place according to appointment; and
they may return the said fines into the Court if it be refused to be paid, and the
Treasurer to take notice of it, and to escheat or levy the same as he does other fines.

10. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that every General Court, except such as
through neglect of the Governor and the greatest part of the Magistrates the Freemen
themselves do call, shall consist of the Governor, or some one chosen to moderate the
Court, and four other Magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies of the
several Towns legally chosen; and in case the Freemen, or major part of them, through
neglect or refusal of the Governor and major part of the Magistrates, shall call a
Court, it shall consist of the major part of Freemen that are present or their deputiues,
with a Moderator chosen by them: In which said General Courts shall consist the
supreme power of the Commonwealth, and they only shall have power to make laws or
repeal them, to grant levies, to admit of Freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of, to
several Towns or persons, and also shall have power to call either Court or Magistrate
or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor, and may for just
causes displace or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offense; and also may
deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this Commonwealth, except election
of Magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of Freemen.

In which Court the Governor or Moderator shall have power to order the Court, to
give liberty of speech, and silence unseasonable and disorderly speakings, to put all
things to vote, and in case the vote be equal to have the casting voice. But none of these
Courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the
Court.

11. It is Ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that when any General Court upon the
occasions of the Commonwealth have agreed upon any sum, or sums of money to be
levied upon the several Towns within this Jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to
set out and appoint what shall be the proportion of every Town to pay of the said levy,
provided the committee be made up of an equal number out of each Town.

14th January 1639 the 11 Orders above said are voted.

The covenantal nature of this government is especially reflected in the “oath of fidelity”
that men had to take in order to be eligible to vote and serve in office, as it was in
Calvin’s Geneva and in the other places where reformed government was instituted. This
oath or covenant was taken to God before men, just as such an oath was taken many
times by the people of God in scripture. In the oath one pledged fidelity to the reformed
Christian faith, so that the government so elected would be covenantly pledged to follow God according to this faith.

With the basic pattern set, it was followed with varying degrees of faithfulness by the other colonies, amidst on-going dispute regarding the extent of the franchise (i.e., the right to vote for representatives in a legislative body). In most instances, the king, in making future grants, provided in the charter that the free men of the colony should have a voice in legislation affecting them. Thus, charters awarded to the Calverts in Maryland, William Penn in Pennsylvania, the proprietors in North and South Carolina and the proprietors in New Jersey specified that legislation should be enacted with "the consent of the freemen." In only two cases was the self-government provision omitted. These were New York, which was granted to Charles II's brother, the Duke of York (later to become King James II); and Georgia, which was granted to a group of trustees. In both instances the provisions for governance were short-lived, for the colonists demanded legislative representation so insistently that the authorities soon yielded.

Even the oaths of fidelity were passed down to many other colonies and later to the states forming the new nation. So, for example, we read in the constitution of Vermont in 1777:

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“A quorum of the house of representatives shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of members elected; and having met and chosen their speaker, shall, each of them, before they proceed to business, take and subscribe, as well the oath of fidelity and allegiance herein after directed, as the following oath or affirmation, viz.

I ________do solemnly swear, by the ever living God, (or, I do solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God) that as a member of this assembly, I will not propose or assent to any bill, vote, or resolution, which shall appear to me injurious to the people; nor do or consent to any act or thing whatever, that shall have a tendency to lessen or abridge their rights and privileges, as declared in the Constitution of this State; but will, in all things, conduct myself as a faithful, honest representative and guardian of the people, according to the best of my judgment and abilities.

And each member, before he takes his seat, shall make and subscribe the following declaration, viz.

I do believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked. And I do acknowledge the scriptures of the old and new testament to be given by divine inspiration, and own and profess the protestant religion.”

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Life in the colonies therefore became largely ordered by the reformed Christian faith, even if at many times the people- with the indwelling sin which corrupts all humanity-did not live up to its aspirations.
There was also the matter of how the Thirteen British Colonies, which later became the original Thirteen States of the USA, would relate to one another and work together. These Thirteen Colonies had long enjoyed a great degree of autonomy, enjoying the salutary neglect of the Mother Country. Each Colony had its own distinctive characteristics, but they were bound together not only by the British Empire of which they were a part, but also a common heritage. In 1776, about 80% of the population was white, and about 85% of the white population's ancestry originated in the British Isles (English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh). Over 90% were farmers, with several small cities that were also seaports linking the colonial economy to the larger British Empire. It was overwhelmingly English-speaking and Protestant.

As each year passed in the 18th century, the Thirteen British Colonies came into greater and greater contact and conflict with the French and their Indian allies to their west and north, as we shall consider more fully in the next chapter.

This provided an incentive for the Thirteen British Colonies to form a military and political alliance, to counter the threat, patterned in many ways after the New England Confederation of the previous century.

As a 1754 cartoon attributed to colonial leader Benjamin Franklin attested, lack of coordination could prove dangerous:
The Albany Congress was called in 1754 to try to forge a colonial confederation, albeit not independent of the British Empire. It was a meeting of representatives sent by the legislatures of seven of the Thirteen British Colonies. Representatives met daily at the City Hall in Albany, New York to discuss better relations with the Indian tribes and common defensive measures against the French threat. The Albany delegates spent most of their time debating Benjamin Franklin’s Albany Plan of union to create a unified level of colonial government. The delegates voted approval of a plan that called for a union of 11 colonies, with a president appointed by the British Crown. Each colonial assembly would send 2 to 7 delegates to a "grand council," which would have legislative powers, but each Colony would have only one vote and decision making was by unanimous consensus. The Union would have jurisdiction over Indian affairs, and proposed powers included treaty making, raising army and naval forces, and, most significantly, included the right of taxation. The plan was rejected by the colonies' legislatures, which were protective of their independent charters, and by the Colonial Office, which wanted a military command.

Franklin speculated in 1789 that the colonies might not have separated from England so soon after the French and Indian War if the 1754 plan had been adopted:

"On Reflection it now seems probable, that if the foregoing Plan or some thing like it, had been adopted and carried into Execution, the subsequent Separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country might not so soon have happened, nor the Mischiefs suffered on both sides have occurred, perhaps during another Century. For the Colonies, if so united, would have really been, as they then thought themselves, sufficient to their own Defence, and being trusted with it, as by the Plan, an Army from Britain, for that purpose would have been unnecessary: The Pretences for framing the Stamp-Act would not then have existed, nor the other Projects for drawing a Revenue from America to Britain by Acts of Parliament, which were the Cause of the Breach, and attended with such terrible Expence of Blood and Treasure: so that the different Parts of the Empire might still have remained in Peace and Union."

Although the Albany Plan of Union never was ratified, it lay the ground work for the founding constitution of the USA, the Articles of Confederation, which was adopted by all Thirteen Colonies which became the Thirteen Original States of the new nation. The Articles did not give taxing power to the national government, likely from the lesson learned of the controversy it engendered in the Albany Plan.
Boundary between Mississippi River and 49th parallel uncertain due to misconception that source of Mississippi River lay further north.
The United States as a nation was, in its origins, a product of English expansion in the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—a part of the general outward thrust of western European peoples in this epoch. British people and institutions, transplanted to another continent and mixed with people of different origins, underwent changes that eventually produced a distinctive American culture. In no area was the interaction of the two influences—European heritage and American environment—more apparent than in the shaping of the military institutions of the new nation.

**The European Heritage**

The European military heritage reaches far back into history. Many centuries before the birth of Christ, organized armies under formal discipline and employing definite systems of battlefield tactics appeared in the empires of the Near East, rivaling in numbers and in the scope of their conflicts anything that was to appear in the Western World before the nineteenth century. In the fourth century B.C., Alexander the Great of Macedonia brought all these empires and dominions, in fact most of civilization known to the Western World, under his suzerainty in a series of rapid military conquests. In so doing,
he carried to the highest point of development the art of war as it was practiced in the Greek city-states. He utilized the phalanx—a solid mass infantry formation using pikes as its cutting edge—as the Greeks had long done, but put far greater emphasis on heavy cavalry and contingents of archers and slingers to increase the maneuverability of his armies.

The Romans eventually fell heir to most of Alexander’s empire and extended their conquests westward and northward to include present-day Spain, France, Belgium, and England, bringing these areas within the pale of Roman civilization. The Romans built on the achievements of Alexander and brought the art of war to its zenith in the ancient world. They perfected, in the legion, a tactical military unit of great maneuverability comparable in some respects to the modern division, performed remarkable feats of military engineering, and developed elaborate systems of fortification and siegecraft. For all their achievements, the Romans made no real progress in the development of new weapons, and Roman military institutions, like Roman political organization and economy, underwent progressive decay after the second century A.D., owing in large measure to their moral corruption, even after formal conversion to Christianity. The Roman Empire in the west was succeeded first by a congeries of barbarian kingdoms and eventually by a highly decentralized political system known as feudalism, under which a multitude of warring nobles exercised authority over local areas of varying size. The art of war underwent profound change with the armored knight on horseback succeeding to the battlefield supremacy that, under the Greeks and Romans, had belonged to disciplined formations of infantry. Society in the Middle Ages was highly stratified, and a rigid division existed between the knightly or ruling noble class and the great mass of peasants who tilled the soil, most of them as serfs bound to the nobles’ estates. Warfare became for the most part a monopoly of the ruling classes, for only men of substance could afford horse and armor. Every knight owed a certain number of days of military service to his lord each year in a hierarchical or pyramid arrangement, the king at the apex and the great mass of lesser knights forming the base. But lords who were strong enough defied their superiors. Fortified castles with moat and drawbridge, built on commanding points of terrain, furnished sanctuaries where lesser lords with inferior forces could defy more powerful opponents. Wherever freemen were found nonetheless, in town or countryside, they continued to bear arms on occasion as infantry, often as despised adjuncts to armies composed of heavy cavalry. This yeoman class was always stronger in England than on the Continent, except in such remote or mountainous areas as Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. Even after the Norman conquest had brought feudal institutions to England, the ancient Saxon tradition of the fyrd that required every freeman between sixteen and sixty to bear arms in defense of his country remained alive. In 1181 the English King Henry II declared in his Assize of Arms that every freeman should keep and “bear these arms in his [the king’s] service according to his order and in allegiance to the lord King and his realm.”

Vestiges of feudal institutions survived well into the twentieth century, nowhere more prominently than in European military organizations where the old feudal nobility long
dominated the officer ranks and continued its traditions of honor and chivalry. At the other end of the scale, the militia system, so prominent in British and American history, owed much to medieval precedents, for the Saxon fyrd and Henry II’s Assize of Arms underlay the militia tradition transplanted from England to America.

Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries the feudal order as the basic political organization of European society gave way gradually to new national states under the dynastic rule of royal families. The growth of towns with their merchant and artisan classes and the consequent appearance of a money economy enabled ambitious kings to levy taxes and borrow money to raise and support military forces and to unify and rule their kingdoms. The Protestant Reformation shattered the yoke of darkness and tyranny of the Papacy, destroying a false religious unity and working towards a new vision of unity based upon Biblical truth.

Changes in military organization, weapons, and tactics went hand in hand with political, social, and economic change. In the later Middle Ages formations of disciplined infantry using longbow, crossbow, pike, and halberd (a long-handled ax with a pike head at the end), reasserted their superiority on the battlefield. The introduction of gunpowder in the fourteenth century began a process of technological change in weapons that was to enhance that superiority; more immediately, gunpowder was used in crude artillery to batter down the walls of medieval castles. The age of the armored knight and the castle gave way to an age of mercenary infantry.

In the religious and dynastic wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as mercenary armies came more and more to be national armies, various weapons employing gunpowder gradually replaced pike and halberd as the standard infantry weapons, and armor gradually disappeared from the bodies of both infantry and cavalry soldiers. At first musketeers were employed alongside pikemen in square formations, the pikemen protecting the musketeers while they reloaded. As the wheel lock musket succeeded the harquebus as a shoulder arm and the flintlock in turn supplanted the wheel lock, armies came to rely less and less on the pike, more and more on firepower delivered by muskets. By 1700, with the invention of a socket bayonet that could be fitted onto the end of the flintlock musket without plugging the barrel, the pike disappeared entirely and along with it the helmet and body armor that had primarily been designed for protection against pikes. Meanwhile, commanders learned to maneuver large bodies of troops on the battlefield and to employ infantry, cavalry, and artillery in combination. National armies composed of professional soldiers came once again to resemble the imperial forces that had served Alexander the Great and the Roman emperors.

With the conclusion of the Thirty Years’ War in Germany (1618-48), it was generally agreed to allow the rulers of each nation to decide whether they would be Protestant or Roman Catholic. This agreement decreased the level of warfare on explicitly religious grounds in Europe. Most European warfare among nations would henceforth typically focus upon dynastic and national interests, with religious interests less explicit albeit certainly present. God had graciously preserved the Protestants during their difficult
struggles. Explicitly Protestant nations proved the beachhead from which God sent missionaries around the world to proclaim the gospel, make disciples, and to establish other nations founded upon Biblical principles.

Beginning with the wars of Louis XIV of France in 1660, dynastic rivalries were to be fought out by professional armies within the framework of an established order which, in its essentials, none sought to disturb. The eighteenth century European military system that resulted constituted an important part of the world environment in the period the United States came into being.

**Eighteenth Century European Warfare**

In contrast to the great world wars of the twentieth century, eighteenth century warfare was limited in character, fought by rival states for restricted territorial gains and not for the subjugation of whole peoples or nations. It was conducted by professional armies and navies without the mobilization of men, economic resources, and popular opinion of entire nations that has characterized twentieth century war. Except in areas where military operations took place, the people in the warring nations carried on their everyday life as usual.

The professional armies employed in this “formal” warfare reflected the society from which they sprang. Although Europe’s titled nobles no longer exercised political power independent of their kings, they remained the dominant privileged class, proprietors of the great estates and leaders of the national armies. The great masses of people remained for the most part without property or voice in the government, either tilling the soil on the nobles’ estates or working in the shops and handicraft industries in the towns. Absolute monarchy was the prevailing form of government in every European country save where Protestantism (especially reformed Protestantism) was most firmly established, like England and various states on the Continent. In England, where the constitutional power of Parliament had been successfully established over the king, reformed Christianity had succeeded in persuading the people that everyone should be subject to the law. The law is king, precisely because everyone- even kings- is subject to the Ten Commandments (and the principles that flow therefrom) and should be held accountable to the Ten Commandments. And the precedent of sanhedrins in scripture- both political and ecclesiastical- parallel the political parliament (or congress) and Presbyterian synod in New Testament times. The English Parliament was by no means a “democratic” institution as that would be defined in modern times, but one controlled by the landed gentry and wealthy merchants. It was properly confined as well to those who adhered to the reformed Protestant religion, as scripture commands all rule to be Christian and Biblical (Psalm 2).

The military distinction nobles had formerly found in leading their own knights in battle they now sought as officers in the armies of their respective kings. Princes, counts, earls, marquises, and barons, men who held position by hereditary right, royal favor, or
purchase, filled the higher commands, while “gentlemen” of lesser rank usually served as captains and lieutenants. Advancement to higher ranks depended as much on wealth and influence at court as on demonstrated merit on the battlefield. Eighteenth century officers were hardly professionals in the modern sense of the word, for they might well first enter the service as mere boys through inheritance or purchase of a commission, and except for technical specialists in artillery and engineering, they were not required to attend a military school to train for their duties.

As the officers came from the highest classes, so the men in the ranks came from the lowest. They were normally recruited for long terms of service, sometimes by force, from among the peasants and the urban unemployed, and more than a sprinkling of paupers, peder-do-wells, convicts, and drifters were in the ranks. Since recruiting extended across international boundaries, foreign mercenaries formed part of every European army. Discipline, not patriotic motivation, was the main reliance for making these men fight. Penalties for even minor offenses ran as high as a thousand lashes, and executions by hanging or firing squad were frequent. The habit of obedience inculcated on the drill ground carried over into battle where, it has often been said, the men advanced because they preferred the uncertainties of combat to the certainty of death if orders were disobeyed.

Most of the significant European wars of the period were fought over terrain that was open, relatively flat, and thickly populated. Normally, fighting took place only during favorable weather and during daylight hours; rain or darkness quickly called a halt to a battle, and by December opposing armies usually retired to winter quarters where they awaited spring to resume hostilities. Road and river transportation systems were, for the time, highly developed, facilitating the movement of men and supplies. Food for men and forage for horses were usually available in the areas of military operations, but all supplies were customarily obtained by systematic and regular procedures, not by indiscriminate plunder. Each nation set up a series of fortresses or magazines along the line of march of its army in which replacement supplies and foodstuffs could be stored.

Eighteenth century armies were composed predominantly of infantry, with cavalry and artillery as supporting elements. Because battles were usually fought in open country, cavalry could be employed to full advantage. As for artillery, it was used in both attack and defense, either in campaigns of maneuver or in siege warfare. Some eighteenth century commanders used the three arms skillfully in combination, but it was the clash of infantry that usually decided the issue. In the eighteenth century infantry was truly the “Queen of Battle.”

The standard infantry weapon of the time was the flintlock musket with bayonet. Probably the most famous model was Brown Bess, the one used in the British Army. Brown Bess had a smoothbore barrel 3 feet 8 inches long with a 14-inch bayonet and fired a smooth lead ball about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The musket was highly inaccurate since the barrel had no rifling and the charge necessarily fitted loosely,
permitting the escape of gas and reducing the effect of the propelling charge. It misfired occasionally and was useless when the powder in the priming pan got wet. The rate of fire was, at best, about three rounds per minute. When the ball hit within its effective range, 150 to 200 yards, its impact was terrific, tearing ghastly holes in flesh and shattering bone, but the inaccuracy of the weapon practically precluded its use, even for volley fire, at ranges greater than 50 to 100 yards. The inefficiency of the smoothbore musket as a firearm made its attached bayonet almost as important as its firepower, and infantry relied on the bayonet for shock action against an enemy softened by musketry fire.

Cavalrymen were variously armed with pistol and lance, carbine and sword, depending on the country and the time. Pistol and carbine were discharged at close range against the ranks of opposing infantry or cavalry, while lance and sword were used for close-in shock action.

There were many different kinds of artillery. The larger pieces were mainly for siege warfare and were relatively immobile. Artillery used in the field was lighter and mounted on wheeled carriages pulled by men or horses. Whether siege or field, these artillery pieces were, like the muskets, smoothbore muzzleloaders, very limited in range and highly inaccurate. Loading and firing were even slower than in the case of the musket, for the cannon barrel had to be swabbed out after each round to prevent any residue of burning powder from causing a premature explosion. There was no traverse and the whole carriage had to be moved to change the direction of fire. Cannon fired mainly solid iron balls, or at shorter ranges, grapeshot and canister. Grapeshot was a cluster of small iron balls attached to a central system (thus resembling a bunch of grapes) and dispersed by the explosion of a propellant charge; canister consisted of loose pellets placed in a can and when fired had even greater dispersion than grape.

The nature of the soldiers, their weapons, and the terrain go far to explain the tactics used. These tactics were usually designated linear tactics to distinguish them from earlier mass formations such as the Spanish Square and the column formations employed later by Napoleon. Linear tactics were first used by Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish Protestant king and military innovator, in the Thirty Years’ War, and they came into general use in European armies in the later dynastic wars of Louis XIV of France with the invention of the socket bayonet. Frederick the Great of Prussia carried them to their ultimate state of perfection, and his armies were the most methodically ordered in Europe. In the mid-eighteenth century the Frederician system was the model that others imitated.

In the employment of linear tactics, troops marched onto the battlefield in columns and then deployed into line. A line consisted of a number of battalions or regiments—the terms were then practically synonymous—formed three or more ranks deep. In the ranks the men stood shoulder to shoulder and delivered their fire. Loading, firing, and bayonet charge were all performed at command in a drill involving many separate motions. Firing, insofar as officers were able to maintain rigid discipline, was entirely by volley,
the purpose being to achieve the greatest mass of firepower over a given area. The goal was always the “perfect volley.” Individual, aimed fire, given the characteristics of the flintlock musket, was deemed to be of little value.

Artillery was deployed in the line with the infantry, cavalry on the flanks or in the rear. Usually commanders also kept an infantry force in reserve for use at a critical point in the battle. In the traditional eighteenth century battle, both forces would be drawn up in similar formation, and the battle would be opened by artillery fire from both sides. In the midst of this fire, the attacking infantry would move forward, maintaining the rigid linear formation in which it was trained, stopping as frequently as necessary to dress its lines. At a range of 50 to 100 yards, the attacking line would halt on the command of its officers. At a second command, a volley would be fired and answered by the opposing line; or there might be a great deal of jockeying over who should fire first, for it was considered an advantage to take, not to give, the first volley and to deliver one’s own answering volley at closer range. In any case, the exchange of volleys would continue until one side determined to try to carry the field by bayonet or cavalry charge, usually committing its reserves in this action. If either side was able to carry the field, the victorious commander then sought to execute a successful pursuit, destroying the enemy’s army; the defeated commander attempted to withdraw his force in a semblance of order to a fortress or other defensive position, there to re-form and fight another day.

Eighteenth century battles were bloody affairs. At Zorndorf in 1758, for instance, the victorious army of Frederick lost 38 percent of its effectives, the defeated Russians about half of theirs. Professional soldiers were difficult to replace for there was no national reservoir of trained manpower to draw on, and it took two years or more to train a recruit properly. Commanders, therefore, sparing of the blood of their soldiers, sought to avoid battle and to overcome the enemy by a successful series of maneuvers against his line of communications. They also tried to take advantage of terrain features and of fortified positions, to strike by surprise or against the flanks of the enemy, forcing him to realign his forces while fighting, and to employ artillery and cavalry to the greatest advantage in paving the way for infantry assault. Fortresses, normally constructed along the frontiers to impede the advance of an invading army, played a vital role in these maneuvers. It was considered axiomatic that no army could leave a fortress in its rear athwart its line of communications, that any major fortified point had to be reduced by siege. By 1700 the arts of both fortification and siegecraft had been reduced to certain geometric principles by Marshal Sebastien Vauban, a distinguished soldier and engineer in the service of Louis XIV of France.

Vauban’s fortresses were star-shaped, with walls partially sunk in the earth and covered with earthen ramparts on which cannon could be mounted; projections or bastions with mutually supporting fields of fire jutted forth from the main walls; a ditch was dug around the whole and a second smaller wall erected in front of it, with earth also sloped against it to absorb the shock of cannon balls.

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Vauban’s system for attacking this or any other type of fortified position was known as an approach by parallel lines. Once a fortress had been surrounded and outside aid cut off, batteries of siege artillery were brought up within about 600 yards of the fortress walls, the guns being so placed as to rake the lengths of the bastions with enfilade fire; behind these guns the first parallel trench was dug to protect the gunners and assault troops. Zigzag approach trenches were then dug forward about 200 yards to the points from which a second parallel was constructed, then the same process was repeated and a third parallel was dug. Infantry and siege artillery were moved forward as each parallel was completed until, in the third, they were beneath the outer wall of the fortress. From this vantage point the artillery could breach the main wall and the infantry could take the fortress by storm, but usually the fortress commander surrendered to avoid further bloodshed. Under Vauban’s system the capture of a fortress by a superior besieging force was usually only a matter of time, and the siege was conducted, often in leisurely fashion. Along lines as rigidly fixed as those of the formal battle in the open field.

Perhaps the most indelible picture of formal eighteenth century warfare that has survived is one of French and British officers at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1746, bowing politely to each other and each inviting the other side to fire the first volley, thus starting the carnage that was to follow. This picture has a certain ludicrous quality about it, but there was method in their madness as there was in eighteenth century warfare generally. The eighteenth century army was adapted to the European environment of the time, to the political and social climate as well as to the geography and terrain. Men knowledgeable in military matters at the time firmly believed that no body of semi-trained citizens, however numerous and inspired, could stand before the disciplined ranks of professionals. This assumption flowed, at least in part, from the theory of the Enlightenment, that professionally disciplined reason must triumph. We can see many of the weaknesses in the eighteenth century military system that were not so obvious to contemporaries—its basic lack of flexibility, a paucity of true professional leadership, and its failure effectively to mobilize national resources for war.

The Colonial Scene

The environment in the British colonies of North America was different from that of Europe. America was a new continent, heavily forested and sparsely populated. The main enemy with whom the English colonists had first to contend was the primitive and savage Indian, who neither knew the rules of formal warfare nor cared to learn them. Colonial society from its very beginnings developed along more democratic and individualistic lines than society in England or continental Europe. Military institutions and practices, though heavily influenced by English patterns, also evolved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries along different lines. It would be a mistake to call the society that took form in the thirteen English colonies in North America a new society, for in most respects it followed the English pattern of social, economic, and political organization. But Protestant England itself had stronger democratic traditions than existed on the
Continent, and important differences in the environment gave these English traditions much stronger force in America. Here there was no titled nobility exercising a monopoly on governmental office or holding a vested title to most of the land. While an aristocracy of wealth soon appeared, it was never able to exercise the same prerogatives as a titled nobility. Besides, it was far easier to move from the poorer to the wealthier class, since acquisition of landed wealth was easier in a country where land was plentiful and labor to work it scarce. If older settled areas tended to develop something approaching the pattern of European class distinction, new frontiers were constantly opening up where dissatisfied individuals could move and find new opportunities.

Each colony had a government modeled generally on England’s. Though there were variations in the pattern, the prevailing form consisted of a royal governor appointed by the British Crown, a council appointed by the governor from the ranks of the colonial aristocracy, and a popular assembly elected by the landholders. Modeled on the British House of Commons, these popular assemblies in the colonies rested on a much broader democratic base, since property ownership—the main qualification for voting in Britain and America in this age—was far more widespread in the colonies. The colonial assemblies claimed the same prerogatives the royal governor that the British Parliament exercised in its relations with the Crown, including control of the purse and regulation of the military establishment of the colony.

The Indian method of warfare in the forest was in various respects adopted by the white man. When the white man came, the Indian relied on bow and spear, or tomahawk and knife, but he soon learned the value of the white man’s muskets and was not long in obtaining them in trade for his valuable furs. With bow or musket, his method of fighting was the same. Indian tribes had no organized system of war; warriors simply formed voluntary bands under war chiefs and took off on the warpath. In battle each Indian fought a separate opponent without regard for his fellows. Indians avoided pitched battle whenever possible, instead seeking victory by surprise and carefully utilizing cover and concealment. Only when they had the advantage did they close in for hand-to-hand combat. In such combat the Indian brave lacked neither skill nor courage. Since he cared little about the rules of civilized warfare, he slaughtered men, women, and children indiscriminately. The favorite Indian tactic was a surprise raid on an isolated settlement. When the settlers organized a pursuit, the Indians lay in wait and ambushed them.

The white man soon adapted his tactics to the Indian’s, quickly learning the value of surprise and stealth himself. To avoid ambush he sent out scouts as the Indians did, frequently employing friendly Indians in the role. Instead of fighting in the closed formations of Europe, he too adopted the open formation and fought from behind trees, rocks, and fences. In such fighting more depended on individual initiative and courage than on strict discipline and control.

The white settler learned to benefit from some of the enemy’s weaknesses. For all their cunning, the Indians never learned the lesson of proper security and did not post guards at night. Nor did they like to fight in winter. Expeditions into the Indian country used as
their favorite technique an attack on an Indian village at dawn and in the winter season. This attack almost invariably came as a surprise, and the white man, imitating the savagery of his opponent, burned the Indian’s villages and sometimes slaughtered braves, squaws, and papooses.

The settlers tried to provide some permanent protection for their frontiers by erecting forts along the westernmost line of settlement in each colony, moving them forward as the line of settlement moved. These forts were not the elaborate earth and masonry structures of Europe, but simple rectangular enclosures, their walls constructed of upright pointed logs. Usually there were wooden blockhouses at each corner. These rude frontier forts served as points to which settlers and their families could retreat for protection in time of Indian troubles. Having no artillery, the Indians found the forts hard to take and could rely only on burning arrows to set them afire, on surprise attack, or on direct frontal assault. From the last alternative they almost invariably shrunk. Their war chiefs possessed no power to order any group of braves to undertake an assault in which they would suffer heavy casualties for the sake of gaining an objective.

**Colonial Militia**

For fighting Indians, colonial governments were in no position to form professional armies, even had the nature of Indian warfare lent itself to such a practice. Instead they fell back on the ancient British tradition of the militia. This tradition took on new vitality in America at the same time that it was declining in England where, after Oliver Cromwell’s time, England’s wars were fought on the sea and in foreign lands. The British Government came to rely on its Regular Army and Navy just as other European states did, despite a continuing tradition of opposition to a standing army. Each of the thirteen colonies, except for Pennsylvania where Quaker influence was dominant, enacted laws providing for a compulsory militia organization, generally based on the principle of the Saxon fyrd that every able-bodied free male from sixteen to sixty should render military service. Each member of the militia was obligated to appear for training at his county or town seat a certain number of days each year, to provide himself with weapons, and to hold himself in readiness for call in case of Indian attack or other emergency.

Each colony maintained its separate militia establishment, and each concentrated on the problems of protecting or extending its own frontiers; cooperation among the militias of the various colonies was confined to specific expeditions in which two or more colonies had an interest. The militia was by and large a local institution, administered in county and town or township under the general militia laws of each colony. It was closely integrated with the social and economic structure of colonial society. Though the royal governors or colonial assemblies appointed the general officers and the colonels who commanded militia districts, the companies in each locality elected their own officers.
This practice seemingly put a premium on popularity rather than wealth or ability, but rank in the militia generally corresponded with social station in the community.

Each individual militiamen was expected to provide his own weapon—usually a smoothbore musket—and ammunition, clothing, and food for a short expedition, just as the British knight had been required to provide his own horse, armor, and suitable weapons for feudal warfare. Local authorities maintained reserve supplies of muskets to arm those too poor to buy them and collected stores of ammunition and sometimes small cannon that could be dragged along through the wilderness. For really long campaigns, the colonial government had to take charge, the assembly appropriating the money for supplies and designating the supply officers or contractors to handle purchasing and distribution.

Although the militia was organized into units by county or township, it hardly ever fought that way. Instead the local unit served as a training and mobilization base from which individuals could be selected for active operations. When a particular area of a colony was threatened, the colonial government would direct the local militia commander to call out his men and the commander would mobilize as many as he could or as he thought necessary, selecting the younger and more active men for service. For expeditions into the Indian country, individuals from many localities were usually selected and formed into improvised units for the occasion. Selection was generally by volunteering, but local commanders could draft both men and property if necessary. Drafted men were permitted the option of hiring substitutes, a practice that favored the well to do. Volunteer, drafted man and substitute alike insisted on the militiamen’s prerogative to serve only a short period and return to home and fireside as quickly as possible.

As a part-time citizen army, the militia was naturally not a well-disciplined, cohesive force comparable to the professional army of the age. Moreover, its efficiency, even for
Indian fighting, varied from colony to colony and even from locality to locality within the same colony, depending on the ability and determination of commanders and the presence or absence of any threat. When engaged in eliminating an Indian threat to their own community, militiamen might be counted on to make up in enthusiasm what they lacked in discipline and formal training, but when the Indian threat was pushed westward there was a tendency for people along the seaboard to relax. Training days, one a week in the early days of settlement, fell to one a month or even one a year. Festivities rather than military training increasingly became the main purpose of many of the gatherings, and the efficiency of the militia in these regions declined accordingly. In some towns and counties, however, the military tradition was kept alive by volunteers who formed units of their own, purchased distinctive uniforms, and prepared themselves to respond in case of war or emergency. These units became known as the volunteer militia and were the predecessors of the National Guard of the United States. In Pennsylvania (with its Quaker tradition based upon erroneous pacifism), which lacked a militia law until 1755 and then passed one that made militia service voluntary rather than compulsory, all units were composed of volunteers.

On the frontier, where Indian raids were a constant threat, training days were more frequent and militia had to be ready for instant action. Except on the frontier, where proficiency in this sort of warfare was a matter of survival, it is doubtful that colonial militia in general were really adept in forest fighting. Training days were devoted not to the techniques of fighting Indians but to learning the drill and motions required on a European battlefield.

While militia units played an important part in the colonial wars, colonial governments resorted to a different device to recruit forces for expeditions outside their boundaries such as that against Louisbourg. This was the volunteer force, another institution that was to play an important part in all American wars through the end of the nineteenth century. Unlike the militia units, volunteer forces were built from the top down. The commanding officers were first chosen by one of the colonial governors or assemblies and the men were enlisted by them. The choice of a commander was made with due regard for his popularity in the colony since this was directly related to his ability to persuade officers and men to serve under him. While the militia was the main base for recruitment, and the officers were almost invariably men whose previous experience was in the militia, indentured servants and drifters without military obligation were also enlisted. The enlistment period was only for the duration of a campaign, at best a year or so, not for long periods as in European armies. Colonial assemblies had to vote money for pay and supplies, and assemblies were usually parsimonious as well as unwilling to see volunteer forces assume any of the status of a standing Regular Army. With short enlistments, inexperienced officers, and poor discipline by European standards, even the best of these colonial volunteer units were, like the militia, often held in contempt by British officers.
While England was colonizing the eastern seaboard from Maine to Georgia, France was extending its control over Canada and Louisiana and asserting its claim to the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi Valley in the rear of the British colonies. Spain held Florida, an outpost of its vast colonial domains in Mexico, Central and South America, and the West Indies. England and France were invariably on opposite sides in the four great dynastic coalition wars fought in Europe between 1689 and 1763. Spain was allied with France in the last three of these conflicts. Each of these European wars had its counterpart in a struggle between British and French and Spanish colonists in America, intermingled with a quickening of Indian warfare all along the frontiers as the contestants tried to use the Indian tribes to their advantage. Americans and Europeans called these wars by different names. The War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97) was known in America as King William’s War, the War of Spanish Succession (1701-13) as Queen Anne’s War, the War of Austrian Succession (1744-48) as King George’s War, and the final and decisive conflict, the Seven Years’ War (1756-63) as the French and Indian War. In all of these wars one of the matters involved was the control of the North American continent; in the last of them it became the principal point at issue in the eyes of the British Government.
The main centers of French strength were along the St. Lawrence River in Canada—Quebec and Montreal—and the strategic line along which much of the fighting took place in the colonies lay between New York and Quebec, either on the lake and river chain that connects the Hudson with the St. Lawrence in the interior or along the seaways leading from the Atlantic up the St. Lawrence. In the south, the arena of conflict lay in the area between South Carolina and Florida and Louisiana. In 1732 the British Government established the colony of Georgia primarily as a military outpost in this region.

In the struggle for control of North America, the contest between England and France was the vital one, the conflict with Spain, a declining power, important but secondary. This latter conflict reached its height in the “War of Jenkins Ear,” a prelude to the War of Austrian Succession, which began in 1739 and pitted the British and their American colonists against the Spanish. In the colonies the war involved a seesaw struggle between the Spanish in Florida and the West Indies and the English colonists in South Carolina and Georgia. Its most notable episode, however, was a British expedition mounted in Jamaica against Cartagena, the main port of the Spanish colony in Colombia. The mainland colonies furnished a regiment to participate in the assault as British Regulars under British command. The expedition ended in disaster, resulting from climate, disease, and the bungling of British commanders, and only about 600 of over 3,000 Americans who participated ever returned to their homes. The net result of the war itself was indecisive.
The first three wars with the French were also indecisive. The nature of the fighting in them was much the same as that in the Indian wars. Although the French maintained garrisons of Regulars in Canada, they were never sufficient to bear the brunt of the fighting. The French Canadians also had their militia, a more centralized and all-embracing system than that in the English colonies, but the population of the French colonies was sparse, scarcely a twentieth of that of the British colonies in 1754. The French relied heavily on Indian allies, whom they equipped with firearms. They were far more successful than the British in influencing the Indians, certainly in part because their sparse population posed little threat to Indian lands. The French could usually count on the support of the Indian tribes in the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley regions, though the British colonists did maintain greater influence with the powerful Iroquois confederacy in New York. The French constructed forts at strategic points and garrisoned them with small numbers of Regulars, a few of whom they usually sent along with militia and Indian raiding parties to supervise operations. Using guerrilla methods, the French gained many local successes and indeed kept the frontiers of the English colonies in a continual state of alarm, but they could achieve no decisive results because of the essential weakness of their position.

The British and their colonists usually took the offensive and sought to strike by land and sea at the citadels of French power in Canada. The British Navy’s control of the sea made possible the mounting of sea expeditions against Canada and at the same time made it difficult for the French to reinforce their small Regular garrisons. In 1710 a combined British and colonial expedition captured the French fort at Port Royal on Nova Scotia, and by the treaty of peace in 1713 Nova Scotia became an English possession. In 1745 an all-colonial expedition sponsored by Massachusetts captured Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in what was perhaps the greatest of colonial military exploits, only to have the stronghold bargained away in 1748 for Madras, a post the French had captured from the British in India.

Meanwhile, Anglo-American settlers heading westward and French-American forts along the Ohio-Mississippi River valleys were coming into closer proximity and conflict.
This was especially true in the competition for the Ohio Country:

Virginian explorers recognized the potential of the Ohio region for colonization and moved to capitalize on it, as well as to block French expansion into the territory. In 1748, at the encouragement of Thomas Cresap of Maryland, Thomas Lee and his brothers organized the Ohio Company of Virginia, along with other investors. In 1749, the British Crown granted the Company 500,000 acres in the Ohio Valley between the Kanawha and the Monongahela. Cresap was given a contract to blaze a small road over the mountains to the Monongahela River, and then to start widening this road into a wagon road. In 1750, the Ohio Company hired Christopher Gist, a skillful woodsman and surveyor, to explore the Ohio Valley in order to identify lands for potential settlement. He surveyed by estimating the Kanawhan Region and the Ohio Valley tributaries. Upon the basis of his report, the Ohio Company settled in an area in Western Pennsylvania and present-day West Virginia, Gist and Cresap both receiving sizable settlements on the west side of the mountains. In 1752 the company had a pathway blazed between the small fortified posts at Wills Creek (current day Cumberland, Maryland), and Redstone Old Fort (current day Brownsville, Pennsylvania). Cresap and Nemacolin, an Indian chief, had established the latter location in 1750. The settlement efforts were complicated by the conflicting land claims of the time. The Ohio Country ceded to Virginia by the British King the "forks of the Monongahela," present-day Pittsburgh.

Between 1748 and 1754 the French expanded their system of forts around the Great Lakes and moved down into the Ohio Valley, establishing Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers in 1753 (present day Pittsburgh) and staking a claim to the entire region. In so doing, they precipitated the final and decisive conflict which began in America two years before the outbreak of the Seven Years’ War in Europe. In 1754 Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia sent young George Washington at the head of a force of Virginia militia to compel the French to withdraw from Fort Duquesne. Washington was driven back and forced to surrender. The British Government then sent over two understrength regiments of Regulars under Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock, a soldier of some forty-five years’ experience on continental battlefields, to accomplish the task in which the militia had failed. Accustomed to the parade ground tactics and the open terrain of Europe, Braddock placed all his faith in disciplined Regulars and close order formations. He filled his regiments with American recruits and early in June 1755 set out on the long march through the wilderness to Fort Duquesne with a total force of about 2,200, including a body of Virginia and North Carolina militiamen. George Washington accompanied the expedition, but had no command role.
Braddock’s force proceeded westward through the wilderness along the path earlier forged by Cresap and Nemacolin. They were in traditional column formation with 300 axmen in front to clear the road, and a heavy baggage train of wagons in the rear. The heavy wagon train so slowed his progress that about halfway he decided to let it follow as best it could and went ahead with about 1,300 selected men, a few cannon, wagons, and packhorses. As he approached Fort Duquesne, he crossed the Monongahela twice in order to avoid a dangerous and narrow passage along the east side where ambush might be expected. He sent Lt. Col. Thomas Gage with an advance guard to secure the site of the second crossing, also deemed a most likely spot for an ambush. Gage found no enemy and the entire force crossed the Monongahela the second time on the morning of July 9, 1755, then confidently took up the march toward Fort Duquesne, only seven miles away.

About three quarters of a mile past the Monongahela crossing, Gage’s advance guard suddenly came under fire from a body of French and Indians concealed in the woods. Actually it was a very inferior force of 70 French Regulars, 150 Canadian militia (many mere boys), and 650 Indians who had just arrived on the scene after a hasty march from Fort Duquesne. Some authorities think Gage might have changed the whole course of the battle had he pushed forward, forcing the enemy onto the open ground in their rear. Instead he fell back on the main body of Braddock’s troops, causing considerable confusion. This confusion was compounded when the French and Indians slipped into the forests on the flanks of the British troops, pouring their fire into a surprised and terrified mass of men who wasted their return volleys on the air. “Scarce an officer or soldier,” wrote one of the participants, “can say they ever saw at one time six of the enemy and the greatest part never saw a single man....”

None of the training or experience of the Regulars had equipped them to cope with this sort of attack, and Braddock could only exhort them to rally in conventional formation. Two-thirds of his officers fell dead or wounded. The militia, following their natural
instincts, scattered and took positions behind trees, but there is no evidence they
delivered any effective fire, since French and Indian losses for the day totaled only 23
killed and 16 wounded. The few British cannon appear to have been more telling.
Braddock, mortally wounded himself, finally attempted to withdraw his force in some
semblance of order, but the retreat soon became a disordered flight. The panic-stricken
soldiers did not stop even when they reached the baggage wagons many miles to their
rear.

Despite the completeness of their victory, the French and Indians made no attempt to
follow it up. The few French Regulars had little control over the Indians, who preferred
to loot the battlefield and scalp the wounded. The next day the Indians melted back into
the forest, and the French commandant at Duquesne noted in his official report: “If the
enemy should return with the 1,000 fresh troops that he has in reserve in the rear, at what
distance we do not know, we should perhaps be badly embarrassed.” The conduct of the
battle was not so reprehensible as the precipitate retreat of the entire force back to the
safety of the settled frontiers, when no enemy was pursuing it.

Although Braddock had been aware of the possibilities of ambush and had taken what he
thought were necessary precautions, in the broader sense he violated the principles of
security and maneuver; for when the ambush came he had little idea how to cope with
Indian tactics in the forest. As he lay dying on the wagon that transported him from the
battlefield, the seemingly inflexible old British general is alleged to have murmured,
“Another time we shall know better how to deal with them.”

Braddock could not profit from his appreciation of the lesson but the British Army did.
“Over the bones of Braddock,” writes Sir John Fortescue, the eminent historian of the
British Army, “the British advanced again to the conquest of Canada.”

After a series of early reverses, of which Braddock’s disastrous defeat was only one, the
British Government under the leadership of William Pitt was able to achieve a
combination of British and colonial arms that succeeded in overcoming the last French
resistance in Canada and in finally removing the French threat from North America. In
this combination British Regular troops, the British Navy, British direction, and British
financial support were the keys to victory; the colonial effort, though considerable,
continued to suffer from lack of unity.

As an immediate reaction to Braddock’s defeat, the British Government sought to recruit
Regulars in America to fight the war, following the precedent set in the Cartagena
expedition. Several American regiments were raised, the most famous among them Col.
Henry Bouquet’s Royal Americans. On the whole, however, the effort was a failure, for
most Americans preferred short service in the militia or provincial volunteer forces to the
long-term service and rigid discipline of the British Army. After 1757 the British
Government under Pitt, now convinced that America was the area in which the war
would be won or lost, dispatched increasing numbers of Regulars from England—a total
of 20,000 during the war. The British Regulars were used in conjunction with short-term
militia and longer term volunteer forces raised in the service of the various individual colonies. The British never hit upon any effective device to assure the sort of colonial cooperation they desired and the burdens of the war were unequally divided since most colonies did not meet the quotas for troops, services, and supplies the British Government set. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York furnished about seven-tenths of the total colonial force employed. The British found it necessary to shoulder the principal financial burden, reimbursing individual colonies for part of their expenses and providing the pay and supply of many of the colonial volunteer units in order to insure their continued service.

Braddock’s defeat was not repeated. In no other case in the French and Indian War was an inferior guerrilla force able to overcome any substantial body of Regulars. The lessons of the debacle on the Monongahela for the British were not that Regular forces or European methods were useless in America or that undisciplined American militia were superior to Regular troops. They were rather that tactics and formations had to be adapted to terrain and the nature of the enemy and that Regulars, when employed in the forest, would have to learn to travel faster and lighter and take advantage of cover, concealment, and surprise as their enemies did. Or the British could employ colonial troops and Indian allies versed in this sort of warfare as auxiliaries, something the French had long since learned to do.

The British adopted both methods in the ensuing years of the French and Indian War. Light infantry, trained as scouts and skirmishers, became a permanent part of the British Army organization. When engaged in operations in the forest, these troops were clad in green or brown clothes instead of the traditional red coat of the British soldier, their heads shaved and their skins sometimes painted like the Indians’. Special companies, such as Maj. Robert Rogers’ Rangers, were recruited among skilled woodsmen in the colonies and placed in the Regular British establishment.

Despite this employment of light troops as auxiliaries, the British Army did not fundamentally change its tactics and organization in the course of the war in America. The reduction of the French fortress at Louisbourg in 1758 was conducted along the classic lines of European siege warfare. The most decisive single battle of the war was fought in the open field on the Plains of Abraham before the French citadel of Quebec. In a daring move, Maj. Gen. James Wolfe and his men scaled the cliffs leading up to the plain on the night of September 12, 1759, and appeared in traditional line of battle before the city the next morning. Major General the Marquis de Montcalm, the able French commander, accepted the challenge, but his troops, composed partly of militia levies, proved unable to withstand the withering “perfect volleys” of Wolfe’s exceptionally well-disciplined regiments.

The ultimate lesson of the colonial wars, then, was that European and American tactics each had its place, and either could be decisive where conditions were best suited to its use. The colonial wars also proved that troops possessing the organization and discipline
The American Rifle

By the end of the French and Indian War, a new weapon had appeared on the frontier in Pennsylvania and to the southward, one far better suited to guerrilla warfare than the musket. This weapon was later to become renowned as the Kentucky rifle. The effects of rifling a gun barrel, that is, of making spiral grooves that imparted a spinning effect to the bullet, giving it greater range and accuracy, had been known for some centuries in Germany and Switzerland. But the early rifles made there were too heavy and slow to load to be of military use. The Germans who settled in Pennsylvania developed, around 1750, a much lighter model, far easier and faster to load. They used a bullet smaller than the bore and a greased patch to keep the fit tight. This early American rifle could, in proper hands, hit a target the size of a man’s head at 200 yards.

Despite its superior range and accuracy, the rifle was to undergo almost a hundred years of development before it would supplant the musket as the standard infantry weapon. At first each individual piece was handmade and each required a separate bullet mold. The standard bayonet would fit none of them. The rifle was effective only in the hands of an expert trained in its use. The rate of fire was only about one-third that of the musket, and therefore, without bayonet, the rifle could hardly be used by troops in the line. For the guerrilla tactics of the frontier, where men did not fight in line but from behind trees, bushes, and rocks, it was clearly a superior weapon. Thus, like the tactics of the American forest, it would have its place in any future war fought in America.

of Regulars, whatever their tactics, could actually move in, seize, and hold objectives, and thus achieve decisive results.

Other important lessons lay in the realm of logistics, where American conditions presented difficulties to which European officers were unaccustomed. The impediments to supply and transport in a vast, undeveloped, and sparsely populated country limited both the size and variety of forces employed. The settled portions of the colonies produced enough food, but few manufactured goods. Muskets, cannon, powder, ball, tents, camp kettles, salt, and a variety of other articles necessary for even the simple military operations of the period almost all had to come from Europe. Roads, even in the settled areas, were poor and inadequate; forces penetrating into the interior had to cut their roads as they went, as Braddock did. These logistical problems go far to explain why the fate of America was settled in battles involving hardly one-tenth the size of forces engaged in Europe in the Seven Years’ War, and why cavalry was almost never employed and artillery to no great extent except in fixed fortifications and in expeditions by sea when cannon could be transported on board ship. The limited mobility of large Regular forces, whatever the superiority of their organization and tactics, put a premium both on small bodies of trained troops familiar with the terrain and on local forces, not so well trained, already in an area of operations. Commanders operating in America would ignore these logistical limitations at their peril.
The Colonial Heritage

In the Indian wars and the colonial wars with France, Americans gained considerable military experience, albeit much of it in guerrilla warfare that did not require the same degree of organized effort and professional competence as the European style of warfare. The major effort against the French in Canada had, after all, been directed by the British Government. Many colonials later to become famous in the Revolution had served their military apprenticeship as officers of middle rank in the French and Indian War: George Washington, Israel Putnam, Philip Schuyler, and John Stark, for instance, in provincial forces; Charles Lee, Horatio Gates, and Richard Montgomery in the British Army.

Certain traditions had been established that were to influence American military policy and practice right down to the two great world wars of the twentieth century. One of these was primary reliance on the militia for defense and on volunteer forces for special emergencies and expeditions. Another was that relatively permanent volunteer units should be formed within the militia. The fear of a standing army of professionals, an English heritage, had become an even stronger article of faith in America. The colonial experience also established a strong tradition of separatism among the colonies themselves, for each had for a long period of years run its own military establishment. Within each colony, too, the civilian authority represented in the popular assembly had always kept a strict rein on the military, another tradition that was to have marked effect on American military development.

Certain characteristics of the American soldier that were to be fairly constant throughout all future wars had also made their appearance. The American soldier was inclined to be highly individualistic and to resent discipline and the inevitable restrictions of military life; he sought to know why he should do things before he would put his heart into doing them; and if in the end he accepted discipline and order as a stern necessity. He did so with the idea of winning victory as quickly as possible so that he could return to his normal civilian pursuits. The military strengths and weaknesses they engendered were to be amply demonstrated when the American soldier took up arms against his erstwhile comrade, the British Regular, in the American Revolution.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN
SOCIAL PRELUDE TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION:
THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

The General Religious Adherence of Colonial America

As noted in previous chapters, Protestant Christianity was the predominant religious affiliation in the Thirteen Colonies, although there were also Catholics, Jews, Deists, and those with no religious connection. The Anglican Church (or Church of England) was officially established in most of the South. The Puritan movement in New England became the Congregational church, and it was the established religious affiliation there. In practice, this meant that tax revenues were allocated to church expenses for these established churches. The Anglican parishes in the South were under the control of local vestries and had public functions such as repair of the roads and relief of the poor. Presbyterian and Reformed congregations came mainly through Scot-Irish, French Huguenot, and Dutch populations. Quakers were well established in Pennsylvania, where they controlled the governorship and the legislature for many years, and were also numerous in Rhode Island. As we shall see in this chapter, Baptist and Methodist numbers
started to grow rapidly during the First Great Awakening of the 1740s. And many denominations sponsored missions to the local Indians. Now let's consider the religious trends that took hold during 18th century in the lead up to the American Revolution.

**Fatigue Sets In**

By the latter half of the 17th century a general spiritual fatigue began to settle into Britain and its American colonies, as well as to much of Europe. This fatigue only increased in the early decades of the 18th century.

First, there was a fatigue with religious war, strife, and persecution. For example, the Thirty Years’ War, with its great destruction in the battle pitting Romanists against Protestants, had exhausted Europeans. Also, the English civil wars of the 1640s followed later by the Stuarts’ persecutions of Presbyterian and other dissenters made people desirous of peace.

Second, there was a fatigue with the seeming inability of the branches within the reformed churches of the United Kingdom to reconcile and unite. The 3 branches were:

- Episcopal (the Anglican Church of England) – adhering to the Thirty-Nine Articles (see Appendix 1)
- Presbyterian- adhering to the Westminster Standards (see Appendix 3 and 4)
- Congregational- adhering to the Westminster Standards except where the Cambridge Platform laid out differences (see Appendix 2)

The primary difference among these three concerned the form of church government. In addition, Presbyterianism and congregationalism were more clear and emphatic that the elements of worship be limited to that which is prescribed in scripture, so as to remain pure of corruption and invention (hence the name ‘puritan’ to describe them).

Since the differences which separated them could not readily be ironed out, the intermediate measure had been to give each certain territory within the United Kingdom to be the established church. England, Wales, Ireland and the southern American colonies were Anglican; Scotland and effectively many colonial frontier settlements were Presbyterian; and New England was Congregational. While this led to a measure of peace, it nevertheless represented a disappointment that Protestant Christians and the kingdom could not unite upon a common confession.

Third, there was fatigue with controlling and containing the rising swell of non-reformed factions and sects, including Baptists and Quakers, as well as others. The only way to suppress them seemed to be by civil force, by the use typically of banishment from the territory, but many people were growing fatigued by this method of suppression. This
was part of an even broader fatigue with the imposition of authority concerning religion by the state, church and family.

Fourth, there was fatigue, especially among many intellectuals, with the reformed view of man’s incapacity to attain knowledge apart from divine revelation (i.e., scripture) due to man’s depraved sinful nature. Some viewed this proposition as a hindrance and not a help to intellectual, societal and cultural development. It was becoming more fashionable to believe only that which could be deduced by reason (the rationalism of Descartes) or by observation in experience (the empiricism of Bacon and Locke), and to abandon a presuppositional approach to knowledge according to Augustine’s dictum, “I believe in order that I may know.”

Fifth, there was fatigue among many, especially the more economically prosperous, with seeking to obey the regimen of the historic reformed faith, as summarized in the Ten Commandments. This fatigue compounded as many Britons enjoyed increasing prosperity with international commerce and colonization. Much of the prosperity which England and its American colonies enjoyed was a fruit of the Protestant work ethic, but this same prosperity tended towards more materialistic concerns and away from religious strictures. It also made time for more worldly entertainments.

Sixth, there was fatigue among many people within reformed churches, especially in the middle and lower class ranks, at a growing prevalence of lukewarm religion in the established reformed churches, especially arising from the spiritual fatigue among the economically prosperous. Many saw people just going through the motions of the reformed religion, but with very little heart for Christ. Even in Puritan New England, Increase Mather observed that “clear, sound conversions are not frequent. Many of the rising generation are profane Drunkards, Swearers, Licentious and Scoffers at the power of Godliness.”

Out of this milieu of fatigue, two great movements swept through the English-speaking world: the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening.

**The Enlightenment**

The Enlightenment was a philosophical movement arising out of the 17th century which advocated a rational and scientific approach to religious, social, political, and economic issues, as opposed to an approach based upon divine revelation. As such, it promoted a secular view of the world and a general sense of progress and perfectibility. And it attacked religious authority, dogmatism, intolerance, censorship, and economic and social restraints. It sought to usher in an Age of Reason that it was believed would rid mankind of the ills it faced.

Paving the way for the Enlightenment was a French-born philosopher named Descartes (1596-1650). Descartes sought to prove how, starting from a position of universal doubt,
he could through reason arrive at a system of truth. This methodology has earned him the title of the ‘father of modern philosophy.’ As we have noted, this methodology directly contradicted the historic reformed, Biblical view of theologians like Augustine and Calvin whose methodology was instead: ‘I believe in order that I may know’ (or as worded in scripture, ‘the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom’). Reformed Christianity stresses man’s inability to attain true knowledge about the fundamental nature of God and man apart from divine revelation, due to man’s sinful corruption. Not surprisingly, Descartes rejected this reformed principle, for he was Roman Catholic, educated in the Jesuit College at La Flèche and the University of Poitiers. Descartes had significant influence even in Protestant countries, residing much of his life in Holland. Descartes’ credibility was certainly enhanced by his significant achievements in mathematics and science.

It is not hard to see how the Enlightenment answered the general fatigue of the age, especially among the more economically prosperous and educated ranks. It promised a way to maintain social stability through reasonable approaches, while offering the prospect of avoiding the bloodshed and strife that had come with centuries of society based in religion. It offered the prospect of healing sectarian division. It offered the opportunity of more freedom of expression and thought, outside the confines of Biblical dogma.

The philosopher who arguably most popularized the Enlightenment among the English-speaking peoples was John Locke (1632-1704). Locke argued that people had the gift of reason, or the ability to think. In the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* Locke proposed that the mind is born blank, a *tabula rasa* upon which the world describes itself through the experience of the five senses. Knowledge arising from sensation is perfected by reflection, thus enabling humans to arrive at such ideas as space, time, and infinity.

Based upon man’s presumed native ability to reason, Locke thought men had the natural ability to govern themselves and to look after the well-being of society, without leaning God’s word and Holy Spirit. He wrote, “The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which [treats] everyone [equally]. Reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind... that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health or possessions.” Locke did not believe that God had chosen a group or family of people to rule countries. He rejected the Divine Right of Kings, which many kings and queens used to justify their right to rule. Instead, he argued that governments should only operate with the consent of the people they are governing. In this way, Locke supported democracy as a form of government. Locke wrote, “[We have learned from] history we have reason to conclude that all peaceful beginnings of government have been laid in the consent of the people.” Governments were formed, according to Locke, to protect the right to life, the right to freedom, and the right to property. Their rights were absolute, belonging to all the people. Locke also believed that government power should be divided equally into three branches of government so that politicians will not face the “temptation... to grasp at [absolute] power.” If any government abused these rights
instead of protecting them, then the people had the right to rebel and form a new government.

John Locke spoke out against the control of any man against his will. This control was acceptable neither in the form of an unfair government, nor in slavery. Locke wrote, “The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but only have the law of nature for his rule.” Consonant with this opinion, Locke asserted in “A Letter Concerning Toleration” that “the toleration of those that differ from others in matters of religion is so agreeable to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the genuine reason of mankind, that it seems monstrous for men to be so blind as not to perceive the necessity and advantage of it in so clear a light.”

Locke’s ideas were becoming increasingly embraced in the 18th century, especially in the American colonies.

The Great Awakening

Born into a prominent family of New England congregational ministers, at some point in Jonathan Edwards’ young adulthood he embraced the major tenets of the reformed faith that he was taught since his youth. He sought to demonstrate the reasonableness of Calvinism in works like “The Freedom of the Will”, in which he masterfully set forth metaphysical and ethical arguments for predestination coupled with man’s will as it is experienced. And in works like “A Treatise on the Religious Affections” he sought to analyze the psychology of the Christian religious experience and to show its importance in the Christian life.

Given the emphasis Edwards placed in personal religious experience, including the emotions attendant with this experience, he became both the catalyst of and the defender for the second great movement to sweep through the colonies in 18th century America,
the Great Awakening. His explanation and defense is found most notably in his work, “A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God.” Here are excerpts from that work:

“...Just after my grandfather's death, it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dullness in religion. Licentiousness for some years prevailed among the youth of the town; there were many of them very much addicted to night-walking, and frequenting the tavern, and lewd practices, wherein some, by their example, exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together, in conventions of both sexes for mirth and jollity, which they called frolics; and they would often spend the greater part of the night in them, without regard to any order in the families they belonged to: and indeed family government did too much fail in the town...

...But in two or three years after Mr. Stoddard's death, there began to be a sensible amendment to these evils. The young people showed more of a disposition to hearken to counsel, and by degrees left off their frolics; they grew observably more decent in their attendance on the public worship, and there were more who manifested a religious concern than there used to be. At the latter end of the year 1733, there appeared a very unusual flexibleness, and yielding to advice, in our young people. It had been too long their manner to make the evening after the sabbath, [It must be noted, that it has never been our manner, to observe the evening that follows the sabbath, but that which precedes it, as part of the holy time], and after our public lecture, to be especially the times of their mirth, and company-keeping. But a sermon was now preached on the sabbath before the lecture, to show the evil tendency of the practice, and to persuade them to reform it; and it was urged on heads of families that it should be a thing agreed upon among them, to govern their families, and keep their children at home, at these times. It was also more privately moved, that they should meet together the next day, in their several neighborhoods, to know each other's minds; which was accordingly done, and the notion complied with throughout the town. But parents found little or no occasion for the exercise of government in the case. The young people declared themselves convinced by what they had heard from the pulpit, and were willing of themselves to comply with the counsel that had been given...”

The Great Awakening reached its peak during the 1740s and 1750s, with George Whitefield as its central figure. George Whitefield was an Anglican minister who engaged in itinerant ministry in Great Britain and North America, which often included open air preaching, instead of at the invitation and in the setting of local churches. Large crowds gathered in cities, towns, and rural areas to hear the stirring sermons of George Whitefield. Whitefield's visit to Williamsburg in 1739 was one stop on a journey through the colonies that ignited a movement that brought about personal religious renewal for many people. His visit helped to mold and redefine a new American culture—a culture which on the positive side stressed personal piety and the need for heart
religion, yet on the negative side leaned against the imposition of authority, even where scripture requires it, and tended to undermine principles for maintaining an established church and sound doctrine.

Here is one example of George Whitefield’s emphasis on personal experiential conversion in a sermon entitled “Marks of a true Conversion”:

“...It is true, ye have no more members than ye had then, but how are these altered! Though you are in one respect the same ye were, for the number of your limbs, and as to the shape of your body, yet if a person that knew you when ye were in your cradle, had been absent from you for some years, and saw you when grown up, then thousand to one if he would know you at all, ye are so altered, so different from what ye were, when ye were little ones. And as the words plainly imply, that there has a great change past upon our bodies since we were children, so before we can go to heaven, there must as great a change pass upon our souls. Our souls considered in a physical sense are still the same, there is to be no philosophical change wrought on them. But then, as for our temper, habit and conduct, we must be so changed and altered, that those who knew us the other day, when in a state of sin, and before we knew Christ, and are acquainted with us now, must see such an alteration, that they may stand as much amazed at it, as a person at the alteration wrought on any person he has not seen for twenty years from his infancy... Are ye new-born babes? Then desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby. I do not want that Arminian husks should go down with you; ye are kings sons and daughters, and have a more refined taste; you must have the doctrines of grace; and blessed be God that you dwell in a country, where the sincere word is so plainly preached...”

And here is another example in a sermon entitled “The Almost Christian”:

“...many set out with false notions of religion; though they live in a Christian country, yet they know not what Christianity is. This perhaps may be esteemed a hard saying, but experience sadly evinces the truth of it; for some place religion in being of this or that communion; more in morality; most in a round of duties, and a model of performances; and few, very few acknowledge it to be, what it really is, a thorough inward change of nature, a divine life, a vital participation of Jesus Christ, an union of the soul with God; which the apostle expresses by saying, “He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit.” Hence it happens, that so many, even of the most knowing professors, when you come to
converse with them concerning the essence, the life, the soul of religion, I mean our new birth in Jesus Christ, confess themselves quite ignorant of the matter, and cry out with Nicodemus, “How can this thing be?” And no wonder then, that so many are only almost Christians, when so many know not what Christianity is: no marvel, that so many take up with the form, when they are quite strangers to the power of godliness; or content themselves with the shadow, when they know so little about the substance of it. And this is one cause why so many are almost, and so few are altogether Christians...”

John Wesley, another Anglican minister with an itinerant ministry, was a friend of Whitefield. A letter to John Wesley in response to Wesley’s sermons against election and for Arminianism reveals Whitefield’s mind in such matters:

“In the meanwhile, I cannot but blame you for censuring the clergy of our church for not keeping to their articles, when you yourself by your principles, positively deny the 9th, 10th and 17th. Dear Sir, these things ought not so to be. God knows my heart, as I told you before, so I declare again, nothing but a single regard to the honour of Christ has forced this letter from me. I love and honour you for his sake; and when I come to judgment, will thank you before men and angels, for what you have, under God, done for my soul. There, I am persuaded, I shall see dear Mr. Wesley convinced of election and everlasting love. And it often fills me with pleasure to think how I shall behold you casting your crown down at the feet of the Lamb, and as it were filled with a holy blushing for opposing the divine sovereignty in the manner you have done. But I hope the Lord will show you this before you go hence. O how do I long for that day! If the Lord should be pleased to make use of this letter for that purpose, it would abundantly rejoice the heart of, dear and honoured Sir,

Yours affectionate, though unworthy brother and servant in Christ,”

Whitefield very clearly disapproved of Arminianism, or the view that denies predestination and God’s free grace in salvation. But, regrettably, it would seem Whitefield would have given Wesley assurance of salvation and close Christian fellowship even though Wesley unrepentantly promoted this heresy. Presumably Whitefield believed Wesley’s “conversion experience” was grounds for assurance. It would also seem Whitefield never called the civil government to suppress Arminian teaching, such as by Wesley. Although Whitefield was clearly Calvinistic by conviction, by word and deed he diminished the importance of the issues which had caused great controversy in the Protestant churches-including the Arminian heresy and the Baptist error- while stressing the necessity of a
“conversion experience.” This is apparently the reason why he was comfortable holding nondenominational crusades that tended to undermine his own denomination, fore-shadowing the non-denominational crusades of our own day. As Harvard historian Jon Butler has written: “Whitefield’s nondenominational ... revivals thus prefigured another tradition in American revivalism, exemplified in the careers of Charles Grandison Finney, Billy Sunday, Billy Graham, and Robert Schuller. Such evangelists ... stressed their own popularity at the expense of any denominational authority.”

Many other examples demonstrate how George Whitefield diminished the importance of doctrine in Christianity and undermined the establishment principle. For instance, on Whitefield’s voyage to America he lent his cabin to a Quaker preacher, who held meetings there. In England he freely collected money for the Lutherans of Georgia and he enjoyed fellowship with the Moravians, though they were not in accord with his Calvinism. On one occasion, preaching from the balcony of the courthouse in Philadelphia, it is said that Whitefield cried out: “Father Abraham, whom have you in Heaven? Any Episcopalians?’ ‘No.’ ‘Any Presbyterians?’ ‘No.’ ‘Have you any Independents or Seceders?’ ‘No.’ ‘Have you any Methodists?’ ‘No!’ ‘no!’ no!!’ ‘Whom have you there?’ ‘We don’t know these names here. All who are here are Christians—believers in Christ—men who have overcome by the blood of the Lamb and the word of his testimony.’ ‘Oh, is this the case? Then God help us, God help us all, to forget party names, and to become Christians in deed, and in truth. Such statements as these tended to minimize the importance of issues like God’s sovereignty in salvation, man’s total depravity, and how God should be worshipped. But God is not necessarily as unconcerned of these issues as Mr. Whitefield apparently was.

Other leading figures in the Great Awakening included “New Side” Presbyterians Gilbert Tennent in the middle colonies and Samuel Davies in the southern colonies. One of the more famous sermons of Tennent, “The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry”, displays his view of the Great Awakening and those who oppose it. Excerpts from that sermon are as follows:

“...All the Doings of unconverted Men, not Proceeding from the Principles of Faith, Love, and a new Nature, nor being directed to the divine Glory as their highest End, but flowing from, and tending to Self, as their Principle and End; are doubtless damnable wicked in their Manner of Performance, and do deserve the Wrath and Curse of a Sin avenging GOD; neither can any other Encouragement be justly given them, but this, That in the Way of Duty, there is a Peradventure or Probability of obtaining Mercy. And natural Men, wanting the Experience of those spiritual Difficulties, which pious Souls are exposed to, in this Vale of Tears; they know not how to speak a Word to the Weary in Season. Their Prayers are also cold; little Child-like Love to God, or Pity to poor perishing Souls, runs through their Veins... And let those who live under the Ministry of
dead Men, whether they have got the Form of Religion or not, repair to the Living, where they may be edified...”

In this same sermon Tennent went on to declare that the anti-revivalists, “being greedy of filthy lucre”, were “guided by the devil.” They were according to Whitefield “wicked [and] natural men”, untouched by the Holy Spirit, and “their discourse are cold and sapless.” These men were “moral Negroes” who were white on the outside but black as sin on the inside, said Tennent. These echoed the words of George Whitefield who had said: “The generality of preachers talk of an unknown, unfelt Christ. The reason why congregations have been so dead is because they had dead men preaching to them.”

During its time the Great Awakening encountered strong opposition, even as it generated mass appeal as well. Within New England Congregationalism, it created a rift between “New Lights” and “Old Lights”. The revival movement itself died down in New England by the 1750s, but this rift would persist. The “Old Lights”, led by Charles Chauncy, a Boston clergyman, opposed the revivalist movement as extravagant and impermanent. The theology of the “New Lights”, a slightly modified Calvinism, crystallized into the Edwardian, or New England, theology that became dominant in western New England, whereas the liberal doctrines of the “Old Lights”, strong in Boston and the vicinity, would develop into the Universalist or Unitarian positions. Even among the “New Lights” strict (or full) subscriptionism to the church confession was not required of ministers. But within New England congregationalism, strict confessional subscriptionism had died off even before the Great Awakening, perhaps fostered by Congregationalist church government itself.

Within Presbyterianism the Great Awakening brought about a rift between the “New Side” which supported the Great Awakening and the “Old Side” which opposed it. The Presbyterian establishment was centered in Philadelphia and was “Old Side”. It was sometimes referred to as the “Old Synod”. Old Siders insisted that the call of men to the ordained gospel ministry must be carried out by the duly constituted officers of the church. They began to challenge the legitimacy of men trained under Tennent’s supervision by the so called “Log College” in New Jersey. They were wary of Tennent’s looser subscriptionism to the Westminster Confession. They were also concerned that the Tennents laid claim to supernatural discernment, which the Presbyterian anti-revivalists regarded as superstitious and pretentious. One likened the Tennents to astrologers and fortunetellers: could Tennent really ascertain “Men’s inward feelings?” If so, “Must not Mr. Tennent have some cunning beyond what is common to man?” In sum, the Old Side critique of the Tennents was that they claimed possession of that which Presbyterian orthodoxy reserved for the work of the Holy Spirit.

On the other hand, the “New Siders” argued that subscription matters were judgments that belonged to the Presbyteries and not the synod, that American Presbyterians needed their own indigenous training school and not one in Scotland, and that, ultimately, Old
Siders really opposed the “experiential Calvinism” of the revivalists. The rift led to denominational schism in 1741.

This schism lasted 17 years. The New Side Presbyterians grew substantially during the years of division, while the Old Side fought for survival. From 1741 to 1758, the numbers of New Side ministers increased from 22 to 73, while the ministerial members of the Old Side decreased from 27 to 23. Further, the New Side largely won over the respect and enthusiasm of most American Presbyterians. The congregations of the New Side grew to more than three times the size of the Old Side.

A reunion of the Old Side and New Side eventually took place in 1758, and largely on New Side terms. Among the compromises of the Old Side were an endorsement of the Great Awakening, an affirmation of the necessity of experiential piety of ministers, a looser form of subscription to the Westminster Confession (only requiring agreement with it as a system of doctrine, and not in its details), and the power of ordination of presbyteries. But despite this reunion, there remained tensions within the Presbyterian synod for many years.

In the aftermath of the Great Awakening the denominations which stressed a “religious experience” grew rapidly, at the expense of the established churches. There was significant growth of New Side Presbyterians, Baptists, and Arminian Methodists in the decades immediately preceding the American Revolution. From 1740 to 1760 the number of Presbyterian ministers in American Colonies had increased from 45 to over 100. Especially on the frontier of the colonies, Baptists and Arminian Methodists grew faster than New Side Presbyterians. In New England alone the Baptist churches increased from 21 to 79 between 1740 and 1760. One of the things that made the Baptists so popular with the masses was their novel type of preaching, appealing primarily to the emotions. And one eyewitness Methodist recorded of the Methodist revivals: “In almost every assembly might be seen signal instances of divine power; more especially in the meetings of the classes . . . Many who had long neglected the means of grace now flocked to hear . . . This outpouring of the spirit extended itself more or less, through most of the circuits, which takes in a circumference of between four and five hundred miles.” The results of the Methodist movement are reflected in the statistics of the Virginia and North Carolina circuits. In 1774 there were only two circuits in the region, with a combined membership of 291; in 1776 the number of circuits had increased tremendously, with one circuit alone reporting 1,611 members. The following year there were six circuits with a combined membership of 4,379.

An Appraisal of these Movements

In evaluating the Great Awakening and the Enlightenment, we should observe that the former catered to the mood of the time as the latter did, responding to the condition of spiritual fatigue that came to prevail among the English-speaking peoples, especially in North America. But what was truly needed was not that the mood of the time should be
catered to, but rather challenged. Preachers like the Apostle Paul were needed to say, “let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.” Preachers were needed to encourage the people in the historic reformed and Biblical faith and to battle against a besetting fatigue.

The fact that there had been religious strife was no justifiable reason to cease from defending Biblical truths, as if compromise could guarantee long term peace. The so called “Age of Reason”, secularizing the nations and promoting the idea that civil governments should not enforce the first table of the Ten Commandments, has hardly brought peace and harmony to the world. Rather, the world ushered in by the ‘Age of Reason’ has seen the French Revolution, the American civil war, World Wars I and II, the Nazi holocaust, the Communist purges, millions of legalized murders via abortion, as well as a whole host of other wars and ills. If experience tells us anything, it is that a secularized West which strives to be run according to reason has yielded more death, destruction, wars and persecution than the years when Western society was premised upon the Christian faith ever did.

The idea that there could be more tranquility and harmony if governments did not defend the Christian faith and suppress heresy and idolatry has been a siren song. The truth is just the opposite according to scripture: God’s judgments- as manifested in wars, murders, etc.- arise because of men engaging in false worship and other acts of disobedience. As Romans chapter one states:

“For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness… Because that, when they knew God, they glorified [him] not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves: Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator… For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature: And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompence of their error which was meet… And even as they did not like to retain God in [their] knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient: Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, Backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, Without understanding, covenantbreakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful…”
In this sin-cursed world there will always be some strife, but the way to decrease it is by the state and the church working together, each as prescribed in scripture, to extirpate false religion and false worship, while building up the true reformed Christian faith. Peace comes as more people and more institutions are redeemed and subject to Christ’s authority.

There should not be impatience with the process of reform, expecting all branches of reformed Christendom immediately to reconcile all differences. The answer lies not in diminishing the importance of issues like church government and worship, but rather diligently praying to God and using the means available to bring men and society into the truth.

Neither should there be impatience with obedience to the Ten Commandments. They are a law of liberty, which free men to glorify God and enjoy Him as we have been created to do.

Finally, we should not grow impatient when an established national church, with full subscriptionism to a reformed confession like the Westminster Standards, is not a perfect church. Christ foretold that there would be tares among the wheat in His kingdom. So long as there is a true profession of faith and outward obedience to the Ten Commandments, it is not man’s place to discern which Christians may be mere hypocrites and without a heart for Christ. Of course, the circumstances in the American colonies were more complex than this, because too often civil and ecclesiastical governments were not doing their proper jobs of enforcing discipline and their confessions needed some amendment, but in cases like the Presbyterian “Old Synod”, it would appear the “New Side” proceeded in a manner of un-Biblical impatience. Tennent was concerned about the problem of an unconverted ministry, but he chose not to use the church courts to adjudicate these disputes. Perhaps the reason is that the substantive evidence was not on his side, so he resorted to inflammatory unsubstantiated rhetoric.

Certain aspects of the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening should additionally be condemned. The Enlightenment idea regarding man’s nature is ignorant and wicked. Sadly, the Enlightenment promoted a view of man which is diametrically opposed to the Biblical, reformed view and reality itself. Man’s reasoning has been thoroughly corrupted by the Fall, and man must rely upon God’s revealed word as the foundation for true knowledge. Apart from scriptural revelation and the renewal of the Holy Spirit, man’s condition is accurately described in Romans chapter 3:

“There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one… There is no fear of God before their eyes.”

The first step to true knowledge and wisdom is fearing God, which entails believing in and submitting to his word as the foundation for all other knowledge. But the results of the Enlightenment, which is another course, became quickly apparent: secular nations
and secular schools were formed based upon human reason rather than divine precept. The result of such folly could only be greater folly and spiritual ruin.

The definition of “conversion” that seemed to gain currency during the Great Awakening also must be condemned. Biblical conversion is not having an emotional high that changes behavior for a certain matter of time, even a lifetime. Neither is it having some mystical experience of God or Christ. Rather, it is the work of God in a person such that he comes to have true beliefs concerning Christ and Christ’s work of redemption on his behalf, and responds in loving gratitude by obedience to the Ten Commandments. These are the meanings of the terms ‘faith’ and ‘repentance’ in scripture, and it is faith and repentance that marks the elect of God. Part of the obedience that God requires of his elect is a striving after a correct understanding of what God prescribes, not a depreciation of the importance of doctrinal issues. Furthermore, such a work of conversion can happen in the ordinary course of a person’s experience such that they are unaware of any specific “conversion experience”, as it did in the lives of many believers in scripture. Christ never put the emphasis on some conversion experience, but rather the emphasis was upon belief in the truth and grateful obedience (i.e., faith and repentance), true marks of the word and Spirit. But if reformed churches grant that a ‘conversion experience’, as it came to be improperly understood by many during and after the Great Awakening, is the sine qua non of Christianity, then such churches should write their last will and testament, stipulating the Arminians as the beneficiary of the estate. It should come as no surprise that Arminian Methodists and Baptists rose in the decades following the Great Awakening, even as adherence to the historic reformed faith declined. Biblical faith and repentance is perhaps less ‘thrilling’ and ‘glamorous’ than the emotional charge of a revival meeting, but it is infinitely more valuable.

Whitefield’s method of itinerancy also must be condemned. Presbyterian theologian Charles Hodge summarized the effects of itinerancy in this way:

“[Whitefield] assumed the right, in virtue of his ordination, to preach the gospel wherever he had an opportunity, ‘even though it should be in a place where officers were already settled, and the gospel was fully and faithfully preached ... If the pulpits should all be shut,’ he says, ‘blessed be God, the fields are open, and I can go without the camp’ ... If Whitefield had the right here claimed, then of course [New Sider] Davenport had it, and so every fanatic and errorist has it. The doctrine is entirely inconsistent with what the Bible teaches of the nature of the pastoral relation, and with every form of ecclesiastical government, Episcopal, presbyterian or congregational.”

Evangelical anti-ecclesiasticism was thus a sad bi-product of the Great Awakening. George Whitefield is rightly acknowledged as the father of the parachurch, and, as Joel Carpenter has written, “parachurch” is virtually synonymous with “evangelical.” The Great Awakening shattered the authority of churches, and thus the establishment principle taught in scripture.
Perhaps the greatest indictment of those who led the Great Awakening is that they did not rise higher above the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ and challenge it, particularly on the issue of ‘toleration’ and ‘liberty of conscience’. Biblical Christianity is covenantal, which means it recognizes the blessings and responsibilities that flow from covenant heads, and that all authority flows from God. As a covenant head, the civil ruler has a responsibility to enforce the Ten Commandments in his sphere of authority, just as a parent has such a duty in his. But if Locke were correct that “the natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man” in matters of religion, then this would logically pertain to parental authority as well as civil authority. In the case of civil authority, it allowed the Enlightenment to highjack and pervert the representative parliamentary government which had been promoted by reformed Christianity. Elected government would no longer have to serve God first and foremost, but rather the men who elected it. In the case of parental authority, baptizing one’s infant children and raising them in the fear of God would be a heinous act. Indeed, even requiring them to sing the Psalms in worship and observing the Sabbath day would be an improper imposition. It is no accident that not only did civil rulers cease enforcing the Ten Commandments as the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ proceeded, but also Baptists grew significantly in numbers and parental authority over children declined. If reformed churches accept the proposition that religion should not be enforced by covenant heads—whether they be civil rulers or parents—they have signed their own death warrant. Covenantal authority and blessing is a pillar of the reformed faith which cannot be compromised or denied.

Of course, God used the movements of the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening to achieve his sovereign ends. One divine end was surely to judge the wicked spiritual fatigue that characterized the age. God rewarded the moral laxity in many of the established churches by raising up competing churches. He also rewarded the spiritual indolence with greater heresy and error, which would ultimately lead to many of the judgments outlined in Romans chapter one. The American people fell for many of the false ideas present in the Enlightenment, in Revivalism, and in Arminianism. And these errors in turn have ultimately led to great social ills, from covenant-breaking divorce, rampant sodomy, millions of abortions, etc. A society that embraces false religion is judged of God, and the truth of Romans chapter one is evinced.

But besides judgment, God even used the imperfect means of men to spread Christ’s gospel. As we are reminded in scripture, even when men do wrong, God means “it unto good… to save much people alive.” It should be kept in mind that the gospel of Whitefield was rooted in the doctrines of grace, even if later Revivalists were primarily Arminian. This was a gospel that could save men, and surely did save many men. Furthermore, in fairness to Jonathan Edwards and others like Samuel Davies, they were much more balanced and Biblical in their approach than Whitefield, even at times rebuking Whitefield’s errors. Edwards respected the role of the established church more than Whitefield. And Edwards was quite firm in decrying Arminianism for the damning heresy it is. There is certainly no hint Edwards sought to have fellowship with its
proponents. Besides the preaching ministry, other enterprises were inaugurated with the Great Awakening— from reformed Christian colleges to missions— that brought the gospel to many people. Also, it was a needed reminder at the time that Christianity is a religion of the heart as well as the intellect. True Christianity is not just about going through the motions, even if man must limit his judgments about others to the outside behavior. God does see the heart, and God requires that we love Christ supremely. To the extent that the Great Awakening reminded people of this fact, we must commend it. We can praise God for how he wrought salvation through the ministry of men like Edwards and Whitefield, even if we must also point out the flaws as well.

There are certainly lessons that can be learned from the Great Awakening by those that adhere to the historic reformed faith, such as it is found in such confessions as the Westminster Standards and the Three Forms of Unity. One lesson would certainly be the great disadvantage reformed Christians were under that had no indigenous college and seminary upholding their views. The Old Side Presbyterians relied on schools in Scotland to supply their ministers, and did not establish a school in America which held to strict subscription in the Westminster Confession. This greatly limited the supply of such ministers. Furthermore, even those ministers that could come to America were less familiar and connected with the American social climate. In contrast, the New Side Presbyterians did have such a school, even if in its beginnings it was a simple “Log College”, and New Side Presbyterianism grew much faster. In American history there has rarely been a college or seminary that strictly subscribes to the original Westminster Confession, a great liability in sustaining and increasing its influence in America.

One final lesson we might learn is how the reformed faith flourishes versus how it languishes. The reformed faith flourished with the Protestant Reformation. As we have seen from American colonial history, the very colonization of America was but one example of the propagation and extension of the reformed faith emanating from the Protestant Reformation. With the exception of Rhode Island and the Quaker colonies, the English colonies of North America were bastions of reformed conquest for Christ’s glory and for the saving of many souls. And even in these exceptions reformed Christians moved in and had tremendous influence. But following the Great Awakening the reformed faith has steadily languished, especially in North America. Now ultimately the flourishing and languishing is the consequence of divine decree; nevertheless, it would be wrong not to investigate those causes which led to God’s blessing in the one instance and His withholding of blessing in the other. The salient difference between the Protestant Reformation and the Great Awakening is that the reformed preachers and leaders became off message in the latter but not the former. In the Great Awakening the reformed preachers seemed to concede that there were elements in the world that were not obliged to be obedient to Christ, simply because some men had a different view. But in the Protestant Reformation, there was no such concession. The Protestant Reformation called for the extirpation of all false religion, idolatry and heresy, and the reformed message they preached was simply this: Everything is Christ’s. Knowledge is Christ’s. Schools are Christ’s. Worship is Christ’s. Civil government is Christ’s. Ecclesiastical
government is Christ’s. Our children are Christ’s. Consciences are Christ’s. Businesses are Christ’s. The land is Christ’s. The air is Christ’s. Everything is Christ’s, and not one iota of this universe is man’s apart from Christ. Everything must glorify Christ.
The various influences of the preceding decades of the colonial era lay the groundwork for the coming division, but England and America did not begin an overt parting of the ways until 1763, more than a century and a half after the founding of the first permanent settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. The colonies had grown vastly in economic strength and cultural attainment, and virtually all had long years of self-government behind them. In the 1760s their combined population exceeded 1,500,000 – a sixfold increase since 1700. By 1776 there were approximately 2.5 million Americans. And according to the 1790 census there were 3.2 million whites and 800,000 blacks.

A New Colonial System

In the aftermath of the French and Indian War, Britain needed a new imperial design, but the situation in America was anything but favorable to change. Long accustomed to a
large measure of independence, the colonies were demanding more, not less, freedom, particularly now that the French menace had been eliminated. To put a new system into effect, and to tighten control, Parliament had to contend with colonists trained in self-government and impatient with interference.

One of the first things that British attempted was the organization of the interior. The conquest of Canada and of the Ohio Valley necessitated policies that would not alienate the French and Indian inhabitants. But here the Crown came into conflict with the interests of the colonies. Fast increasing in population, and needing more land for settlement, various colonies claimed the right to extend their boundaries as far west as the Mississippi River.

The British government, fearing that settlers migrating into the new lands would provoke a series of Indian wars, believed that the lands should be opened to colonists on a more gradual basis. Restricting movement was also a way of ensuring royal control over existing settlements before allowing the formation of new ones. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 reserved all the western territory between the Alleghenies, Florida, the Mississippi River and Quebec for use by Indians. Thus the Crown attempted to sweep away every western land claim of the 13 colonies and to stop westward expansion. Though never effectively enforced, this measure in the eyes of the colonists constituted a high-handed disregard of their most elementary right to occupy and settle western lands.

More serious in its repercussions was the new financial policy of the British government, which needed more money to support its growing empire. Unless the taxpayer in England was to supply all money for the colonies’ defense, revenues would have to be extracted from the colonists through a stronger central administration, which would come at the expense of colonial self-government.

The first step in inaugurating the new system was the replacement of the Molasses Act of 1733, which placed a prohibitive duty, or tax, on the import of rum and molasses from non-English areas, with the Sugar Act of 1764. This act forbade the importation of foreign rum; put a modest duty on molasses from all sources and levied duties on wines, silks, coffee and a number of other luxury items. The hope was that lowering the duty on molasses would reduce the temptation to smuggle it from the Dutch and French West Indies for processing in the rum distilleries of New England. To enforce the Sugar Act, customs officials were ordered to show more energy and effectiveness. British warships in American waters were instructed to seize smugglers, and “writs of assistance,” or warrants, authorized the king’s officers to search suspected premises.

Both the duty imposed by the Sugar Act and the measures to enforce it caused consternation among New England merchants. They contended that payment of even the small duty imposed would be ruinous to their businesses. Merchants, legislatures and town meetings protested the law, and colonial lawyers found in the preamble of the Sugar Act the first intimation of “taxation without representation,” the slogan that was to draw many to the American cause against the mother country.
Later in 1764, Parliament enacted a Currency Act “to prevent paper bills of credit hereafter issued in any of His Majesty’s colonies from being made legal tender.” Since the colonies were a deficit trade area and were constantly short of hard currency, this measure added a serious burden to the colonial economy. Equally objectionable from the colonial viewpoint was the Quartering Act, passed in 1765, which required colonies to provide royal troops with provisions and barracks.

The Stamp Act

The last of the measures inaugurating the new colonial system sparked the greatest organized resistance. Known as the “Stamp Act,” it provided that revenue stamps be affixed to all newspapers, broadsides, pamphlets, licenses, leases or other legal documents, the revenue (collected by American customs agents) to be used for defending, protecting and securing” the colonies.

The Stamp Act bore equally on people who did any kind of business. Thus it aroused the hostility of the most powerful and articulate groups in the American population: journalists, lawyers, clergymen, merchants and businessmen, North and South, East and West. Soon leading merchants organized for resistance and formed non-importation associations.

One vocal opponent of the Stamp Act was James Otis (1725-1783). Otis was an American colonial political leader from Massachusetts who had served as advocate general of the vice admiralty court. He resigned to oppose the issuing of “writs of assistance” by the superior court of Massachusetts; the writs, which authorized customs officials to search for smuggled goods, were virtually general search warrants. Arguing eloquently before the court, Otis claimed that the writs violated the natural rights of the colonials as Englishmen and that any act of Parliament violating those rights was void. Otis lost the case but soon became the leader of the radical wing of the colonial opposition to British measures. He was elected (1761) to the colonial assembly and was made head (1764) of the Massachusetts committee of correspondence. In his speeches and pamphlets, Otis defined and defended colonial rights. He proposed and participated in the Stamp Act Congress, and his ideas were used in the protests drafted by that body. Here is a speech he delivered before the Governor and Council in Boston regarding the Stamp Act, illustrative of the argument in opposition to it:

“It is with great grief that I appear before your Excellency (Governor Hutchinson) and Honours (of the City Council) on this occasion. A wicked and unfeeling minister (Earl Grenville) has caused a people, the most loyal and affectionate that ever king was blest with, to groan under the most insupportable oppression.
But I think, Sir, that he now stands upon the brink of inevitable destruction; and trust that soon, very soon, he will feel the full weight of his injured sovereign’s righteous indignation. I have no doubt, Sir, but that the loyal and dutiful representations of nine provinces, the cries and supplications of a distressed people, the united voice of all his Majesty’s most loyal and affectionate British-American subjects, will obtain all that ample redress which they have a right to expect; and that erelong they will see their cruel and insidious enemies, both at home and abroad, put to shame and confusion.

My brother Adams has entered so largely into the validity of the act, that I shall not enlarge on that head. Indeed, what has been observed is sufficient to convince the most illiterate savage that the Parliament of England had no regard to the very first principles of their own liberties.

Only the preamble of that oppressive act is enough to rouse the blood of every generous Briton.—“We your Majesty’s subjects, the commons of Great Britain, etc., do give and grant”—What? Their own property? No! The treasure, the heart’s blood of all your Majesty’s dutiful and affectionate British-American subjects.

But the time is far spent. I will not tire your patience. It was once a fundamental maxim that every subject had the same right to his life, liberty, property, and the law that the King had to his crown; and ‘tis yet, I venture to say, as much as a crown is worth, to deny the subject his law, which is his birthright. ‘Tis a first principle “that Majesty should not only shine in arms, but be armed with the laws.” The administration of justice is necessary to the very existence of governments. Nothing can warrant the stopping the course of justice but the impossibility of holding courts, by reason of war, invasion, rebellion, or insurrection. This was law at a time when the whole island of Great Britain was divided into an infinite number of petty baronies and principalities; as Germany is, at this day.

Insurrections then, and even invasions, put the whole nation into such confusion that justice could not have her equal course; especially as the kings in ancient times frequently sat as judges. But war has now become so much of a science, and gives so little disturbance to a nation engaged, that no war, foreign or domestic, is a sufficient reason for shutting up the courts. But if it were, we are not in such a state, but far otherwise, the whole people being willing and demanding the full administration of justice. The shutting up of the courts is an abdication, a total dissolution of government. Whoever takes from the king his executive power, takes from the king his kingship. “The laws which forbid a man to pursue his right one way, ought to be understood with this equitable restriction, that one finds judges to whom he may apply.”

I can’t but observe that cruel and unheard-of neglect of that enemy to his king and country, the author of this Act, that, when all business, the very life and being of a commercial state, was to be carried on by the use of stamps, that wicked and execrable minister never paid the least regard to the miseries of this extensive continent, but suffered the time for the taking place of the Act to elapse months before a single stamp was received. Though this was a high piece of infidelity to the interest of his royal master,
yet it makes it evident that it could never be intended, that if stamps were not to be had, it should put a stop to all justice, which is, ipse facto, a dissolution of society.

It is a strange kind of law which we hear advanced nowadays, that because one unpopular Act can’t be carried into execution, that therefore there shall be an end of all law. We are not the first people who have risen to prevent the execution of a law; the very people of England themselves rose in opposition to the famous Jew-bill, and got that immediately repealed. And lawyers know that there are limits, beyond which, if parliaments go, their acts bind not.

The king is always presumed to be present in his courts, holding out the law to his subjects; and when he shuts his courts, he unkings himself in the most essential point. Magna Charter and the other statutes are full, “that they will not defer, delay, nor deny any man justice”; “that it shall not be commanded by the Great Seal, or in any other way, to disturb or delay common right.” The judges of England are “not to counsel, or assent to anything which may turn to the damage or disherison of the crown.” They are sworn not to deny to any man common right, by the king’s letters, nor none other man’s, nor for none other cause. Is not the dissolution of society a disherison of the crown? The “justices are commanded that they shall do even law and execution of right to all our subjects, rich and poor, without having regard to any person, without letting to do right for any letters or commandment which may come to them, or by any other cause.”

George Grenville, Britain’s Prime Minister from 1763 to 1765, responded to this type of criticism of the Stamp Act in a speech before the House of Commons as follows:

“That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. . . It is, it has been exercised, over those who are not, who were never represented... Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America, America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them this protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expence, an expence arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officer, and break out, I might almost say, in open rebellion.”

Trade with the mother country fell off sharply in the summer of 1765, as prominent men organized themselves into the “Sons of Liberty” – secret organizations formed to protest the Stamp Act, often through violent means. From Massachusetts to South Carolina, the
act was nullified, and mobs, forcing hapless customs agents to resign their offices, destroyed the hated stamps.

One of the strongest voices of opposition to the Stamp Act in the southern colonies was Patrick Henry (1736–99). Henry bitterly denounced (1765) the Stamp Act and in the years that followed helped fan the fires of revolt in the south. As an orator he knew no equal. Several phrases attributed to him—e.g., “If this be treason, make the most of it” and “Give me liberty or give me death”—are familiar to all Americans. Henry became a leader among the so-called radicals and advocates for individual liberties. He was a delegate to the house of burgesses (1765–74), the Continental Congress (1774–76), and the Virginia provincial convention (1775).

Spurred by delegate Patrick Henry, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed a set of resolutions in May denouncing taxation without representation as a threat to colonial liberties. The House of Burgesses declared that Virginians had the rights of Englishmen, and hence could be taxed only by their own representatives.

On June 8, the Massachusetts Assembly invited all the colonies to appoint delegates to the so-called Stamp Act Congress in New York, held in October 1765, to consider appeals for relief from the king and Parliament. Twenty-seven representatives from nine colonies seized the opportunity to mobilize colonial opinion against parliamentary interference in American affairs. After much debate, the congress adopted a set of resolutions asserting that “no taxes ever have been or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures,” and that the Stamp Act had a “manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.”

**Taxation without Representation**

The issue thus drawn centered on the question of representation. From the colonies’ point of view, it was impossible to consider themselves represented in Parliament unless they actually elected members to the House of Commons. But this idea conflicted with the English principle of “virtual representation,” according to which each member of Parliament represented the interests of the whole country, even the empire, despite the fact that his electoral base consisted of only a tiny minority of property owners from a given district. The rest of the community was seen to be “represented” on the ground that
all inhabitants shared the same interests as the property owners who elected members of Parliament. Sadly, on both sides of the Atlantic there was not enough conviction that government’s first duty is to represent God, from whom all authority derives.

Most British officials held that Parliament was an imperial body representing and exercising the same authority over the colonies as over the homeland. The American leaders argued that no “imperial” Parliament existed; their only legal relations were with the Crown. It was the king who had agreed to establish colonies beyond the sea and the king who provided them with governments. They argued that the king was equally a king of England and a king of the colonies, but they insisted that the English Parliament had no more right to pass laws for the colonies than any colonial legislature had the right to pass laws for England.

This excerpt of a speech by Soame Jenyns, a member of Parliament, exemplifies the rebuttal to this American contention:

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“...The right of the Legislature of Great Britain to impose taxes on her American colonies and the expediency of exerting that right in the present conjuncture, are propositions so indisputable clear that I should never have thought it necessary to have undertaken their defense....

[E]very Englishman is taxed, and not one in twenty represented: copyholders, leaseholders, and all men possessed of personal property only, chuse no representatives; Manchester, Birmingham, and many more of our richest and most flourishing trading towns [in England] send no members to Parliament, consequently cannot consent by their representatives, because they chuse none to represent them; yet are they not Englishmen? Or are they not taxed?

. . . . Why does not this imaginary representation extend to America as well as over the whole Island of Great Britain? If it can travel three hundred miles, why not three thousand? If it can jump over rivers and mountains, why cannot it sail over the ocean? If the towns of Manchester and Birmingham, sending no representatives to Parliament, are notwithstanding there represented, why are not the cities of Albany and Boston equally represented in that Assembly? Are they not alike British subjects? Are they not Englishmen? Or are they only Englishmen when they sollicit for protection, but not Englishmen when taxes are required to enable this country to protect them? . . . .

The liberty of an Englishman is a phrase of so various a signification . . . . but I shall venture to assert what it cannot mean; that is, an exemption from taxes imposed by the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain. . . . .

[C]an any time be more proper to require some assistance from our colonies, to preserve to themselves their present safety, than when this country is almost undone by procuring it? . . . . Can there be a more proper time to force them to maintain an army at their expence, than when that army is necessary for their own protection and we are utterly
unable to support it? Lastly; can there be a more proper time for this mother country to leave off feeding out of her own vitals these children whom she has nursed up, than when they are arrived at such strength and maturity as to be well able to provide for themselves and ought rather with filial duty to give some assistance to her distresses?

As to the manner; that is, the imposing taxes on the colonies by the authority of Parliament, it is said to be harsh and arbitrary. . . . [W]e either have a right to tax the colonies, or we have not. If Parliament is possessed of this right, why should it be exercised with more delicacy in America than it has ever been in Great Britain itself?"

The British Parliament was unwilling to accept the colonial contentions, based upon just such arguments. British merchants, however, feeling the effects of the American boycott, threw their weight behind a repeal movement, and in 1766 Parliament yielded, repealing the Stamp Act and modifying the Sugar Act. However, to mollify the supporters of central control over the colonies, Parliament followed these actions with passage of the Declaratory Act. This act asserted the authority of Parliament to make laws binding the colonies “in all cases whatsoever.”

But this policy ran especially contrary to the rising revolutionary spirit of the ‘Age of Enlightenment’, as represented by philosophers like Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). His treatise, *Social Contract* (1762), was then circulating in various intellectual circles in the colonies, and it was gaining more influence. He asserted in it that all men are born free and equal, and the State is a contract in which individuals surrender none of their natural rights, but rather agree for the protection of them. His conception was that government is only viable if established by the "consent of the governed." Therefore, it is incumbent on the governed to assure that the leaders are maintaining their part of the social contract. There was even a provision in his theory to banish aliens to the state religion and to punish dissenters with death. The *Social Contract* became the textbook of the French Revolution, and Rousseau's theories as protests bore fruit to some measure in the coming American Revolution, but in even greater measure in the frenzied bloody orgies of the Commune as well as later movements like communism. Thankfully, the continuing influence of the Reformation upon colonial society mitigated the excesses that characterized the French Revolution.

*Townshend Acts*

The year 1767 brought another series of measures that stirred anew all the elements of discord. Charles Townshend, British chancellor of the exchequer, was called upon to draft a new fiscal program. Intent upon reducing British taxes by making more efficient the collection of duties levied on American trade, he tightened customs administration, at the same time sponsoring duties on colonial imports of paper, glass, lead and tea exported from Britain to the colonies. The so-called Townshend Acts were based on the premise
that taxes imposed on goods imported by the colonies were legal while internal taxes (like the Stamp Act) were not.

The Townshend Acts were designed to raise revenue to be used in part to support colonial governors, judges, customs officers and the British army in America. In response, Philadelphia lawyer John Dickinson, in Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer, argued that Parliament had the right to control imperial commerce but did not have the right to tax the colonies, whether the duties were external or internal.

The agitation following enactment of the Townshend duties was less violent than that stirred by the Stamp Act, but it was nevertheless strong, particularly in the cities of the Eastern seaboard. Merchants once again resorted to non-importation agreements, and people made do with local products. Colonists, for example, dressed in homespun clothing and found substitutes for tea. They used homemade paper and their houses went unpainted. In Boston, enforcement of the new regulations provoked violence. When customs officials sought to collect duties, they were set upon by the populace and roughly handled. For this infraction, two British regiments were dispatched to protect the customs commissioners.

The presence of British troops in Boston was a standing invitation to disorder. On March 5, 1770, antagonism between citizens and British soldiers again flared into violence. What began as a harmless snowballing of British soldiers degenerated into a mob attack. Someone gave the order to fire. When the smoke had cleared, three Bostonians lay dead in the snow. Dubbed the “Boston Massacre,” the incident was dramatically pictured as proof of British heartlessness and tyranny.

Faced with such opposition, Parliament in 1770 opted for a strategic retreat and repealed all the Townshend duties except that on tea, which was a luxury item in the colonies, imbibed only by a very small minority. To most, the action of Parliament signified that the colonists had won a major concession, and the campaign against England was largely
dropped. A colonial embargo on “English tea” continued but was not too scrupulously observed. Prosperity was increasing and most colonial leaders were willing to let the future take care of itself.

**Samuel Adams**

During a three-year interval of calm, a relatively small number of radicals strove energetically to keep the controversy alive, however. They contended that payment of the tax constituted an acceptance of the principle that Parliament had the right to rule over the colonies. They feared that at any time in the future, the principle of parliamentary rule might be applied with devastating effect on all colonial liberties.

The radicals’ most effective leader was Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, who toiled tirelessly for a single end: independence. From the time he graduated from Harvard College in 1740, Adams was a public servant in some capacity – inspector of chimneys, tax-collector and moderator of town meetings. A consistent failure in business, he was shrewd and able in politics, with the New England town meeting his theater of action.

Adams published articles in newspapers and made speeches in town meetings, instigating resolutions that appealed to the colonists’ impulses against British rule.

In 1772 he induced the Boston town meeting to select a “Committee of Correspondence” to state the rights and grievances of the colonists. The committee opposed a British decision to pay the salaries of judges from customs revenues; it feared that the judges would no longer be dependent on the legislature for their incomes and thus no longer accountable to it – thereby leading to the emergence of a despotic form of government. The committee communicated with other towns on this matter and requested them to draft replies. Committees were set up in virtually all the colonies, and out of them grew a base of effective revolutionary organizations. Still, Adams did not have enough fuel to set a fire.
The Boston Tea Party

In 1773, however, Britain furnished Adams and his allies with an incendiary issue. The powerful East India Company, finding itself in critical financial straits, appealed to the British government, which granted it a monopoly on all tea exported to the colonies. The government also permitted the East India Company to supply retailers directly, bypassing colonial wholesalers who had previously sold it. After 1770, such a flourishing illegal trade existed that most of the tea consumed in America was of foreign origin and imported, illegally, duty-free. By selling its tea through its own agents at a price well under the customary one, the East India Company made smuggling unprofitable and threatened to eliminate the independent colonial merchants at the same time. Aroused not only by the loss of the tea trade but also by the monopolistic practice involved, colonial traders joined the radicals agitating for independence.

In ports up and down the Atlantic coast, agents of the East India Company were forced to resign, and new shipments of tea were either returned to England or warehoused. In Boston, however, the agents defied the colonists and, with the support of the royal governor, made preparations to land incoming cargoes regardless of opposition. On the night of December 16, 1773, a band of men disguised as Mohawk Indians and led by Samuel Adams boarded three British ships lying at anchor and dumped their tea cargo into Boston harbor.

They took this step because they feared that if the tea were landed, colonists would actually comply with the tax and purchase the tea. Adams and his band doubted their countrymen’s commitment to their agenda save by this action.
A crisis now confronted Britain. The East India Company had carried out a parliamentary statute, and if the destruction of the tea went unpunished, Parliament would admit to the world that it had no control over the colonies. Official opinion in Britain almost unanimously condemned the Boston Tea Party as an act of vandalism and advocated legal measures to bring the insurgent colonists into line.

**The Coercive Acts**

Parliament responded with new laws that the colonists called the “Coercive or Intolerable Acts.” The first, the Boston Port Bill, closed the port of Boston until the tea was paid for—an action that threatened the very life of the city, for to prevent Boston from having access to the sea meant economic disaster. Other enactments restricted local authority and banned most town meetings held without the governor’s consent. A Quartering Act required local authorities to find suitable quarters for British troops, in private homes if necessary. Instead of subduing and isolating Massachusetts as Parliament intended, these acts rallied its sister colonies to its aid.

The Quebec Act, passed at nearly the same time, extended the boundaries of the province of Quebec and established the Roman Catholic Church as the state church of Quebec. It must be kept in mind that Roman Catholics were not allowed to have churches in most of the original English colonies, which were overwhelmingly populated by Protestants. In fact, in 1776 Roman Catholics made up only one per cent of the total population of the 13 colonies. The colonists therefore opposed the Quebec Act for various reasons. First, they correctly saw that Roman Catholicism had no rightful claim as an established church of any territory. Second, they correctly saw Roman Catholicism as a deceitful and tyrannical religion. And finally, by disregarding old charter claims to western lands, it threatened to hem the American colonies in to the North and Northwest by a Roman Catholic dominated province. Though the Quebec Act had not been passed as a punitive measure, it was classed by the Americans with the Coercive Acts, and all became known as the “Five Intolerable Acts.” As the colonists wrote in their resolutions: they objected to the “establishing the Roman Catholic religion, in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law and government) of the neighboring British colonies.”

At the suggestion of the Virginia House of Burgesses, colonial representatives met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, “to consult upon the present unhappy state of the Colonies.” Delegates to this meeting, known as the First Continental Congress, were chosen by provincial congresses or popular conventions. Every colony except Georgia sent at least one delegate, and the total number of 55 was large enough for diversity of opinion, but small enough for genuine debate and effective action. The division of opinion in the colonies posed a genuine dilemma for the delegates. They would have to give an appearance of firm unanimity to induce the British government to make
concessions and, at the same time, they would have to avoid any show of radicalism or spirit of independence that would alarm more moderate Americans. A cautious keynote speech, followed by a “resolve” that no obedience was due the Coercive Acts, ended with adoption of a set of resolutions, among them, the right of the colonists to “life, liberty and property,” and the right of provincial legislatures to set “all cases of taxation and internal polity.”

The resolutions read as follows:

Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress October 14, 1774

Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament, claiming a power, of right to bind the people of America by statutes in all cases whatsoever, hath, in some acts, expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners, with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county:

And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependent on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace: And whereas it has lately been resolved in parliament, that by force of a statute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, colonists may be transported to England, and tried there upon accusations for treasons and misprisions, or concealments of treasons committed in the colonies, and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned:

And whereas, in the last session of parliament, three statutes were made; one entitled, “An act to discontinue, in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the
landing and discharging, lading, or shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England;” another entitled, “An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts-Bay in New England;” and another entitled, “An act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England;” and another statute was then made, “for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, etc.” All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights:

And whereas, assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, and reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt, by his Majesty’s ministers of state:

The good people of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet, and sit in general Congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties, may not be subverted: Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these colonies, taking into their most serious consideration, the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, DECLARE,

That the inhabitants of the English colonies in North-America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following RIGHTS:

Resolved, N.C.D. 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty and property: and they have never ceded to any foreign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved, N.C.D. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England.

Resolved, N.C.D. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.
Resolved, 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed:

But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bonfide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects, in America, without their consent.

Resolved, N.C.D. 5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

Resolved, N.C.D. 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

Resolved, N.C.D. 7. That these, his Majesty’s colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

Resolved, N.C.D. 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

Resolved, N.C.D. 9. That the keeping a standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.

Resolved, N.C.D. 10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves, and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislature.
In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire, that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

Resolved, N.C.D. That the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American colonies, viz.

The several acts of Geo. III. Ch. 15, and ch. 34.-5 Geo. III. Ch.25.-6 Geo. Ch. 52.-7 Geo.III. ch. 41 and ch. 46.-8 Geo. III. Ch. 22. which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the power of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

Also 12 Geo. III. Ch. 24, intituled, “An act for the better securing his majesty’s dockyards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores,” which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any offence described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts-Bay, and that which is entitled, “An act for the better administration of justice, etc.”

Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law and government) of the neighboring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty’s service, in North-America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.

To these grievous acts and measures, Americans cannot submit, but in hopes their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present, only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures:
1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association.
2. To prepare an address to the people of Great-Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America: and
3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into.

The most important action taken by the Continental Congress, however, was the formation of a “Continental Association,” which provided for the renewal of the trade boycott and for a system of committees to inspect customs entries, publish the names of merchants who violated the agreements, confiscate their imports, and encourage frugality, economy and industry.

The Association immediately assumed the leadership in the colonies, spurring new local organizations to end what remained of royal authority. Led by the pro-independence leaders, they drew their support not only from the less well-to-do, but from many members of the professional class, especially lawyers, most of the planters of the Southern colonies and a number of merchants. They intimidated the hesitant into joining the popular movement and punished the hostile. They began the collection of military supplies and the mobilization of troops. And they fanned public opinion into revolutionary ardor.

Many Americans, opposed to British encroachment on American rights, nonetheless favored discussion and compromise as the proper solution. This group included Crown-appointed officers, many Quakers and members of other religious sects opposed to the use of violence, many merchants – especially from the middle colonies – and some farmers and frontiersmen from Southern colonies.

The king might well have effected an alliance with these large numbers of moderates and, by timely concessions, so strengthened their position that the revolutionaries would have found it difficult to proceed with hostilities. But George III had no intention of making concessions. In September 1774, scorning a petition by Philadelphia Quakers, he wrote, “The die is now cast, the Colonies must either submit or triumph.” This action isolated the Loyalists who were appalled and frightened by the course of events following the Coercive Acts.

In addition, the British were adopting policies in favor of African Americans and American Indians which threatened Anglo-Americans, further driving Anglo-Americans towards independence. In Virginia, the royal governor, Lord Dunmore, promised freedom to all the slaves and indentured servants of revolutionaries who would take up arms and fight for “His Majesty’s crown and dignity.” The effect was electric. Immediately, slaves rushed to Norfolk to join “Lord Dunmore’s Ethiopian Regiment.” Across the chest of each black soldier appeared the words LIBERTY TO SLAVES.
During the winter of 1775-1776, Dunmore commanded approximately 2,000 men, half of them black. Reflecting the widespread view, one of North Carolina’s signers of the Declaration of Independence accused the British of planning to “let loose Indians on our Frontiers” and to “raise the Negroes against us,” a plot that included arming slaves. Another charged the British with “exciting [the blacks] to cut our throats, and involve Men, Women and Children in one universal Massacre.” The Declaration of Independence accused King George III of unleashing “merciless Indian savages” against innocent men, women and children.

Patrick Henry on March 23, 1775 delivered his most famous oration, *Give Me Liberty Or Give Me Death*, in response to the situation:

“No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The questing before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to
which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne! In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. The millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so
dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death! “

Following the lead of Virginian Patrick Henry, Virginian George Mason drafted “The Virginia Declaration of Rights.” These were adopted unanimously on June 12, 1776 by the Virginia Convention of Delegates, and read as follows:

“I That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

II That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

III That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation or community; of all the various modes and forms of government that is best, which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

IV That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; which, not being descpicable, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge be hereditary.

V That the legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judicative; and, that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression by feeling and participating the burthens of the people, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into that body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular elections in which all, or any part of the former members, to be again eligible, or ineligible, as the laws shall direct.

VI That elections of members to serve as representatives of the people in assembly ought to be free; and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to, the community have the right of suffrage and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property for public uses without their own consent or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not, in like manner, assented, for the public good.
VII That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority without consent of the representatives of the people is injurious to their rights and ought not to be exercised.

VIII That in all capital or criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favor, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; that no man be deprived of his liberty except by the law of the land or the judgement of his peers.

IX That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

X That general warrants, whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded to search suspected places without evidence of a fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, or whose offense is not particularly described and supported by evidence, are grievous and oppressive and ought not to be granted.

XI That in controversies respecting property and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is preferable to any other and ought to be held sacred.

XII That the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

XIII That a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defense of a free state; that standing armies, in time of peace, should be avoided as dangerous to liberty; and that, in all cases, the military should be under strict subordination to, and be governed by, the civil power.

XIV That the people have a right to uniform government; and therefore, that no government separate from, or independent of, the government of Virginia, ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof.

XV That no free government, or the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

XVI That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.”

From a scriptural vantage point- which is really the only vantage point that matters- a number of the contentions of the colonial patriots were valid. Scripture does teach
principles, for example, regarding fair justice. Furthermore, scripture recognizes that no man is above the law, including kings and parliamentarians. Also, scripture provides a model of government by Sanhedrin and synod for both political and ecclesiastical affairs, which corresponds to a political congress or parliament and a Presbyterian ecclesiastical synod of elders. But a number of the contentions in the colonial Patriot documents are sadly more a reflection of Enlightenment philosophy rather than scriptural teaching. Samuel B. Wylie (1773-1852), minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation in the City of Philadelphia, rightly commented on the unscriptural logic in some of the documents of the founding of the United States:

“... though the immediate end may be the happiness of the commonwealth, yet the ultimate end, as well in this as in every other thing we do, should be the glory of God. Ought not men, in the formation of their deeds, to consider their responsibility to the moral governor, and their obligation to acknowledge his authority? Prov. 3:5: “In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths.” That a national deed, employed about the fundamental stipulations of magistracy as an ordinance of God, and the investiture of magistrates as his ministers, should nowhere recognize the existence of the Governor of the universe, is, to say nothing worse of it, truly lamentable. May it not be said of this nation as of Israel, Hos. 8:4: “They have set up kings, but not by me; they have made princes, and I knew it not?” Did not the framers of this instrument act, not only as if there had been no divine revelation for the supreme standard of their conduct; but also as if there had been no God? Did they not, in this, resemble the fool mentioned, Ps. 14:1, who “said in his heart, There is no God?” Every official act of the governor of a province must have some specific stamp of his dependence upon the authority which appointed him: and shall a nation act as if independent of the God of the universe, and expect to be guiltless?

V. Another objection we have is, that most, if not all, of the State constitutions contain positive immorality. Witness their recognition of such rights of conscience as sanction every blasphemy which a depraved heart may believe to be true. Moreover, the State constitutions necessarily bind to the support of the federal, as the bond of national existence; and hence the immorality contained in that instrument becomes common to them all.

The recognition of such rights of conscience is insulting to the Majesty of Heaven, and repugnant to the express letter of God’s word. Deut. 17:18. God prescribes to the magistrate the divine law as the supreme standard of all his administrations; and which obliges men in every station to conduct themselves accordingly. Deut. 12:32: “What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add to it, nor diminish from it.” But, in the framing of these constitutions, the revealed law of God is not attended to; though even the law of nature requires the adoption of every new communication which God in mercy may be pleased to reveal.
The rejection of the divine law, as revealed in the Scriptures of truth, we consider as a contempt of the beneficence of Heaven, and an obstinate drawing back to heathenism.

V. The government gives a legal security and establishment to gross heresy, blasphemy, and idolatry, under the notion of liberty of conscience.”

King George had stated, “the die is now cast”, and so it was. The colonial era was at an end. The Revolutionary War was to begin. And the Thirteen Colonies in America were to become independent of Great Britain, raising the Continental Colors as their first national flag:

![Continental Colors](image)

Over the course of the colonial era, the Reformation was implemented in the government and life of the colonies to a profound degree. The gospel of Jesus Christ was widely proclaimed on this new continent and many were redeemed from their sins. These included many peoples who otherwise would have not come into contact with the reformed Biblical faith- if not in America. It has been estimated that at the time of the American Revolution, even after a period of spiritual declension, that two out of every three Americans was a Calvinist of some sort. Although many men did evil in this era as well, and many fell into diverse heresies and errors, yet many men were saved, and Christ’s kingdom expanded and endured for the day of its ultimate triumph. We must surely say with Joseph, even when motives and actions were less than pure, “ye thought evil ... but God meant it unto good... to save much people alive”. 
APPENDIX 1: THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION

(The Thirty-nine Articles were devised in the Convocation of Canterbury of the Church of England in 1563 and given the support of statutory law by Parliament in 1571. They represent the end of a process aimed at achieving doctrinal uniformity, beginning with the Ten Articles of 1536 and extending to the Bishops’ Book (1537), the Six Articles (1539), the King’s Book (1543), and the Forty-two Articles (1553). Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury under King Henry VIII and King Edward VI, was responsible for much of the Forty-two Articles, which were influenced by the Lutheran Augsburg Confession. Matthew Parker, archbishop under Queen Elizabeth I, was involved in revising those articles to produce the final 39, which were additionally influenced by the Lutheran Württemberg Confession.)

V. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

V. Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took Man’s nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God, and very Man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

V. Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed, that he went down into Hell.

V. Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man’s nature; wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the last day.

5. Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis
Exodus
Leviticus
Numbers
Deuteronomy
Joshua
Judges
Ruth
The First Book of Samuel
The Second Book of Samuel
The First Book of Kings
The Second Book of Kings
The First Book of Chronicles
The Second Book of Chronicles
The First Book of Esdras
The Second Book of Esdras
The Book of Esther
The Book of Job
The Psalms
The Proverbs
Ecclesiastes or Preacher
Cantica, or Songs of Solomon
Four Prophets the greater
Twelve Prophets the less.

And the other Books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:

The Third Book of Esdras
The Fourth Book of Esdras
The Book of Tobias
The Book of Judith
The rest of the Book of Esther
The Book of Wisdom
Jesus the Son of Sirach  
Baruch the Prophet  

The Song of the Three Children  
The Story of Susanna  
Of Bel and the Dragon  
The Prayer of Manasses  
The First Book of Maccabees  
The Second Book of Maccabees  

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical. 7. Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.

8. Of the Creeds.

The Three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius’ Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles’ Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.

9. Of Original or Birth-Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God’s wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek, , (which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh), is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized; yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

10. Of Free-Will.

The condition of Man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith; and calling upon God.
Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

11. Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.


Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God’s judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.


Works done before the grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.


Voluntary Works besides, over and above, God’s Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake, than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

15. Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh, and in his spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as Saint John saith) was not in him. But all we the rest, although baptized and horn again in Christ, yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives.

And therefore they are to be condemned, which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

17. Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination to Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God’s purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through Grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God’s mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Christ as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God’s Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God’s promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

18. Of obtaining eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ.

They also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

19. Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ’s ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. As the Church of Jerusalem,
Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in
their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

20. Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of
Faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God’s
Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to
another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as
it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to
enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.

21. Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of
Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men,
whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God), they may err, and
sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by
them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be
declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

22. Of Purgatory.

The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as
well of Images as of Relics, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing, vainly
invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the
Word of God.

23. Of Ministering in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or
ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to
execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be
chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the
Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord’s vineyard.

24. Of Speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the people understandeth.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive
Church to have public Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments, in a tongue
not understood of the people.

25. Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men’s
profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and
God’s good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only
quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him. There are two Sacraments
ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

26. Of the Unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ’s, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their Ministry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ’s ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God’s gifts diminished from such as by faith, and rightly, do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them; which be effectual, because of Christ’s institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of evil Ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

27. Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of Regeneration or New-Birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed, Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

28. Of the Lord’s Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another, but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ’s death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.
Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was not by Christ’s ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

29. Of the Wicked, which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord’s Supper.

The Wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

30. Of both Kinds.

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord’s Sacrament, by Christ’s ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

31. Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

The Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

32. Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God’s Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

33. Of excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided.

That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath authority thereunto.

34. Of the Traditions of the Church.
It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men’s manners, so that nothing be ordained against God’s Word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, Ceremonies or Rites of the Church ordained only by man’s authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

35. Of the Homilies.

The Second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people.

Of the Names of the Homilies.

1. Of the right Use of the Church.
2. Against Peril of Idolatry.
3. Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.
4. Of good Works, first of Fasting.
5. Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.
6. Against Excess of Apparel.
7. Of Prayer.
8. Of the Place and Time of Prayer.
9. That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.
10. Of the reverent Estimation of God’s Word.
11. Of Alms-doing.
12. Of the Nativity of Christ.
13. Of the Passion of Christ.
15. Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.
17. For the Rogation-days.
18. Of the State of Matrimony.
20. Against Idleness.
21. Against Rebellion.
36. Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.”

37. Of the Power of the Civil Magistrates.

The King’s Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the King’s Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not our Princes the ministering either of God’s Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The Laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

38. Of Christian Men’s Goods, which are not common.

The Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same; as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.


As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle, so we judge, that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but
that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet’s teaching in justice, judgement, and truth.
APPENDIX 2: PREFACE TO THE CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM (1649)

(The Cambridge Platform was written and approved by a synod of the Congregational Churches and codified in Massachusetts law in 1649. It was not removed from Massachusetts law until 1780. Its preface delineates those areas with which the Congregational Churches disagreed with the Westminster Standards, while at the same time emphasizing their general agreement with the Westminster Standards.)

THE setting forth of the Publick Confession of the Faith of Churches hath a double end, & both tending to publick edification. first the maintainence of the faith entire within it self: secondly the holding forth of Unity & Harmony, both amongst, & with other Churches. Our Churches here, as (by the grace of Christ) wee beleive & profess the same Doctrine of the truth of the Gospell, which generally is received in all the reformed Churches of Christ in Europe: so especially, wee desire not to vary from the doctrine of faith, & truth held forth by the churches in our native country. For though it be not one native country, that can breed vs all of one mind; nor ought wee for to have the glorious faith of our Lord Jesus with respect of persons: yet as Paul who was himself a Jew, professed to hold forth the doctrine of justification by faith, & of the resurrection of the dead, according as he knew his godly countrymen did, who were Iewes by nature (Galat. 2. 15. Acts 26. 6, 7.) so wee, who are by nature, English men, doe desire to hold forth the same doctrine of religion (especially in fundamentalls) which wee see & know to be held by the churches of England, according to the truth of the Gospell.

The more wee discern, (that which wee doe, & have cause to doe with incessant mourning & trembling) the unkind, & unbrotherly, & unchristian contentions of our godly brethren, & countrymen, in matters of church-government: the more earnestly doe wee desire to see them joyned together in one common faith, & our selves with them. For this end, having persued the publick confession of faith, agreed upon by the Reverend assembly of Divines at Westminster, & finding the summ & substance thereof (in matters of doctrine) to express not their own judgements only, but ours also: and being likewise called upon by our godly Magistrates, to draw up a publick confession of that faith, which is constantly taught, & generally professed amongst us, wee thought it good to present unto them, & with them all the churches of Christ abroad, our professed & hearty assent & attestation to the whole confession of faith (for substance of doctrine) which the Reverend assembly presented to the Religious & Honourable Parlamet of England: Excepting only some sections in the 25 30 & 31. Chapters of their confession, which concern points of controversie in church-discipline; Touching which wee refer our [2] selves to the draught of church-discipline in the ensuing treatise.

The truth of what we here declare, may appear by the unanimous vote of the Synod of the Elders & messengers of our churches assembled at Cambridgethe last of the sixth month 1648: which joynly passed in these words: This Synod having perused, & considered (with much gladness of heart, & thankfullness to God) the cofession of faith published of late by the Reverend Assembly in England, doe judge it to be very holy, orthodox, & judicious in all matters of faith: & doe therfore freely and fully [8] To the 2 Exception, That wee take no course for the gayning & healing & calling in of ignorant, &
errorious, & scandalous persos, whom we refuse to receive into our churches & so exclude them from the remedy of church-discipline.

Wee conceive the receiving of them into our churches would rather loose & corrupt our Churches, then gain & heale them. A little leaven layed in a lump of dough, will sooner leaven the whole lump, then the whole lump will sweeten it. Wee therefore find it safer, to square rough & unhewn stones, before the[y] be layed into the building, rather then hammer & hew them, when they lye unevenly in the building. And according, two meanes (wee use to gayn & call in such as are ignorat or scandalous. I The publick ministry of the word, upon which they are invited by counsel, & required by wholesome lawes to attend. And the word it is, which is the powr of God to salvation, to the calling & winning of soules. 2 Private conference, & conviction by the Elders, & other able brethren of the church: whom they doe the more respectively hearken unto, when they see no hope of enjoying church-fellowship, or participation in the Sacraments for themselves, or their children, till they approve their judgements to be sound & orthodox, & their lives subdues to some hope of a godly coversation. What can Classical discipline, or excommunication it slefe do more in this case.

The 3 Exception wrappeth up in it a three fold domestical inconvenience: & each of them meet to be eschewed. I Disunion in families between each relation: 2 Disappointmet of edificatio for want of opportunity in the governours of familyes to take accout of things heard by their children & servants. 3 Disbursments of chargeable maintenance to the several churches, wherto the several persons of their familyes are joyned.

All which inconvenience either do not fall out in congregationall-churches: or are easily redressed. For none are orderly admitted into congregational-churches, but such as are well approved by good testimony, to be observant of family- relations. Or if any otherwise diposed should creep in, they are either orderly healed, or duly removed from the way of Chrsit. Nor are they admitted, unless they can give some good account of their profiting by ordinances, before the Elders & brethren of the church: & much more to their parets, & masters. Godly Tutors in the university can take an account of their pupils: & godly housholders in the Citty can take account of their children & servants, how they profit by the word they have heard in several churches: & that to the greater edification of the whole family, by the variety of such administrations. Bees may bring more hony, & wax into the hive, when they are not limited to one garden of flowers, but may fly abroad to many.

Nor is any charge expected from wives, children, or servants to the maintenance of congregational churches, further then they be furnished with personall estates, or earnings, which may enable them to contribute of such things as they have, & not of Such as they have not. God accepteth not Robbery for a sacrifice. And though a godly housholder may justly take himselfe bound in conscience, to contribute to any such Church, wherto his wife, or children, or servants doe stand in relation; yet that will not aggravate the burden of his charge, no more than if they were received members of the same Church wherto himself is related.

But why doe wee stand thus long to plead exemptions from exceptions? the Lord help all his faithfull servants (whether presbyteriall, or congregational) to judge & shame our selves before the Lord for all our former complyances to greater enormityes in
Churchgovernment, then are to be found in either in the congregationall, or presbyteriall way. And then surely, either the Lord will cleare up his own will to us, & so frame, & subdue us all to one mind, & one way, (Ezek. 43. 10, 11.) or else wee shall learn to beare one anothers burdens in a spirit of meekness. It will then doubtless be farr from us, so to attest the discipline of Christ, as to detest the disciples of Christ: so to contend for the seamless coat of Christ, as to crucifie the living members of Christ: soe to divide our selves about Church communication, as through breaches to open a wide gap for a deluge of Antichristian & prophane malignity to swallow up both Church & civil state. What shall wee say more? is difference about Church-order become the inlett of all the disorders in the kingdom? hath the Lord indeed left us to such hardness of heart, that Church-government shall become a snare to Zion, (as somtimes Moses was to AEgypt, Exod. 10. 7.) that we cannot leave contesting & contending about it, till the kingdom be destroyed? did not the Lord Jesus, when he dedicated his sufferings for his church, & his also unto his father, make it his earnest & only prayer for us in the world, that wee all might be one in him? John. 17. 20, 21, 22, 23. And is it possible, that he (whom the Father heard alwayes, John. 11. 42.) should not have this last most solemn prayer heard, & gaunted? or, shall it be gaunted for all the saints elsewhere, & not for the saints in England; so that amongst them disunion shall grow even about Church-union, & communion? If it is possible, for a little faith (so much as a grain of mustardseed) to remove a mountaine: is it not possible, for so much strength of faith, as is to be found in all the godly in the kingdom, to remove those Images of jealousie, & to cast those stumbling-blockes out of the way, which may hinder the free passage of brotherly love amongst brethren? It is true indeed, the National covenant doth justly engage both partyes, faithfully to endeavour the utter extirpation of the Antichristia Hierarchy, & much more of all Blasphemyes, Heresyes, & damnable errours. Certainly, if congregational discipline be Independent from the inventions of men, is it not much more Independent from the delusions of Satan? what fellowship hath Christ with Belial? light with darkness? trueth with errour? The faithfull lewes needed not the help of the Samaritans, to [10] Reedify the Temple of God: yea they rejected their help when it was offered. Ezrea the 1, 2, 3. And if the congregationall way be a way of trueth (as wee believe) & if the brethren that walk in it be zealous of the trueth, & hate every false way (as by the rule of their holy discipline they are instructed, 2 John. 10, 11.) then verily, there is no branch in the Nationall covenant, that engageth the covenanters to abhore either Congregationall Churches, or their way: which being duely administered, doe no less effectually extirpate the Antichristian Hierarchy, & all Blasphemies, Heresyes, & pernicious errours, then the other way of discipline doeth, which is more generally & publickly received & ratifyed. But the Lord Jesus commune with all our hearts in secret: & he who is the King of his Church, let him be pleased to exercise his Kingly powr in our spirites, that so his kingdome may come into our Churches in Purity & Peace. Amen. Amen.
APPENDIX 3: THE WESTMINSTER SHORTER CATECHISM

(This Catechism was part of the Westminster Standards adopted by Presbyterians. It was also assented to by the New England Congregationalists, testified to by the fact that it was incorporated into the famous New England Primer, the common textbook for the children of New England.)

Q1: What is the chief end of man?
A1: Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever.

Q2: What rule hath God given to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy Him?
A2: The Word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy Him.

Q3: What do the Scriptures principally teach?
A3: The Scriptures principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man.

Q4: What is God?
A4: God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth.

Q5: Are there more Gods than one?
A5: There is but one only, the living and true God.

Q6: How many persons are there in the Godhead?
A6: There are three persons in the Godhead; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

Q7: What are the decrees of God?
A7: The decrees of God are, his eternal purpose, according to the counsel of his will, whereby, for his own glory, he hath fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass.

Q8: How doth God execute his decrees?
A8: God executeth his decrees in the works of creation and providence.

Q9: What is the work of creation?
A9: The work of creation is, God's making all things of nothing, by the word of his power, in the space of six days, and all very good.

Q10: How did God create man?
A10: God created man male and female, after his own image, in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness, with dominion over the creatures.

Q11: What are God's works of providence?
A11: God’s works of providence are, his most holy, wise, and powerful preserving and governing all his creatures, and all their actions.

Q12: What special act of providence did God exercise toward man in the estate wherein he was created?
A12: When God had created man, he entered into a covenant of life with him, upon condition of perfect obedience; forbidding him to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, upon the pain of death.

Q13: Did our first parents continue in the estate wherein they were created? A13: Our first parents, being left to the freedom of their own will, fell from the estate wherein they were created, by sinning against God.

Q14: What is sin?
A14: Sin is any want of conformity unto, or transgression of, the law of God.

Q15: What was the sin whereby our first parents fell from the estate wherein they were created?
A15: The sin whereby our first parents fell from the estate wherein they were created, was their eating the forbidden fruit.

Q16: Did all mankind fall in Adam’s first transgression?
A16: The covenant being made with Adam, not only for himself, but for his posterity; all mankind, descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him, in his first transgression.

Q17: Into what estate did the fall bring mankind?
A17: The fall brought mankind into an estate of sin and misery.

Q18: Wherein consists the sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell?
A18: The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell, consists in the guilt of Adam’s first sin, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature, which is commonly called Original Sin; together with all actual transgressions which proceed from it.

Q19: What is the misery of that estate whereinto man fell?
A19: All mankind by their fall lost communion with God, are under his wrath and curse, and so made liable to all miseries in this life, to death itself, and to the pains of hell for ever.

Q20. Did God leave all mankind to perish in the estate of sin and misery? A20. God having, out of his mere good pleasure, from all eternity, elected some to everlasting life, did enter into a covenant of grace, to deliver them out of the estate of sin and misery, and to bring them into an estate of salvation by a Redeemer.

Q21: Who is the Redeemer of God’s elect?
A21: The only Redeemer of God’s elect is the Lord Jesus Christ, who, being the eternal Son of God, became man, and so was, and continueth to be, God and man in two distinct natures, and one person, for ever.

Q22: How did Christ, being the Son of God, become man?
A22: Christ, the Son of God, became man, by taking to himself a true body, and a reasonable soul, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and born of her yet without sin.

Q23: What offices doth Christ execute as our Redeemer?
A23: Christ, as our Redeemer, executeth the offices of a prophet, of a priest, and of a king, both in his estate of humiliation and exaltation.

Q24: How doth Christ execute the office of a prophet?
A24: Christ executeth the office of a prophet, in revealing to us, by his word and Spirit, the will of God for our salvation.

Q25: How doth Christ execute the office of a priest?
A25: Christ executeth the office of a priest, in his once offering up of himself a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice, and reconcile us to God, and in making continual intercession for us.

Q26: How doth Christ execute the office of a king?
A26: Christ executeth the office of a king, in subduing us to himself, in ruling and defending us, and in restraining and conquering all his and our enemies.

Q27: Wherein did Christ’s humiliation consist?
A27: Christ’s humiliation consisted in his being born, and that in a low condition, made under the law, undergoing the miseries of this life, the wrath of God, and the cursed death of the cross; in being buried, and continuing under the power of death for a time.

Q28: Wherein consisteth Christ’s exaltation?
A28: Christ’s exaltation consisteth in his rising again from the dead on the third day, in ascending up into heaven, in sitting at the right hand of God the Father, and in coming to judge the world at the last day.

Q29: How are we made partakers of the redemption purchased by Christ?
A29: We are made partakers of the redemption purchased by Christ, by the effectual application of it to us by his Holy Spirit.

Q30: How doth the Spirit apply to us the redemption purchased by Christ?
A30: The Spirit applieth to us the redemption purchased by Christ, by working faith in us, and thereby uniting us to Christ in our effectual calling.

Q31: What is effectual calling?
A31: Effectual calling is the work of God’s Spirit, whereby convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ, and renewing our wills, he
doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ, freely offered to us in the gospel.

Q32: What benefits do they that are effectually called partake of in this life?
A32: They that are effectually called do in this life partake of justification, adoption, and sanctification, and the several benefits which, in this life, do either accompany or flow from them.

Q33: What is justification?
A33: Justification is an act of God’s free grace, wherein He pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in His sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, and received by faith alone.

Q34: What is adoption?
A34: Adoption is an act of God’s free grace, whereby we are received into the number, and have a right to all the privileges of the Sons of God.

Q35: What is sanctification?
A35: Sanctification is the work of God’s free grace, whereby we are renewed in the whole man after the image of God, and are enabled more and more to die unto sin, and live unto righteousness.

Q36: What are the benefits which in this life do accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification?
A36: The benefits which in this life do accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification, are, assurance of God’s love, peace of conscience, joy in the Holy Ghost, increase of grace, and perseverance therein to the end.

Q37: What benefits do believers receive from Christ at death?
A37: The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection.

Q38: What benefits do believers receive from Christ at the resurrection?
A38: At the resurrection, believers being raised up in glory, shall be openly acknowledged and acquitted in the day of judgement, and made perfectly blessed in the full enjoying of God to all eternity.

Q39. What is the duty which God requireth of man?
A39. The duty which God requireth of man is obedience to His revealed will.

Q40. What did God at first reveal to man for the rule of his obedience?
A40. The rule which God at first revealed to man for his obedience, was the Moral Law.

Q41. Where is the Moral Law summarily comprehended?
A41. The Moral Law is summarily comprehended in the Ten Commandments.
Q42. What is the sum of the Ten Commandments?
A42. The sum of the Ten Commandments is, “to love the Lord our God” with all our heart, all our soul, with all our strength, and with all our mind; and our neighbor as ourselves.

Q43. What is the preface to the Ten Commandments?
A43. The preface to the Ten Commandments is in these words, “I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house OF SLAVERY.”

Q44. What doth the preface to the Ten Commandments teach us?
A44. The preface to the Ten Commandments teacheth us, That because God is The Lord, and our God, and Redeemer, therefore we are bound to keep all His commandments.

Q45: Which is the First Commandment?
A45: The First Commandment is, “thou shalt have no other gods before Me.”

Q46: What is required in the First Commandment?
A46: The First Commandment requireth us to know and acknowledge God to be only true God, and our God; and to worship and glorify Him accordingly.

Q47: What is forbidden in the First Commandment?
A47: The First Commandment forbiddeth the denying, or not worshipping and glorifying the true God, as God, and the giving of that worship and glory to any other which is due to Him alone.

Q48: What are we specially taught by these words, “before me” in the First Commandment?
A48: These words “before me” in the First Commandment, teach us, That God who seeth all things, taketh notice of, and is much displeased with, the sin of having any other God.

Q49: Which is the Second Commandment?
A49: The Second Commandment is, “thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love Me, and keep my commandments.”

Q50: What is required in the Second Commandment?
A50: The Second Commandment requireth the receiving, observing, and keeping pure and entire, all such religious worship and ordinances as God hath appointed in His Word.

Q51: What is forbidden in the Second Commandment?
A51: The Second Commandment forbiddeth the worshipping of God by images, or any other way not appointed in His Word.
Q52: What are the reasons annexed to the Second Commandment?
A52: The reasons annexed to the Second Commandment are, God’s sovereignty over us, and the zeal He hath to His own worship.

Q53: Which is the Third Commandment?
A53: The Third Commandment is, “thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain.”

Q54: What is required in the Third Commandment?
A54: The Third Commandment requireth the holy and reverent use of God’s names, titles, attributes, ordinances, Word, and works.

Q55: What is forbidden in the Third Commandment?
A55: The Third Commandment forbiddeth all profaning or abusing anything whereby God maketh Himself known.

Q56: What is the reason annexed to the Third Commandment?
A56: The reason annexed to the Third Commandment is, That however the breakers of this commandment may escape punishment from men, yet the Lord our God will not suffer them to escape His righteous judgement.

Q57: Which is the Fourth Commandment?
A57: The Fourth Commandment is, “Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: But the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.”

Q58: What is required in the Fourth Commandment?
A58: The Fourth Commandment requireth the keeping holy to God such set times as He appointed in His Word; expressly one whole day in seven to be a holy Sabbath to Himself.

Q59: Which day of the seven hath God appointed to be the weekly Sabbath? A59: From the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, God appointed the seventh day of the week to be the weekly Sabbath; and the first day of the week ever since, to continue to the end of the world, which is the Christian Sabbath.

Q60: How is the Sabbath to be sanctified?
A60: The Sabbath is to be sanctified by a holy resting all that day, even from such worldly employments and recreations as are lawful on other days; and spending the whole time in the public and private exercises of God’s worship, except so much as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy.

Q61: What is forbidden in the Fourth Commandment?
A61: The Fourth Commandment forbiddeth the omission or careless performance of the duties required, and the profaning the day by idleness, or doing that which is in itself sinful, or by unnecessary thoughts, words, or works, about our worldly employments or recreations.

Q62: What are the reasons annexed to the Fourth Commandment?
A62: The reasons annexed to the Fourth Commandment are, God's allowing us six days of the week for our own employments, His challenging a special propriety in the seventh, His own example, and His blessing the Sabbath-day.

Q63: Which is the Fifth Commandment?
A63: The Fifth Commandment is, “honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.”

Q64: What is required in the Fifth Commandment?
A64: The Fifth Commandment requireth the preserving the honour, and performing the duties, belonging to every one in their several places and relations, as superiors, inferiors, or equals.

Q65: What is the forbidden in the Fifth Commandment?
A65: The Fifth Commandment forbiddeth the neglecting of, or doing anything against, the honour and duty which belongeth to every one in their several places and relations.

Q66: What is the reason annexed to the Fifth Commandment?
A66: The reason annexed to the Fifth Commandment is a promise of long life and prosperity (as far as it shall serve for God’s glory and their own good) to all such as keep this commandment.

Q67: Which is the Sixth Commandment?
A67: The Sixth Commandment is, “thou shalt not kill.”

Q68: What is required in the Sixth Commandment?
A68: The Sixth Commandment requireth all lawful endeavours to preserve our own life, and the life of others.

Q69: What is forbidden in the Sixth Commandment?
A69: The Sixth Commandment forbiddeth the taking away of our own life, or the life of our neighbour unjustly, or whatsoever tendeth thereunto.

Q70: Which is the Seventh Commandment?
A70: The Seventh Commandment is, “thou shalt not commit adultery.”

Q71: What is required in the Seventh Commandment?
A71: The Seventh Commandment requireth the preservation of our own and our neighbor’s chastity, in heart, speech, and behaviour.

Q72: What is forbidden in the Seventh Commandment?
A72: The Seventh Commandment forbiddeth all unchaste thoughts, words, and actions.

Q73: Which is the Eighth Commandment?
A73: The Eighth Commandment is, “thou shalt not steal.”

Q74: What is required in the Eighth Commandment?
A74: The Eighth Commandment requireth the lawful procuring and furthering the wealth and outward estate of ourselves and others.

Q75: What is forbidden in the Eighth Commandment?
A75: The Eighth Commandment forbiddeth whatsoever doth or may unjustly hinder our own or our neighbour’s wealth or outward estate.

Q76: What is the Ninth Commandment?
A76: The Ninth Commandment is, “thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.”

Q77: What is required in the Ninth Commandment?
A77: The Ninth Commandment requireth the maintaining and promoting of truth between man and man, and of our own and our neighbour’s good name, especially in witness-bearing.

Q78: What is forbidden in the Ninth Commandment?
A78: The Ninth Commandment forbiddeth whatsoever is prejudical to truth, or injurious to our own or our neighbour’s good name.

Q79: Which is the Tenth Commandment?
A79: The Tenth Commandment is, “thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour’s.”

Q80: What is required in the Tenth Commandment?
A80: The Tenth Commandment requireth full contentment with our own condition, with a right and charitable frame of spirit toward our neighbour, and all this is his.

Q81: What is forbidden in the Tenth Commandment?
A81: The Tenth Commandment forbiddeth all discontentment with our own own estate, envying or grieving at the good of our neighbour, and all inordinate motions and affections to any thing that is his.

Q82: Is any man able perfectly to keep the commandments of God?
A82: No mere man since the fall is able in this life perfectly to keep the commandments of God, but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed.

Q83: Are all transgression of the law equally heinous?
A83: Some sins in themselves, and by reason of several aggravations are more heinous in the sight of God than others.
Q84: What doth every sin deserve?
A84: Every sin deserveth God’s wrath and curse, both in this life, and that which is to come.

Q85: What doth God require of us, that we may escape his wrath and curse due to us for sin?
A85: To escape the wrath and curse of God due to us for sin, God requireth of us faith in Jesus Christ, repentance unto life, with the diligent use of all the outward means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption.

Q86: What is faith in Jesus Christ?
A86: Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace, whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for salvation, as he is offered to us in the gospel.

Q87: What is repentance unto life?
A87: Repentance unto life is a saving grace, whereby a sinner, out of a true sense of his sin, and apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, doth, with grief and hatred of his sin, turn from it unto God, with full purpose of, and endeavour after, new obedience.

Q88: What are the outward means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption?
A88: The outward and ordinary means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption, are his ordinances, especially the Word, sacraments, and prayer; all which are made effectual to the elect for salvation.

Q89: How is the Word made effectual to salvation?
A89: The Spirit of God maketh the reading, but especially the preaching of the Word, an effectual means of convincing and converting sinners, and of building them up in holiness and comfort, through faith, unto salvation.

Q90: How is the Word to be read and heard, that it may become effectual to salvation?
A90: The Word may become effectual to salvation, we must attend thereunto with diligence, preparation, and prayer; receive it with faith and love, lay it up in our hearts, and practise it in our lives.

Q91: How do the sacraments become effectual means of salvation?
A91: The sacraments become effectual means of salvation, not from any virtue in them, or in him that doth administer them; but only by the blessing of Christ, and the working of his Spirit in them that by faith receive them.

Q92: What is a sacrament?
A92: A sacrament is an holy ordinance instituted by Christ, wherein, by sensible signs, Christ, and the benefits of the new covenant, are represented, sealed, and applied to believers.

Q93: Which are the sacraments of the New Testament?
A93: The sacraments of the New Testament are, Baptism, and the Lord’s supper.
Q94: What is baptism?
A94: Baptism is a sacrament, wherein the washing with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, doth signify and seal our ingrafting into Christ, and partaking of the benefits of the covenant of grace, and our engagement to be the Lord’s.

Q95: To whom is baptism to be administered?
A95: Baptism is not to be administered to any that are out of the visible church, till they profess their faith in Christ, and obedience to him; but the infants of such as are members of the visible church are to be baptized.

Q96: What is the Lord’s supper?
A96: The Lord’s Supper is a sacrament, wherein, by giving and receiving bread and wine, according to Christ’s appointment, his death is showed forth; and the worth receivers are, not after a corporal and carnal manner, but by faith, made partakers of his body and blood, with all his benefits, to their spiritual nourishment, and growth in grace.

Q97: What is required to be the worthy receiving of the Lord’s supper?
A97: It is required of them that would worthily partake of the Lord’s supper, that they examine themselves of their knowledge to discern the Lord’s body, of their faith to feed upon him, of their repentance, love, and new obedience; lest, coming unworthily, they eat and drink judgement to themselves.

Q98: What is prayer?
A98: Prayer is an offering up of our desires unto God for things agreeable to his will, in the name of Christ, with confession of our sins, and thankful acknowledgement of his mercies.

Q99: What rule hath God given for our direction in prayer?
A99: The whole Word of God is of use to direct us in prayer; but the special rule of direction is that form of prayer which Christ taught his disciples, commonly called The Lord’s Prayer.

Q100: What doth the preface of the Lord’s prayer teach us?
A100: The preface of the Lord’s prayer, which is, “Our Father which art in heaven,” teacheth us to draw near to God with all holy reverence and confidence, as children to a father, able and ready to help us; and that we should pray with and for others.

Q101: What do we pray for in the first petition?
A101: In the first petition, which is, “Hallowed be thy name,” we pray, That God would enable us and others to glorify him in all that whereby he maketh himself known; and that he would dispose all things to his own glory.

Q102: What do we pray for in the second petition?
A102: In the second petition, which is, “Thy kingdom come,” we pray, That Satan’s kingdom may be destroyed; and that the kingdom of grace may be advanced,
ourselves and others brought into it, and kept in it; and the kingdom of glory may be hastened.

Q103: What do we pray for in the third petition?
A103: In the third petition, which is, “Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven,” we pray, That God, by his grace, would make us able and willing to know, obey, and submit to his will in all things, as the angels do in heaven.

Q104: What do we pray for in the fourth petition?
A104: In the fourth petition, which is, “Give us this day our daily bread,” we pray, That of God’s free gift we may receive a competent portion of the good things of this life, and enjoy his blessing with them.

Q105: What do we pray for in the fifth petition?
A105: In the fifth petition, which is, “And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,” we pray, That God, for Christ’s sake, would freely pardon all our sins; which we are able to be rather encouraged to ask, because by his grace we are enabled from the heart to forgive others.

Q106: What do we pray for in the sixth petition?
A106: In the sixth petition, which is, “And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil,” we pray, That God would either keep us from being tempted to sin, or support and deliver us when we are tempted.

Q107: What doth the conclusion the Lord’s prayer teach us?
A107: The conclusion of the Lord’s prayer, which is, “For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever, Amen.” Teacheth us, to take our encouragement in prayer from God only, and in our prayers to praise him, ascribing kingdom, power and glory to him.
APPENDIX 4: THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION
(SECTIONS MORE DIRECTLY RELATING TO CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE)

CHAPTER XXX. Of Church Censures.

V. The Lord Jesus, as king and head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate.

II. To these officers the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent, both by the word and censures; and to open it unto penitent sinners, by the ministry of the gospel, and by absolution from censures, as occasion shall require.

III. Church censures are necessary for the reclaiming and gaining of offending brethren; for deterring of others from like offenses; for purging out of that leaven which might infect the whole lump; for vindicating the honor of Christ, and the holy profession of the gospel; and for preventing the wrath of God, which might justly fall upon the Church, if they should suffer his covenant, and the seals thereof, to be profaned by notorious and obstinate offenders.

IV. For the better attaining of these ends, the officers of the Church are to proceed by admonition, suspension from the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper for a season, and by excommunication from the Church, according to the nature of the crime, and demerit of the person.

CHAPTER XXXI. Of Synods and Councils.

V. For the better government and further edification of the Church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called synods or councils.

II. As magistrates may lawfully call a synod of ministers and other fit persons to consult and advise with about matters of religion; so, if magistrates be open enemies of the Church, the ministers of Christ, of themselves, by virtue of their office, or they, with other fit persons, upon delegation from their churches, may meet together in such assemblies.

III. It belongeth to synods and councils, ministerially, to determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience; to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God, and government of his Church; to receive complaints in cases
of maladministration, and authoritatively to determine the same: which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the Word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the Word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his Word.

IV. All synods or councils since the apostles’ times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as a help in both.

V. Synods and councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical: and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs which concern the commonwealth, unless by way of humble petition in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate.
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*The Nations Shall Worship Before Thee: American History in the Colonial Era* is a product and compilation from three primary sources:


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In addition to these three, the following sources were especially helpful in providing information on specific topics:


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