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THE HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
IN THE
COLONIES AND FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY THE REV.
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CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER,
PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, BRIGHTON,
AND PREACHER OF LINCOLN'S INN.

VOL. I.

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TO THE MOST REVEREND

WILLIAM,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN,

THIS WORK,

BY PERMISSION OF HIS GRACE,

IS

MOST RESPECTFULLY AND DUTIFULLY

INSCRIBED.

P R E F A C E.

It is the object of this work to trace the history of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire, from the earliest period in which the attempt was made to acquire any of them, to the present day. The first Volume has only brought the enquiry to the beginning of the reign of Charles the First; and, as this embraces but a small portion of the period which it is proposed to traverse, the reader may probably be alarmed at the almost interminable length of the course which here seems to be opened before him. It is necessary, therefore, to state, that much preliminary matter required to be noticed in this Volume, the examination of which, I trust, will tend greatly to facilitate my future progress. In the first place, the condition of our Transatlantic Colonies in early times, and the trials which the Church in those Colonies had consequently to encounter, reflected, for the most part,

the condition and the trials of the Church at home. To save, therefore, the necessity of explaining, in every instance, the causes of strife and difficulty, as they were successively developed in different provinces, I have thought it better, once for all, to trace back the troubled stream to its fountain-head, and to show, that, throughout the course pursued by it for many years, it had borne the fortunes of the whole Nation upon its bosom. In the second place, the work of English Colonization was very slow; and frequent were the failures, and severe the disappointments, before any definite or visible results could be attained. Yet, the notice even of these abortive efforts could not be wholly omitted; because they contain, oftentimes, evidence of the faithful motives which led the rulers of the Church and Nation to make them. Thirdly, the uniform and distinct recognition of the Church in the Charters under which our earliest Colonies were established, has made it impracticable to separate her history, at that time, from the history of the Colonies themselves. It became necessary, therefore, to describe not only the geographical position of the several countries named, but also the varying character of the enterprises which led to our possession of them. In the words of one who was himself a prominent actor in the scenes which he has described, and whose testimony will often be cited in the present Volume, 'as Geography without

History seemeth a carkasse without motion, so History without Geography wandreth as a vagrant without a certaine habitation¹. I have found it, moreover, impossible to gain an adequate knowledge of the spirit which animated many faithful members of the Church in the settlement of our first Colonies, only from those formal histories which recorded the commencement and progress of the work. Numerous other documents, printed and manuscript, were to be consulted; and, although I cannot believe that I have yet examined all, and in many quarters the search has proved fruitless, yet, in others, where I least expected it, valuable and interesting information has been obtained.

For these reasons, I have been led to tarry longer in the review of James the First's reign, than might by some persons have been thought necessary. But I do not regret that I have bestowed so much time upon this part of the subject: and, if the reader should feel, in the perusal of these pages, any portion of that deep interest which I have experienced in analyzing and comparing the documents from which their substance is derived, I shall be cheered by the reflection that my enquiries have not been in vain.

The future progress of the work,—should I be permitted, amid many and pressing avocations, to make it as I wish,—is not likely to be retarded by

¹ Smith's History of Virginia, p. 169.

the operation of those causes to which I have just referred. For, when the Proprietary and Charter governments of the Colonies, settled under James the First, were abolished, at the end of that monarch's reign, by the arbitrary and tyrannical exercise of his prerogative, the chain of historical evidence was thereby broken, and, as a modern historian of Virginia has truly said, 'a black and melancholy chasm supplies the place of order and arrangement'.² The want, therefore, of materials created by that single cause, and the inability of the Church to extend her influence to our Colonies, by reason of the vicissitudes through which she herself was soon afterwards made to pass, must necessarily confine a great portion of the remaining history to much narrower limits, than those which I have prescribed to myself in the present Volume. Not, indeed, that evidences of zealous and faithful devotion will be found wanting, throughout an age which is commonly regarded as devoid of them; nor lessons, profitable for correction and instruction, fail to be derived, even from those periods which seem to be most discouraging. Nevertheless, as the points of rest are confessedly fewer, so the intervening space may be traversed more rapidly. I hope, in consequence, to be able to comprise within my second Volume, the whole of that sequel of the history which occurs between the com-

² Burk's History of Virginia, ii. 6. Petersburg, Virginia, 1822.

mencement of Charles the First's reign, and the establishment of our first Colonial Bishopric in Nova Scotia, in 1787; and, in the third and concluding Volume, to bring down the course of the narrative to the present day. It is possible, indeed, that further elements of information may be obtained upon some points, and that others, which are already put in order for the press, may be enlarged; but I do not think it probable that any material departure will be made from the plan which I have ventured to mark out.

It is right to state, in this place, that, by the use of the term 'Colony,' I intend not to restrict its meaning within the limits of any precise definition, but to employ it in its widest sense. The different signification of the words by which the Colonies of Greece and Rome were designated,—which Adam Smith has justly pointed out as being in accordance with the different character of their respective settlements³,—together with the various points of interest which mark the system of Colonization pursued by them and by other countries, I propose to examine, more particularly, in a chapter which will be devoted to that purpose, at the end of my second Volume.

³ Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, b. iv. c. vii. See also Brougham's *Colonial Policy*, i. 36. The Greek word, ἀποικία, signifies a separation of dwelling, a departure from home, a going out of the house. The Latin word, colonia, signifies simply a plantation, or cultivation of the land.

In Clark's Summary of Colonial Law, 'The British Colonies, or Plantations,' are defined to be 'remote possessions or provinces of this realm, occupied for the purposes of trade or cultivation⁴.' If this definition were strictly to be followed, it is evident that the military possessions of Gibraltar and Malta would be excluded⁵. On the other hand, if the possession of territory is alone to give the rule, Honduras would be excluded; since, by treaty of peace with Spain in 1763, British subjects have only rights of occupation secured to them in that settlement; and, for a long time, it was held not to be a territory belonging to the British Sovereign, within the Navigation Act⁶. For the present, therefore, I prefer taking the word 'Colony' in the sense assigned to it by Johnson, namely, 'A body of people drawn from the mother-country to inhabit some distant place;' and to apply it, generally, as the most convenient appellation, to denote any foreign possession belonging to, or connected with, the British Empire.

I thankfully avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge the help which, from various quarters, has been extended to me. To the Bishop of London

⁴ Page 1. (Edition, 1834.)

⁵ See note¹ on the above definition, in the same work, pp. 2, 3.

⁶ Ibid. 'According to this decision, ships built at Honduras would not be privileged to engage in the direct trade between the United

Kingdom and the British Provinces in America. The recent Navigation Acts have removed this difficulty, and have in terms recognised the settlements at Honduras as British.' Ibid. and Appendix, p. 326.

I am indebted for the privilege of examining the Fulham MSS. Their value has been already proved, by the reference made to them in the second Volume of Dr. Hawks's Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States (Maryland); and, yet more recently, in Archdeacon (now Dean) Wilberforce's most interesting History of the American Church. I have found among them other papers, not less valuable, which relate to other Colonies; and have derived from them, as well as from the American Papers, materials for the composition of my second Volume. To the Bishops of Nova Scotia and Montreal, I am likewise indebted for the hearty encouragement which they have given to my undertaking; for the papers which they have transmitted to me; and for the hope, which they allow me to cherish, of receiving still more information, not only of their respective Dioceses, but of those faithful servants of God, their fathers, who were the first Bishops of our Church in British North America⁷. The communications which I have received also from the friends and relatives of the late excellent Bishop Stewart, of Quebec⁸, may be regarded, I trust, as an

⁷ Dr. Charles Inglis was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787; and Dr. Jacob Mountain, Bishop of Quebec, in 1793. Both these Sees were then, for the first time, erected.

⁸ Dr. Charles James Stewart, son of the seventh Earl of Gallo-way, was consecrated the second

Bishop of Quebec in 1826. Upon his death, in 1836, Dr. George J. Mountain, son of the first Bishop of Quebec, was consecrated his successor; and, in 1839, West Canada was separated from that See, and constituted the separate Diocese of Toronto.

earnest of yet further particulars which may be obtained, both in England and in Canada, respecting the ministrations of that guileless, affectionate, and devoted servant of Christ. By the present Bishop of Jamaica, I have been favoured with information which I highly value, concerning the two parts of his former Diocese,—Newfoundland and the Bermudas; and look anxiously forward to the intelligence which his Lordship may have it in his power to send me, from that portion of the Colonial Church over which he now presides⁹. From Bishop Coleridge, also, I have received the promise of assistance and advice, touching those parts of our West India possessions which formed, under his superintendence, the original Diocese of Barbados¹⁰: and they who remember the good and effectual service rendered by that Prelate to the Church of Christ, whilst he retained that important charge, will be the first to appreciate the benefit of his counsel.

⁹ Dr. Aubrey G. Spencer was consecrated Bishop of Newfoundland, in 1829; and translated to the See of Jamaica in 1843, upon the death of Dr. Lipscomb, who had been consecrated its first Bishop, in 1824. The Diocese of Jamaica comprehends, besides that important Island, Honduras and the Bahamas.

¹⁰ The Diocese of Barbados, when Bishop Coleridge was first consecrated to it in 1824, consisted both of the Windward and Leeward Islands and British Guiana. In 1842, when his Lordship re-

signed the charge of it, it was separated into three Dioceses, namely, that of Barbados, which comprehends the Islands of Barbados, Trinidad, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, St. Lucia, and Carriacou; that of Antigua, which comprehends the Islands of Antigua, Montserrat, Barbuda, St. Kitt's, Nevis, Virgin Isles, and Dominica; and that of British Guiana, which comprehends the united Colonies of Demerara and Essequibo, and the Colony of Berbice.

I have been entrusted, moreover, with letters and other papers belonging to persons concerned in the welfare of our Colonial Church; among the most important of which, in earlier times, are letters from Dr. Charles Inglis, the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, Dr. Chandler, and Dr. Seabury, the first Bishop in America, to the Rev. Jonathan Boucher; and, in later times, those written by, and belonging to, Bishop Turner, of Calcutta, whose career, though brief, was marked at every step by faith and wisdom.

The assistance thus afforded to me, relates obviously to those parts of my work which have yet to be completed. In adverting to that which has been of service to me for the present Volume, I beg gratefully to acknowledge the permission which I have received from Sir James Graham, Secretary of State for the Home Department, to consult the papers in the State Paper Office relating to Virginia, and other Colonies which formerly belonged to this Kingdom in North America, and the information which I have thereby obtained. To the Rev. S. R. Maitland, Librarian at Lambeth, I beg also to express my obligation for the help which he afforded me in decyphering the MS. to which I have referred in the eighth chapter, and for his readiness in enabling me to examine the other treasures of that Library;—a readiness, which had been already most kindly manifested towards me by my friend, the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, Chaplain to the Archbishop.

Through the help of another friend, the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I have gained access to some documents, which I could not find in the British Museum, or any other collection, namely, the Tracts collected by Bishop Kennett, and of which he has given an account in his *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia*. The whole of the Books and Papers recited in this Book were given by the Bishop, as it is stated in its title-page, to the Society, ‘for the perpetual use and benefit of their members, their missionaries, friends, correspondents, and others concerned in the good design of planting and promoting Christianity within her Majesties [Queen Anne’s] Colonies and Plantations in the West Indies.’ Some, indeed, of these Volumes have been lost, I fear, irretrievably: the remainder, therefore, is only the more precious. Other sources of help have been opened to me by Mr. Hawkins, in the MSS. Volumes belonging to the Society; the value of which will be best understood by those who have read the ‘Notices of the Colonial Church,’ which he has already derived from them, and which, for some months past, have appeared in the pages of the *British Magazine*.

I am indebted also to the Rev. Joseph Haslegrave, Secretary of the Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor, for many particulars respecting the operations of that Society.

By Colonel Wyndham, of Petworth, I have been favoured with the loan of several rare works relating to Virginia; some of which seem to have escaped the observation even of Bishop Kennett. And, lastly, by my friend, Archdeacon Hare, I have long been permitted the use of some of those rich stores of his library, without which I should have been frequently at a loss to know how to proceed.

Notwithstanding all these aids, I am conscious that the path which I seek to traverse has never yet been thoroughly explored; and that I need guidance, at every step, if I would walk safely unto the end. The guidance, therefore, which I may be permitted to receive from men whose local experience or other opportunities of information enable them to supply it, will not, I trust, be withheld; and I can with truth say, that I desire only to employ their brotherly help in subordination to the legitimate objects which I have proposed to myself in the prosecution of this work.

The nature of these objects, and the spirit in which I desire to attain them, will be better learnt from the tenor of the work itself, than from any professions of mine in this place. Thus much, however, I may here be permitted to state, that, whilst in accordance with its title, I am mainly employed in tracing the history of the Church of England throughout our various Colonies, I neither wish to

pass over in silence nor to speak in a jealous or controversial spirit of those who, separated from our communion, are labouring to promote the knowledge of Christianity in the same regions. I do not profess, indeed, to describe fully the operations either of the Roman Catholic Church, or of the various bodies of Protestant Dissent. Such a work is obviously impracticable, and fit only to be classed with those of which Bacon says that they cannot be done 'within the hour-glass of one man's life'¹¹. But, as the history of the Church, in any and every place, is the history of her difficulties, and as those difficulties are greatest which arise from the unhappy divisions of the Christian world, the relation of them is unavoidable: it has occupied a large portion of the present Volume, and must continue to occupy a portion of those which are to follow.

I have said, in another part of this Volume¹², that the record of these difficulties, howsoever painful and humiliating, will not be without profit, if, by teaching us to form a true estimate of the services performed, the errors committed, and the perils passed through, by the men of a former generation, we may be the better prepared to endure the trials, and discharge the duties, and surmount the obstacles, which await us in our own. It is the desire to learn and to communicate this needful lesson, which

¹¹ Advancement of Learning, Works, ii. 100.

¹² At the end of the sixth chapter.

alone has animated me to enter upon the present enquiry. And, in commending this first portion of it to the consideration of others, let me entreat them to consider the vastness of that field of labour, to which their attention, their sympathy, their prayers, are herein directed. It is only a small share of it, indeed, which this Volume presents to their view; and, even of that share, the greater part no longer pays allegiance to those laws which first made it subject to the British Crown. Yet, after all the losses and gains of the last two centuries and a half, what is, at this hour, the extent of the British Empire¹³? Is it not computed to embrace a seventh part of the world's inhabitants, and more than a seventh part of the earth's surface¹⁴? Does not the foremost of American orators describe it as 'a power to which Rome, in the height of her glory, was not to be compared,—a power which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe with her possessions and military posts,—whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of its martial airs¹⁵?' These words, assuredly,

¹³ See in the Appendix, No. III., the return of Colonies (Population, Trade, &c.) ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 20 February, 1845. It must be borne in mind, that, extensive and various as are the places enumerated in this document, it does not include those vast and important re-

gions which are under the government of the East India Company and Hudson's Bay Company.

¹⁴ See Grant's Bampton Lectures, page 11, and the Tables referred to by him.

¹⁵ Webster's Speeches, quoted in Sir Richard Bonnycastle's Newfoundland, ii. 226.

are not a vain hyperbole, the mere effusions of a glowing, yet unsubstantial, rhetoric: they are words which, not less truly than vividly, depict the actual and ample circuit of our own possessions:—a paraphrase, in fact, of the saying which was literally descriptive of Spain herself in the zenith of her power¹⁶. Woe be unto us, then, if tokens of the authority of Christ keep not pace with the colossal grandeur of the Empire which can be thus described!

The bare thought is fitted to overwhelm the souls of all who give it access to their hearts. And who can with safety refuse access to it? The prayer “for the peace of” our “Jerusalem,” must be the prayer of all who share her blessings and are protected by her power. And if, for their “brethren and companions’ sakes,” they “wish” her “prosperity,” will they not, “because of the house of the Lord” their “God, seek” also “to do” her “good¹⁷?”

¹⁶ ‘As one saith in a brave kind of expression, the sun never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shines upon one part or other of

them.’ Bacon’s ‘Advertisement touching an Holy War.’ Works, vii. 123, 124.

¹⁷ Ps. cxxii. 6—9.

Brighton,
April 14, 1845.

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 ERRATA.

- Page 31, line 5, *for sixty, read sixty-six*
 — 47, — 3, *for at the end of, read in*
 — 128, — 5, in contents of chap. vii., insert the words "The Prayer-Book," before "The Thirty-nine Articles."
 — 169, note 82, *for 1602, read 1603.*
 — 193, line 24, in contents of chap. viii., after the words "Gates and Somers depart for Virginia as Lord De La Warr's lieutenants," add "in May, 1609; and a clergyman, Mr. Bucke, accompanies them."
 — 203, last, correct statement about clause in first Virginia Charter by reference to page 437, note 22.
 — 306, transpose the two last clauses of contents of ch. x.

. A complete list of the Editions of the Works referred to will be given hereafter ; and, meanwhile, those have been specified in the course of the present Volume, to which reference has been most frequently made.

THE HISTORY,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

ATTEMPTS TOWARDS COLONIZATION IN THE REIGNS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH AND HENRY THE EIGHTH.

A. D. 1496—1547.

First Voyage of Discovery made by the English, under the command of John Cabot and his Sons—Letters Patent granted for that purpose by Henry the Seventh, March 5, 1496—Newfoundland, and part of the American Continent, then discovered—Second Letters Patent to John Cabot in 1498; and again to others in 1501-2—No permanent results followed, during the Reign of Henry the Seventh, from the Voyages of Discovery thus made under his authority—Reasons which prevented Henry the Eighth from making many attempts to discover and acquire foreign possessions—Failure of Expedition fitted out by him in 1517—Memorial from Robert Thorne, an English Merchant residing at Seville, in 1527, who urged Henry the Eighth to prosecute the work of discovery, but without effect—Increasing Trade of the English during his Reign to the Coast of Guinea and the Levant—Efforts of Henry to protect it—Ministrations of the Church in Calais, the only foreign possession of England, at the time of the Reformation—Letters of Archbishop Cranmer on the subject in 1535.

LORD BACON, in his history of Henry the Seventh, thus notices the attempts which England made towards colonization, in different periods of that king's reign. 'Somewhat before this time,' he says,—

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I.

First voyage
of discovery
made by the
English,
under the

CHAP.
I.
command of
John Cabot
and his sons.

speaking of certain events which took place, in the fourteenth year after Henry's accession to the throne,—‘there fell out a memorable accident: there was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man, seeing the success, and emulating, perhaps, the enterprize of Christopher Columbus, in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been made by him some six years before, conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west.—This Gabato, bearing the king in hand, that he would find out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him to man and victual a ship at Bristol, for the discovery of that island; with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed, as he affirmed at his return, and made a card¹ thereof, very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and a half, finding the seas open.’ The achievement of Columbus, we are told, upon the same authority, ‘sharpened the king so, that not only in this voyage, but again in the sixteenth year of his reign, and likewise in the eighteenth thereof, he

¹ The card, or map of his discoveries, made by Sebastian Cabot, is mentioned by Hakluyt, as having been ‘cut by Clement Adams,’ and ‘to be seene in Her Maiesties privie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other

ancient merchants houses.’ Hakluyt, iii. 27. The map, which has long since been lost, bore date 1549, as is stated in the margin of Purchas’s notice of it. Purchas’s Pilgrims, iii. 807.

granted forth new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands².

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I.

The enterprises, of which the origin has been thus described, were the first direct steps, taken by England, towards the discovery and acquisition of those colonial territories, which now form so vast a portion of her empire in the world. There had been indeed numerous instances of hardihood and successful energy, displayed by British mariners, in earlier epochs of our history: and the successes, obtained against Danish invaders by Alfred, the first English king who established a naval force; the terror, which the fleet of the lion-hearted Richard struck into the hearts of kings and their armies, assembled at Messina, when it entered that port on its course to Palestine; the victory, achieved by the third Edward, upon the Flemish coast, over the thronging squadrons of the French; are among the many witnesses to tell us, that, throughout a period in which the 'appliances and means' of navigation were yet in their infancy, there were not wanting the spirit to contrive, and the hand to execute, great deeds of naval prowess³. But these exploits had been con-

² Bacon's Works, iii. 355—357.

³ See Campbell's Lives of British Admirals; Southey's Naval History; and the first volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, passim.

The honest and undisguised enthusiasm of Hakluyt, in the prosecution of his great work, speaks best for itself; and, as I shall frequently have occasion to refer to his authority, it may be well to show here, upon what grounds that authority is established. They

are thus stated by him, in the Preface to the second edition. 'I do this second time, friendly reader, presume to offer unto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restless nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold, I haue indured; how many long and chargeable iourneys I haue trauiled; how

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I.

fined, with few exceptions, to the shores of Great Britain, or those of the nearest continent. They were neither actuated by such causes, nor directed to such ends, as those which were avowedly put forth in the commissions, granted by Henry the Seventh, 'for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.'

Nor yet must it be supposed, that, when the philosophic historian, whose words we have cited, speaks of this enterprize as 'a memorable accident,' which then 'fell out,' he intended thereby any sympathy with men, who, in carelessness or unbelief, so often hide, beneath that or similar expressions, all acknowledgment of God's controuling hand. For, in the very next passage of the same work, descriptive of an event which, from causes apparently trifling, produced great events⁴, he represents it likewise as an 'accident,' which 'fell out by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto His will, and

many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c., I have redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entered; what expences I haue not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate gaine, preferment, and ease I haue neglected; albeit thyselفة canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do find and feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant,

and all expences of light value and moment unto me.' Hakluyt, i. xv.

⁴ Namely, the infraction of the truce with Scotland by the quarrels of certain young men living on the borders, which led to an interview, at Melrose, between James king of Scotland, and Bishop Fox on the part of Henry the Seventh, and at the conclusion of which, a proposal of marriage with Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, was privately made by James, for the purpose of better securing the friendly relations of the two kingdoms. The proposal was readily communicated by Bishop Fox to his sovereign, and the marriage was solemnized about three years afterwards, in 1502.



hangeth great weights upon small wires.' And it is because the train of historic incident, which we have proposed to ourselves to contemplate in the present work, presents the most signal commentary upon the truth of this declaration; because it shows, in a remarkable manner, how 'small' have been the 'wires' upon which, through 'God's wonderful providence,' the 'great weights' of this empire now hang; that we desire, sincerely and unreservedly, to make, at the very outset, the same acknowledgment of the sacred principle which it involves, and to bear it ever faithfully in mind, as we contemplate each chequered scene which passes in review before us.

The first Letters Patent, which Henry granted to Gabato, or, as he is more commonly called, Cabot, bear date the fifth of March, 1496, the eleventh year of his reign⁵; and, by virtue of them, he and his com-

Letters patent granted for that purpose by Henry the Seventh, March 5, 1496.

⁵ There is some difficulty in reconciling this date, with the time specified in the extract, which has been given above from Lord Bacon's History; since the discovery of Columbus was in 1492, and Cabot's first commission is dated, not 'some six years,' (as Bacon states it,) but four years afterwards. It is probable that Bacon referred to the second commission, which, as we shall find, bore date in 1498; and, if any should object, against this supposition, that he mentions only the name of Sebastian, and not of John Cabot, to whom it was granted, the objection, I think, may be met, by considering that Sebastian actually commanded this second expedition; and that the fame which he acquired, in after years,

was great enough to eclipse that of every other member of his family. Another difficulty, respecting the date of this commission, should be here noticed; namely, that the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh's reign, in which the commission was issued, is marked by Hakluyt, (who gives it at length, iii. 25, 26,) as the year 1495, and by Rymer, (*Fœdera*, xii. 595,) as the year 1496. But this apparent confusion of dates arises from the fact, that, by the former, the time is computed according to the historical year, which begins on the first of January; and by the latter, according to the civil, ecclesiastical, or legal year, which, until the end of the fourteenth century, began at Christmas; after that time on the 25th of March;

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1.

rades were empowered to sail, under the English banner, to all parts of the East, West, and North, to seek out whatsoever isles or provinces were before unknown to the Christian world, and to occupy the same, themselves and their heirs, as the king's vassals and lieutenants. The letters are addressed, not to Sebastian Cabot, solely nor principally, but, in the first instance, to John his father, and then to Lewis, his elder, to himself, and to Sancius, his younger brother. They provide, that, after the deduction of their expenses, the fifth part of all their profits should be paid to the king; that Bristol should be the only port at which their cargoes were to be delivered; that they should be exempt from the payment of customs upon all such merchandize as should be brought from the newly-discovered countries; and that no other English subjects should be allowed to visit the places occupied by them and their heirs, except with their consent, under pain of the forfeiture of property. The expedition sailed in the spring of 1497; and, having pursued a westerly course, came in sight of land on the twenty-fourth of June, Saint John Baptist's Day⁶. The crew of

and so continued until the 1st of January, 1753. Henry the Seventh began his reign in August, 1485; and, consequently, the date assigned by Rymer is the correct one. See Sir Harris Nicolas's *Chronology of History*, pp. 41, 42. Chalmers, in his *'Political Annals of the United Colonies,'* justly calls this commission of Henry to the Cabots, 'the most ancient American state-paper of England.'

⁶ The following extract from the map made by Sebastian Cabot, noted at p. 2, is found in Hakluyt, iii. 27. "In the yeere of our Lord 1497, Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his sonne Sebastian, (with an English fleet set out from Bristoll,) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune, about fvee of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima

the ship "Matthew," of Bristol, have the distinction of being its first discoverers⁷. The Venetian leaders hailed the land with the title of Prima Vista; but, in the more familiar accents of our own mother-tongue, it was called, and has ever since retained the name of, NEWFOUNDLAND. They stayed there but a very short time; and, having taken with them three of the natives on board their vessels, proceeded on their voyage, eager to verify the conjecture which they, like Columbus, entertained, that a passage to the East Indies was to be found in that direction. The attempt was fruitless; each creek and inlet of the rugged and indented shore, which soon afterwards opened upon their sight, was explored, but in vain; and, having run along a great extent of the

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Newfound-
land, and
part of the
American
continent,
then dis-
covered.

Vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That island which lieth out before the land, he called the island of S. Iohn vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptist.' I am aware that, in assigning the discovery of the island of Newfoundland to this first voyage of the Cabots, I have made a statement which has sometimes been disputed; and I admit that the discrepancies to be found in some of the accounts respecting it, fully justify this difference of opinion. Nevertheless, after the most careful examination of every work upon the subject to which I could gain access, I believe the statement which I have given in the text to be correct.

⁷ See an extract to this effect, at p. 79, of the Memoir of Sebas-

tian Cabot (London, 1831), from two histories of Bristol there cited. This Memoir, although anonymous, is ascribed by Bancroft (in his history of the United States, i. 73 and 75) to his countryman, R. Biddle. It is a most interesting and ingenious work; and I am much indebted to the results of those valuable researches which its author has made. I cannot but regret, therefore, that he should have made such bitter, and, as I think, unjust, attacks upon the character of Hakluyt. It is some consolation, however, to know that his charges have been most satisfactorily refuted, by Mr. Patrick Fraser Tytler, in the Appendix to his 'Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America,' published in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, pp. 417—444.

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I.

great Western Continent, from Labrador southwards, they returned to England, without attempting to avail themselves of any of the powers of settlement granted to them under their Letters Patent.

Some have thought, that, by the term Newfoundland, applied to the regions then first discovered, we are to understand, not the island which is now only known by that name, but, generally, that portion of America along which the mariners coasted. A careful examination, however, of the different authorities upon the subject, will show, that although the generic appellation of Newfoundland was, no doubt, given to that continent, it was most probably, in the first instance, conferred upon the island which has ever since retained it. It may be regarded, too, as some confirmation of the correctness of this opinion, that the inhabitants of Newfoundland still commemorate the twenty-fourth of June, as the day of its discovery by Sebastian Cabot⁸. An account also of the privy purse expenses of Henry the Seventh, compiled some years ago, and now among the additional manuscripts of the British Museum⁹, contains several entries which tend to establish the same point¹⁰.

⁸ See Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle's 'Newfoundland in 1842,' i. 51.

⁹ See Sir Harris Nicolas's 'Excerpta Historica,' pp. 85—133.

¹⁰ Some of the entries (pp. 113, 116, 129, 131—133,) are here subjoined: '1497, Aug. 10. To hym that found the New Isle, £10.—1498, March 24. To Lanslot Thirkill of London, upon a prest for his shipp going towards the New Ilande, £20.—April 1. To Thomas

Bradley and Launcelot Thirkil, going to the New Isle, £30.—1503, Sept. 30. To the merchants of Bristol that have been in the Newfounde Launde, £20.—1504, Oct. 17. To one that brought hawkes from the Newfounde Island, £1.—1505, Aug. 25. To Clays goying to Richemount with wylde cattsand popyngays of the Newfound Island for his costs, 13s. 4d.'

A second Patent was granted by Henry the Seventh, on the third of February, 1498, the original of which has lately been found in the Rolls' Chapel¹¹. It is addressed solely to John Cabot, the father, and express reference is made therein 'to the londe and isles of late founde by the said John in' the 'name and by' the 'commandmente of the king:'—a memorable confirmation of the statement already made, that the island of Newfoundland had been discovered in the first voyage of the Cabots. The expedition, which sailed by virtue of this commission, was commanded by his son Sebastian; and it is to this voyage, in which he again visited Newfoundland,—and called it Terra de Baccalaos, from the name of the fish which he found there in great abundance,—that the account, given by Peter Martyr, the historian of the New World, is supposed to refer¹². Two similar commissions were also conferred by the same king upon others of his subjects, for the purpose of discovering and annexing, under certain conditions, to the British Crown the unknown regions of the west. The first of these is dated the nineteenth of March, 1501, and was granted, during the brief chancellorship of the Bishop of Salisbury, to 'Richard Warde, Thomas Asshehurst, and John

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I.
Second
Letters Patent to John
Cabot in
1498; and
again to
others in
1501-2.

¹¹ See Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, p. 76, where an exact copy is given of the original patent.

¹² See Mr. Patrick Fraser Tytler's 'Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America,' ut sup. p. 26. I subjoin part of the

original passage from Peter Martyr. 'Baccalaos Cabottus ipse terras illas appellavit, eò quod in earum pelago tantam repererit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos æmulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis multitudinem,' &c. De Orbe Novo, Decas Tertia, p. 232.

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Thomas, merchants of the towne of Brystowe, and to John Fernandus, Francis Fernandus, and John Gunsolus, borne in the Isle of Surrys, under the obeisance of the Kynge of Portingale.' The next is dated the ninth of December, 1502, leaving out the names of Warde, Thomas, and John Fernandus, and adding that of Hugh Elliott to those of Asshehurst, Gunsolus, and Francis Fernandus¹³.

No permanent results followed, during the reign of Henry the Seventh, from the voyages of discovery thus made under his authority.

No permanent settlements appear to have been made, in consequence of such commissions, in any part of the islands or the continent, which had been discovered by these adventurous merchants and mariners in the western hemisphere. Nor did the king, during the few remaining years of his reign, authorise any further attempts. This is not to be wondered at; for, whilst the danger of such expeditions was certain, their success was doubtful; and the attention of the king was called away too frequently to struggle with and overcome difficulties at home, to allow him either time or power, even if he had possessed the inclination, to plunge voluntarily into those abroad. His caution, also, and sagacity, and, above all, his dread of incurring any expenditure, which seemed not likely to secure an immediate and large return, were sufficient checks against the indulgence of any such inclination. It is possible, moreover, that he might have been influenced by the danger of coming

¹³ The original of the former of these two commissions was likewise discovered, only within the last few years, in the Rolls' Chapel, and is given at length in the Ap-

pendix to the Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, pp. 312, 320. See also p. 107 of the same Memoir; and Rymer's *Fœdera*, xiii. 37—42.

into collision with foreign powers,—especially those whose alliance he most anxiously courted,—if he approached too nearly the borders of those territories which the Papal See, by a most unwarrantable assumption of authority, had already conferred upon them. By a bull of Pope Eugene the Fourth, an exclusive grant had been made, towards the middle of the fifteenth century, to the crown of Portugal, of all the countries which should be discovered from Cape Non or Nun¹⁴ to the continent of India¹⁵; and in 1493, the regions of the western hemisphere were declared, by a decree of Pope Alexander the Sixth, to belong to the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon¹⁶. But the improbability of success from his own enterprises swayed with Henry, it may be believed, more powerfully than the fear of opposition from any other quarter. At all events, the terms of the various commissions to which reference has been made, fully show that he was prepared, if need were, to have incurred the risk of any opposition; and that, had the object of attraction been sufficiently defined, he would have felt no scruple or hesitation in making himself master of regions to which, by natural right, he had as little claim as those sovereigns, whose authority to possess them rested only upon the fiat of the Vatican.

¹⁴ About seven degrees south of Gibraltar.

¹⁵ Robertson's History of America, B. i. C. i. Works, viii. 68, 69.

¹⁶ In order not to interfere with the previous grant made to Portugal, an imaginary line was supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the

westward of the Azores; all to the east of which was bestowed upon the Portuguese, and all to the west upon the Spaniards. Robertson, ut sup. viii. 160. An extract from this grant is given by Chalmers, in his 'Political Annals,' &c., p. 10.

CHAP.
I.

Reasons which prevented Henry the Eighth from making many attempts to discover and acquire foreign possessions.

Failure of expedition fitted out by him in 1517.

His son and successor, Henry the Eighth, made no extensive efforts to discover or acquire foreign possessions. Nor can the reader of general history be at a loss to remember the causes which deterred him from making them. The contests abroad with his rivals of France and Spain, and the Reformation of the Church at home, with its causes and consequences, are sufficient of themselves to tell us what conflicting interests, what formidable dangers, what violent agitations there were, which, throughout that long reign, occupied the attention of the king and nation. But, although thus shut out generally from the public mind, the attempts to carry on the discoveries, which in the former reign had been begun, were not wholly laid aside. We find, accordingly, that, in the year 1517, the eighth year of Henry the Eighth, the king ‘furnished and set forth certen shippes, under the governance of Sebastian Cabot,’ to explore the western world. And Eden, the friend of Cabot, and translator of the work of Sebastian Munster¹⁷, to which we are principally indebted for a knowledge of this expedition, states, in his dedication to the Earl of Northumberland, who was then Lord High Admiral¹⁸, that it failed only

¹⁷ The following is the title of the work :— ‘ A treatyse of the Newe India, with other newe founde landes and islandes, as well Eastwarde as Westwarde, as they are knowen and founde in these oure dayes after the description of Sebastian Munster, in his booke of Universal Cosmographie ; wherein the diligent reader may see the good successe and rewarde of noble and honeste enterprizes,

by the which not only worldly ryches are obtained, but also God is glorified, and the Christian fayth enlarged. Translated out of Latin into English by Rycharde Eden. Præter Spem sub spe. Imprinted at London, in Lombarde street, by Edward Sutton, 1553.’ See Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, p. 103; also Hakluyt, iii. 591, 592.

¹⁸ That is, at the time when Eden published his translation, A. D. 1553.

through want of courage on the part of a rival officer, Sir Thomas Perte, who had a share with Cabot in the command of the fleet. 'Had it not been for his faint-heartedness,' adds Eden, 'it myghte happelye have come to passe that that rich treasure, called Perularia, (which is now in Spayne, in the cite of Civile [Seville], and so named, for that in it is kepte the infinite ryches brought thither from the Newfoundland of Peru,) myght longe since have been in the Tower of London, to the kinge's great honoure and welth of this his realme.' We have no means of clearly ascertaining in what way this want of courage, imputed to the naval commander of this expedition, was supposed to operate; but, if it were the means of preventing Englishmen from the commission of those deeds of violence and blood in Peru, which soon afterwards were enacted there by Pizarro and his armies, we may be thankful in the reflection, that, whatsoever other burdens rest upon our country for unworthy treatment of foreign lands, she is at least free from this reproach; and that, let the silver and the gold, heaped up in the coffers of Seville, have been what they might, it was well for England that treasures, thus unrighteously obtained, were not lodged in the stronghold of her metropolis.

With respect to the designs, formed in this reign, towards the acquisition of foreign territories, we may notice a memorial, addressed to Henry the Eighth, by Mr. Robert Thorne¹⁹, an English merchant, who

Memorial
from Robert

¹⁹ Fuller gives an interesting account of Thorne, in his history of the Worthies of England, under the head of Somersetshire, (Bristol,) p. 36.

CHAP.
I.

Thorne, an English merchant residing at Seville in 1527, who urged Henry the Eighth to prosecute the work of discovery, but without effect.

resided at Seville, urging his sovereign to take in hand a scheme which he proposed to his consideration, with reference to that object. He pointed to the North, as the quarter in which Henry ought to prosecute his discoveries; since ‘out of Spaine,’ he said, ‘they haue discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall; and out of Portingall, all the Indies and Seas Orientall; so that by this part of the Orient and Occident, they haue compassed the world.’ He recommended also three courses which the voyagers might pursue; the first to the north-east, which would lead them, as he supposed, to ‘the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the mid-day,’ and thence ‘to the land of the Chinas, and the land of Cathaio Orientall,’ from which, if they continued their navigation, they might ‘fall in with Malaca,’ and return to England ‘by the Cape of Buona Speransa.’ The second course was to the north-west, which would lead them, he said, ‘by the back of the new found land, which of late was discovered by your Grace’s subjects;’ and, pursuing which, they might ‘returne, thorow the streight of Magellan,’ (which had been discovered six years before,) to their own country. The third course, recommended by him, was over the North Pole, after passing which, he suggested that they should ‘goe right toward the Pole Antartike, and then decline towards the lands and Islands situated between the Tropikes, and vnder the equinoctiall,’ and ‘without doubt they shall finde there the richest lands and islands of the world of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other

things that we here esteeme most²⁰.' There appeared, therefore, no lack of bold and ingenious counsel, according to the degree of knowledge at that time possessed, and no small prospect of temporal advantage, which might have stimulated Henry to attempt the acquisition of foreign lands, had other circumstances been favourable to it.

But, whilst the king of England refrained from entering upon any systematic course of action with reference to such schemes, his subjects, as might be expected, ventured upon various commercial enterprises²¹, in the prosecution of which he was careful

²⁰ Hakluyt, i. 235—237. Hakluyt gives also the copy of a letter written by Thorne, in 1527, 'to Doctor Ley, Lord Ambassadour for King Henry the eight,' at the Spanish court, which contains full information of the various discoveries which had been made at that time by Spain and Portugal, i. 237—245.

²¹ Two vessels, one of which was named the 'Dominus Vobiscum,' are stated by Hakluyt to have gone in May, 1527, in consequence of Thorne's Memorial, on a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland and Cape Breton, but returned in the autumn of the same year without any success. Hakluyt, iii. 167. Purchas, likewise, in his Pilgrims, iii. 809, speaks of two ships sent forth by Henry the Eighth, in the same year, 1527, for discovery in those regions to which Thorne had directed his attention. One of these, he says, was lost on the north coast of Newfoundland; and the letter, written to the king by John Rut, the master of the other vessel, describing his condition, is given at length. The letter may perhaps justify the description of it by

Purchas, namely, that it is 'in bad English and worse writing:' nevertheless, its simplicity and evident truthfulness are quite touching. It is dated from the haven of St. John, Aug. 3, 1527, thus bearing witness to the name, said to have been first given by Cabot to that part of the island discovered in 1497, and furnishing perhaps the earliest record extant of the present capital of Newfoundland. He describes it as a good haven, and says that he found therein 'eleven saile of Normans, and one Brittain, and two Portugall barks, and all a fishing.' He signs the letter, 'Your servant, John Rut, to the uttermost of his power.'

In the year 1536, nine years after the above attempt, another effort was made to settle in Newfoundland, by 'Master Robert Hore, and divers other gentlemen,' who, with their respective crews, manned 'two tall ships, The Trinity, and The Minion,' for the expedition; but famine and fatigue carried them all off, says one, from whose narrative all the particulars are recorded by Hakluyt, iii. 168—170.

CHAP.
I.

Increasing
trade of the
English
during his
reign, to the
coast of
Guinea and
the Levant.

to extend to them every encouragement and protection. To the coast of Guinea, for example, at least one voyage had been made as early as the year 1530, the twenty-first of Henry's reign, by Captain Hawkins, father of Sir John²²; and, in 1536, we find the English competing successfully with the Portuguese in their trade upon that coast, and bringing home gold-dust and elephants' teeth²³. The English trade with the Levant also may be dated from a still earlier period, even the second year of Henry the Eighth, 1511²⁴; and, in 1513, he appointed a consul at Scio to watch over and protect its interests²⁵. A letter, moreover, of Henry the Eighth is extant, addressed in 1531 to King John of Portugal, in which he complained of certain injuries inflicted by the Portuguese upon the agents of John Gresham, merchant of London, in their trade with the islands of Candia

²² Macpherson's Annals, ii. 80.

²³ Anderson's History of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 80.

²⁴ The antiquity of the trade with English ships into the Levant, is thus shown by Hakluyt: 'In the yeeres of our Lord, 1511, &c., till the yeere 1534, divers tall ships of London' (the names and owners of which are all given, but it is needless to recite them) 'with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and vsuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti [Beyrout] in Syria. The commodities which they carried thither were fine Kersies of diuers colours, course Kersies, &c.—The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels, and

other wines, &c.—Besides the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, euen in those dayes, traffique with Iewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also; as namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugall ships. All which particulars doe most evidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke, Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer, Alderman of London, of Martin John Gresham, and others; which I, Richard Hakluyt, have diligently perused and copied out.' Hakluyt, ii. 206, 207.

²⁵ Anderson's History of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 46.

and Scio, and demanded reparation for the same. Henry acknowledges, in this letter, the high sense which he entertained of John's character, by reason of 'the daily testimonie' given by his own subjects who trafficked in his dominions²⁶. This 'daily testimonie,' it is evident, implied the frequent and intimate communications, then existing between the merchants of England and those of the continent of Europe; and the vigilance, exercised by Henry in their behalf, was a duty, to which he was of course prompted both by justice and by policy²⁷.

CHAP.
I.
Efforts of
Henry to
protect it.

It is important to observe, in the last place, that the protection, afforded by Henry to those of his subjects whose pursuits led them beyond the coasts of England, was not confined to their temporal interests. Calais was, at that time, the sole foreign possession of the English crown; and, to the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of that city, Archbishop Cranmer strove successfully to direct the thoughts and aid of his sovereign. He would not that the great work of the Reformation should be marred, by coldness and carelessness of heart towards those, who, although separated by a short distance of place, were yet to be made partakers of the same spiritual, as they already were of the same civil, privileges.

Ministra-
tions of the
Church in
Calais, the
only foreign
possession of
England, at
the time of
the Reform-
ation.

²⁶ Hakluyt, ii. 207, 208.

²⁷ It should be observed, that Henry was as careful in making reparation for the injuries committed by his own subjects upon others, as he was to guard them from foreign aggression; witness the 'full and royall recompence

vnto the French,' which he made for the seizure of a vessel of theirs at Newfoundland, in 1536, by his own people, the crews of the 'Trinity' and 'Minion' (see former note, p. 15), when driven to desperation by hunger. Hakluyt, iii. 170.

CHAP.
I.

That work, of which the causes had been long operating, commenced formally in the twenty-third year of Henry's reign, 1532 — the year in which Cranmer was nominated to the See of Canterbury²⁸,—by the enactment of the statute for restraining the payment of annates or first-fruits, and other payments of a temporal character for bulls, pensions, annuities, &c., which had been unlawfully and tyrannically exacted by the court of Rome. Liberty had been granted, under this statute, to the Pope, to redress, if he thought fit, the grievances complained of; in default of which, the king was empowered to restrain the said payments: and this confirmation of its provisions was accordingly made, in the next year, by Letters Patent, in which the statute was recited²⁹. Other steps were soon afterwards taken in the same direction, by the enactment of succeeding statutes, which provided that all causes should be heard and decided by the legitimate tribunals in England; that the appeals respecting them should be no longer addressed to Rome; and that the exactions, which the court of Rome imposed concerning the payment of Peter's-

²⁸ He was not consecrated until the 30th of March, 1533, more than seven months after the date of his predecessor, Archbishop Warham. Le Bas's *Life of Cranmer*, i. 55.

²⁹ Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, i. 191, 192, and iv. 58—60, where the Act is given at length. For an account of the intolerable extortions and exces-

sive rapine of the court of Rome, and its extreme violations of all sorts of rights, civil and ecclesiastical, see Archbishop Bramhall's '*Just Vindication of the Church of England*,' (Oxford, 1842,) pp. 180—184; and for an account of the scale of prices for Papal dispensations and indulgences, &c. see Marchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*. (Art. *Taxæ Sac. et Can.*)

pence and dispensations, should cease³⁰. Finally, in the twenty-sixth year of Henry's reign, towards the end of 1534, that Act was passed, which put an end to the Papal supremacy in England, and gave to the king and his council power to order and reform all indulgences and privileges (or the abuses of them) which had been granted by the See of Rome³¹. The passing of these various statutes, was the concurrent act of the Church and of the State. It was so declared by the voice, with only one exception³², of her Bishops and Abbots in Parliament; acknowledged by the consent of all ranks of her Clergy in the provincial synods of Canterbury and York; argued and determined in both our Universities, and other ecclesiastical bodies; and received and established in full Parliament by the free consent of all orders of the kingdom³³. The work, to which they thus put their hand, was the lawful and valid suppression of wrong, which an usurped authority had imposed upon the nation; the open vindication and restoration of truth, to which the Universal Church had ever borne witness.

CHAP.
I.

At such a crisis, we think it important to observe the course which England pursued, towards the only foreign possession which then belonged to her. In the year following that which witnessed the last

³⁰ 24 Henry VIII. c. 12, and 25 Henry VIII. c. 19. 25 Henry VIII. c. 21.

³¹ 26 Henry VIII. c. 1. This act was confirmed and extended by 28 Henry VIII. c. 16 and 10. See Burnet's History of the Re-

formation, i. 236, 237. Bramhall's Vindication, &c. p. 117.

³² The Bishop of Rochester (Fisher). Burnet, i. 234. Bramhall's Vindication, &c. p. 121.

³³ Bramhall's Vindication, &c. pp. 114, 115.

CHAP.
I.

and most important change among the many which have been adverted to, we find Cranmer writing the following letter to Cromwell, and expressing his intention of sending two chaplains to Calais:—

Letters of
Archbishop
Cranmer on
the subject
in 1535.

‘ Right worshipful Master Secretary, I commend me heartily to you: likewise praying you to have in your good remembrance the contents of such of my letters, as I of late sent unto you, for the King’s Grace’s letters to be obtained and directed to the Lord Deputy of Calise, and other his Grace’s Counsellors there, in the favour of two such chaplains of mine, as I intend to send thither with all speed, to preach the Word of God; whom I would have sent thither before this time, if I might have had the said letters, for which this bearer doth only repair unto you for expedition therein, whom I pray you to dispatch as soon as you may. From Knoll, the 22. day of January, [1535.]

‘ Your own assured ever,

‘ Thomas Cantuar.

‘ To the Worshipful and my very loving friend Master Cromwell, Secretary to the King’s most noble Grace ³⁴.’

The same matter was urged by the Archbishop, in another form, in a second letter to Cromwell, towards the end of the same year:—

‘ Right Worshipful, in my most hearty-wise I commend me unto you. And whereas among other of the King’s dominions, within this his realm, there

³⁴ Jenkyns’s Edition of Cranmer’s Remains, i. 126.

is no part (in my opinion) that more needeth good instruction of the word of God, or aid of learned curates to be resident, than doth the town and marches of Calice, considering specially, not alonely the great ignorance and blindness, as well of the heads now resident there, as of the common and vulgar people, in the doctrine and knowledge of Scripture, but also having respect unto the universal concourse of aliens and strangers, which daily diverteth and resorteth thither, I think that it will no less be a charitable and godly deed than a singular commodity for this realm, to have in those parties at the least two learned persons planted and settled there by the King's authority in some honest living, whose sincerity in conversation of living and teaching shall shortly (no doubt) clearly extinct and extirpate all manner of hypocrisy, false faith, and blindness of God and his word, wherein now the inhabitants there be altogether wrapt, to the no little slander (I fear me) of this realm and prejudice of the good and laudable Acts³⁵ lately conceived by the King's Grace and his high Court of Parliament; which thing to reform lieth much in you, in case you will but move the King's Highness, (forasmuch as the collations of the benefices there belongeth unto his Grace,) to give them as they fall, unto such men as be both able and willing to do God and his Grace acceptable service in discharging of their cures.

‘In consideration hereof, and inasmuch as I am

³⁵ Namely, the various Acts passed in the Sessions of January against the authority of the Pope, and November, 1534.

CHAP.
1.

advertised that the parsonage of St. Peter's besides Calice, is like shortly to be void, and in the King's Grace's disposition, I beseech you either to obtain the same for Master Garret, whose learning and conversation is known to be right good and honest, or else for some other as is so able and willing to discharge the same as he is. Wherein I assure you that you shall accomplish a right meritorious deed before God, and deserve condign thanks hereafter of your prince for promoting of so great a commodity for his realm.

'And whereas, I am informed that the curate of St. Mary's within Calice, intendeth to make suit unto you for the said benefice; I pray you not to regard his suit, for I hear that he is nothing meet for that room, specially in this world of reformation.—At Otterforde the viiiith day of October.

'Your own ever assured,

'T. Cantuarien.

'To the Right Worshipful and my singular good friend, Mr. Secretary³⁶.'

Similar evidences of the desire, entertained by the Archbishop to promote the welfare of Calais, may be traced in the efforts which he made, a few years afterwards, to appoint an efficient commissary, and to secure the proper reading of the Holy Scriptures, in that city³⁷; and also in the reasons which he

³⁶ Jenkyns's Edition of Cranmer's Remains, i. 144—146.

³⁷ The letter which contains this evidence is dated Croydon, July

13, 1539, and addressed 'To the Right Honourable my Lord Lyle, the King's Deputy at Calyce.' Jenkyns, ut sup. i. 283.

urged, in favour of the appointment of Nicolas Bacon, to the office of town clerk of Calais, in 1538³⁸. CHAP. I.

It is obviously a point of no little interest to observe these various instances of the anxiety and care with which the spiritual interests of the one foreign city, possessed at that time by England, were regarded by the spiritual and temporal rulers of her Church.

³⁸ Nicolas Bacon was afterwards, in the reign of Elizabeth, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Cranmer recommends him to the office mentioned in the text, on the express ground that he knew him 'entirely to be both of such towardness in the law, and of so good judgment touching Christ's religion, that in that stead he shall be able to do God and the King right acceptable service.' Ibid. i. 273.

CHAPTER II.

ATTEMPTS TOWARDS COLONIZATION IN THE REIGNS
OF EDWARD THE SIXTH AND MARY.

A.D. 1547—1558.

Renewal of attempts to extend intercourse with foreign countries in the reign of Edward the Sixth—State of the Church and Nation at that time—The design of Edward to open a communication with the countries in the North-East of Europe—Letters Missive from Edward to the rulers of those countries—Sebastian Cabot's instructions to Sir Hugh Willoughby's fleet sent by the North-East passage—Recognition made therein of the sacred obligations resting upon a Christian people—Departure of the expedition, May 20, 1553—Death of Sir Hugh Willoughby—Chancellor, one of his colleagues, succeeded in reaching Archangel—Intercourse of English with the Levant, in the reign of Edward the Sixth—Commercial relations established by Mary between England and Russia, in consequence of the expedition fitted out in Edward's reign—Mary's reign not favourable to colonization—Causes thereof—Attempts made again towards the North-East passage in 1556, by Steven Burrough, and by others of Mary's subjects, in other directions, to extend their commerce, but without success.

CHAP.

II.

Renewal of attempts to extend intercourse with foreign countries in the reign of Edward the Sixth.

IN the next and short reign of Edward the Sixth, a fresh effort was made to extend the intercourse and commerce of England with foreign countries. The plan then acted upon failed, it is true, to accomplish its ulterior and avowed object, namely, that of reaching the Asiatic Continent by the North-East passage; and the leader of the expedition, and most of his followers, perished. But, as the character of



enterprises such as these is not always to be determined by their results, so the issue, however disastrous, of any scheme of man's device, should not make us forgetful of the principles, from which it derived its origin, or of the agents, by whom its course of operation was directed.

State of the
Church and
Nation at
that time.

And, certainly,—when we call to mind the state of the Church and Nation during that period, and remember that the struggles, experienced in effecting the various acts of the Reformation, which the preceding reign had witnessed, were followed by a large share of those blessings, which have survived the many trials which have since assailed them, and are the inheritance of our Church at this day,—it is matter of no ordinary moment to observe in what manner they, who first shared the blessings, were mindful of the responsibilities which accompanied them. The abolition of the Papal supremacy had been followed by the rejection of the doctrine of purgatory, of indulgences, of the worshipping of saints and images, and of the constrained celibacy of the Clergy. The Scriptures were translated, read, and expounded to the people; the cup was no longer withheld from communicants, in the administration of the Supper of the Lord; and, in all the other offices of public devotion, the prayers and praises of the assembled worshippers were repeated no longer in a foreign, but in their native tongue¹.

These were among the mercies which, after many

¹ See Palmer's Treatise on the Church, (first edition,) i. 472—478, and 506—508; and the authorities there cited.

CHAP.
II.

The design of Edward to open a communication with the countries in the North-East of Europe.

a fierce conflict, were secured to the Church of England in that day of her Reformation, and we gratefully record them, yea, hold in affectionate remembrance the names of those faithful servants of God who gained and transmitted them to us. We dare not, in our own day of difficulty and strife, increase the weight of our burdens by disparaging or reproaching the work of their hands. True, the record of that work is marred and blotted by many a token of infirmity, of fraud, of violence, on the part of some who directed its course; but, if it be God's high prerogative to bring good out of evil, and to make even "the fierceness of man turn to" His "praise²," it is the accomplishment of that result which should lead us the more thankfully to cherish His gifts. True, the estrangement between Christian Churches is most painful; yet we must remember that 'it is not the separation, but the cause, that makes a schismatic;' and if, as we have seen already, the act or statute of our separation from the Court of Rome did not create a new right, but only manifested and restored the old one; if the whole history of the contest shows that, in no one point, can heresy or schism be proved against us; if our separation from the Church, as well as from the Court of Rome, was not our act, but theirs, the necessary consequence of their unjust and tyrannical censures, excommunications, and interdictions³; if 'we have not separated ourselves, simply and absolutely, from the com-

² Ps. lxxvi. 10.

³ See Bramhall's Vindication, Bishop of Chalcedon, chap. i. &c. pp. 113 and 128. See also Bramhall's Replication to the sect. i. Works, ii. 58, &c.

munion of any particular church whatsoever, even the Roman itself, so far forth as it is Catholic, but only from their errors, wherein they had first separated themselves from their predecessors⁴;—then it is clearly our duty to dwell, not upon the evils which accompanied, but upon the blessings which have followed, our separation from Rome; and we should regard our present state, among the Churches of Christendom, as one which God hath favoured with His especial mercy,—a state, which must not be brought into jeopardy by our self-will or waywardness.

Let us turn, then, to contemplate the manner in which those spiritual and temporal rulers of our Church who were first called to this state, sought to hold intercourse with foreign lands; and we shall find, in the plans which they devised for the accomplishment of that object, evidence which proves them to have been mindful of the high trust committed to their hands as stewards of Almighty God. Theirs was not, as we have seen in

⁴ Bramhall's Vindication, &c. p. 257. In another part of the same work, he says, 'we do not arrogate to ourselves either a new church, or a new religion, or new holy orders; for then we must produce new miracles, new revelations, and new cloven tongues, for our justification. Our religion is the same it was, our church the same it was, our holy orders the same they were in substance, differing only from what they were formerly, as a garden weeded from a garden unweeded; or a body purged,

from itself before it was purged. And therefore, as we presume not to make new articles of faith, much less to obtrude such innovations upon others, so we are not willing to receive them from others, or to mingle scholastical opinions with fundamental truths, which hath given occasion to some to call our religion a negative religion; not considering that our positive articles are those general truths, about which there is no controversy. Our negation is only of human controverted additions,' pp. 199, 200.

CHAP.
II.

the reign of the seventh Henry, the putting forth the strong arm of avarice to grasp territories not their own; nor, as in the case of Portugal and Spain, the sheltering such unjust annexations of distant provinces under the impious decrees of Romish pontiffs. Not by such impulses, nor such pleas, were Edward and his counsellors directed, when they looked abroad towards distant and unknown countries. It was the peaceful and beneficial interchange of the commodities of those countries with their own, which they were anxious to secure; and that, too, by the exercise of just and honourable means. The commerce, with that part of the western hemisphere which had hitherto been almost the only part explored by Englishmen,—namely, Newfoundland,—and which was already beginning to furnish profitable employment to our mariners and merchants, Edward sought, in the earliest years of his reign, to regulate by salutary enactments^o; and the measures, which he soon afterwards adopted for the purpose of opening an intercourse with countries in the opposite quarter of the world, bore no less evidently the character of wisdom and faithfulness.

Letters Mis-
sive from
Edward to

Distinct testimony to this fact is furnished in the Letters Missive, which, in the seventh and last year

^o These are to be found in 'an act,' recited by Hakluyt, iii. 170, 'against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for license to traffique into Iseland and Newfoundland, made in An. 2. Edwardi Sexti.' 'By this acte,' he adds, 'it appeareth that the trade

out of England to Newfoundland was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yeere 1548. and it is much to be marueiled, that by the negligence of our men, the country in all this time hath bene no better searched.'

CHAP.
II.
the rulers
of those
countries.

of his reign, he caused to be written, in Greek and other languages as well as in English, and addressed to the potentates of the North-East of Europe. He had undertaken to send a fleet, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in that direction, by a passage then deemed practicable, with the purpose of proceeding ultimately to Cathay or China; and, in these letters, he reminded the princes to whom he wrote, that, ‘as the great and Almighty God hath giuen vnto mankinde, aboue all other living creatures, such an heart and desire, that euery man desireth to ioine friendship with other, to loue, and be loued, also to giue and receiue mutual benefites; it is therefore the duety of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially to shew this good affection to such, as beeing moued with this desire, come vnto them from farre countreis.’ The enterprises, therefore, of ‘marchants, who, wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea,’ ought to be regarded, he told them, with especial interest and favour; ‘for the God of heauen and earth greatly prouiding for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the ende that one should haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendship might be established among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all.’ He then commended to the care of all, who had rule in those unknown regions with which his subjects were then about to open intercourse, those to whom he had

CHAP.
II.

given his royal license to undertake the work ; and entreated them, for the sake of ‘all humanitie and for the nobilitie which’ was in them, ‘to ayde and helpe, his trusty servants with such things as they lacked, ‘receiuing againe of them such things as they shall bee able to giue in recompense. Shew yourselues so towards them,’ are his words, ‘as you would that we and our subiects should shewe ourselues towards your seruants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions⁶.’

Sebastian Cabot's instructions to Sir Hugh Willoughby's fleet sent by the North-East passage.

The instructions, also, which Sebastian Cabot drew up for the guidance and management of the fleet appointed to carry these Letters Missive of the king to the unexplored regions of the North and East, supply fresh and memorable evidence of the faithful spirit with which this expedition was designed. That celebrated navigator was now in the evening of his life. The energies of his earliest manhood, we have seen, had been enlisted in the service of England ; and, after the lapse of many years, which were employed by him in the high office of Pilot Major under the crown of Spain, in extending the possessions of that country in South America⁷, he returned

⁶ Hakluyt, i. 257, 258.

⁷ During the residence of Sebastian Cabot at Madrid, he became the companion and friend of Peter Martyr, the historian, who, in the account which he gives of the discovery made by him of Newfoundland, speaks, in the following terms, of the navigator himself, and of the expedition which he was about to undertake

in the service of Spain : ‘Familiarum habeo domi Cabottum ipsum et contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à rege nostro Catholico post Henrici majoris Britanniae regis mortem, concurialis noster est ; expectatque indies, ut navigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturae latens, jam tandem detegatur. Martio mense anni futuri MDXVI.

to England, and made it once more his home. He was introduced to the notice of Edward by the Protector Somerset; and, in the second year of his reign, received, by Patent, a pension of one hundred and sixty pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, 'in consideration of the good and acceptable service done by him⁸.' He was appointed also to the office of Grand Pilot of England; and, being greatly in the king's confidence, was constantly consulted by him in all matters relating to navigation and commerce⁹. The expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby owed its design entirely to Cabot¹⁰; and the code of in-

puto ad explorandum discessurum.' *De Orbe Novo, Decas Tertia*, p. 233.

In one of the expeditions undertaken by Cabot, whilst he was in the service of Spain, and in which he discovered the River Plate, he was accompanied by two Englishmen; and the account of it is given in Hakluyt, iv. 228.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that Peter Martyr, the historian of the New World, must not be confounded with the celebrated divine of the same name, who, on the invitation of Cranmer, settled in England, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, and was appointed to the theological professorship at Oxford, about the same time that Martin Bucer was appointed to the same office at Cambridge.

⁸ The copy of the Patent is given by Hakluyt, iii. 31. Strype notices another pecuniary grant bestowed upon him during this reign. 'To Sebastian Cabote (the great Seaman) 200l. by way of

the king's Majesty's reward. Dated in March 1551.' *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, iv. 217. Strype also informs us, that the Emperor Charles the Fifth had been most desirous that Cabot should return to the service of Spain, and through his ambassadors had urged his recall, at the end of the year 1549. Strype expresses his opinion that this summons had no effect upon Cabot, but that he continued to reside in Bristol. *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, iii. 296.

⁹ These were matters which, according to Bishop Burnet, were regarded with the deepest interest by Edward. 'He knew all the harbours and ports, both of his own dominions and of France and Scotland; and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them. He had acquired a great knowledge in foreign affairs,' &c. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, ii. 357.

¹⁰ Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, iii. 296, and iv. 76.

CHAP.
II.

structions for the fleet was drawn up by his own hand. The title is as follows:—

‘Ordinances, instructions, and aduertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and deliuered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, gouernor of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reigne of our most dread soueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supream head¹¹.’

The ships, composing the fleet, were three in number; namely, the *Bona Esperanza*, one hundred and twenty tons burden, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, captain general; the *Edward Bona-ventura*, of one hundred and sixty tons burden, commanded by Richard Chancelor, Pilot major; and the *Bona Confidentia*, of ninety tons, Cornelius Durfoorth, Master¹². Twelve Counsellors were also appointed for the expedition, among whom may be noticed the name of ‘Master Richard Stafford, Minister¹³,’ whose duties are specially insisted upon in the code of instructions to which we have referred. After setting forth, in that code, divers rules

¹¹ Hakluyt, i. 251.

¹² Hakluyt, i. 258, 259.

¹³ Hakluyt, i. 255.



Recognition
made there-
in of the
sacred obli-
gations rest-
ing upon a
Christian
people.

for the navigation and internal management of the ships,—rules, which, by the concurrent testimony of all best acquainted with the subject who have examined them, are marked throughout by consummate prudence, shrewdness, and sagacity,—Cabot enjoined the two following, which are quoted for the purpose of showing the spirit with which they who stood in the high places of the earth, in that day, were actuated, and the pains which they took to provide for all, who went abroad to foreign lands, the same privileges and means of spiritual help which were enjoyed and exercised by themselves at home.

‘12. Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be vsed in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or vngodly talke to be suffred in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diuelish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not onely pouertie to the players, but also strife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murder to the vtter destruction of the parties, and prouoking of God’s most iust wrath, and sworde of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, and contagion of vices, and sinnes to be eschewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reforming, to bee punished at the discretion of the captaine and master as apertaineth.

‘13. Item, that the morning and euening prayer, with other common seruices appointed by the king’s Maiestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in euery ship daily by the minister

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in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read deuoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Nauigants accordingly.'

One more extract may be given from the last item of instruction, in which, having exhorted them to chasten 'charitably with brotherly loue' every symptom of strife and confusion which might arise among them, and to be obedient 'not only for duetie and conscience sake towards God, vnder whose mercifull hand navigants aboue all other creatures naturally bee most nigh, and vicine, but also for worldly and prudent pollicie,' &c., the venerable Cabot prays unto the 'liuing God,' in behalf of his brother mariners, that He might give them 'his grace to accomplish' their 'charge to his glorie,' and that his 'merciful hand' might 'prosper' their 'voyage, and preserue' them 'from all dangers'¹⁴.'

The men, to whom such instructions and aids were given, and for whom such supplications were offered up, assuredly could not say that no man cared for their souls. The Word of God was with them; the ordinances and ministrations of His Church waited upon them¹⁵. And it were well, if the expeditions which left the shores of England, in after ages, had always carried with them similar tokens of pious and

¹⁴ Hakluyt, i. 252, and 255.

¹⁵ 'So that this,' says Fuller, and Preaching therein.' Worthies of England, (Derbyshire,) of which county Willoughby was a native, Fleet, which had English Prayers p. 234.

affectionate remembrance on the part of those who remained and bore rule at home. But we will not anticipate the sad records of unfaithfulness and neglect. Let the history, which is to pass in review before us, reveal them; and let us, ere it be too late, see that we take warning from it.

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It forms, of course, no part of our present purpose to trace, in minute detail, the progress of maritime discovery; although a general notice of it appears to be inseparable from the work we have in hand. The particulars, therefore, of the expedition, whose equipment and objects we have thus far noticed, must be learnt from the narratives of the writers who have carefully related them¹⁶. We can do little more than touch upon the points, immediately connected with the object which we have in view. The description, however, given in one of the above-mentioned narratives of the squadron, when about to sail, is too remarkable to be overlooked. 'It was thought best by the opinion of them all,' says Chancellor, the only commander in the expedition who survived, 'that by the twentieth day of May the Captaines and Mariners should take shipping and depart from Radcliffe vpon the ebbe, if it

Departure
of the ex-
pedition
May 20,
1553.

¹⁶ Namely, the Journal of Sir Hugh Willoughby until the time of his death, Hakluyt, i. 260—263; and the account of the voyage and subsequent discoveries in Russia, 'written in Latine by Clement Adams, schoolemaster to the Queenes henshmen, as he re-

ceiued it at the mouth of Richard Chancellor, Pilot maior of the fleet, and Commander of the Edward Bonaventura.' Hakluyt, i. 270—284. This is the same Clement Adams, who carved the map of Sebastian Cabot's discoveries, which we have noted at p. 2.

pleased God. They hauing saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolkes, and another his friends deerer then his kinsfolkes, were present and ready at the day appointed: and having wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily, came first to Greenewich. The greater shippes are towed downe with boates and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in watchet or skie-coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich, (where the Court then lay,) presently vpon the newes thereof, the courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke vpon the shoare: the priuie counsel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the shippes hereupon discharge their ordinance, and shoot off their pieces after the manner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys, and the waters gaue an eccho, and the mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stode in the poepe of the ship, and by his gesture bids farewell to his friendes in the best manner hee could. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbs the shrowds, another stands vpon the maine yarde, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas), the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared), hee onely by reason of his



sicknesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorrowfull accident of his death followed¹⁷;

The outline of the fortunes of the expedition must be briefly given. The journal of its chief commander, Sir Hugh Willoughby, written in his own hand, informs us, that early in the following August, when he was in sight of an island called Seynan¹⁸, in seventy degrees latitude, he was overtaken by a violent storm, in which he parted company with one of his ships, the Bonaventura; that his own vessel, and her remaining consort, proceeded in a north-easterly course, occasionally descrying land; but not putting in any where, until, on the eighteenth of September, they entered a haven of Russian Lapland, called Arzina, where they determined to winter. That winter was their last¹⁹. The exact time at which they perished is not known, for not a single survivor of either crew remained to tell the sad story²⁰; but it appears by a will, found afterwards in

Death of Sir
Hugh Wil-
loughby.

¹⁷ Hakluyt, i. 272.

¹⁸ Supposed to be the island which, in the present charts, is marked with the name of Senjen. — Captain Burney's History of North-Eastern Voyages, p. 10.

¹⁹ Such was the Briton's fate, As with first prow (what have not Britons dared?)

He for the passage sought, attempted since
So much in vain, and seeming to be shut

By jealous nature with eternal bars.

In these fell regions, in Arzina caught,

And to the stony deep his idle ship

Immediate sealed, he with his hapless crew,

Each full-exerted at his several task.

Froze into statues; to the cordage glued

The sailor, and the pilot to the helm.

Thomson's Seasons, Winter.

²⁰ 'We are bound,' says Fuller, in his notice of Willoughby already quoted, (p. 34, note) 'to believe them well prepared for death, tho rather because they had with them a minister, Mr.

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Chancellor,
one of his
colleagues,
succeeded in
reaching
Archangel.

one of the vessels which contained the frozen bodies of the dead, that Willoughby and most of his company were still dragging on their existence in January, 1554²¹. The vessel, which had been parted from them in the storm, and to the captain of which, Richard Chancellor, we are indebted for all our information upon the subject, succeeded in making good her voyage to the coast near Archangel, where her people were received with great kindness and hospitality by the inhabitants of the country. Her commander was, after some delay, conducted by them to Moscow, to the presence of the Russian Emperor, Ivan Vasilivich²². The Letters Missive from Edward the Sixth were delivered and read; and Chancellor and his companions entertained with much magnificence. They returned to England, the year after they had left it, bearing with them most favorable proposals from the Russian Emperor to the British Sovereign, for the establishment of commercial relations between the two countries²³.

These proposals were received, not by him to whom they were formally addressed,—for Edward had died soon after the expedition sailed,—but by

Richard Stafford.' There is a most touching passage in Chancellor's narrative, in which, not yet having learnt what had been the fate of his comrades, he says, 'If it be so, that any miserable mishap haue ouertaken them, if the rage and furie of the sea haue deuoured these good men, or if as yet they liue and wander up and downe in strange countreys, I must needs

say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wish them safetie and a good returne; but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God send them a Christian graue and sepulchre.' Hakluyt, i. 273.

²¹ Hakluyt, i. 263.

²² Hakluyt, i. 274.

²³ Hakluyt, i. 284.

Mary his successor. Important consequences soon followed this 'strange and wonderful discovery of Russia,' as Fuller terms it²⁴; but, before we proceed to the consideration of them, we may notice briefly the efforts made, during Edward's reign, to establish intercourse with other quarters of the world. The record is still extant of a trading voyage made by Roger Bodenham, in 1550, to Scio and Candia, the Ionian isles, and Sicily; and Chancellor, who, as we have just seen, was the first Englishman who opened a way of communication with Russia, then accompanied him²⁵. Again, we have the narrative of another voyage made by John Locke, in 1553, to Leghorn, whence he journeyed by land to Venice, and sailed from that port in company with some German, Dutch, and French pilgrims, to Jaffa, touching at several parts of the coast of the Adriatic, and at Candia, as he passed along. From Jaffa, he proceeded to Jerusalem, and has given a full account of the Holy City, and its neighbourhood²⁶. Another Englishman, also, named Anthonie Jenkinson, whose services we shall have to notice more particularly in the next chapter, visited Aleppo in the same year,—the last

Intercourse
of the Eng-
lish with the
Levant, in
the reign of
Edward VI.

²⁴ See his notice of William Howard, first baron of Effingham, whom, upon the authority of Hakluyt, he names as 'one of the first favourers and furtherers' of the expedition. *Worthies of England*. (Surrey, p. 89.) It may be here noted, that, although the object of the expedition was frustrated, the commercial relations of England with Russia were not only established thereby, but further, a way

was pointed out to our mariners to the whale-fishery at Spitzbergen. Anderson's *History of Commerce* in Macpherson's *Annals*, ii. 115.

²⁵ Hakluyt, ii. 210. 212. Bodenham, after a long residence in Seville, made a voyage to Mexico, in 1564; and was one of the first English commanders who ever visited that country. Hakluyt, iii. 540, 541.

²⁶ Hakluyt, ii. 212—225.

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of Edward's reign,—and gives a description of the entrance of Solyman, the Magnificent, into that city, with his army, 'most pompous to behold,' which he was leading against Persia. He received, at the same time, from that Sultan a letter, granting to him the privilege of travelling, and carrying on trade unmolested, throughout the Turkish dominions²⁷.

The only other measures during the reign of Edward the Sixth which call for any notice, as tending to promote the commercial influence of England, are the treaty which he concluded with Henry the Second of France, in 1550²⁸, and the stop which he put to the privileges, which the Steelyard or Hanseatic merchants had enjoyed, ever since the time of Edward the Fourth, in the exportation of English manufactured cloths to Flanders²⁹.

Commercial relations established by Mary between England and Russia, in consequence of the expedition fitted out by Edward.

Upon the accession of Mary to the throne, the opportunity soon presented itself of establishing commercial relations with Russia, and she availed herself of it to the uttermost. Arrangements were forthwith made to act upon the proposals which Chancelor had brought from the Russian Emperor; and a charter of incorporation was granted by Philip and Mary, on the fifth of February, 1554, to the

²⁷ Hakluyt, ii. 225—227.

²⁸ Anderson's History of Commerce in Macpherson's Annals, ii 105.

²⁹ Ibid. pp. 109—111. It is there stated that the English Merchants shipped 40,000 cloths for Flanders, that same year; and that the Regent of Flanders, as

well as the city of Hamburgh, earnestly solicited to have the Steelyard merchants re-instated, but to no purpose. For an account of the original establishment in London of the Steelyard, and its privileges, see Anderson's History of Commerce, ut sup. i. 690—692, and Strype's Eccles. Mem. iii. 519.

company of merchants trading with Russia, of which Sebastian Cabot was appointed governor, for the term of his natural life, in consideration of having been the chief designer and promoter of the expedition³⁰. Chancellor was again sent out, in the following year, with letters from the English court to that of Moscow, and with agents and factors, appointed by the company, to carry on their expected trade³¹. A second time, Chancellor was received with kindness and courtesy by Ivan Vasilovich; and, upon his return to England in 1556, was accompanied by the Russian Ambassador, Osep Napea. The voyage was most disastrous. On arriving in the Bay of Pitsligo, off the Scottish coast, a storm overtook Chancellor's ship, and dashed her in pieces against the rocks. The life of the ambassador, indeed, was saved; but, in the efforts made to save him, Chancellor himself perished. As soon as tidings of that event reached London, the Queen and the Russia Company spared no pains and expense to compensate Osep Napea for the loss of his property, and the ill treatment which he seems to have received from the people, upon whose coast he had been wrecked. The account of his progress to London, and of his reception,—first, by the authorities of the city, and afterwards by Philip and Mary,

³⁰ Hakluyt, i. 298—304; and Anderson's History of Commerce, ut sup. p. 117. This charter is remarkable, among other things, for the direct opposition which it offers, on the part of sovereigns in

communion with the Church of Rome, to the partition of the globe made by Pope Alexander the Sixth.

³¹ Hakluyt, i. 287—292.

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who gave him audience at their court at Westminster, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1557,—is detailed with more than ordinary minuteness; and supplies not only a most interesting picture of the manners of the day, but also the most signal evidence of the eagerness with which all ranks of the English concurred to do him honour³².

Mary's reign
not favora-
ble to colo-
nization.

With the exception, however, of the measures which followed this commencement of relations with Russia, none seem to have been openly resorted to by Mary with the view to extend the commercial influence of England. This apparent inactivity, on her part, is easily explained. The acquisition of the islands and continents of the Western hemisphere, Mary was fully justified, by every consideration of duty and of policy, in leaving to her consort Philip; since he was monarch of that country to which they had already been assigned by a decree, whose validity, however untenable in itself, was nevertheless acknowledged as supreme by them both. And enterprises such as those, which had engaged the thoughts and prayers of the youthful Edward, and the venerable Cabot, were not likely to be undertaken by her, in any other quarter of the globe; for she looked upon scenes of a far different character. A fearful tragedy was then enacted by those who were then in authority under her, in the cities and provinces of our land; and the brightest hopes of the nation were darkened, and its best strength

Causes
thereof.

³² Hakluyt, i. 318—322, and Stow's Annals, 629—630.

destroyed, whilst they strove to bind its inhabitants once more, under the bondage of that unlawful thralldom, from which, for a season, they had been freed³³.

Some few traces, nevertheless, are to be met with, of individual efforts made by our countrymen, during that unhappy period, to renew and extend the course of adventurous navigation; the most important of which was the fitting out of another vessel by the Russia Company, under the counsel of their governor Cabot, to explore the mouth of the river Ob or Oby, with a view to the discovery of the North-East passage. The vessel was entrusted to the command of Steven Burrough, and leaving England in the spring of 1556, succeeded in proceeding as far eastward as the Vaigatz, which is the name given to an assemblage of islands and strait between Nova Zembla and the continent. A journal of this voyage, and of another made in the next year by Burrough, in search of the yet missing ships of Willoughby, is preserved; but they contain no record which bears upon our present work³⁴.

Attempts made again towards the North-East passage in 1556, by Steven Burrough, and by others of Mary's subjects in other directions to extend their commerce, but without success.

Of the voyages made by Mary's subjects to other quarters of the globe, the chief are those which were made in four successive years, from 1553 to 1557, to Guinea, and Benin, and Barbary³⁵. But so little benefit was derived from these attempts, that we find soon afterwards a letter addressed by one of

³³ See the account drawn up by Mary. Strype's Life of Parker, Parker, (afterwards Archbishop,) i. 67, 68. of the various miseries which befel England during the reign of

³⁴ Hakluyt, i. 318—329.

³⁵ Hakluyt, ii. 464—509.

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the chief commanders of the vessels employed upon that service to his owners, advising them to give up their design³⁶.

There is one object of interest, connected with our present enquiry, which Mary's reign presents, and which may be noted in this place;—namely, that factories of English merchants were established, in course of time, at Moscow and at Archangel, in consequence of the commercial relations now begun; and that these were among the foremost places, which the Church afterwards recognised as the field of her ministrations. Many years, as might be expected, elapsed before the intercourse, thus commenced with the North of Europe, assumed a definite and important character; many difficulties were to be overcome, many interruptions to be experienced, as the course of our history will show, before the intercourse between the two countries could be maintained upon any systematic footing. And, when that was at length secured, the troubles which overtook England in the seventeenth century, were such as to break up every channel through which the streams of peace and holiness could flow for the refreshment of her children in foreign lands. Nevertheless, before the close of that century, negotiations were successfully made for securing to the members of our Church in Russia the free enjoyment of her worship; and assistance towards carrying on the same was extended from their brethren at home.

³⁶ Hakluyt, ii. 515.

Accordingly, we shall find, when we come to notice the earliest published Report of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," —the following statement made under the head of Moscow. 'Here is a factory of English merchants, as at Archangel, where they reside alternately, to whom the Czar has been graciously pleased to give lately as much ground as they shall desire to build a church upon, with other conveniences for the minister, &c., who uses the Liturgy of the Church of England, and who is desired to insert the Czar's name, and his son's, in the Litany, and prayers for the royal family.' A reference is made, also, in the same Report, of 'a benefaction of Greek Liturgies and Testaments for the courtiers; of vulgar Greek Testaments; and of English practical books for the youth and servants of the factory.'

CHAPTER III.

ATTEMPTS TOWARDS COLONIZATION DURING A PART
OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

A. D. 1558 — 1583.

The reign of Elizabeth favorable to the renewal of commercial enterprise—The attempt to extend British commerce, through Russia into Bactria and Persia, by Anthonie Jenkinson in 1558—His second mission in 1561—These and other like attempts partially succeed—New Charter granted by Elizabeth to the Russia Company in 1566—Commercial relations with Russia checked by the death of the emperor, in 1584—Attempt of Pet and Jackman to penetrate the north-east passage in 1580—Evidence of their attention to the ordinances of the Church of God—Intercourse of the English with Iceland and Greenland—The West Indies and parts of South America and Mexico visited by Drake and others—Drake, the first English commander who sailed round the world, 1577-1580—The discoveries of Cavendish, who followed him.

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The reign of Elizabeth favourable to the renewal of commercial enterprise.

MARY's bitter reign was of brief duration. After the lapse of little more than five years, the scene was changed again; and, with the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, returned the worship and other privileges of our Reformed Church, the blessings of internal peace, and the revival of commercial enterprise.

The attempt to extend British commerce through Russia into Bactria and

In Russia, as might be expected from the relations already established with that country, the progress of British commerce was first manifested. The ambassador, who had been sent by the Russian Emperor

to Mary, returned in the last year of that Queen's reign¹, accompanied by Mr. Anthonie Jenkinson, whose name we mentioned at the end of the last chapter: a man, pre-eminant for the skill, and courage, and perseverance, with which he prosecuted his discoveries, both by land and sea. His office was that of agent to the company of English merchants trading with Russia; and certainly they could not have confided their interest to abler hands. He was graciously received by the Russian Emperor, and obtained from him, on the twelfth of April, 1558, permission to proceed to Boghar (Bokhara). The course of his journey, (for the particulars of which we refer to his journal as it is found in Hakluyt²;) was by Novogorod and the river Volga to Astracan, which is situated on the north of the Caspian sea; and, having traversed the whole length of that sea, he disembarked on its southern coast, and journeyed with a caravan of Tartars towards and along the banks of the river Oxus, until he reached Boghar, on the twenty-third of December. He employed himself, during the following winter, in obtaining all the information he could respecting the trade carried on in that and the adjoining countries; and, in March 1559, set out upon his return, raising, as he again crossed the Caspian, 'the red cross of St. George in their flagges for the honour of the Christians, which (he supposes) was never seene on that sea before;' and, having reached Moscow in September, and been kindly received by the Emperor, returned to England in 1560.

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Persia, by
Anthonie
Jenkinson,
in 1558.

¹ Hakluyt, i. 351.

² Hakluyt, i. 362—377.

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His second
mission in
1561.

We pass by the various perils of land, and sea, and robbers, which he had to encounter, and the details of commercial statistics which he acquired; and hasten to notice the results which followed this his first expedition. Letters were forthwith addressed by Elizabeth to the Sophy or Shah of Persia, requesting his protection of her subjects about to proceed to his country. These were accompanied with others to the Emperor of Russia, soliciting his kind offices in furtherance of the same object, and to the Governors of the Company of Merchants, instructing them as to the best manner of proceeding in their duties, and were given to Jenkinson, who set out upon his second mission in 1561. After some delay at the Russian court, he was permitted to proceed by the same course as on the former occasion; and, having disembarked on the south coast of the Caspian, at a port of Hyrcania, was received with great kindness by the king of that country at his city Shamaki, and allowed to have a free passage through his dominions to Persia. Thus, passing near the city of Tebris (Tabreez), he reached on the second of November, 1562, the fortified city of Casbin, about ninety miles north-west of Teheran, where the Shah of Persia kept his court. He was admitted to an audience with the Shah, but failed in obtaining, at that time, any further privilege. The hatred evinced against the Christian faith professed by the English traveller, and the jealousy and intrigues of some Turkish agents who were at that time at Casbin concluding a treaty with Persia, frustrated all his

designs; and had it not been for the friendly watchfulness and interposition of the king of Hircan and his son, his liberty, and even his life, would probably have been forfeited. He was enabled, however, to return unharmed; and, having rendered an account of his proceedings to the Russian Emperor, as he passed through Moscow, and left with the English merchants a copy of the commercial privileges granted by the king of Hircan, he embarked for England; and, after a voyage of great peril, reached it on the twentieth of September, 1564³.

This partial success induced the company of Russia merchants to send other agents into the regions which Jenkinson had thus explored; but the misconduct of some, and the death of others, presented a bar to any great success⁴. One of these agents indeed, Arthur Edwards, succeeded in obtaining, in the year 1566, the privilege which had been denied to Jenkinson, of trading with English goods into Persia. He had several interviews with the Shah upon the subject, and the arrangements which he effected are set forth in a document, dated the sixteenth of June, 1567, and addressed by him to the company under whom he acted⁵.

Whilst Edwards was thus employed in extending the field of commercial labour, Elizabeth granted a new charter for the better government of the Russia Company. It was passed in the year 1566; and, after reciting the discoveries which had been

These and other like attempts partially succeed.

New Charter granted by Elizabeth to the Russia company in 1566.

³ Hakluyt, i. 384—394.

⁴ Hakluyt, i. 395—401.

⁵ Hakluyt, i. 401—407.

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lately made in the Caspian sea, Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, and Persia,—which discoveries, it is expressly stated, were valuable, as likely to lead to the ultimate discovery ‘of the country of Cathaia,’—it sets forth, among other matters, certain provisions for the protection of the company against the interference of private traders; and for the transport of the articles of trade in English vessels only⁶. This charter was followed by additional privileges conferred by the Russian Emperor upon the English who traded in his dominions; and ambassadors⁷ and other agents were sent from each country to the other, for the better settlement of the various regulations connected with them.

Commercial relations with Russia checked by the death of the emperor, in 1584.

The names of those various persons, and the account of their journeys and voyages, and of the commercial decrees, &c., obtained through their agency, are all to be found in the records compiled by the indefatigable Hakluyt⁸. Many curious and interesting particulars occur in the recital; but we must not stop to notice them. Let it suffice to say, that the affairs of the company prospered, and their trade extended into Persia, until the demise of Ivan

⁶ Hakluyt, i. 414—418.

⁷ There is a curious passage in a letter from Henrie Lane, (who was interpreter to the Russian embassy, in 1567,) to Richard Hakluyt, in which he advocates the trade of the ‘princely ancient ornament of fures,’ in the following terms: ‘Great pitie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde

worshipfull Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, graue, and comely: expressing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserued, than these new silks, shagges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.’ Hakluyt, i. 420.

⁸ Hakluyt, i. 425—463.

Vasiliwich. He died, after a reign of fifty-four years, on the eighteenth of April, 1584; and his successor, Pheodor or Theodor, soon manifested such unfriendly feelings towards the English, that Sir Jerome Bowes, who was at that time ambassador from Queen Elizabeth at the Russian court, was compelled to return home⁹. This jealousy on the part of the new Emperor was afterwards so far mitigated, that he granted to Jerome Horsey, the English agent, in 1586, some privileges of trade which had been before withheld¹⁰; and, in 1588, renewed with Elizabeth, in the person of Giles Fletcher, her ambassador, a 'league of amitie' for the purpose of re-establishing the trade of the Russian company¹¹. But it does not appear that the Emperor ever gave any hearty encouragement to the English. His brother-in-law, the Lord Boris Pheodorowich, who succeeded him in the year 1597, was very desirous of favouring them, as is evident from a letter of his to Lord Burghley¹². Yet, it was difficult for the English to regain the ground which they had lost; and the Dutch, who, in the former Emperor's time, had not been scrupulous as to the means

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⁹ Bowes is described as 'being attended upon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole, a learned preacher,' i. 513—525.

¹⁰ Hakluyt, i. 530—532.

¹¹ Hakluyt, i. 533. Fletcher, who was a Doctor of Civil Law, drew up, at the same time, an account of Russia, which is given in Hak-

luyt, i. 534—556. Fuller gives an amusing account of Fletcher, in his enumeration of the eminent civilians who were natives of Kent, and refers particularly to the skill and firmness which he displayed, whilst ambassador at the Russian Court. Worthies of England, (Kent,) p. 78.

¹² The letter is dated in 1590. Hakluyt, i. 562.

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which they employed to get a footing in Russia¹³, were of course not slow to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity afforded to them by the policy of Theodor. It may be said, indeed, that the foundation was then laid by them of that commerce, which they pursued with Russia, almost without a rival, in the following century, when England was rendered powerless by her own unhappy troubles.

Attempt of
Pet and
Jackman to
penetrate
the North-
East passage
in 1580.

The reader will have observed, that the main object sought after, and more than once plainly avowed, in these efforts,—which had now continued for nearly half a century, to maintain an intercourse with Russia, and through her to extend it to the countries situated toward the South and South-East of that extensive empire,—was the discovery of China and of India. The attempt to prosecute that discovery through the North-East passage, by the expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby, had been, in fact, the immediate cause of forming, in the first instance, any relations at all with Russia; and from the small band of survivors of that expedition has arisen the train of historic incident, of which we have just endeavoured to draw the outline. The attempt to penetrate the same passage was soon made again. A commission was issued in the year 1580, with the consent of Elizabeth, by the Russia company, ‘unto Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman for a voyage by them to be made, for discovery of Cathay¹⁴.’ Their course was directed,

¹³ Discourse of Sir Jerome Bowes. Hakluyt, i. 517.

¹⁴ Hakluyt, i. 487—490.

as had been that of Steven Burrough, through the Vaigatz strait; and thence passing the mouth of the river Ob, they were to proceed eastward until they should reach the 'renowned cities', Cambalu, or Quinsay, in Northern China¹⁵. The record of their voyage remains,—like that of so many others, undertaken with a like object in view,—a witness not of the success, but of the courage and zeal, of those who conducted it.

In the instructions given to these commanders, we may notice the provision made for the observance of divine worship on board their vessels, as a token of the faithfulness of those who drew them up. The provision is the more remarkable, since the mention of it occurs incidentally, amid a mass of other directions, as if it were a duty generally recognised and obeyed, and not then, for any special purpose, introduced. The words are, 'Doe you obserue good order in your dayly service, and pray vnto God, so shall you prosper the better¹⁶.' At the close also of the instructions, a reference is made to the work already begun by the emissaries of the Church of Rome in the East. On the supposition of the safe arrival of these voyagers in China, the code of directions drawn up for their guidance proceeds to say, 'You may also haue opportunitie to sail ouer to Iapan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Iesuits of many

Evidence of their attention to the ordinances of the Church of God.

¹⁵ Richard Hakluyt, 'of Eiton, in the countie of Hereford, Esquire,'—the cousin, (we shall see hereafter,) as well as the namesake of our chronicler,—was interested

in this expedition, and gave instructions to Pet and Jackman, which are contained, i. 493—499.

¹⁶ Hakluyt, i. 488.

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countreys of Christendome some, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes you may haue great instruction, and aduise for your affaires in hand ¹⁷.'

Intercourse
of the Eng-
lish with
Iceland and
Greenland.

The knowledge, which the English thus partially acquired, by their voyages to the Northern coast of Russia, led them soon afterwards to acquaint themselves yet further with other parts of those frozen regions. A long account of Iceland, and especially of the Church existing there, was addressed to the King of Denmark in 1592, and is to be found in Hakluyt ¹⁸; and, in the pages of the same chronicler, we meet with a courteous letter written by Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Hølen, in Iceland, 'to Master Hugh Branham, minister of the Church of Harewich, in England,'—whom he addresses as 'his brother and fellow pastour,'—in answer to some enquiries which had been made by the latter, concerning the spiritual condition of that country. The Icelandic Bishop speaks in this letter of the English as 'lordes of the Ocean Sea,' and making 'yearely voyages vnto Gronland' [Greenland], in which country, he says, upon the authority of the chroniclers of Iceland, there were 'certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie ¹⁹.'

The West
Indies, and
parts of
South Ame-
rica and
Mexico,
visited by
Drake and
others.

These were not the only quarters of the globe visited by the subjects of Queen Elizabeth. The seas and islands of the West Indies, and parts of the coast of South America and Mexico, also became known to

¹⁷ Hakluyt, i. 493.

¹⁸ Hakluyt, i. 580—669.

¹⁹ Hakluyt, i. 669. The letter is in Latin,—as are almost all the

documents to which we have referred hitherto,—and accompanied with an English translation.

them, during her reign, and were made the scenes of many a fierce conflict with their Spanish rivals. Hence, those exploits which are associated with the names of Clifford, Earl of Cumberland²⁰, of Hawkins,

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²⁰ An account of the voyages, &c. of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, is to be found in the fourth volume of Purchas's Pilgrims. Some of it is written by the Earl himself, but the greater part 'by that learned man and reverend divine, Dr. Layfield, his lordship's chaplaine and attendant.' A circumstance is related by him as having happened when they were about to proceed on one of their last voyages, which Purchas notes, in the margin, as the 'worthy act of a worthy man,' and which may be cited as illustrating the spirit which animated some of the stirring spirits of that age. 'His lordship,' says Layfield, 'came downe to Portesmouth, the eight of Feb. (1596,) wherein nothing memorable happened till Munday, being the thirteenth of March. While we were at morning prayer, his lordship happened to see a gallant of the company (purposely I name him not) reading of Orlando Furioso; to whom himselfe in person went presently after seruice, all the company being by, and hauing told him we might looke that God would serue us accordingly, if we serued not him better; bad him be sure if againe he tooke him in the like manner, he would cast his booke overboard, and turne himselfe out of the ship,' p. 1155.

The following description of Dominica (at which island Clifford touched, in the course of the voyage to which the above extract refers) may be cited as a fair sample of Layfield's style: 'To describe

this Iland, it lieth North-West and South-East, the soile is very fat, euen in the most neglected places, matching the Garden-plats in England for a rich blacke molde: so Mountainous (certaine in the places where we came neare the Sea coasts) that the Vallies may better be called Pits then Plaines, and withall so vnpassably wooddie, that it is maruailous how those naked soules can be able to pull themselves through them, without renting their naturall cloathes. Some speake of more easie passages in the Inland of the Iland, which make it probable that they leaue those skirts and edges of their Countrie thus of purpose for a wall of defence. These Hills are apparelled with very goodly greene Trees of many sorts. The tallnesse of these vnrequested Trees make the hills seeme more hilly then of themselves happily they are: for they grow so like good children of some happy ciuill body, without enuie or oppression, as that they looke like a proud meddow about Oxford, when after some irruption, Tems is againe cooched low within his owne banks, leauing the earth's Mantle more ruggie and flakie, than otherwise it would haue bin: yea, so much seeme these natural children delighted with equalitie, and withall with multiplication, that hauing growne to a definite stature, without desire of ouertopping others, they willingly let downe their boughes, which being come to the earth againe take roote, as it were to

of Drake, of Cavendish; and to the services of these our celebrated countrymen, are we indebted for our first knowledge of a definite character, respecting those distant quarters of the globe, of which many are now portions of our own colonial empire. Vague and imperfect reports, indeed, had reached England, several years before, of the countries lying on the Eastern coast of South-America. Ships had been fitted out from the ports of London and Southampton to trade with Brazil²¹, as early as the year 1540, and 1542; and the intercourse was kept up from time to time until 1580²². This formed one

continue the succession of their decaying progenitors: and yet they doe continually maintaine themselves in a greene-good liking, through the liberalitie partly of the Sunnes neighbourhood, which prouideth them in that neerenesse to the Sea, of exceeding showres; partly of many fine Riuers, which, to requite the shadow and coolnesse they receive from the Trees, give them back againe a continuall refreshing of very sweet and tastie water.' Purchas's Pilgrims, iv. 1158.

²¹ Brazil was discovered, in 1500, by a Portuguese squadron, which had been fitted out by King Emanuel for the East-Indies, but was driven by a storm upon its coast. Anderson's History of Commerce, &c. ii. 19.

The first Englishman who reached Brazil was Captain William Hawkins, the father of Sir John, as early as the year 1530. He made three voyages to that country in 'a tall and goodly shippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tonnes, called the Paule of

Plimmouth;' and, in the second of these voyages, brought home a Brazilian king, or chieftain, to this country. Hakluyt, iv. 198, 199.

²² Anderson's History of Commerce, &c. ii. 89. A most interesting account is to be found in Hakluyt, iii. 511—540, of a voyage to Mexico, performed by Robert Tomson, an English merchant, in 1553. He proceeded, in the first instance, from Seville, with another Englishman, John Field, who had long resided in that city, to the Canaries; and thence, having met with some more of their countrymen, who were staying there, they all proceeded to Mexico by way of Hispaniola. A description of a storm which overtook them, as they were approaching San Juan de Ulloa, is scarcely inferior to any which is to be found in our language. The persecution, also, which he and his companions suffered upon their arrival at Vera Cruz, on account of their being members of the English Church, and his banishment to Spain, and imprisonment for three years by



channel of information. Another was supplied by the reports of the same countries brought home to Europe, by those who had accompanied Magellan, when he first penetrated, in the year 1520, the straits which still bear his name; and by others of the Portuguese and Spanish nations, who preceded the English in their adventurous and daring expeditions. The stories which they circulated of strange lands, and yet stranger people, were charged, as might be expected, with the many marvellous traditions which the merchant and the mariner received, as they passed onwards in their course; and when transferred, as they soon were, by the writers of fiction at home, to the pages of their romances and plays, added a fresh interest to the scenes which their fancy drew²³.

the Inquisition, are described in terms of most touching and truthful interest. I regret that I cannot find room for the account of a conversation, which took place at the table of one of the chief inhabitants of Mexico, between him and others of the company, on the subject of the Reformation in England, chiefly with reference to the abolition of images, and of the invocation of saints. There is a shrewdness and cogency in the arguments there advanced, a careful perusal of which will well repay the reader, p. 537. The account also given of New Spain, by John Chilton, in 1568, pp. 541—548, and by Henry Hawks, in 1572, pp. 549—558; and the history of the sufferings endured by Miles Philips, and Job Hartop, who accompanied Captain John Haw-

kins, in 1568, to the West Indies, pp. 558—587, are all deserving of attention.

²³ Hence the language which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Caliban, when he confesses the magic authority of his master Prospero, saying,

‘ His art is of such power,
It would control my dam’s god,
Setebos,
And make a vassal of him.’

Tempest, Act i. Scene 2.

Setebos was the object of worship among the Patagonians; and a knowledge of that circumstance could only have been gathered from the recent records and stories, which were in circulation respecting Magellan’s voyage, when Shakspeare thus connected it with the latest of his plays.

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Drake, the first English commander who sailed round the world, 1577—1580.

But Englishmen were now to learn, through more direct and authentic channels, the real position and character of those distant regions to which other nations had pointed the way. Drake was the first English commander who passed, through the Straits of Magellan, into the waters of the South Pacific. He did this in the year 1578, when little more than half a century had elapsed since the first discovery of that passage. The remainder of that season, and the greater part of the year following, were passed by him in prosecuting his discoveries along the Western coast of South America, and among some few of the islands which are scattered throughout the Pacific. He next proceeded as far as forty-three degrees, North latitude,—or, as it is stated in the language of the original narrative, ‘towards the pole Arctike,’—whence, by reason of the severe cold, he retired five degrees southwards, and anchored in ‘a faire and good Baye’, supposed to be that which is now called Port San Francisco, on the coast of California. The inhabitants of that country gave themselves up to Drake, and he took possession of it in the name of Queen Elizabeth, calling it ‘Noua Albion.’ Upon leaving that coast, he steered for the Moluccas or Spice Islands, where he was received kindly by the King of Ternate, the richest and most important island of the groupe. Thence he pursued his course, by way of Java, to the Cape of Good Hope, which he doubled; and, having touched upon the coast of Guinea, for the purpose of supplying his ship with water,—the only one out

of five originally under his command, which had survived the perils of his voyage,—reached England at the close of the year 1580. Thus, within three years from the time in which he had left his native shores, Drake had circumnavigated the world ²⁴.

And here, we may also notice, although it will be to anticipate, in some degree, the order of events, that the course marked out by Drake was followed, in the year 1586, by Cavendish, who scrupled not, in the course of his expedition, to seize and plunder whatsoever came in his way, either by sea or land. He returned home, in somewhat less than two years, laden with the rich spoils which he had thus unrighteously obtained. Tempted by this success, he set out, in 1591, upon another voyage, from which he never returned. At one time his ships were arrested in their course by calms; at another, dispersed by storms; sickness and mutiny broke out among his crews; and, at length, he died through fatigue and disappointment ²⁵.

The discoveries of Cavendish, who followed him.

²⁴ Hakluyt, iv. 232—246. Drake also, as well as Clifford, had a chaplain with him, who has recorded the adventures in which he bore a part; but the advice which the chaplain appears to have given to him, on one occasion, with respect to the mode in which he might repair the losses which he had received from the Spaniards,—although ‘clear in sea-divinity,’ as Fuller terms it, (Holy State, Life of Drake, p. 106; see also Prince’s Worthies of Devon, p. 239,)—was not that which truth or justice could have recognised.

²⁵ Hakluyt, iv. 316—341, and 361—373. This brief notice of Cavendish, or Candish, (as he is sometimes called,) might lead the reader, who is not acquainted with the particulars of his life, to suppose that he was nothing else but a wild and reckless buccaneer. Let the following extract, therefore, which forms the conclusion of his dying letter to Sir Tristram Gorges, his executor, be read; for it is a token, and a most touching one, of a kindly and grateful feeling at work within him:—‘To vse complements of loue (now at my last

breath) were friuolous, but know that I left none in England, whom I loved halfe so well as your selfe : which you in such sort deserued at my hands, as I can by no means requite. I haue left all (that little remaying) vnto you, not to be accomptable for any thing. That which you will (if you finde any ouerplus of remaind, yourself especially being satisfied to your owne desire) give vnto my sister Anne Candish. I haue written to no man liuing but your selfe, leauing all friends and kinsmen, onely reputing you as dearest. Commend me to both your brethren, being glad that your brother Edward escaped so vnfortunate a voyage. I pray giue this copie of my vnhappy proceedings in this Action to none, but onely to Sir George Cary, and tell him, that if I had thought the letter of a dead man

would haue beene acceptable, I would haue written vnto him. I haue taken order with the Master of my ship, to see his peeces of Ordnance deliuered unto him, for hee knoweth them. And if the Roe-bucke bee not returned, then, I haue appointed him to deliuer him two brasse peeces out of this ship, which I pray see performed. I haue now no more to say, but take this last farewell, that you haue lost the louingest friend that was lost by any. Commend me to your wife. No more ; but as you loue God, doe not refuse to vndertake this last request of mine. I pray forget not Master Carey, of Cockington, gratifie him with something : for hee used mee kindly at my departure. Beare with this scribbling : for, I protest, I am scant able to hold a pen in my hand.' Purchas, iv. 1201.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO COLONIZE NEWFOUNDLAND,
IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

A. D. 1583.

The variety and partial success of the discoveries, made during a part of Elizabeth's reign, inducements to colonization—First Charter for that purpose granted to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, June 11, 1578—Terms of the Charter—Recognition made therein of the faith professed in the Church of England—This fact needful to be observed—Further evidence of the same right principle in the narrative of the expedition by M. Edward Haies, a commander of one of the vessels; and also in the report of Sir George Peckham, one of its chief promoters—Errors committed in fitting out the expedition—It leaves England, June 11, 1583—Its arrival at St. John's, Newfoundland—Gilbert takes possession thereof, August 5—Proceeds further on his voyage—Compelled by losses to return home—The perils of his passage—Lost at sea, September 9—Importance of Haies's remarks on the proper objects of foreign discovery, and the spirit in which it ought to be conducted—His appeal to his countrymen to examine the motives which induce them to such exertions—The only true motives declared by him to be a desire to promote God's honour, to release the heathen from their ignorance, and to assist the industrious and relieve the distressed among our countrymen at home—The duty resulting from such motives acknowledged by him to be acceptable unto God; and the opportunity possessed by England of performing it, urged as a reason why she should not be discouraged by the failure of her first attempt at colonization—Similar testimony supplied by Sir George Peckham in his report of the expedition—He desires to prove the lawfulness and advantage of planting settlements in foreign lands—His general argument erroneous in the plea which he attempts to draw from the subjugation of Canaan by Israel—In other respects, he sets forth truly the motives which ought to animate such enterprises—Argument to prove the Queen's title to

possess those countries, curious, but unsound—Nevertheless, the main object, which he seeks to attain, is that which ought ever to be recognized by a Christian land.

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The variety and partial success of the discoveries, made during a part of Elizabeth's reign, inducements to colonization.

First charter for that purpose granted to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, June 11, 1578.

THE necessary consequence of such growing intercourse with different and remote countries of the globe, was to induce the desire of making settlements in some of them; and, as might be expected, those countries which had been first discovered by British mariners, were chosen as the first place in which to make this experiment. Thus, we find that in the twentieth year of Elizabeth, Letters Patent were granted by her to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, and half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, 'for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.' Gilbert is described by Hume as 'the gallant sea adventurer, who distinguished himself in the House of Commons, in the year 1571, as one of the foremost champions in defence of the Queen's prerogative, in opposition to Robert Bell, a Puritan, who had brought forward a motion against the exclusive patent granted by Elizabeth to a company of merchants at Bristol¹.' But not to that cause only is to be ascribed the favour, conferred upon him by the queen, in the present instance. He had already served with great distinction, both abroad² and at home; and, on account of his exploits in Ireland, had been appointed

¹ Hume, v. 184—186. He is described also by Strype as 'a learned knight, and of a projecting head,' who joined with Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary Cecil, the Earl of Leicester, and others, in 1571, in a scheme for transmuting

iron into copper. Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith, pp. 100—102.

² See the notice of him in Sir Roger Williams's account of the wars of France and the Low Countries. Somers' Tracts, i. 358—365. (2nd edit.)

to the chief command in the province of Munster. A Discourse, also, which he published in 1576, for the purpose of proving the existence of a passage by the North-West to Cathaia and the East Indies³, shows the long and careful attention which he had directed to that subject, and the variety of learning, of practical information, and of ingenious reasoning, which he had brought to bear upon it. Hakluyt further mentions a disputation, which he held upon that subject, before Queen Elizabeth, with Antonie Jenkinson, whose feats of travel we have already noticed⁴. On every account, therefore, Gilbert may have been deemed worthy of being selected as the leader in this perilous undertaking, and may be regarded as an admirable specimen of those men of high family in that reign, who, as the great poet and dramatist of the age has described them, were not suffered 'to spend' their 'youth at home,' but sent

' Some, to the wars, to try their fortune there,
Some, to discover islands far away⁵.'

The power conferred upon Gilbert by the Letters Patent, which he received from his sovereign, and which bear date the eleventh of June, 1578, was nothing less than that of holding, occupying, and enjoying, by himself and his heirs and assigns, any country and territory which he might discover, 'not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people;' of leading thither any English subject, who should

Terms of the
Charter.

³ The whole of this Discourse is to be found in Hakluyt, iii. 32—47.

⁴ Hakluyt, i. 578. A summary of Jenkinson's Travels, &c. is given at p. 463; which exhibits a degree

of energy and perseverance beyond that of any traveller before or after him.

⁵ Shakspeare's Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act i. Scene 3.

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be willing to join his band; of disposing of any of the property so vested in them, 'in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England,' to any person who should be in allegiance to the English crown; and of continuing to hold the same 'by homage,' and by the payment of 'the fift part of all the oare of gold and silver that, from time to time,' should 'be there gotten.' It was provided, also, that no person should, without the special license of Sir Humfrey, and his heirs and assigns, be allowed to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which, during the six years next ensuing, they might have occupied; and that if any should be found doing so, they and their property should be detained and possessed as 'good and lawful prize according to the discretion' of Sir Humfrey and his associates. He and they, moreover, were invested with full 'authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, by their and every, or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other,' all such British subjects as should 'hereafter adventure themselves' in the territories which they occupied, and also to devise and establish statutes, laws, and ordinances for their better government; provided always, that the said laws 'be as neere as conveniently may, agreeable to the forme of the laws and pollicy of England; and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people

Recognition made therein of the faith professed in the Church of England.

of those lands or places from the allegiance of' the Queen, 'her heires or successours, as their immediate sovereigns under God.'

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A power was further given to the lord treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the privy council, to 'authorize and licence' Sir Humfrey and his heirs, to embark and transport out of the realms of England and Ireland all, or such portion of their goods, as should be 'thought meete and conuenient for their better relief and supportation.' And, lastly, it was provided, that, if the parties to whom these Letters Patent were granted, should 'hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust and vnlawfull hostilitie to any of the subjects of' the English crown, or of those allied with England; and should refuse, within a given time, to 'make full restitution and satisfaction of all such iniuries done;' then they should themselves be placed 'out of the protection and allegiance of' England, and no longer 'bee aduowed, maintained, or defended, nor be holden as any of' hers⁶.

The articles of this first charter, granted for the establishment of an English colony, have been fully set before the reader, in order that he may see the provisions which they contained for the settlement of our countrymen in foreign lands, and the spirit in which they were drawn up. The remark, which has been made by Robertson respecting them, that they 'unfold the ideas of that age, with respect to the nature of

⁶ Hakluyt, iii. 174—177.

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such settlements,' is no doubt a just one; and, for that reason, they have been recited at length in this place. Equally true, also, is the assertion of the same historian, that the extraordinary powers contained in this charter, although 'suited to the high notions of authority and prerogative, prevalent in England during the sixteenth century, are very repugnant to more recent ideas with respect to the rights of free men, who voluntarily unite to form a colony ⁷.' One article, however, deserves especially to be noticed,—and it is the more needful to do so, as Robertson has neither cited nor made the slightest reference to it,—namely, that which enacts, that the laws and ordinances, devised and established in the new colony, 'be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the Church of England.' The form in which it is expressed reflects, indeed, the spirit of despotic rule which prevailed in that age; yet the proclamation itself of the true faith professed in the Church of England, and the interest manifested in behalf of those who were about to leave her fostering care at home, that they should be preserved and strengthened by her bonds of holy fellowship abroad, and remember, amid all the dangers and

This fact
needful to
be observed.

⁷ Robertson's History of America, B. ix. Works, ix. 159 and 161. See also Marshall's Introduction, prefixed to his Life of Washington. This Introduction is, with regard to the greater part of its materials, a close copy of the ninth and tenth books of Robertson's America; and, in many instances, ex-

pressed in the very same words; whilst the references to him and other writers are given in the most indefinite and unsatisfactory manner; so that the reader has but few opportunities of distinguishing between the statements made by Marshall, and those which he has copied from others.

hardships of their new estate, the ground of their common salvation—these, assuredly, are witnesses to tell us, that, in the first attempt to plant in foreign climes a settlement of British subjects, we have the recognition, broadly and distinctly made, of their own inheritance in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and of the obligations consequent upon it.

A further and more explicit testimony to the same effect is supplied in the remarks, accompanying the narrative which has come down to us of Sir Humfrey Gilbert's expedition, drawn up by Haies, himself captain and owner of one of the vessels which accompanied it⁸; and also in the report, made afterwards of the same by Sir George Peckham, one of its chief promoters⁹. The expedition itself, indeed, may be said to have failed almost entirely in accomplishing any of its avowed objects; and is truly described, by

Further evidence of the same right principles in the narrative of the expedition by M. Edward Haies, a commander of one of the vessels; and also in the report of Sir George Peckham, one of its chief promoters.

⁸ 'A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583, by Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying vnder very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haies, gentleman and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by God's special assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.' Hakluyt, iii. 184—203.

⁹ 'A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, by that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight. Wherein is briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the aduenturers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortnesse of the Voyage. Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe aduenturer and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfound Land.' Hakluyt, iii. 208—227.

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the first of the above writers, as having ‘begun, continued, and ended aduersly¹⁰.’ Great delays and disappointments were experienced, at the outset, by the falling away of several who had promised to bear their part in the adventure; and, when at length the expedition sailed, it was attacked by a Spanish squadron, and compelled to return home, diminished both in ships and men. In this expedition, Raleigh¹¹ accompanied his brother, and was exposed to great danger. Nor was the second attempt, made a few years afterwards, much more successful; for many errors were committed both in the preparation for, and in the prosecution of, the voyage; and the commander himself perished in a storm which overtook him on his return from Newfoundland¹²; having done little more, with reference to the general objects of his mission, than take formal possession of St. John’s harbour in that island. One of the chief errors committed in the equipment of the squadron was the absence of any of those securities for the good government of the crews, which, we observed, in the second chapter, had been provided for in the fleet, fitted out under the command of Sir Hugh Wil-

Errors committed in fitting out the expedition.

¹⁰ Hakluyt, iii. 186.

¹¹ Oldys’ Life of Raleigh, p. 48, and Birch’s Life, p. 574. Oxford edition, 1829.

¹² Prince, in his ‘Worthies of Devon,’ (Exeter, 1701, p. 327), says that Gilbert made two voyages to the west and north-west, before that, in 1583, in which he perished. He thus speaks of Gilbert:—‘an excellent hydrographer, and no less skilful mathematician;

of an high and daring spirit, though not equally favoured of fortune; yet the large volume of his virtues may be read in his noble enterprises; the great design whereof was to discover the remote countries of America, and to bring off those salvages from the diabolical superstitions to the embracing the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Christ, for which his zeal deserves an eternal remembrance.’

loughby. The commanders of the respective vessels, indeed, seem to have been men of energy and honest zeal; but the sailors under them were, for the most part, pirates and others, who had been ‘surprised upon the narrow seas of England;’ and the disorder, likely to arise from crews of this description, was aggravated yet further by the strange medley of the people associated with them—namely, artizans of every description, musicians, ‘Morris dancers, Hobby-horse, and May-like conceits to delight the Sauage people.’ There was no omission in supplying the least of such like ‘toyes,’ as Haies quaintly designates them; but we shall look in vain for any trace of those elements of truth and order accompanying them, which can alone give to the adventurous navigator a superiority over the savages of foreign lands; and without which, we have seen, that Edward the Sixth would not that the mariners of his time should leave their native country.

The expedition, which thus contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction, sailed finally from Cawsand Bay, on the eleventh of June, 1583¹³, exactly five years after the date of the Letters Patent given to Sir Humfrey Gilbert. It consisted of a fleet of five sail, the smallest of which was only ten tons burden; and the largest, a barke of two hundred tons, which bore the name of Raleigh, and if not commanded in person by that officer himself, was certainly fitted out and manned at his sole charge¹⁴.

¹³ Haies’s Narrative, Hakluyt, iii. 189.

¹⁴ In some of the narratives of Raleigh’s life, it is said that he

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This vessel was compelled to return to Plymouth within a very few days, in consequence of a contagious sickness having broken out among its crew. The rest of the fleet, 'not a little grieved with the loss of the most puissant ship' in their company¹⁵, pursued a direct course towards Newfoundland, and reached it after a voyage of seven weeks. The small islands off the eastern coast were the first points descried by them; thence crossing Conception Bay, in a southerly direction, to Cape St. Francis, the voyagers arrived at St. John's harbour, within which were assembled, at that time, not less than thirty-six sail of vessels of different nations. The English merchants, who were already residing at that place, and took by turns the superintendance of the fishing vessels which resorted thither, were at first unwilling to give them entrance; but, as soon as they were informed that the newly-arrived squadron had come under the Queen's authority, for the purpose of making a permanent settlement upon the island, they gave them a hearty and affectionate welcome. Sir Humfrey Gilbert and his company landed

Its arrival at
St. John's,
Newfound-
land.

actually embarked on board this vessel, as Vice-Admiral to his brother. But there is great reason to doubt this. Certainly Haies's narrative, (our chief guide in this matter) speaks only of the vessel having been 'set forth,' by Raleigh, and that M. Butler was her captain, and Robert Davis of Bristol, master. A letter also is to be found in Purchas, iii. 808, written by Gilbert, four days after he had landed in Newfoundland, in which

he says, 'I departed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June with five sailes, and on the thirteenth the Barke Rawley ran from me in faire and cleere weather, hauing a large winde. I pray you sollicite my brother Rawley to make them an example of all knaues.' This last sentence seems conclusive as to the fact that Raleigh himself was not on board.

¹⁵ Haies's Narrative, ut sup. p. 190.

on Sunday, the fourth of August; and, on the following day, having set up his tent, and summoned all the English and strangers who were there to attend, read and explained the Queen's commission; by virtue of which he took possession of St. John's, and the neighbouring country to the extent of two hundred leagues; and, in token of the authority vested in him, received 'after the custom of England, a rod and a turffe of the same soile¹⁶.' Whitbourne, who published a Discourse upon Newfoundland in the reign of James the First,—to which we shall have occasion hereafter to refer,—was at St. John's at this time, and states himself to have been an eyewitness of the scene described¹⁷. Gilbert next proposed and delivered three laws to be in force immediately; the first for religion, which 'in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England;' and the other two for the maintenance of the Queen's prerogatives in that country¹⁸. Obedience was promised, by the general voice and consent of all present, to the authority thus set up among them. A pillar of wood was erected near the spot, and upon it were fixed the arms of England engraven in lead; and divers parcels of land, lying by the water side, and convenient for dressing and drying fish, were granted in fee to various parties,

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Gilbert
takes possession
thereof,
Aug. 5.

¹⁶ Haies's Narrative, p. 193.

¹⁷ See Preface to Whitbourne's Discourse, p. 3.

¹⁸ Haies's Narrative, ut sup. It is no slight characteristic of the spirit prevalent in that age, that,

by the third of these laws, it was provided, that 'if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her maiestie, he should loose his cares, and haue his ship and goods confiscate.'

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upon condition of paying a certain rent and service to Gilbert and his heirs and assigns for ever¹⁹.

Proceeds
further on
his voyage.

The sequel of their sad story must be briefly told. Sickness, mutiny, and robbery, soon thinned their numbers, and made their peril imminent. One vessel was sent home, with those of the ships' companies who were disabled. The three remaining vessels left St. John's on the twentieth of August, and proceeded in a southerly direction, until they came to Cape Race. They then shaped their course westward towards the Bay of Placentia, with the view of reaching ultimately Cape Breton; but the loss of their largest ship²⁰, and the failure of provisions, forced them to abandon their project, and turn homewards. There were but two vessels now surviving out of the whole number. The one, commanded by Haies, the author from whom all our information respecting the expedition is derived; the other, a small boat of only ten tons burden, (although dignified with the name of 'Frigat,') on board of which Gilbert still was. He had embarked in her, when he left St. John's, for the purpose of exploring more conveniently the creeks and harbours of that indented coast; and, although he was entreated to stay on board Haies's vessel, which he had one day visited for

Compelled
by losses to
return
home.

¹⁹ Haies's Narrative, p. 193.

²⁰ Among the persons lost by the wreck of this ship, was Stephanus Parmenius Budæus, a native of Buda, in Hungary, a learned scholar, 'who,' as Haies tells us, 'of pietie and zeale, to good attempts, aduentured in this ac-

tion, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance happening in this discouerie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.' Hakluyt, iii. 198, 199.

the purpose of obtaining surgical aid for a hurt which he had received, he refused, saying, 'I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.' They had at that time proceeded three hundred leagues in their course; and, soon afterwards, when they were in the parallel of the Azores, a storm overtook them, more violent than any which had been before experienced. The two vessels kept as near each other as they could; and Gilbert is described, in that moment of danger, 'as sitting abaft with a booke in his hand,' and crying out unto those in the other ship, as often as they approached within hearing, 'we are as neare to heaven by sea as by land.' It was in the afternoon of the ninth of September, that his words of cheering fortitude were thus addressed unto his companions. As soon as the darkness of that evening drew on, the lights of his little vessel were hoisted; and his consort kept them in sight till midnight, when suddenly they were extinguished. The cry forthwith burst from the watch of the surviving vessel, that their brave commander was cast away; 'which was too true,' adds the narrator of the awful scene, 'for in that moment the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vp of the sea²¹.'

Lost at sea,
September
9.

It is important to observe the train of thought

Importance
of Haies's

²¹ Haies's Narrative, p. 202. Camden, who notices, in his Life of Elizabeth, this expedition of Gilbert, speaks of him as 'learning too late himself, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over colonies into re-

mote countries upon private men's purses, than he and others in an erroneous credulity had persuaded themselves to their own cost and detriment.' Camden, in Bishop Kennett's History of England, ii. 494.

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remarks on
the proper
objects of
foreign dis-
covery, and
the spirit in
which it
ought to be
conducted.

expressed by the author, who has left us the account of this disastrous voyage, and who ‘alone,’ as he tells us, ‘returned home with his retinue safe and entire.’ Whatsoever may have been the errors, both of design and execution, which marred the enterprise in question,—and they are neither denied nor palliated in the narrative to which we refer,—it is clear that he, who has recorded them, knew well the proper objects which ought to be kept in view in all such undertakings, and the spirit in which they ought to be conducted. Speaking of the extent of discoveries in the Western hemisphere, which had been made, up to that time, by the voyagers of other nations as well as of England, and of the period which had elapsed since the commencement of them, he confesses, that, in both these respects, a glorious opportunity had been given to sow the seed of eternal life in those lands of heathenism, from which a full and precious harvest might already have been gathered in. He makes also the distinct acknowledgment, that this ‘must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way; or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy successe nor continuance. And although,’ he adds, ‘we cannot precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God), what haue bene the humours of men stirred vp to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the events do shew that either God’s cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els 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.' In the meane while, he urges it 'as the duty of every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which, if the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore cannot haue confidence of God's protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation. Otherwise, if his motiues be derived from a vertuous and heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most wonderful and dreadfull manner over their bodies and soules; aduancement of his honest and well-disposed countrey-men, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed; all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith he is well pleased, who will assist such an action beyond expectation of man²².' He next proceeds to remark upon the right, which priority of discovery had given to the English, over those parts of America which lay to the North of Florida; upon the usurped authority, which France had since attempted to exercise over them; and upon the probable reasons for believing that it was des-

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His appeal to his countrymen to examine the motives which induced them to such exertions.

The only true motives declared by him to be a desire to promote God's honour, to release the heathen from their ignorance, and to assist the industrious, and relieve the distressed, among our own countrymen at home.

²² Haies's Narrative, pp. 184, 185.

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The duty, resulting from such motives, acknowledged by him to be acceptable unto God; and the opportunity possessed by England of performing it a reason urged why she should not be discouraged by the failure of her first attempt at colonization.

ted, by God's counsels, that England should be the evangelizer of that portion of the earth. These considerations he urges upon his countrymen, lest 'the heavy successes and issue' of Gilbert's enterprise,—'being the first attempt of our nation to plant' a colony—might discourage those who should 'take the same cause in hand hereafter, and misdeem that God doth resist all attempts intended that way'²³.

'The carriage of God's Word into those very mighty and vast countreys,' he reminds them, in conclusion, was a work of so high and excellent a nature as should 'make men well advised how they handled it'²⁴; and for their admonition, therefore, and with reference to those sacred and enduring ends, he proceeds to relate all those particulars of the expedition, of which we have already attempted to place the substance before the reader.

Similar testimony supplied by Sir George Peckham in his report of the expedition.

A similar testimony is supplied in the report, to which we have already referred, of the same expedition made by Sir George Peckham. He had been, as he states in the title of the work, 'the chief adventurer and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilbert's voyage;' and sets forth the account of its progress and result, almost in the very words of Haies, from whom he states that he had received it. And 'having drawn himself' (to use his own language) from the history of the failure of the voyage, 'into a more deepe consideration of' the voyage itself, 'whe-

²³ Haies's Narrative, p. 186.

²⁴ Haies's Narrative, ut sup.,
ibid.

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ther it were as well pleasing to Almighty God, as profitable to man: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages, as gainfull to the Christians,' he proceeds to state the arguments for which he believed 'the action to be honest and profitable,' and to urge his countrymen 'to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprize ²⁵.' The object, which he proposes to himself to prove, is, that 'the voyage lately enterprized for trade, traffique and planting in America, was an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maiesties dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie ²⁶.'

He desires to prove the lawfulness and advantage of planting settlements in foreign lands.

It were needless to follow this writer throughout all his course of reasoning. One part of his general argument, indeed, there is, which deserves notice, as erroneous and fraught with serious mischief, namely, the defence which he attempts to make of the aggressive occupation by Christians of the countries inhabited by savages, upon the plea that the land of Canaan was thus taken possession of by the Israelites as the inheritance of God's people. No doubt, the Israelites did gain possession of and distribute the land of Canaan among themselves; but he who cites their example as an authority, in the present instance, leaves altogether out of sight the important fact, that, in thus dividing the land which had been

His general argument erroneous in the plea which he attempts to draw from the subjugation of Canaan by Israel.

²⁵ Peckham's Report. Hakluyt, iii. 210.

²⁶ Peckham's Report, ut sup., p. 212.

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promised to them, the sons of Abraham were acting, from first to last, under the express command of God; that their government was directly and visibly carried on by His Word; and that, in the fulfilment of that Word, they were made to execute upon nations whose iniquity was full, the punishment denounced against them by the great Judge of all. To enter, therefore, upon a like career of conquest, and to plead, in vindication of it, the sanction of a like command, when the command itself was not given, was to justify a vicious act by an argument yet more vicious. And the consequence of such fallacious reasonings would obviously be to cast the cloak of Divine authority over any counsel, which the violence or fraud of human policy might suggest.

In other respects he sets forth truly the motives which ought to animate such enterprises.

Such a consequence, it is certain, was not present to the mind of the writer, who, in the present instance, advanced the argument; for, in the broadest and most unreserved manner, he states a desire to promote the glory of God to be the only proper ground, upon which any enterprise, for opening and maintaining intercourse with heathen lands, can be established, or made to prosper. Still, the profession of this principle, however just and righteous in itself, must not blind us to the fallacy of the general argument, by which he attempts to defend it.

His particular argument to prove the Queen's title to those countries curious but unsound.

The particular argument, by which the same writer tries to show the lawful title of the Queen to the land visited by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, is advanced with as much gravity as if it were really valid;

although it were difficult to imagine any plea more absurd and vague than that which he assumes for its basis. He asserts that Queen Elizabeth only claimed the restoration of a territory which had belonged to England, since the year 1170; that, about that time, a Welsh prince had planted a colony there; that sundry Welsh names were still to be found in the country, as witnesses of the fact ²⁷; and, that, even the record of Montezuma's speech which he delivered at Mexico in the presence of Cortez, and which is set forth in the Spanish Chronicles, makes reference to the same. Leaving, however, this strange legend, our author derives another, and more specious, argument, from the fact that the same land had been discovered by Cabot ²⁸, under the authority of the Letters Patent

²⁷ The reader may perhaps wish to see this argument stated in Peckham's own words: 'It is very evident that the planting there shall in time right amply enlarge her Maiestie's territories and dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170, arrived and there planted himself and his colonies, and afterward returned himself into England, leaving certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gave to certaine islands, beastes and foules sundry Welsh names, as the

Island of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same. There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English as white head, and in truth the saide foules have white heads. There is also in those countries a fruit called Gwynethes, which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreover, there are divers other Welsh wordes at this day in use. All which most strongly argueth the sayd prince, with his people, to have inhabited there.' Peckham's Report, p. 217.

²⁸ Speaking of this discovery by Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius; Peckham says, that, in testimony of it, 'there is a faire haven in Newfoundland, known, and called until this day by the name of Sancius haven,' ut sup. p. 217.

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from Henry the Seventh. But the argument can scarcely be regarded as altogether conclusive, for the question still remains unanswered,—by what authority did Henry grant these Letters Patent? That the titles, which Peckham tries to establish in favour of Elizabeth, were as good as those which any other Christian sovereign could show for their claim to foreign countries, before such time as they had actual possession of them, through the discoveries of Columbus or Cortez, of Pizarro or Albuquerque, there is no doubt; and, so far, the assertion to that effect, with which he ends this part of his argument, is correct. Nevertheless, much more direct and tangible evidence than that which he brings forward is required, ere we can accompany the writer to the conclusion which he is so anxious to establish.

Neverthe-
less, the
main object
which he
seeks to at-
tain is that
which ought
ever to be
recognised
by a Chris-
tian land.

After having made, however, every abatement, from the force of his arguments, which such considerations demand, there is no doubt but that the main and prominent object which this ‘chief adventurer,’ in the first effort to plant a British settlement abroad, desired to promote, was the extension of Christian truth by the extension of the Christian name; and, that, had the same object been faithfully recognised, or earnestly sought after, by those who followed him, the records of our Colonial History would have supplied materials of a far more grateful character than those which it now presents to our view.

CHAPTER V.

ATTEMPTS TO COLONIZE VIRGINIA IN ELIZABETH'S
REIGN.

A. D. 1584—1590.

Letters Patent granted to Raleigh for discovering and planting new lands, March 25, 1584—Amadas and Barlowe discover that part of America, to which the name of VIRGINIA was given by Elizabeth—Raleigh's Patent for discovering foreign countries confirmed by Parliament, December 18, 1584; and a second fleet sent out by him under Greenville, April 9, 1585—Colony left in the island of Roanoke under the charge of Lane—Its disastrous fortunes—Brought home by Drake, July 27, 1586—Fifteen more men left afterwards by Greenville in the same place, who soon perished—Evidences of right feeling and conduct in some of the chief parties engaged in these transactions—One, is the consciousness that much of their misery was the consequence of unjust treatment of the natives by some of the colonists—Another, is the desire evinced by them to teach the natives the knowledge of the true God, and of His Son Jesus Christ—Remarkably illustrated by the report of the philosopher Hariot—The discovery of Tobacco noticed in his report—Circumstances which disposed the natives to receive the Christian faith—The Holy Scriptures read and explained to them by Hariot—Their desire to learn them, to be present at the public worship of the English, and to be prayed for by them in sickness—Such evidences valuable on their own account, and overlooked by most former writers—Valuable, also, as giving a right view of the character of Hariot—Another attempt to colonize Virginia, under Governor White, in 1587—He returns to England for supplies—The first recorded Baptism of a native of Virginia, August 13, 1587—The supplies for the colony intercepted; and it was lost in consequence—White's last voyage to Virginia, in 1590, not productive

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of any benefit—Raleigh makes over his Patent to Sir Thomas Smith and others, in 1588-9; and gives one hundred pounds for the propagation of the Christian faith in Virginia—No traces of any English settlement to be found in Virginia at the end of Elizabeth's reign.

Letters Patent, granted to Raleigh for discovering and planting new lands, March 25, 1584.

THE failure of the expedition under Sir Humfrey Gilbert, of which an account has been given in the preceding chapter, checked not the spirit of adventure. Raleigh was eager to rush forward and secure the prize, which his brother had failed to grasp; and obtained from Queen Elizabeth, in the very next year, fresh Letters Patent, which were to continue for the space of six years, and which conferred, upon him and his heirs, the same powers, expressed for the most part in the same words, as those which had been vested in his brother. They contain also the same provision, which has been noticed in the former instance,—namely, that ‘the statutes, lawes, and ordinances,’ established by him, in the countries of which he should take possession, should ‘be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernment, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe away any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of’ the Queen, her ‘heires and successours, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God¹.’

Amadas and Barlowe dis-

These Letters bear date the twenty-fifth of March,

¹ Hakluyt, iii. 297—301. Bancroft, in his history of the United States, observes, with regard to this charter, that ‘it was drawn

according to the principles of feudal law, and with strict regard to the Christian faith, as professed in the Church of England.’ i. 92.

1584. On the twenty-seventh of the following month, two barks, under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, were sent forth from the west of England, at the charge and by direction of Raleigh; and, taking the southerly course usually pursued by the Spaniards in their voyages, reached the Canaries on the tenth of May, and thence proceeding as far as the West Indies, drew near to the great continent of North America, by the Gulf of Florida, on the second of July². The thirteenth of the same month saw these mariners land upon the low sandy coast of an island³, called by them Wocokon, in order that they might take formal possession of it, in the Queen's name, according to the powers vested in them. The next day, they were visited by the brother of the king of the country,

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cover that part of America to which the name of Virginia was given by Elizabeth.

² Smith, in his History of Virginia, p. 2, says that this 'un-needfull southerly course (but then no better was knowne) occasioned in that season much sickness.' The character of this remarkable man, and the opportunities which he had of witnessing the events which he has recorded, will be fully seen in the sequel of this history.

³ Supposed to be the island of Okakoke, or Ocrakock, which runs parallel to the coast of North Carolina; and by which an inlet, of the same name, enters into Pamlico Sound. See Stith's History of Virginia, p. 9. As this writer and his work will frequently be referred to hereafter, it may be well to state here that he was not, like Captain Smith, an eye-witness of many of the scenes which he describes, but

a clergyman, who laboured faithfully in Virginia, during the eighteenth century. In the title-page of the first edition of his work, 1747, he is called, 'Rector of Henries Parish, and one of the Governors of William and Mary College;' and, in a later edition, 1753, he has the title of 'President of the College of William and Mary in Virginia.' The unsatisfactory nature of the works upon Virginia, published before his time, with the exception of the excellent but confused materials in Captain Smith's History, is alleged by him, in his preface, as the reason which induced him to write another account. Oldmixon's History, published a few years before his own, is justly spoken of by Stith, in very disparaging terms, pp. 93. 107. 112. and also by Beverley, in his Preface.

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who came with a company of fifty men in boats; the king himself being detained by a severe wound which he had received in battle. These natives are described as being 'very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe.' The most friendly intercourse was begun and carried on between them and the English strangers; and such information, as could be acquired under the circumstances, was obtained both with respect to the natural productions of the country, and the manners of the people. This information was, of course, only of the most general and superficial character; for the vessels of Amadas and Barlowe staid but a short time in that region. They afterwards discovered another island, called Roanoak, about five miles distant from the province which now bears the name of North Carolina⁴; and thence, having taken on board two of the natives, directed their course for England, which they reached in safety about the middle of September⁵. Short, however, as had been the period, during which these mariners tarried upon the American coast, and slight the acquaintance which they had made with its inhabitants, the report which they carried home of both excited the desire of England to secure the possession of that country; and, as a present token of the power about to be established there, the name of Wingandacoa, by which the natives called it, was

⁴ This island still bears the same name, and is at the entrance of Albemarle Sound.

⁵ Amadas and Barlowe's Report of the first voyage to America. Hakluyt, iii. 301—307.

exchanged for that of VIRGINIA, by the command, and in memory of, the virgin Queen Elizabeth ⁶.

At the close of the same year, 1584, Raleigh's Patent for discovering foreign countries was confirmed by Act of Parliament ⁷, and fresh efforts were speedily made by him to act upon the authority with which he was thus invested. A fleet of seven sail was sent out on the ninth of April, 1585, under the command of Sir Richard Greenville, an officer of high distinction, for the double purpose, as it appears, first, of cruising among some of the West India Islands, and then of planting a colony, in that part of the American continent which Raleigh already claimed as his own. On the twenty-sixth of June, they anchored off the island, first discovered by their pre-

Raleigh's Patent for discovering foreign countries confirmed by Parliament, December 18, 1584; and a second fleet sent out by him under Greenville, April 9, 1585.

⁶ Amadas and Barlowe's Report, ut sup. p. 302. See also Smith's History of Virginia, p. 4. The country first called Virginia has since been called North Carolina; and the original name is applied to the territory immediately adjoining to it on the north.

⁷ Raleigh was elected a knight of the shire for the county of Devon, two months after his first expedition came home from Virginia. 'There was then,' says Oldys, 'a clerk of the parliament so very indolent, or otherwise indisposed, that the transactions of the House of Commons at this time were very imperfectly recorded. Yet we find Raleigh mentioned to have been chosen of the committees upon some bills that were then read. On the 14th of December, the bill, in confirmation of his Patent aforesaid of the dis-

covery of foreign countries, was read the first time. In the afternoon it was read the second time, and committed to the Vice-Chancellor Hatton, Secretary Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Greenfield (or Greenville), Sir William Courtenay, Sir William Mohun, and others. Three days after, the said bill was, without any alterations, ordered to be engrossed. The next day it was read the third time, when, after many arguments and a proviso added, it passed the house upon the question. (Sir Simon D'Ewes' Journal of both houses in Queen Elizabeth's reign, pp. 341. 356.) Between this time in December, and the twenty-fourth of February following, Raleigh received the honour of knighthood.' Oldys' Life of Raleigh, p. 58.

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Colony left
in the island
of Roanoak,
under the
charge of
Lane.

decessors, in the former year; and thence, passing over to the main land, visited some of its chief towns; renewed a friendly intercourse with the people and their native rulers; left a company of upwards of one hundred men, under the charge of Master Ralph Lane, on the island of Roanoak; and, afterwards, upon the twenty-fifth of August, set sail on their return for England⁶.

Its disas-
trous for-
tunes.

The chief persons of note, who were thus left under Lane to plant the British name in America, were Amadas, the commander of the expedition in the former year, who was dignified by the title of 'Admirall of the countrey,' and Heriot, or Hariot, who bore a still loftier name, as foremost of the men of science in that day. He had been the mathematical preceptor of Raleigh; and, in obeying his summons to go forth upon the present expedition, gave to it the most valuable aid which could be derived from human strength. But neither science, nor skill, nor courage, availed these settlers any thing. Within the space of little more than eight months, they were brought to a state of most imminent peril. The loss of their boats and provisions, the extreme difficulty of obtaining fresh supplies, and the murderous and incessant warfare waged against them by the natives, were the causes which brought them to this sad condition. They were only saved from extermination by the timely arrival of Sir Francis Drake, who,—returning from a train of successful

⁶ Account of Sir Richard Greenville's voyage in Hakluyt, iii. 307—311.

warfare, carried on against the Spaniards at Saint Domingo, Carthagena, and other places in the West Indies and South America,—had determined upon visiting this new colony of his countrymen; and, finding their distress, took them all on board his own ships, and arrived safely with them at Portsmouth, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1586⁹.

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Brought home by Drake, July 27, 1586.

A few days after their departure, Greenville again arrived at Roanoak with fresh supplies of men and ships; but, unable to learn any tidings of the colony which he had carried thither, returned to England, leaving in the island fifteen men, with provisions for two years, as a nucleus around which further materials of strength might hereafter be collected¹⁰. This small band of settlers, as might be expected, soon perished. No record has come down to us of the particulars of their miserable end; but the fact itself is thus stated in the narrative, which is still extant, of the proceedings of the next band of colonists, sent out, in the following year, under Governor White¹¹. 'The same night (July 22nd, 1587), at sunne-set,' says the author of the narrative, 'we went aland on the island [of Roanoak], in the place where our fiteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, sauing onely wee found the bones of one of those fiteene, which the

Fifteen more men left afterwards by Greenville, in the same place, who soon perished.

⁹ See 'An account of the particularities of the employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuill under the charge of Master Ralph Lane, Generall of the same, from the 17. of August, 1585. vntil the

18. of June, 1586, at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh.' Hakluyt, iii. 311—322.

¹⁰ Hakluyt, iii. 323.

¹¹ Hakluyt, iii. 340—348.

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Sauages had slaine long before.' On the following day, he describes their journey to the fort which Lane had erected at the North end of the island, and says, 'When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing vnhurt, sauing that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of euer seeing any of the fifteene men liuing¹².'

Evidences of right feeling and conduct in some of the chief parties engaged in these transactions. One, is the consciousness that much of their misery was the consequence of unjust treatment of the natives by some of the colonists.

The accounts, from which we have gathered our information respecting these inauspicious attempts to plant the first British settlement in America, contain also evidence of the feelings of some who were the most prominent actors in these scenes of danger and distress; and it may not be deemed irrelevant, with regard to the design of our present work, briefly to notice them. One, is the consciousness, which we find them plainly avowing, that much of the evil which befell them was the direct consequence of the misconduct of some of their own party, and a punishment inflicted upon them by God for it. Thus, in the description of their departure from Roanoak, on board Sir Francis Drake's fleet, we meet with this touching observation; 'for feare they should be left behinde, they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty

¹² Hakluyt, iii. 343.

and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey ¹³.' Another evidence is the fact, that, notwithstanding these cruel acts committed by some of them, a desire had been manifested on the part of others, to teach the savages of those regions that truth, which alone could make the arrival of the European colonist a blessing to them; and, that, in some instances, their teaching had made successful progress. A report, it seems, had been raised among a party of the natives, during the temporary absence of Lane, that he and his company had been slain, or starved, by certain tribes whom they had gone to visit; and this report, he says, 'tooke such effect in' the breasts of those natives who were 'against us, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the Almighty God of heauen, and Iesus Christ whom wee serue and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God), now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed ¹⁴.' The rash conclusion of these men was but a sample, indeed, of that spirit, which so often tempts the civilized, no less than the barbarian, to "judge according to the appearance," and therefore to "judge not righteous judgment ¹⁵;" but, nevertheless, the very acknowledgment and confession of the true God and of His Son Jesus Christ,

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Another, is the desire evinced by them to teach the natives the knowledge of the true God, and of His Son Jesus Christ.

¹³ Hakluyt, iii. 323.

¹⁴ Hakluyt, iii. 317.

¹⁵ John vii. 24.

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which, for a season, the Indians had been led to make, in accordance with that service and worship which they saw paid by the Englishmen who had landed upon their shores, is a proof, that, among those Englishmen, there were not wanting the hearts of Christian men.

Remarkably
illustrated
by the re-
port of the
philosopher
Hariot.

A yet more remarkable and decisive testimony, to the same effect, occurs in the report made by Hariot, whom we have already mentioned, as the most eminent of the first band of British colonists¹⁶. It was published in February, 1587, the year after he and his comrades had been rescued from their perilous state, and brought home to England. He describes, with great minuteness, the geographical position of the country, its soil, its climate, and natural productions, among which, of course, that of Tobacco¹⁷,—then for the first time made known to our

The disco-
very of
Tobacco

¹⁶ See 'A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia : of the commodities there found, and to be raised, as well merchantable as others : Written by Thomas Hariot, seruant to Sir Walter Raleigh, a member of the Colony, and there employed in discovering a full tweluemouneth.' Hakluyt, iii. 324—340.

¹⁷ Tobacco is called, also, by the name of Nicotia, from Jean Nicot, the French ambassador, who brought it out of Portugal into France, some years before. (Oldys' Raleigh, p. 74.) It had been discovered by the celebrated French navigator, Jaques Cartier, as early as the year 1535, in his second voyage to Canada ; and the following report was then given of it : ' There groweth also a certaine

kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great prouision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men vse of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe : then when they please they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health : they neuer goe without some of it about them.

own people,—finds a prominent place¹⁸; and next passing on to relate the character and customs of the native inhabitants, he gives an account of their religion, ‘which, although (as he observes) it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope that

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noticed in
his report.

We ourselues haue tryed the same smoke, and hauing put it in our mouthes, it seemed almost as hot as Pepper.’ Hakluyt, iii. 276.

Camden, in his *Life of Elizabeth*, speaks in the following terms, of its introduction into England, on the return of the colony under Lane: ‘These men who were thus brought back were the first that I know of, that brought into England that Indian plant which they call Tabacca and Nicotia, or Tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly, from that time forward, it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, whilst in a short time many men everywhere, some for wantonness, some for health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness suck’d in the stinking smoke thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils; inso-much that tobacco shops are now as ordinary in most towns as tap-houses and taverns. So that the Englishmen’s bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant, seem as ‘twere to be degenerated into the nature of Barbarians, since they are delighted with the same things which the Barbarians use.’ Camden, in *Bishop Kennet’s History of England*, ii. 509, 510.

¹⁸ ‘There are some pleasant

stories,’ says Oldys, in his *Life of Raleigh*, ‘with relation to him, which have been as carefully preserved as the box he kept it in. But the tradition of his smoking tobacco at first privately in his study, and of the servant, who used to wait on him there, surprising him one time with his tankard of ale and nutmeg as he was intent upon his book, before he had done his pipe; and seeing the smoke reeking out of his mouth, threw all the ale into his face; then running down stairs alarmed the family with repeated exclamations, that his master was on fire, and before they could get up would be burnt to ashes; this,’ Oldys proceeds to say, ‘if true, has nothing in it of more surprising or unparalleled simplicity, than there was in that poor Norwegian, who upon the first sight of roses could not be induced to touch, though he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold trees budding with fire; or, to come closer by way of retaliation, than there was in those Virginians themselves, who, the first time they seized upon a quantity of gunpowder which belonged to the English colony, sowed it for grain, or the seed of some strange vegetable, in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest to scatter their enemies,’ pp. 73, 74.

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it may be the easier and sooner reformed.' The particulars of their religious belief and observances which Hariot gives, but which it is needless here to enumerate, he 'learned by hauing speciall familiaritie with some of their priests, wherein (he adds) they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs, they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more than wee had meanes for want of perfect utterance in their language, to expresse.' The mathematical instruments, belonging to the Englishmen, their clocks, and glasses, and guns, and books, made so great an impression upon the natives, that, he says, 'they thought they were rather the workes of Gods then of men, or at the least wise, they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods.

Circumstances which disposed the natives to embrace the Christian faith.

Which made many of them to haue such an opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God so specially loued, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.'

Nor was the homage, which the instinctive sympathies of these untutored men paid to the superiority of Hariot, wasted by his own carelessness and want of zeal. On the contrary, he appears, honestly and faithfully, to have striven and prayed for their

spiritual welfare. ‘Many times, (he says,) and in every towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set fourth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was conteined the true doctrine of saluation, through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of itselfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined; yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.’ The same faithfulness, which thus stimulated Hariot to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to these rude natives, led him and those who shared his spirit, to be constant in their own prayers, and to invite the chiefs likewise to bear their part in the same. ‘The Wiroans’ (or chief) he adds, ‘with whom we dwelt, called Wingingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with us at our prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others, whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partakers of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected. Twise this Wiroans was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee

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The Holy Scriptures read and explained to them by Hariot.

Their desire to learn them,

to be present at the public worship of the English,

and to be prayed for by them in sickness.

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was in such danger for offending vs, and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse; so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case ¹⁹.'

Such evidences valuable on their own account, and overlooked by most former writers.

It is impossible to take even the most transient notice of passages such as these, and not be struck with the evidence which they afford of the Christian zeal and constancy, manifested by members of the English Church, in that early effort to extend the knowledge and authority of the English name, by the settlement of a colony in foreign lands. The existence of such evidence is a fact which we may remark with thankfulness; and the more so, since it is, for the most part, passed over without any notice by the general historian. The rivalry of ambitious princes, the chivalrous daring of the mariner and the soldier who unfurl, and fight beneath, the banners of their leaders, the cupidity of the commercial adventurer who tempts them onwards to the struggle, appear, in all their prominence, in well-nigh every page which details the growth of earthly empires. But those elements of truth, and peace, and holiness, which have been given, that they may pervade and impregnate, with their healthful influence, each skilful device of man's counsels, and each changing department of man's actions, and to the furtherance of which all the energies of his nature are ordained to be subser-

¹⁹ Hakluyt, iii. 337.

vient,—elements so richly furnished by the Word of God, and conveyed so unceasingly through all those channels of His grace, which He has appointed in His Church,—are lost sight of amid the conflict of worldly interests. Wheresoever, therefore, the sound of this heavenly guide is heard in the wild uproar of human passions, and its light seen to break through the dark clouds of human ignorance and prejudice, it is our privilege, as well as our duty, to recognise it, and to be thankful that we are thus permitted to trace, howsoever dimly and imperfectly, the testimony of its high prerogatives. Such testimony, we believe, has been supplied, in the documents reviewed by us, in this, and in the preceding chapters; in the commissions granted by royal authority to the first colonists, who set sail from the English shore; in the express avowal of the objects proposed to them, by one who was foremost in urging on the adventure; in the narrative of another, who, being entrusted with a share in the command of the expedition, alone of the commanders survived to tell of the perils of land and sea, from which he had escaped; in the spirit which animated others, who renewed the attempt in which their countrymen had failed; and, especially, in the efforts of those, who were the most distinguished among the first settlers in Virginia, to hold up the light of Christianity to the uncivilized tribes of that mighty continent.

With respect to Hariot, indeed, there is another benefit arising out of the possession of such evidence, namely, the testimony which it bears to his own

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Valuable,
also, as
giving a right
view of the
character of
Hariot.

belief in, and reverence for, the Word of God. This character has been denied to him by Wood, in the account which he has given in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*; and it is cheering, therefore, to feel assured, that, in this instance, Wood has been mistaken. It is an assurance largely imparted to us, even in the records at which we have just glanced, and has been confirmed, we gratefully acknowledge, by other biographers, in foreign countries as well as our own, who have carefully directed their attention to this point²⁰.

Another at-
tempt to
colonize

In returning to consider the further attempts towards colonization in North America, which were re-

²⁰ It is thus noticed in the *Biographie Universelle*, (Art. Hariot) 'Wood a cherché à répandre des doutes sur les sentiments religieux d'Harriot; mais ses raisons ont été solidement réfutées dans le Dictionnaire de *Chaufepié*.' It appears also, that, in the inscription upon Harriot's monument in the church of St. Christopher, London, where he was buried, care was taken to vindicate his name from the reproach which had been cast upon it, by an explicit statement of his true belief;—the concluding line being 'Dei Trinius cultor piissimus.' The church was destroyed by the fire of London; but the inscription is preserved in *Stowe's Survey*, i. 123. See also *Oldys's Life of Raleigh*, pp. 170—172. For an account of Harriot's valuable work on Algebra, see *Playfair's Preliminary Dissertation*, *Encyc. Brit.* i. 443.

Upon the return of Harriot to England, he was introduced by Raleigh to Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland, during that no-

bleman's unjust imprisonment in the Tower; and, from the intimacy which ensued between them, strengthened by their mutual love for the same scientific pursuits, (see *Collins's Peerage*, ii. 340.) Harriot's papers were left in the possession of the Percy family at Petworth. The late Professor Rigaud, of Oxford, was permitted, by the late Earl of Egremont, to examine them; and published, in his *Appendix to Bradley's Works*, (Oxford, 1832,) the observations of Halley's Comet, in 1607, drawn up by Harriot. In the hope that I might also meet with some further notices of Virginia by the same hand, I readily availed myself of the permission, kindly granted me by Colonel Wyndham, to examine the remaining manuscripts: but the search has been fruitless. I met, however, in the Library at Petworth, with some rare tracts on Virginia, published in the early part of James the First's reign, which I have been glad to consult.

newed, at various times, during the remaining years of Elizabeth's reign, we shall find that they were feeble and unsuccessful. The most important of them was the voyage, which we have already noticed in the course of this chapter, undertaken by Captain John White, at the charge of Raleigh, in the beginning of the year 1587. He went out with a colony of one hundred and fifty men, over whom he was appointed governor. Twelve assistants were associated with him in this trust, and a charter of incorporation was given them, constituting them 'Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia.' They succeeded in establishing a friendly interest and alliance with the natives; but, as it was absolutely necessary that some one of their party should be sent home for the purpose of obtaining fresh supplies, and great difference of opinion prevailed among them with regard to the selection of the proper agent for that office, they at length persuaded the governor himself to return to England, that he might procure what was needed. He accordingly set sail, and reached England before the end of the year²¹.

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Virginia,
under
Governor
White, in
1587.

He returns
to England
for supplies.

It is worthy of remark, that, in the narrative which gives an account of the proceedings of this second colony, we have the first recorded Baptism of a native, Manteo, who had become known and endeared to the English by valuable services rendered to them, in the planting of the former colony under Lane. He had accompanied them also to England,

The first re-
corded Bap-
tism of a
native of
Virginia,
August 13,
1587.

²¹ Hakluyt, iii. 341—348.

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when they were brought home by Sir Francis Drake; and, upon his return to Virginia, with the band under White's command, was again found acting as a faithful guide, interpreter, and friend. As a reward for these services, he was appointed Lord of Roanoak, by Raleigh; and, in that island, was baptized on the thirteenth of August, 1587. The length of time during which Manteo had been acquainted with the religion, as well as with the language and customs, of the English, and the opportunities which his visit to England must have afforded of learning more fully the magnitude of the blessings vouchsafed by it, may justify us in the belief, that he was not admitted to be partaker of them by Baptism, but with a full trust in the reality of those truths of which he then made profession, and with a sincere desire to be subject to the obligations of holiness which they imposed. Five days after the baptism of Manteo, we read, in the same narrative, 'Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sondag following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia ²².'

The supplies for the colony intercepted; and it was lost in consequence.

The mission of the governor to England, to obtain supplies for the infant colony, proved fruitless. The alarm which prevailed throughout England, at the beginning of the year 1588, in consequence of the formidable Armada, about to be sent forth against

²² Hakluyt, iii. 345.

her by Spain, and the preparations required to resist it,—the successful issue of which it is needless here to relate,—made it utterly impracticable for Raleigh to send more than two small pinnaces for the relief of his company in Virginia; and these, having fallen in with the enemy, were compelled to return home disabled²³. The colony, in consequence, was lost. And, although White proceeded again to the American continent, for the last time, in the beginning of the year 1590²⁴, with a squadron of three sail, he returned before the end of autumn, without having advanced a single step towards the satisfactory formation of a settlement in that country, or having ascertained any thing as to the fate of his miserable countrymen who had been left there²⁵. The expedition, to use his own words, ‘was no less unfortunately ended than frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to’ himself²⁶. He ascribes its failure to the neglect of the orders, issued by Sir Walter Raleigh, for its preparation and conduct. And the cause of such neglect, probably, may be found in the diversion of Raleigh’s mind to the other, and, as he thought, more inviting scenes which, at

White’s last voyage to Virginia, in 1590, not productive of any benefit.

²³ Oldys’s Life of Raleigh, p. 99.

²⁴ Hakluyt, iii. 349—357. In the narrative of the same voyage in Smith’s History of Virginia, pp. 15, 16, it is said to have been the year 1589.

²⁵ Bancroft, quoting Lawson’s North Carolina, says, ‘The conjecture has been hazarded that the deserted colony, neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably

adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians, and became amalgamated with the sons of the forest. This was the tradition of the natives at a later day, and was thought to be confirmed by the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and Indian race seemed to have been blended.’ i. 108.

²⁶ White’s Letter to Hakluyt, iii. 349.

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Raleigh makes over his Patent to Sir Thomas Smith and others, in 1588-9; and gives one hundred pounds for the propagation of the Christian faith in Virginia.

that period, were opening upon his view in South America. So little ground of encouragement had he to persevere in his first scheme of colonizing Virginia, and so eager was he to realise the fresh hopes which sprang up before him, that he had already made over, in the year 1588-9²⁷, to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants in London, all the rights and privileges conferred upon him by the Letters Patent which he had received from Elizabeth. But, whilst Raleigh thus relinquished the formal superintendence of expeditions in which, for so long a time, he had been engaged, he did not entirely sever the bonds which had connected his name with them. He spared no pains and expense to find out and recover, if possible, the remnants of the former colonies; and, although his just and generous purposes in this respect were baffled by the iniquity of his agents²⁸, he was still ready to

²⁷ Oldys's Life of Raleigh, p. 117. This transfer is erroneously assigned by Robertson, in his History of America, to the year 1596, Works, xi. 172.

²⁸ Purchas gives the following 'briefe Note' of these efforts of Raleigh: 'Samuel Mace, of Weimouth, a very sufficient mariner, an honest sober man, who had bene at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to finde those people which were left there in the yeere 1587. To whose succour he hath sent fve severall times at his owne charges. The parties by him set forth, performed nothing; some of them following their owne

profit elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations. At this last time, to avoide all excuse, hee bought a barke, and hired all the companie for wages by the moneth; who departing from Weimouth in March last, 1602, fell fortie leagues to the south westward of Hataraske, in 34 degrees or thereabout; and having there spent a moneth, when they came along the coast to seeke the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremitie of weather, and losse of some principall ground-tackle, forced and feared them from searching the Port of Hataraske, to which they were sent.' iv. 1653.

assist the company with his advice and interest, and, moreover, presented them with a donation of one hundred pounds, 'for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia²⁹.' It is interesting to observe this fact, because, as far as I can learn, it was the first offering, avowedly made by any Englishman, for such a purpose; and may be regarded, as a token of the reverence of him who made it, for that truth which shall survive all the changing counsels of a changing world; and of the desire which he felt to advance its progress, amid the excitements and reverses of his own perilous career.

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Whatsoever may have been the wishes or designs of Raleigh, with respect to the future management of the colony, they were not realised by the hands of those to whom he delegated the important trust. The commercial relations with Virginia, if such they could be called, were very feebly sustained; and no steps were taken towards the permanent occupation of the country. Hence, notwithstanding all the ingenious counsels and daring adventures of our countrymen, prosecuted, with few intermissions, throughout the whole of that century—the sixteenth—which had elapsed since the discovery of North America by Cabot, no lasting monument of the British power was, at its close, visible in any part of that continent.

No trace of any English settlement to be found in Virginia, at the end of Elizabeth's reign.

The efforts which other European nations made, during the same period, to extend their dominion in

²⁹ Oldys's Life of Raleigh, p. 118.

foreign lands, had been followed by more direct tokens of what the world calls success. The earliest years of the sixteenth century had seen the viceroys of Portugal establishing their authority in India, along the marts and havens of the Persian Gulf, on the peninsula of Malacca, the Molucca Islands, the eastern and western shores of Africa, and the coasts of Brazil³⁰. The lapse of a few years more beheld them masters of the chief harbours of Ceylon, and extending their settlements to Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. A connection was also formed by them with China; and the name of Xavier alone is sufficient to make for ever memorable their entrance into Japan³¹. During all this time, the commerce of the same people embraced even a wider range than their dominion; so that, in many places, where her factories and fortresses were not erected, the flag of Portugal was seen to wave, and her merchants found a market for their stores. But her colonial strength decayed, with a rapidity nearly equal to that which had marked its growth; and, before the close of the sixteenth century, the supremacy, which she had exercised in the Eastern hemisphere, was well nigh extinct³².

The history of Spain, likewise, in that same age, had been marked by her rapid acquirement of vast and extensive colonies. The islands in the Gulf of Mexico,—first known by the discoveries of Colum-

³⁰ Heeren's Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies, (translated from the fifth German edition, Oxford, i. 41, 42.)

³¹ Heeren, i. 92.

³² Heeren, i. 130, 131. He states in this passage, briefly but clearly, the causes of its rapid decay.

bus,—and the provinces of Mexico, Peru, and Chili, were all made her's by conquest, ere the first half of the sixteenth century had passed away ³³. Her learning, her science, her religion, were established there; and thence were carried home her stores of silver and of gold ³⁴. Soon afterwards, she laid her strong hand upon many of the possessions of her rival Portugal, in the opposite quarter of the globe; and, in the reign of the second Philip, usurped authority over that rich cluster of islands in the Eastern Archipelago, which still bear the name of that sovereign, and, with the exception of Cuba, form, at this day, the most valuable of her colonial possessions ³⁵.

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The Dutch republic also had risen, towards the latter part of the same century, to the foremost rank among the commercial nations of the earth ³⁶; and France was already laying the foundations of that extended dominion, which influenced so powerfully, in after-ages, the destinies of Europe. England, we have seen already,—and a further examination of the subject will but supply fresh evidence of the fact,—was second to none of all these nations, in courage,

³³ Heeren, i. 84.

³⁴ Heeren, i. 86—89. Heeren observes, very justly, that the way in which the discoveries of Portugal were originally made, and the state of the countries discovered, caused, from the beginning, her colonial affairs to differ very widely from those of Spain. The mines of South America naturally led the Spaniards to acquire extensive territories in that continent; but, India affording no like

temptations to the Portuguese, they abstained from directly making themselves masters of any large extent of country; and contented themselves with founding settlements in the most eligible stations for general commerce. i. 40.

³⁵ Heeren, i. 133. See also McCulloch's Geographical Dictionary, Art. the Philippine islands.

³⁶ Heeren, i. 134—137.

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and patience, and perseverance. Her merchants were even then “the honourable of the earth³⁷,” her ships had compassed the world; her soldiers had withstood the armies of the Spanish tyrant, in the plains of the Low Countries; and, when the proud Armada hung upon her shores, to pour destruction upon them, her mariners had scattered it in confusion. How often too had these same energies, displayed by her sons, been directed to the work of setting up her name and power in foreign lands! But all had hitherto been in vain. The territorial boundaries of her empire were still the coasts of the British Isles. Her colonies were only a name.

³⁷ Isaiah xxiii. 8.

CHAPTER VI.

ATTEMPTS TOWARDS COLONIZATION DURING THE
REMAINDER OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

A.D. 1576—1603.

Notice of the commerce, and discoveries of the English, in other quarters, during the latter part of the sixteenth century—Frobisher's three voyages in search of the North-West passage, 1576-1578—Indication of the devout spirit of Frobisher and his comrades—Letters Patent granted to Adrian Gilbert and others for the discovery of the North-West passage, in 1583—Davis's three voyages in consequence thereof—The names of these voyagers still preserved, in the seas which they entered—Renewal of English commerce in the Levant, 1575-1582—Its extension to Africa—First traces to be discovered of slave-trade, carried on by the English, 1562-1567—The English themselves often carried into slavery, and efforts made to rescue them from it—A direct communication effected with Asia before the end of Elizabeth's reign—From the earliest ages, Asia had been the great object of attraction to Europe—The desire to reach Asia, the actuating cause of the discoveries, made by Europeans, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—The first English merchants reach India overland, in 1583—They return in 1591—And authority is given, in 1592, to the Levant Company, to trade with the countries which they had visited—Captain Lancaster, the first English commander who made a voyage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, in 1591—Incorporation of the first East India Company, December 31, 1600—Summary of English discoveries, during the reign of Elizabeth—Reflections upon the duty of the Church established in a land, whose rulers and people were engaged in such enterprises.

BEFORE we resume the history of the next attempts
of England, to establish colonies in the Western

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Notice of
the com-

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merce, and discoveries of the English, in other quarters, during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Frobisher's three voyages in search of the North West Passage, 1576—1578.

Continent, we ask the reader to take a brief survey of the progress of those discoveries which we have not yet had it in our power to notice, and which were made by Englishmen, in other quarters of the world, during the reign of Elizabeth.

Foremost among these may be ranked the three voyages, successively made by Martin Frobisher, in the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, in search of the North-West passage¹, through which, it was still believed, a way might be found to India and China. He failed, indeed, in attaining the avowed object for which his voyages were undertaken; and the region, which he wished to penetrate, remained,—as it was termed by Elizabeth², and, as it still remains to others, who have so often renewed the attempt since,—‘*Meta Incognita.*’ Nevertheless, some particulars of interesting information were obtained by Frobisher of the shores along which he directed his course; and evidence has been abundantly supplied, in the accounts which have come down to us, of the courage, zeal, and patience, which he and his comrades displayed in those fruitless expeditions. To detail these particulars does not fall within our province; and, referring, therefore, the reader, who desires to have further knowledge of them, to the quarter whence it may be derived³, we direct his attention, at present, only to

Indication of the devout spirit of Frobisher and his comrades.

¹ The first voyage of Frobisher is erroneously stated by Anderson, in his *History of Commerce*, to have been made in 1567. Macpherson's *Annals*, ii. 145.

² Anderson's *History of Commerce* in Macpherson's *Annals*, ii. 159.

³ The Reports of Frobisher's voyages, and other documents

the following entry, which occurs in the Journal of Frobisher's second voyage, because it shows the faith of these brave mariners, and the source from which the secret of their strength was drawn:—
 ' On Whit-Sunday, being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anker at Black-wall, and fell that tyde down to Grauesend, where we remained vntill Monday at night. On Monday morning, the 27 of May, aboard the Ayde, we received all the Communion by the Minister of Grauesend, and prepared us as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilberry Hope ⁴.'

The failure of Frobisher's attempts to penetrate the North-West passage did not deter others from renewing them. The zeal of Sir Humfrey Gilbert and of Raleigh, in the prosecution of such attempts, was shared by another member of the same family, Adrian Gilbert; and in February 1583,—the same year which, as we have seen, witnessed the loss of his brother, Sir Humfrey,—Letters Patent were granted by Queen Elizabeth to him and others, under the name of 'The Colleagues of the fellowship for the discoverie of the North west passage.' It is expressly stated, in the preamble of these Letters, that they were granted in consideration of the great cost and charges which he had incurred in seeking 'a passage vnto China and the Iles of

Letters Patent granted to Adrian Gilbert, and others, for the discovery of the North West Passage, in 1583.

connected with them, are given ⁴ Hakluyt, iii. 89.
 by Hakluyt, iii. 52—129.

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the Moluccas, by the North westward, North eastward, or Northward.' They secured to him and his heirs certain privileges and immunities of trade, which it is needless here to recite, and were to continue in force for the space of five years⁵. Raleigh was one of those engaged in making preparations for the enterprise⁶; and Davis was the navigator appointed to conduct it. There was also a yet higher influence in the country, connected with this expedition, that of Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary to Queen Elizabeth; a fact, gratefully acknowledged by Davis, in a short treatise, entitled 'The world's Hydrographical description,' wherein he says, that 'diuers noble men and worshipfull marchants of London ioyned [with Syr Francis] in purse and willingnesse for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and men's mindes alienated from aduenturing therein⁷.'

Davis's
three voy-
ages in con-
sequence
thereof.

Three several voyages, in furtherance of the object set forth in the Letters Patent granted to Adrian Gilbert, were made by Davis, in the years 1585, 1586, and 1587. And, if, forbearing ourselves to dwell upon the particulars connected with them, we again refer the reader to the authority⁸, which we have already cited in the case of Frobisher, we do so in the belief, that, whosoever examines that authority with care, will readily assign to each of those celebrated navigators,—un-

⁵ Hakluyt, iii. 129—132.

⁶ Oldys's Life of Raleigh, p. 64.

⁷ Hakluyt, iii. 155.

⁸ Hakluyt, iii. 132—157.

successful though they were in the immediate object of their search,—the same character for bold, and patient, and persevering, energy. Their names still live in the seas, which intersect the shores of the inclement region which they sought to penetrate; that of Frobisher, designating the strait between Resolution and Cumberland Islands; and that of Davis, the yet broader channel which separates Greenland from the most northern provinces of North America.

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The names of these voyagers still preserved in the seas which they entered.

The extent of discovery which had been made, in Elizabeth's reign, throughout other portions of the Western hemisphere,—namely, in the continent of North America, and in parts of the West Indian Islands and South America, by the attempted settlement of colonies in the former, and the expeditions of Drake and Cavendish and others to the shores of the latter,—has been noticed in the preceding chapters. Casting back, therefore, our attention to the old world, let us see what progress was made by the English, during the same period, in exploring those extensive portions of it to which they had hitherto been strangers. Their intercourse with Russia, and the countries adjoining it towards the south and south-east, and also with some of the ports and islands of the Mediterranean sea, has already been described. We need only observe, therefore, with reference to the latter countries, that, notwithstanding the license, which had been obtained from Solyman, to trade in them, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, twenty-two years elapsed before any steps were taken to profit by it. A movement,

Renewal of English commerce in the Levant, 1575—1582.

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however, was made in that direction in 1575, chiefly at the instigation of Sir Edward Osborne,—an influential citizen of London, and ancestor of the present noble family of that name,—who, acting in concert with some other merchants, sent William Harborne as an agent to Constantinople, and obtained privileges of trade from the Sultan Murad. These privileges are detailed in a letter, addressed, in 1579, by the Sultan to Elizabeth⁹; they were secured under a treaty, drawn up between the two countries, in the following year¹⁰; and Harborne, becoming the accredited ambassador at the court of Constantinople, enforced them by the appointment of consuls at the chief ports of Africa, Egypt, and Syria¹¹.

Its extension to Africa.

The mention of Africa opens to our view another field of action, into which our countrymen ventured, at the same time, to enter. Attempts had been made, we have seen, but without success, even in Mary's reign, to carry on trade with the coast of Guinea; and her successor used every exertion, not only to place it on a more advantageous footing, but to extend it to other regions of the same continent. Thus, in 1572, a treaty of peace was made between England and Portugal, for the better adjustment of the trade of the two countries with the coast of Guinea¹². Again, in 1577, we find Elizabeth sending an ambassador to the Emperor of

⁹ Hakluyt, ii. 253.

¹⁰ Hakluyt, ii. 259—267.

¹¹ Hakluyt, ii. 285—299.

¹² Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 153.

Morocco, and obtaining, upon that and a subsequent occasion, certain commercial privileges for her subjects¹³. In 1585, she formed by Letters Patent a new company, among whose members we find the name of Robert, Earl of Leicester, for the management of the trade with Barbary and Morocco¹⁴; in 1588, she granted another Patent to some merchants of Exeter to trade with Senegal¹⁵; and another, in 1592, to 'Thomas Gregory, of Tanton, and others, for traffique betweene the river of Nonnia and the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona on the coast of Guinea¹⁶.' And lastly, in 1597, a letter was addressed by Elizabeth, 'to the most invincible and puissant King of the Abassens [Abyssinians], the mightie Emperor of Æthiopia, the higher and the lower,' commending to his gracious protection her subject Laurence Aldersey, who was about to travel in his dominions, and expressing her desire that the renown of the Abyssinian king's name should be brought unto her 'from the fountains of Nilus, and from those regions which are situate vnder the Southern Tropike¹⁷.'

Few other footsteps of the British power were, at that time, visible in Africa; yet, few as they were, we must confess that they were directed to ends which it is painful to contemplate. The hateful

First traces to be discerned of Slave Trade carried on by the English, 1562—1567.

¹³ Hakluyt, ii. 541—545. 604.

¹⁴ Hakluyt, ii. 599.

¹⁵ Hakluyt, ii. 610—613. There are accounts also of voyages, made by different English merchants to Guinea and Benin, from 1588 to 1590. ii. 613—617.

¹⁶ Hakluyt, iii. 7.

¹⁷ Hakluyt, iii. 20. He gives also (ii. 267—273,) the account of a voyage performed by Aldersey to Jerusalem by way of Venice, in 1581.

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traffic of the slave trade, indeed, in its systematic form, was reserved to be the burden of a later age; yet are its beginnings to be discerned, in the period which we are now reviewing. As early as the year 1562, the celebrated English captain (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins, having learnt, from the voyages which he made to the Canaries, of the profits which might be realised from the sale of negroes¹⁸ in the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, sailed from Plymouth for the coast of Guinea, in command of a small squadron, which had been fitted out by private subscription, in order that he might obtain a share in that unrighteous spoil¹⁹. He succeeded in carrying off three hundred negroes; and, transporting them to Hispaniola or St. Domingo, sold them at a great profit, and returned to England, flushed with his success, in the autumn of the year following. This voyage was followed by a second, which he made for similar purposes, in 1564, when he visited Cuba, and ranged all the coast of Florida; and, again, by a third in 1567, when he seems to have been accompanied by his kinsman, Francis Drake²⁰. The nefarious traffic to which these voyages led the way did not, at that time, yield to the agents employed in it the gain which they had hoped to realise; for Hawkins thus closes the account

¹⁸ The beginning of the Slave Trade in Europe may be dated, more than a hundred years before, namely, from the year 1443, when an association was formed by some of the leading Portuguese for the avowed purposes of carrying on

jointly the Gold and Slave trade. Banelin's Account of the Slave Trade, p. 16.

¹⁹ Campbell's Lives of British Admirals, i. 494.

²⁰ Hakluyt, iii. 592—623.

of his third expedition: 'If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorrowfull voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should neede a painfull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the Martyrs.'

It has been stated, indeed, that Queen Elizabeth was quick to discern, and to forbid, the evils which would inevitably result from the forcible carrying off the Africans from their native land; and that she sent for Hawkins, upon his return from his first voyage, and expressed her concern lest any negroes should have been taken by him without their free consent, declaring 'that it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers²¹.' It has been stated, moreover, that Hawkins promised to comply with the commands which the Queen laid upon him in this respect; and the conclusion is hence drawn, that his subsequent voyages could only have been permitted, by her being kept in ignorance of the wrongs then perpetrated²². We could have wished that this conclusion had been the true one; for better were it that the burden of this reproach should rest upon the single adventurer who first drew it upon himself, than upon those, who, standing in the high places of the earth, had power to restrain him from evil acts, and restrained him not. It seems, however, difficult to establish the truth of such a statement; since it is to be remembered, that, in the

²¹ Hill's Naval History, quoted by Clarkson in his History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, i. 40.

²² Clarkson, ib. p. 41.

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reports published of these voyages at the time, there was no concealment made of the methods employed to transport slaves; and, further, that honors were conferred upon the commander himself of these expeditions, which bore direct and visible testimony to the nature and success of the work in which he was engaged²³.

The English themselves often carried into slavery, and efforts made to rescue them from it.

Slavery there was, also, of another kind, witnessed at the same period,—barbarous and cruel, as it ever has been,—the slavery, which Turkish pirates, and the rovers that issued forth from the ports of Tunis, Sallee, and Algiers, inflicted upon the Christian merchants and mariners of England²⁴. The wrongs, suffered by these unhappy men, received the deepest sympathy of their countrymen at home; and our rulers, both temporal and spiritual, were prompt and eager to ransom them, and to protect them from further outrage. Two memorable evidences of this compassion and care are to be found in the annals of that time. The first, is an express stipulation insisted upon by Elizabeth, in the Patent which, we have seen, was granted by her, in 1585, to the company trading with Morocco,—and

²³ Campbell, in his *Lives of the Admirals*, i. 405, states, that the skill and success of Hawkins, after his second voyage, 'had raised him to such a reputation, that Mr. Harvey, then Clarendieux king at arms, granted him, by patent, for his crest, "a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord:" a worthy symbol of the infamous traffic which he had opened to his country.' Prince, in his *Worthies of Devon*, relates the same circumstance.

²⁴ Frequent notices of this fact occur in the theological writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bishop Andrewes, for example, refers to it, in a Sermon from the text, Ps. lxxviii. 18. "Thou art gone up," &c. preached by him before King James the First, on Whit-Sunday, (June 12,) 1612. He illustrates the phrase of leading "captivity captive," by the capturing of Turkish pirates who had themselves captured the Christians. Works, iii. 230.

agreed to by the Emperor Muley Hamet, through the representation of her ambassador Roberts,—that none of the English should in future be made slaves in his dominions²⁵. The second, is a circular letter, drawn up in August, 1596, by Archbishop Whitgift, at the instance of the Privy Council, and sent by him to the Bishops throughout his Province, urging them to make a collection ‘in every diocese of the better sort of the people, for the delivery of their poor countrymen now in slavery under the Turk²⁶.’

It had been a happy lot for England, if they who were thus faithful, thus zealous, to restrain the oppressor, and vindicate the captive from his grasp, had not been debased by their association with others, their countrymen, who were in their turn tyrants, and dragged the negro from his home to be an exile and a slave for ever. And happier yet had it been for her, if the generations of her children, in later times, had not continued to pursue the same murderous career of guilt. It is the glory, indeed, of our own day, to know that this career is stayed; that the Legislature has decreed, that it shall be our reproach no longer; and that the nation has, largely and

²⁵ Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 178.

²⁶ Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, ii. 334—336. In many Parochial Registers, and other documents still extant, entries are to be found of the amounts of collections made for the above object. In Ellis's 'Original Letters illustrative of English History,' (Second Series, i. 268,) a copy is given of

Letters Patent, issued as far back as 1516, by Henry the Eighth, for a charitable collection toward the relief of prisoners in Barbary; and it is justly inferred, by the learned editor of the above collection, that, as the piratical states of Barbary arose only at the beginning of the sixteenth century, this document, as far as the redemption of slaves is concerned, is one of the earliest of its kind.

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liberally, supplied the means to make that decree good. Nevertheless, the blot has disfigured the annals of our country, for upwards of two hundred years; and we cannot wipe out its stain.

A direct communication effected with Asia by the English, before the end of Elizabeth's reign.

The next quarter of the globe, which we have to notice, with which, likewise, after many abortive efforts, a direct communication was effected, before the end of Elizabeth's reign, is the continent of Asia. To gain access to that continent, had been the desire of European nations in every age. The fame of Eastern wealth and power, made known by the commerce of Tyre, and by the conquests of Alexander, had first awakened that desire; and men were eager to gain a share of the treasures, which those distant climes were reported to possess. The gems, the ivory, the silks, and perfumes of India, transmitted through Egypt, had ministered to the luxuries of Rome, under her earliest Emperors; and the caravans, which consumed the greater portion of a year, traversing the vast tracts of country, from China to the sea-coast of Syria, continued to find, in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, a sure and profitable market for the closely-woven silks which they transported²⁷. Thus, too, in after-ages, when the glory and strength of Rome had fallen, and Constantinople had become the capital of the Greek empire, India was still the source from which that city drew the richest materials of her commerce.

From the earliest ages Asia had been the great object of attraction to Europe.

²⁷ See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and the authorities quoted by him, vii. and 90—96.

And, during the time of the crusades, when Pisa, and Genoa, and Venice, sent forth their

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'argosies with portly sail,
Like signiors and rich burghers of the flood,
Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,'
Which 'overpeer'd the petty traffickers ²⁸,'

it was still the productions of Asiatic countries which formed their most important cargoes, and furnished the staple of their most costly manufactures. The hopes and expectations thus raised, and the curiosity thus excited, were but stimulated into quicker action by the reports of the same countries which Marco Polo in the thirteenth, and Sir John Mandeville in the fourteenth centuries, brought home to Europe; and to discover a passage to this rich storehouse of the East, was the problem constantly present to the minds of the geographers and mariners of that day.

The discovery of the mariner's compass ²⁹ armed them, of course, with fresh powers; and, keeping the same object in view, the princes of Portugal, in the fifteenth century, sent forth their adventurous subjects along the Western coast of Africa, until they reached its furthest promontory to the South, and changed its name from the Cape of Storms to the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, too, before the tidings were announced to Europe that the 'good hope' was realized, and that Vasco de Gama had indeed found

The desire to reach Asia, the actuating cause of the discoveries made by Europeans during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

²⁸ Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, Act i. Scene i.

compass in Professor Leslie's Preliminary Dissertation, Encyc. Brit. Seventh edition, i. 624, 625.

²⁹ See notice of the magnetic

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the course to India around that Southern Cape, it was the desire to reach the same country by another channel, which gave brightness to the visions of Columbus, and energy to his zeal, and which opened a pathway to the Western world. Similar testimony is supplied in the history of those later expeditions, which were fitted out and sailed from our own shores. We have seen, that, in whatsoever quarter their course was directed, whether to the North-East, or to the North-West, the discovery of Cathay was, avowedly and uniformly, the great object of attraction. So probable did it appear to those who set out upon such perilous adventures, that a passage to that country would be found along the ice-bound coasts of the Arctic regions, and so strongly were their minds bent upon exploring it, that neither the fearful losses of men and ships, in some instances, nor the repeated disappointments of their hopes in others, where their lives were spared, could force them to abandon their design. The Patents and commissions, granted repeatedly by the Crown for the prosecution of it, made always some distinct reference to the same point, as the ultimate object for which such privileges were granted. By land, also, as well as by sea, the effort was made for its attainment. The travels of the agents of the Russia Company to Astracan, and, across the Caspian, to Bokhara and the Persian court, were undertaken and renewed, as means likely to secure the acquisition so long sought after; and when, upon the strength of the discoveries then made, a fresh charter,

as we have seen³¹, was granted to the Russia Company, in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign, the hope was distinctly expressed therein, that, 'by God's grace, they might discover also the country of Cathaia.'

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Still was the same project urged forward through other channels. Letters were addressed by Queen Elizabeth to the King of Cambay³², and to the King of China, in 1583, and sent by the hands of some English merchants, two of whom, whose names were John Newbery and Ralph Fitch, published an account, still extant, of their proceedings. The course which they pursued was by Tripoli in Syria, and by Aleppo, to Babylon; and thence to Ormus, where they suffered imprisonment. Upon their release, they proceeded to Goa³³, which had been for more than half a century the capital of the Portuguese dominion in Hindustan, and the seat of the Viceroy's court. From that city, the apprehension of ill treatment soon compelled them to depart; and proceeding to the North, and North-East, they came to the court of the Emperor Akbar, in whose service, one of their party, William Leades, a jeweller, remained. Another of them, John Newbery, proceeded homewards by way of Lahore, but died upon his journey. The rest went on to visit, among other places, Agra and Patna. After which, going to Macao, Pegu, Malacca, and Ceylon, they crossed to the

The first English merchants reach India overland, in 1583,

³¹ See p. 49.

³² A city, situated at the head of the gulf which bears the same name, two hundred and forty miles

north of Bombay, and now belonging to the English.

³³ Hakluyt, ii. 375—381.

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They return
in 1591.

And autho-
rity is given,
in 1592, to
the Levant
Company, to
trade with
the coun-
tries which
they had
visited.

coast of Malabar, where they touched at Cochin and Calicut. They then returned to England, by the same course which they had followed at the outset, and reached it, in 1591, after an absence of eight years³⁴. In consequence of the opening thus made, second Letters Patent were granted by Elizabeth, in 1592, to the Levant Company. Sir Edward Osborne, whose influence in those matters has been before mentioned, was appointed its first governor; and authority was given to them to extend their trade into all those countries of the East, including India, of which authentic information had been thus brought home³⁵.

Captain
Lancaster
the first
English
commander
who made a
voyage to
India, by
way of the
Cape of
Good Hope,
in 1591.

These earliest relations of our own country with India, were but the prelude to others which soon afterwards arose. Already had one solitary Englishman, named Thomas Stevens, sailed from Lisbon, on board a Portuguese ship, for Goa; and the letter written from that city, in 1579, to his parents, giving a minute account of his voyage, is recorded by Hakluyt³⁶. But, ere long, he had the satisfaction of writing down from the mouth of an officer, who himself bore a command in the expedition, the account of the first voyage made by an English vessel to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This was performed in 1591, by Captain James Lancaster, in the *Edward Bonaventura*. He had sailed from Plymouth, on the tenth of April in that year, in company with two other vessels, one of

³⁴ Hakluyt, ii. 382—399.

³⁵ Hakluyt, ii. 434—442.

³⁶ Hakluyt, ii. 581—585.

which was sent home from Saldanha Bay, with those of the crews who had fallen sick; and the other was separated from him in a storm, which overtook them soon after they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and he saw no more of her. After having touched at the Comoro and Zanzibar islands, off the coast of Africa, he doubled the southern extremity of Hindustan, Cape Comorin, in May, 1592, and bore away for the Nicobar islands, which lie to the South-East of the Bay of Bengal; but, failing to reach them, he made for Sumatra; and thence proceeded to Malacca, and other places adjacent. In his passage homewards he touched at St. Helena³⁷; and, having been then carried out of his course a great way Westward by tempestuous winds, lost his vessel at Mona, a small island in the West Indies. Happily for him and the survivors of his ship's company, a French vessel bound to St. Domingo, discovered and took them away, and brought them eventually safe to Dieppe; whence they reached England on the twenty-fourth of May, 1594³⁸.

The highway to the East now seemed fairly open; and, soon after the return of Captain Lancaster to

³⁷ There is a curious account in this part of the narrative, of his finding at this island one of the invalid scamen who had been left there, eighteen months before, by the vessel which we have already seen was sent home from Saldanha Bay: 'At our coming wee found him as fresh in colour, and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as

afterward wee perceived: for whether he were put in fright of vs, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden ioy when he understood we were his old consorts and countrymen, he became idle-headed, and for eight dayes space, neither night nor day tooke any naturall rest, and so at length died for lack of sleep." Hakluyt, ii. 592.

³⁸ Hakluyt, ii. 586—595.

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Incorporation of the first East India company. Dec. 31, 1600.

England,—on the last day of the year 1600,—Elizabeth granted a charter to George Earl of Cumberland and others, to be a body corporate by the name of the ‘Governor and company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies’³⁹.

Summary of English discoveries, during the reign of Elizabeth.

It will be seen, then, from the review which we have taken in this and the former chapters, that a distinct and experimental knowledge had been acquired by the English, of the most distant and opposite quarters of the globe, during the long reign of Elizabeth. No permanent settlements, it is true, were effected any where throughout this period; and we have already called the reader’s attention to the fact, that, whilst some of the richest provinces in the East and in the West were tributary to Portugal and Spain, the territories of England were still confined to her own sea-girt shore. Yet, were the

³⁹ Anderson’s History of Commerce in Macpherson’s Annals, ii. 216. It appears, from a passage in Hakluyt’s ‘Epistle Dedicatorie,’ addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham, and prefixed to the first edition of his voyages, that, owing to the intercourse thus opened with the East, some natives from the Moluccas and Philippine isles had found their way to England. ‘Lucius Florus,’ he says, ‘in the very end of his historie de gestis Romanorum, recordeth as a wonderful miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of Cathay or China,) sent ambassadors to Rome, to intreate friendship, as moued with the fame of the maiesty of the Romane Empire. And have not we as good

cause to admire, that the Kings of the Moluccaes, and Iaua maior, haue desired the fauour of her maiestie, and the commerce and traffike of her people? Is it not as strāge that the borne naturalles of Iapan, and the Philippinaes are here to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing vs of the state of their easterne habitations? For mine own part, I take it as a pledge of God’s further fauour both vnto vs aud them: to them especially, vnto whose doores I doubt not in time shal be by vs caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we vse and exercise common trade with their marchants.’ i. vii.

foundations of her future greatness laid in the very efforts which had appeared so fruitless. Her flag had entered the icy straits of Greenland and Labrador, and passed the most Northern extremities of Norway, Russia, and Lapland; had been set up, in token of sovereignty, in the chief haven of Newfoundland; had waved, once and again, upon the shores of Virginia; had mingled in the shock of battle, amid the islands of the West Indies and the coasts of Brazil, Guiana, and Peru; and, as it floated through the straits of Magellan, across the Pacific and Indian oceans, had been welcomed by native chieftains of islands within the tropics. It had been unfurled, also, for a brief season, upon the waters of the Caspian sea, by those whose adventurous footsteps led them, in that direction, from Russia; and had been carried, along the banks of the Oxus, into the Persian territory. It had visited the ports and marts of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Levant, and the Southern coasts of the Mediterranean sea; had long been known to the traffickers of the Canary isles, and those who dwelt upon the shores of Guinea and Benin; and, at length, pursuing its way to the islands and continents of the East, had passed the Southern Cape of Africa.

By the prosecution of these varied enterprises, a way was opened to the vast possessions, which now form the Colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. We have given, as briefly as we could, the narrative of their progress thus far, and

Reflections upon the duty of the Church established in a land, whose rulers and people were en-

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gaged in
such enter-
prises.

shall continue to do so with respect to the sequel; because it is impossible, without some general knowledge of the manner by which the Colonies themselves were acquired, to discern clearly that portion of their history, which we desire to trace in the present work. The motives, which prompted such great exertions on the part of our countrymen, it must be confessed, were, for the most part, those of pride, and avarice, and ambition. In making this acknowledgment, we are not unmindful of the fact, that there were many, bearing a prominent part in some of these expeditions, who faithfully recognised the great and sacred obligations, which are imposed upon every Christian nation by the extension of her temporal power; and who manifested also a desire to discharge those obligations to the uttermost. Neither have we forgotten, that, in some of the earliest documents which exist,—containing either instructions for the management of such expeditions, or conferring privileges upon those who were entrusted with the command of them,—an express and formal avowal of the same holy principles appears. So far from leaving these points out of consideration, or undervaluing the important testimony which they supply, we have taken care to bring them distinctly under the attention of the reader; and have asked him to mark them, the more carefully, because they are seldom, if ever, noticed by the general historian. Nevertheless, after making, freely and gratefully, every admission which the authority of such evidence demands, it is impossible to look abroad upon the lands and seas

traversed by our countrymen in that day, and observe the labours, the conflicts, the perils which they encountered, and not feel that it was the thirst of gold, the lust of power, the jealousy of rival thrones, which urged them forward to the struggle; and that violence and fraud were the means which they employed to gain for themselves the victory. Such elements of disturbance are at work for ever in the world, because they are the fruits of sin; and sin is not yet destroyed. But He, who can alone bring low man's proud desires, and smooth his rugged passions, and make straight his crooked paths, and turn even his erring counsels into instruments for accomplishing His own righteous will,—‘so that what was first in God's providence, was but second in man's appetite and intention’⁴⁰—has supplied, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the remedy which can alone keep down effectually the fearful outbreaks of human sinfulness. It was manifestly, therefore, the duty of that portion of His Church, which proclaimed the message of that Gospel, and dispensed its ordinances in our own land, to do what in her lay, at such a moment, to infuse into the heaving mass of selfish and greedy appetites, the sanctifying and wholesome leaven entrusted to her hands. When tidings were conveyed to her, from every quarter,

⁴⁰ ‘It cannot be affirmed, if one speak ingenuously, that it was the propagation of the Christian faith that was the adamant of that discovery, entry, and plantation [namely, of the Spaniards in the Western world]; but gold and

silver, and temporal profit and glory: so that what was first in God's providence, was but second in man's appetite and intention.’ Lord Bacon's Advertisement touching an Holy War. Works, vii. 123.

of lands and seas laid open, which before were not known, or only vaguely heard of; and,—when the knowledge of such tidings was giving fresh impulse and new hopes, to the mariner, the merchant, the man of science, the statesman, and the soldier,—it was her part to proclaim more loudly the righteousness of Him who was alone the God of their salvation; and to impress, yet more faithfully, upon the curious and busy multitude around her, the lessons of His blessed truth, who is “the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that remain in the broad sea ⁴¹.” The eye of sense was dazzled by the pearls and costly gems brought from afar; but the “one pearl of great price” outweighed them all; and it was for her to lead her people, the more diligently, to seek it, that, finding and retaining that treasure, they might be rich indeed ⁴². And, further still, if any of them were about to leave their father-land, that they might find, for the benefit of themselves and of their fellow-countrymen, a dwelling-place and a home in other quarters of the globe, she ought still to have followed them with the Word of God, with her prayers and ordinances; seeking ever to be “present in spirit” with those who were “absent in body ⁴³,” and holding up to the barbarians, in whose land her children thus fixed their habitation, the light which should “guide” their “feet into the way of peace ⁴⁴.”

The examination, upon which we are now about

⁴¹ Ps. lxxv. 5.

⁴² Matt. xiii. 45, 46.

⁴³ 1 Cor. v. 3.

⁴⁴ Luke i. 79.

to enter, will show how far the Church was mindful of this sacred duty; and how far the difficulties which she had to encounter, acted as hindrances to the proper discharge of her responsibilities. That there were difficulties,—heavy and appalling,—which assailed her from within and from without, is a fact which the history to be pursued by us will reveal in characters too plain to be misunderstood. And the record of them will not be without profit, if, by teaching us to form a true estimate of the services performed, the errors committed, and the perils passed through, by the men of a former generation, we may be the better prepared to endure the trials, and discharge the duties, and surmount the obstacles, which await us in our own.

CHAPTER VII.

CONDITION OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND DURING THE
REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES THE FIRST.

A. D. 1558—1625.

The condition of the Church of England at the time of planting our first Colonies, a reason for inquiring into the causes which produced it—Acts of Supremacy and Conformity in the first years of Elizabeth—The Queen's Injunctions concerning the Clergy and Laity, in the same year—The Thirty-nine Articles—Rise of the Puritans—Archbishop Parker—His prudence and forbearance towards Roman Catholics, with regard to enforcing the Act of Supremacy—His conduct towards the Puritans—The Bull of Pope Pius the Fifth, in 1570—Proceedings of the English Parliament, in consequence, against Romish Recusants—The progress of Puritanism—Admonition to the Parliament by the Puritans, in 1572—Cartwright—The first English Presbytery at Wandsworth—Archbishop Grindal—The Brownists—Archbishop Whitgift—Proceedings against the Puritans—The Star Chamber and Court of High Commission—Whitaker—Hooker—Accession of James the First—The Hampton-Court Conference—Translation of the Bible—Canons—Archbishop Bancroft—Archbishop Abbot—Summary Review.

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The condition of the Church of England at the time of planting our first Colonies, a reason for inquiring into the causes which produced it.

WE have stated, at the end of the last chapter, that many and appalling difficulties beset the Church of England, in the age which witnessed the planting of our first Colonies; and that the sequel of this history will show how grievously the exercise of her ministrations, in those new fields of labour, was encumbered by their weight. These difficulties were so various, and, all of them, so closely interwoven with the texture of our national history, that

it seems scarcely possible to trace, as we have undertaken to do, the progress of their consequences abroad, without first taking a brief survey of the causes which originated them at home:—and this we are about to attempt in the present chapter.

A reference has been already made, generally, to the commencement of the Reformation, in the reign of Henry the Eighth; its progress, under Edward the Sixth; the check, which it received from Mary; and its renewal and completion, upon the accession of Elizabeth to the throne. The bare recital of these facts prepares us, in some degree, to expect the events which followed them. It tells us what opposition the Reformed Church of our land would be likely to encounter, on the one side, from Rome, eager to regain the power which she had lost; and, on the other side, from those, whose dread of Romish tyranny and Romish corruptions, led them to recoil from every thing which had borne her name, or was associated with her services. And what marvel is it, if, amid the din and turmoil of disputes so complicated, and in an age of such relentless despotism, the champions of the truth themselves should have failed sometimes to listen to her commands, and been betrayed into the performance of acts which her voice condemns, and of which her followers are ashamed?

The commencement of Elizabeth's reign was marked by the enactment of two statutes¹, which

Acts of Supremacy and Conformity

¹ Elizabeth ascended the throne November 17, 1558; and these Acts were passed in the Parliament convened two months afterwards.

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in the first
year of
Elizabeth.

incorporated the Church of England with the constitution of the realm. They were the Acts of Supremacy and Conformity; the first of which 'restored to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolished all foreign powers repugnant to the same:' and the second legally re-established the reformed worship, and prohibited any change of its rites and discipline, except with the sanction of the appointed rulers of the Church².

The Queen's
injunctions
concerning
the Clergy
and Laity, in
the same
year.

The objects intended to be secured by these Acts, were further explained in the 'Injunctions given by the Queen's Majesty, concerning both the Clergy and Laity of this Realm,' and published in the first year of her reign, 1559³. These Injunctions, after setting forth certain provisions for the faithful and regular discharge of the duties devolving upon the various orders of the Clergy, contain also 'An Admonition to simple men, deceived by malicious,' in which reference is distinctly made to the oath, required under the Act of Supremacy; and to the

² Hallam's Constitutional History of England, i. pp. 152 and 231. See also Gladstone's State in its relations with the Church, ii. 118, 119, where it is shown, most clearly, that neither the number nor authority of the Romish prelates, who opposed the passing of the above Acts, was such as to invalidate the proposition there maintained,—namely, that the Elizabethan Reformation was founded on, and ratified and accepted by, the authority of the National Church.

³ Bishop Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c., pp. 66—84, Second edition. The chief points of difference between these Injunctions of Elizabeth, and those issued by Edward, twelve years before, are given in Blunt's History of the Reformation, pp. 309—311; and are worthy of notice, as furnishing an index to the progress of opinion which had been made in the interval. See also Cardwell's Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England, i. 178—209.

restraints, by which it was still intended to control the exercise of the royal authority. Some persons, it appears, had inferred, from the terms of the said oath, that thereby 'the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, might challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the Church.' The correctness of such an interpretation is consequently denied, and the assertion broadly made, that no other authority was, or would be, exercised by the Queen than that which 'was, of ancient time, due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they may be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them⁴.'

The principle, upon which such Acts were passed, and such explanations concerning them promulgated, was the belief, that the whole body of citizens,

⁴ Bishop Sparrow's Collection, &c. ut sup. pp. 81, 82. Mr. Hallam, in his Constitutional History, i. 152, n. has rightly called the attention of the reader to the above document, and pointed out the importance of that 'contemporaneous exposition of the law' which it contains. This exposition was further confirmed by a proclamation, issued by Elizabeth ten years afterwards, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which it is expressly stated, that 'she claimed no other ecclesiastical authority than had been due to her predecessors; that she pretended no

right to define articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies formerly adopted by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, or to minister the word or the sacraments of God; but that she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion, to see all laws ordained for that end duly observed, and to provide that the Church be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops, and ministers.' See Gladstone's State in its relations with the Church, Fourth edition, ii. 24, 25.

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united under one temporal governor, the Sovereign, could alone be preserved in peace and order, by the exercise, on the one hand, of those means of grace which were ministered through the Church; and by being protected, on the other, from the encroachment of any power, from within or from without, which interfered with the authority of the Crown. The authority, thus established, was not the intrusion of secular dominion into matters spiritual, nor the judgment of human tribunals upon truths which the Spirit of God alone had revealed, and of which His Church was the appointed keeper and witness. Still less was it any compromise of the trust committed to the keeping of the Church,—any faithless desire to reap temporal benefit, at the cost of her own integrity,—which led her thus to recognise the supremacy of the Crown. The essential characteristics which belonged to her, in her separate condition, were not lost by her incorporation with the State, any more than were those of the State itself. A freer course only was opened for the exercise of her proper functions, and the solemn avowal more distinctly made, that the glory of God was the salvation of His people. True, the coercive power, which was supplied by this union of the ecclesiastical with the civil authority, and placed in the hands both of the spiritual and temporal rulers of the Church, was a grievous hindrance in the way of her securing the intended benefit; and the difficulties, by which she was afterwards beset, may be traced mainly to the operation of this cause. It is a power, which the

natural intolerance of the human mind makes always formidable; and which the despotic spirit of the sixteenth century invested with its most appalling attributes. It was not essential, however, to the incorporation of the Church with the State, that such an evil should have existed; it was a contingency, so to speak, which arose out of the circumstances of the age; and would, probably, in that period of disturbance, have appeared under one or another form, whatsoever might have been the framework of the body politic. It does not invalidate the main point, to which we have directed the reader's attention, namely, the real character of the doctrine of regal supremacy in the Elizabethan era⁵.

Immediately upon the accession of Elizabeth, a

⁵ See Archbishop Bramhall's Answer to La Milletière, Works, i. 31; also Gladstone's State in its relations with the Church, ii. 21, 22. This view of the subject is confirmed in another part of Mr. Gladstone's work, wherein he cites the change made by Elizabeth, from the title of 'head' of the Church to that of 'governor,' as a proof of the mitigated theory of the supremacy in her reign. After quoting the passage in a letter from Jewel to Bullinger, which proves this change, he adds, 'The difference in spirit between these two titles is very great. Both imply a supremacy; but headship is supremacy by virtue of original position in the body; governorship is supremacy by virtue of an acquired position, and power extrinsic to the body. And the great ecclesiastical enactments of this reign, were either reversals of irregular

and invalid acts done under Queen Mary, or they were founded upon the preliminary judgment of the Church legitimately assembled.' ii. 164, 165. In the Zurich letters, lately published by the Parker Society, the letter of Jewel to Bullinger, noticed in the above passage, (and which is there quoted from Collier,) is given at p. 32; and also another from Jewel to Peter Martyr, in which he says that he is 'certainly not much displeased,' because 'the queen declines being styled the head of the church,' p. 24. The same collection contains a letter from Parkhurst to Bullinger, in May, 1559; in which he refers to the change made by Elizabeth from the title of 'head' to that of 'governor,' p. 29, but fails to see the distinction between them, which has been so justly pointed out by Mr. Gladstone.

The Prayer-Book, and the Thirty-nine Articles.

committee of divines had been instructed 'to review the Book of Common Prayer and order of Ceremonies and Service in the Church,' which had been adopted in England during Edward the Sixth's reign. The committee laid their report before the council; and, before any final measure was adopted in relation to this important subject, a conference was appointed to be held in Westminster Abbey, between the leading Romanists and Reformers, on the chief points at issue between them. The perverse conduct of the Romanists at this conference prevented any proper discussion; in consequence of which, a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, embodying the alterations proposed by the committee of divines, was annexed to the Bill of Uniformity, when laid before the houses of Parliament; and, upon that Bill passing into a law, it became the authorized organ to direct and animate the devotions of the people⁶. The settlement of the 'Articles of Religion,' soon followed the publication of the Book of Common Prayer. They had been originally drawn up—chiefly, it is believed, by Cranmer and Ridley⁷,—and published in 1552, by the authority of Edward the Sixth, 'for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and stablishing consent touching true religion.' They were then forty-two in number. They were again

⁶ See the first and second chapters of Cardwell's History of Conferences, &c. on the Book of Common Prayer. It is important to observe that the Prayer-Book, thus enacted by Parliament at first, was

in later times agreed to by Convocation, and finally adjusted by it in 1661. Gladstone, ut sup. ii. 119.

⁷ Burnet's History of the Reformation, ii. 265.

submitted to the consideration of 'the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation, holden at London, in the year 1562⁸;' and agreed upon and published, with some few alterations in their terms as well as in their number, which was reduced to thirty-nine⁹. At a later period of the same reign,—namely, in 1571,—they were revised once more; received some further slight alterations; and were 'deliberately read and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Upper house, and by the subscription of the whole Clergy of the Nether-house in their Convocation' which was then holden¹⁰. Thus solemnly were proclaimed the doctrines of the Christian faith; and thus distinctly was the protest made and recorded against the false glosses which had been thrust upon it by the Church of Rome, or by the members of any other communion.

The history of the settlement of these important questions does not reveal the existence of any danger which threatened the peace of our Church. Differences of opinion did indeed quickly arise,—and had arisen, even before the last mentioned revision of the Articles had taken place,—but they were associated, in the first instance, with matters of inferior

Rise of the
Puritans.

⁸ See the heading prefixed to the Articles. They were not finally subscribed until the twenty-ninth of January, 1563. Burnet's History of the Reformation, iii. 452.

Articles and those set forward by King Edward, are all given by Burnet, in the Records appended to his History of the Reformation, No. 55, iv. 311—317.

⁹ The differences between these

¹⁰ See the Ratification at the end of the Articles.

moment, namely, the refusal to wear certain vestments, and to conform to certain practices, required in the celebration of divine services. To check these irregularities was the main object of the 'Advertisements,' drawn up and issued in 1564, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Commission¹¹. And they who still refused to comply with the injunctions herein addressed to them, received, about the same time, the name of Puritans¹². It was a hateful and humiliating struggle, which arose out of causes apparently of such little importance; involving gradually interests of supreme authority, and leading to the most fatal consequences. Not now, indeed, for the first time, had this repugnance to wear the prescribed habits been manifested; since, fourteen years before, Hooper had refused to be consecrated Bishop, solely upon the same ground: and the letters which passed between him and Cranmer, and Bucer, and Peter Martyr, upon the subject, show with what resolution he maintained, and with what earnest affection and

¹¹ Strype's *Life of Parker*, i. 313—320. See also the argument for and against the lawfulness of the vestments in question, drawn up, as Strype thinks, by the Archbishop himself, and sent by him to Cecil, 'probably for his own satisfaction, and to give him a fair scheme of the contest.' i. 334—343. A list of the varieties which then prevailed in the celebration of Divine Service, (copied from a paper belonging to Cecil, given by Strype, i. 302,) is quoted also by Bishop Madox, in his 'Vindi-

cation of the Government, &c. of the Church of England, against the injurious reflections of Neal's *History of the Puritans*, pp. 155, 156.

¹² Fuller, in his *Church History*, assigns the first appearance of the name to the year, 1563; and adds, in his own quaint way, that 'the grief had not been great, if it had ended in the same.' Book ix. p. 76. Archbishop Parker afterwards styled them *Precisians*. Strype's *Life of Parker*, ii. 40.

careful argument they sought to remove, his objections¹³. Nor was that unhappy dispute ever satisfactorily settled. Hooper consented, indeed, to wear the prescribed habits at his consecration, (which took place the year following, 1551,) and upon certain specified solemn occasions; but, at all other times, he received liberty to dispense with them¹⁴. The seed, therefore, was not only sown, but the blade had sprung up, and was growing onwards to produce the bitter fruit gathered so abundantly in the age which we are now reviewing. Much of the pertinacious zeal displayed by those who scorned the use of tippet, cap, and surplice, and called them ‘conjuring garments of Popery¹⁵,’ may be ascribed to the opinions which they had imbibed, and to the practices which they had seen observed, among the Reformers of Frankfort, Strasburgh, Zurich, and Geneva, to whose arms they had been compelled to fly for refuge, whilst the Marian persecution raged in England. The intimacies formed, and the services rendered at that time, strengthened those bonds of sympathy between the members of our Church and the Protestant congregations of the Continent, which had been first created in the reign of Henry, by a sense of the common cause in which they were engaged against Rome; and which were increased, in the reign of Edward, by the assistance which Cranmer sought and received at the hands of Martyr and

¹³ Burnet's History of the Reformation, ii. 242—246.

¹⁵ Strype's Life of Parker, i. 301.

¹⁴ Burnet ut sup. ii. 264.

Bucer, and others of their leading divines¹⁶. And when to this circumstance is added the history of the melancholy dissensions touching the English Ritual, which broke out at Frankfort, during the residence of the exiles in that city, and which were aggravated by the agitation of Knox, and the decision of Calvin¹⁷, it can scarcely be a matter of astonishment,—however deeply it must excite our regret,—that the return to their native land of men who had been exposed to such influences, should have brought with it disaffection and prejudice in its train.

Archbishop
Parker.

The prelate, who then occupied the see of Canterbury, was Matthew Parker. The late Archbishop, Cardinal Pole, had died on the day following that which witnessed the death of Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth to the throne; and, a few months afterwards, Parker,—who was then in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and, in the language of Strype, ‘a poor, obscure, absconding, persecuted clergyman,’—was ‘advanced to the very top of ecclesiastical honour and trust in the English Church; though altogether without his seeking, and with much reluctance¹⁸.’ It was solely because he was believed to possess the piety, wisdom, and sobriety, required for the duties of this high office, that he was recommended to Queen Elizabeth by Secretary Cecil and the Lord

¹⁶ See Hallam’s Constitutional History, i. 233; Keble’s Preface to his Edition of Hooker, p. lx; and Cardwell’s Introduction to his History of Conferences, &c. on the Book of Common Prayer, pp.

9—17.

¹⁷ Le Bas’s Life of Jewell, pp. 48, 49; and Burnet’s History of the Reformation, ii. 527—529.

¹⁸ Strype’s Life of Parker, i. 69.

Keeper (Nicholas) Bacon, as the fittest man to be preferred to it. They had been the companions and friends of Parker for many years; and, doubtless, their regard for him was shared by the Queen, who remembered that he had been the chaplain and adviser of her mother, and a guide and instructor to herself in her days of childhood¹⁹. After many delays,—arising from his own unfeigned desire to decline the burden of responsibility about to be laid upon him,—Parker was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, on the seventeenth of December, 1559²⁰.

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His prudence and forbearance towards the Roman Catholics, with regard to enforcing the Act of Supremacy.

The prudence and forbearance which he displayed, upon his entrance on the duties of his office, amply justify his appointment. The advice which he gave to the Bishops, with respect to their administration of the oath, and exaction of the penalties, required by the Act of Supremacy, and his letter to Cecil upon the subject, deserve especial notice; for they show how careful he was not needlessly to wound the conscience, or endanger the life, of any man. The severity of the Act, says his biographer, created in his mind 'some pensive thoughts;' and he wrote to his brethren privately, warning them 'not to tender the oath a second time to any (as they might be provoked probably by the Papists' obstinacy sometimes to do) before they had sent to him, giving him notice

¹⁹ Strype's Life of Parker, i. 14; and Burnet's History of the Reformation, ii. 587.

²⁰ For the history of Parker's nomination to the Archbishopric, and of his confirmation and con-

secration afterwards, see Strype, i. 69—125; also Archbishop Bramhall's Treatise upon the subject, Works, iii. 21—112; and Hallam's Constitutional History, i. 160, note.

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thereof, and had received his letter in answer thereunto²¹. The effect of this wise and equitable conduct was to restrain, at that critical juncture, the outbreak of many fierce and contending passions²²; and a happy destiny would it have been for the Church over which he presided, if the same spirit had been permitted to govern her councils in after years.

His conduct
towards the
Puritans.

The conduct of Parker towards the Puritans has been reproached, but not always with justice, by their historians for its undue severity. It is true, indeed, that he did not flee with the other English exiles, of whom we have spoken, to the continent, during the reign of Mary; but chose rather to shelter himself from the storm of persecution, in such an asylum as he could find in his native land. And so far, it may be said that he was not ready to sympathize with all the scruples, which his brethren urged upon their return. But if, from that very cause, he had the opportunity of surveying, more calmly and leisurely, the grounds of offence, and seeing their real insignificance; if the knowledge, which he had acquired by his continuance in England, of the feelings and wishes of the majority of the English people, convinced him that more persons would be offended than conciliated by the concession of the points in

²¹ Strype's Life of Parker, i. 247.

²² Its effect was, as Strype also states, 'that none of the Popish bishops nor divines had this oath administered to them, except that bloody man Boner, so tender was the state of the estates and lives

of these men. And this, Nowel, the Dean of St. Paul's, confidently tells Dorman his adversary, in print, saying that the oath was never required of them.' Life of Parker, i. 250.

dispute; and if, lastly, he was led to believe, not only from the character of the complaints themselves, but also from the spirit in which they were urged, that impatience of all control and a presumptuous arbitrary selfwill, were the real influences by which many of the objectors were swayed, assuredly, he is not to be blamed if he resisted them. He did not, however, betray any eager and impatient desire to detect, or repress, the irregularities and disorders of which he disapproved. On the contrary, the first four or five years of his Primacy passed away without any steps being taken to restrain the evil. He hoped, probably, that time might mitigate, if not remove, its influence; and that the examples of such honoured men as Grindal, Sandys, Horn, and Jewel,—who had themselves once hesitated as to the lawfulness of certain vestments and practices, but afterwards felt it their duty to conform ²³,—might have led others to follow the same

²³ 'They consulted together,' says Strype, 'what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter into their functions. But they concluded unanimously not to desert their ministry, for some rites, that, as they considered were but a few, and not evil in themselves, especially since the doctrine of the Gospel remained pure and entire. And in this counsel, which they had at first taken, they continued still well satisfied; and also upon the considerations that by filling these rooms in the Church they might keep out Lutherans, and such as were suspected papists: which was an argument the learned

foreigners, their friends, suggested to them.' Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, i. 264. There is a most remarkable letter written by Bishop Horn (of Winchester) to Bullinger, in 1571, in which he contrasts his old repugnance to wear the habits with the paramount authority of the duties to which he had been summoned:—'We are not so much concerned (he says) about the fitness of our apparel (panno), as about rightly dividing the bread (pane) of the Lord; nor, in fine, do we deem it of so much consequence, if our own coat appears unbecoming, as it is to take care

course. But his hope was not fulfilled. The irregularities became still greater by connivance; and not only was the internal harmony of the Church thereby endangered, but the way was made more easy for the assault which Rome was already preparing to make upon her from without. A letter was accordingly addressed, in January, 1564, from the Queen to Archbishop Parker, 'requiring him to confer with the Bishops of his province, and others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for the redressing disorders in the Church, occasioned by different doctrines and rites; and for the taking order to admit none into preferment, but those that are conformable²⁴;' and the 'Advertisements,' to which reference has been already made, were issued in consequence. The penal enactments of suspension and sequestration, set forth in this document, against those who refused to comply with its injunctions, were only, after many delays, and with very great reluctance, enforced. The forbearance, which Parker had displayed towards the Roman Catholics, he was not less ready to show towards the Puritans; and his main coadjutor, Grindal, Bishop of London, whose signature, with that of many other Bishops, was attached to the 'Advertisements,' could certainly not be charged with any desire to hasten severe measures. On the contrary, it is notorious that the sympathy, which

that the seamless coat of our Lord be not rent asunder.' Zurich Letters, p. 248.

²⁴ Strype's Life of Parker, Appendix No. xxiv. iii. 65—69. The

whole of this letter, and the answer returned to it by the Archbishop, No. xxvi. iii. 73—76, are most worthy of the reader's attention.



he personally felt towards most of the parties against whom they were directed, led him to the extreme verge of concession²⁵. The two most influential of the opponents with whom Parker and his brother prelates had to deal, were Sampson, Dean of Chichester, and Humphrey, President of Magdalen College and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford. Every argument which reason could suggest, and every entreaty which affection could urge, were brought to bear upon them; the assistance also of some of those foreign divines in whom the Puritans placed so much confidence²⁶, was called in; but all in vain. Bishop Grindal, in the words of Strype, ‘prayed Sampson even with tears, that he would but now and then, in the public meetings of the University, put on the square cap, but could not prevail with him to do so²⁷.’

²⁵ He [Grindal] ‘was not forward to use extremities: and because of this the Puritan party confided much in him; and gave out that my Lord of London was their own, and all that he did was upon a force, and unwillingly, as they flattered themselves.’ Strype’s Life of Grindal, pp. 154, 155.

²⁶ Bishop Grindal, says Strype, ‘was not wanting in his endeavours to bring over the Dissenters to be satisfied with what he enjoined. And among other means in order hereunto, he set forth now in print an excellent and right Christian letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief minister in Helvetia, sent to him and two other of the bishops, —concerning the lawfulness of wearing the habits, but drawn up

for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humphrey, two Oxford divines, of great note there.—The letter was writ with such a clearness of reason, such evidence from Scripture, and in such a fatherly, compassionate style, that it had a very good effect upon many that were before ready to leave their ministry; but having read it were satisfied.’ Strype’s Life of Grindal, pp. 155, 156. The letter of Bullinger, and others upon the same subject, and also those from Humphrey and Sampson to Bullinger, are given in the Zurich Letters, pp. 345, &c. and 151—165. See also Collier’s Ecclesiastical History, vi. 417—419.

²⁷ Strype’s Life of Parker, i. 368.

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It seems well nigh incredible, that matters of such a nature, if they had really been the only causes of offence, should have produced such unhappy divisions. The character of Humphrey, and of Sampson²⁸, forbids us to believe that they were influenced by any other principles than those which they professed; and it is only left for us therefore to wonder at, and lament, the distressing scenes which followed their pertinacity. By their followers, however, it will be seen that objections were even then ready to be advanced, and alterations insisted upon, which went to the utter subversion of all which the Church holds dear: and to have yielded to such demands, would have been to surrender, for the sake of peace, the only grounds upon which any true peace can be maintained.

The Bull of
Pope Pius
the Fifth, in
1570.

Before the reader's attention can be carried onward to contemplate this new phase in the Puritanic controversy, it is arrested by the fresh assault, made by the See of Rome, upon the liberties and peace of England. Pope Pius the Fifth had already issued, in 1556, one bull for the confounding of heretics; and this was succeeded by another, which was privately introduced into this country, in 1569, and, in the course of the next year, was found publicly fixed upon the gate of the Bishop of London's palace. The avowed purpose of this instrument was to take away

²⁸ In a letter addressed by Bishops Grindal and Horne to Bullinger and Gualter, in 1567, they speak of Sampson, 'as a man whose learning is equal to his piety.' Zurich Letters, p. 176.

from Elizabeth all right and title to the crown; to absolve her subjects from their oath of allegiance; and to denounce the heaviest curses of excommunication upon all who should dare to obey her word. The dreadful consequences which must have followed the execution of this decree, had the wishes of its author been accomplished, were only to be equalled by the blasphemous perversion of Scripture, which it was attempted to plead as the authority for its promulgation²⁹.

The miseries, indeed, which it had been intended to produce, were, by God's blessing, averted; and the loyalty of the English people remained unbroken. But the very effort made to destroy it was the scattering of a deadly seed which produced fruit after its own kind. The sin of schism was thereby formally committed³⁰; and the breach made wider between the Church of Rome and our own, which,—until the arrogant assumption which created it is withdrawn,—must remain irreparable. And, even then, the noxious character of this sin was shown, by the spirit of antagonism which it evoked on the part of those ministers of our Church who protested against its inroad; a spirit so fierce as to outrage, on some occasions, the very truth which it was so zealous to defend³¹.

²⁹ See extracts from Bishop Jewel's 'View of a Seditious Bull sent into England,' given by Mr. Le Bas in his *Life of that Prelate*, pp. 174 and 176, and the admirable remarks made by Mr. Le Bas upon the document itself. pp. 176—183. The Latin copy of this bull is given in Cardwell's *Documen-*

tary Annals of the Reformed Church, i. 328—331; and an English translation of it in *Collier's Ecclesiastical History*, vi. 471—474.

³⁰ See Gladstone's *State in its relations with the Church*, ii. 167.

³¹ See *Sketches of the Reformation and Elizabethan age*, taken

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of the Eng-
lish Parlia-
ment in con-
sequence,
against Ro-
mish Recu-
sants.

A like result was manifested in the measures which were rendered necessary to oppose the claims of civil supremacy, put forth in this same document. The pains and penalties of prohibitory and condemning statutes were speedily agreed to; and when, in the language of the Queen's Secretary Walsingham, 'seminaries began to blossom, and to send forth daily priests, and professed men, who should, by vow taken at shrift, reconcile her subjects from their obedience,'—when men 'were no more papists in conscience, but papists in faction ³²,'—these penalties were enforced. The magnitude and urgency of the danger, indeed, called for an effective vindication of the State from the aggression which threatened its existence; but, as the reader examines the sad catalogue of proceedings instituted against Romish Recusants, he is constrained to confess that the limits prescribed by that necessity were far exceeded; and that many of the means to which the ministers of Elizabeth resorted, in order to repress the danger which they dreaded, were such as no law could justify, no argument of political expediency excuse.

In making this admission, we are not unmindful of the fact, that the alarm and indignation,—excited in the minds of the spiritual and temporal rulers of our country in that day, by the denunciations of Papal tyranny,—were aggravated by the remem-

from the contemporary Pulpit, by the Rev. J. O. W. Haweis, pp. 173.—183.

³² This most remarkable letter was written by Walsingham to

Mons. Critoy, a French gentleman, and is to be found in Burnet's History of the Reformation, ii. 649; and Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vii. 76—79.

brance of the persecutions which had been witnessed in England, during the reign of Mary; and by the knowledge of those which soon afterwards took place in other parts of Europe. The oppression, for instance, which Roman Catholic Spain inflicted upon the Low Countries, through the agency of Alva; and the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, which made the capital of Roman Catholic France flow with the blood of the Huguenots; were events which Gregory the Thirteenth, the successor of Pius the Fifth, hesitated not to celebrate by a bull of jubilee³³. What apprehensions then of Rome, it might be asked, could be deemed extravagant, or what resistance against her be condemned as needless, when tidings such as these came home to the hearts of Englishmen? And if to these be added the recollection of the overbearing conduct, exhibited by many of the Roman Catholics at home; and the prevalent belief that it was to be ascribed to the hopes which they centred in Mary, Queen of Scots, a member of their Church, and the next in succession to the English throne: or if, last of all, there be taken into account, the uncompromising hostility of Spain, which was manifested in the equipment of her proud Armada, and encouraged by the direct authority of the Pope himself,—it is impossible to say that there was not an imperious necessity for the adoption of retributive and defensive measures on the part of Elizabeth's counsellors³⁴. It must be

³³ A French translation of this bull is given in Strype's Life of Parker, App. No. lxxviii. iii. 197—202.

³⁴ Archbishop Bramhall has for-

borne also in mind, that, whatsoever were the severities which they thought it needful to exercise towards Romish Recusants, those severities were eagerly applauded by the Puritans, who were then acquiring as strong an influence in the House of Commons, as they already possessed in the cabinet of the sovereign³⁵. The hatred which they entertained of every thing belonging to Rome, gave a sharper sting to the laws which were passed, and a louder and more indignant tone to the voice which was lifted up, against the members of her communion³⁶.

Nevertheless, after making every abatement which considerations such as these may suggest, it is impossible to look back upon some of the scenes which were then enacted,—the torture, for instance, inflicted upon Campian the Jesuit, and others, who afterwards suffered execution with him,—and not blush for very shame that such cruelty could have been ordained by English law. Who, again, can regard the statutes which were passed against Roman Catholics, from the thirteenth to the twenty-ninth years of Elizabeth³⁷,—statutes which com-

cibly stated these and other like arguments, in his *Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon*, Works, ii. 112—119.

³⁵ The operation of this influence is well described in Keble's Preface to Hooker, pp. lvii. lviii.

³⁶ See Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i. 191, 192, and the passages there quoted from Strype. See also the evidence of Knox's intolerance, quoted by Mr. Hallam, from M'Crie's *Life*, in a note

at p. 191.

³⁷ For a summary of the chief penalties passed against Romish Recusants, under the Acts of 13 Eliz. c. 2, 23 Eliz. c. 1, and 29 Eliz. c. 6, see Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i. 186—197; and for the fearful extent of their operation, see the summary given by him, at p. 222; and also the notes of Professor Smythe, to his tenth Lecture on *Modern History*, i. 272. There is, however, a most

pelled, under penalties of fine and imprisonment, their attendance at the public service of our Church, and prohibited them the exercise of their own worship, even in the most private and concealed manner,—and not confess that such conduct was repugnant to all truth and justice? To repay in this manner evil for evil, was assuredly only to give strength to the adversary, to encourage the hypocrite³⁸, to confirm the obstinate, and to create a sympathy in favour of the very men whose opinions and practices it was intended to condemn.

Meanwhile, the power of Puritanism was increasing. The opposition, which had been confined, in the first instance, to the use of certain vestments and ceremonies, now took a wider range. The Catholic and Apostolic government of the Church was openly impugned, and its authority wholly denied. The Liturgy was represented as full of

The progress
of Puritan-
ism.

important distinction to be made between the persecution of Roman Catholics under Elizabeth, and that sustained by the members of our Church under Mary, which Mr. Hallam has pointed out, and which the reader should bear in mind: namely, that there was no Roman Catholic executed under Elizabeth, 'who might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the pope's power to depose the queen;' whereas the Marian persecution sprang, as he says, 'from mere bigotry and vindictive rancour, not even shielding itself at the time with those shallow pretexts of policy, which it has of

late been attempted to set up in its extenuation,' i. 223.

³⁸ Mr. Hallam, speaking of this fact, as the consequence of the increased strictness used with Romish Recusants, says, most truly and forcibly, 'if men will once bring themselves to comply, to take all oaths, to practise all conformity, to oppose simulation and dissimulation to arbitrary inquiries, it is hardly possible that any government should not be baffled. Fraud becomes an overmatch for power. The real danger, meanwhile, the internal disaffection, remains as before, or is aggravated.' Constitutional History, i. 208.

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‘intolerable abuses;’ the observance of times and seasons denounced as superstitious; and, against the mode of celebrating the two Holy Sacraments, or any other of those blessed ordinances which, from the cradle to the grave, wait upon the baptized members of the Church of Christ, the unwearied objector had still some reproach to bring. The Church was, in fact, to be overthrown; and the Presbyterian platform of Geneva set up in its place.

The Admonition to the Parliament by the Puritans in 1572.

The form, in which the assailants who aimed at this object first exhibited their views, was a pamphlet, which appeared after the prorogation of both houses, in 1572, entitled an ‘Admonition to the Parliament.’ The language of this document is that of the most arrogant confidence, and the coarsest and most bitter vituperation. Its ostensible authors were two clergymen, Field and Wilcox, who were imprisoned on account of the publication of this document,—the government regarding it as a seditious libel,—but were afterwards released upon their own petition. It was not, however, by such means that the voice of the Puritans could be silenced.

Their leading champion, and one who was supposed to have been the chief author of the obnoxious ‘Admonition³⁹,’ was Thomas Cartwright, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and also the Lady Margaret’s Professor of Divinity in that University. From both of these offices he was ejected,—as we shall see hereafter,—in consequence of his avowed opposition

³⁹ Strype’s Life of Parker, ii. 110; and of Whitgift, i. 55.

to the authority of the Church and of the University; and when, at the desire of Archbishop Parker, Whitgift, who was then Master of Trinity College, published an 'Answer to the Admonition,' Cartwright stood forward to reply to him. This reply drew forth from Whitgift, a 'Defence of the Answer to the Admonition;' a work, in which he is admitted, except by the extreme partisans on the other side, to have established triumphantly the points which he had undertaken to defend; and to which Cartwright was so tardy in publishing a rejoinder, that, by some historians it has been asserted, that Whitgift remained undisputed master of the field of controversy ⁴⁰.

But the controversy had not ceased. The first English Presbytery, secretly established at Wandsworth, in 1572, was a nucleus around which fresh elements of strife were soon gathered. The Conferences, which the members of the party held among themselves, and their 'Prophesyings,'—a name given to their religious exercises,—increased on all sides. Their complaints became more importunate; their remonstrances more bold; and the Anabaptists of Germany and of Holland made league with them ⁴¹. Then also were inflicted upon holders of false doctrine the atrocious cruelties of the rack, the gibbet, and the stake; and the writ 'de hæretico comburendo,'

The first
English
Presbytery,
at Wand-
sworth.

⁴⁰ Soames's Elizabethan Religious History, pp. 175, 176; a work most valuable on many accounts, and particularly for its copious and

careful references to all the earlier authorities.

⁴¹ Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vi. 331, 332.

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was, after an interval of seventeen years, revived, to the indelible disgrace of England.

Archbishop
Grindal.

At this crisis, Archbishop Parker died ⁴²; and was succeeded by Grindal, of whose mild and gentle spirit we have already spoken. He refrained from executing the severe counsels which Elizabeth, in her apprehension of the Puritanic prophesyings, attempted to force upon him. He was anxious, indeed, to repress all irregularities which had arisen out of those exercises, and prescribed rules for their control ⁴³. And when Elizabeth disapproved of his rules, as not likely to secure the object intended, and urged the Archbishop to carry into effect the more stringent measures which she laid before him, he addressed to her a remonstrance, in what Strype truly calls ‘an excellent and memorable letter,’—setting forth, in the first place, the expression of his own grief for her speeches to him upon the subject, ‘not so much, because they sounded hardly against his own person, who was, he said, but a particular man, and not much to be accounted of; but most of all, because they tended to the public harm of God’s Church, whereof she ought by her office to be the nurse, and also to the heavy burdening of her own conscience before God, if what she demanded should be put in strict execution.’ He then expostulated with her upon the scarcity of preachers of God’s Word throughout the kingdom; upon the authority of the

⁴² In 1575.

⁴³ See the Orders for reformation of abuses, about the learned

exercises and conferences among the Ministers of the Church. Strype’s Life of Grindal, p. 327.

ordinance of preaching, as 'the ordinary means and instrument for the reconciliation of men unto God;' and represented the necessity of extending the proper ministration of it⁴⁴. He next proceeded to show the benefit which had already been conferred upon the Church, and which, if duly controuled, might be permanently secured to it, by the labours of some of those ministers whom the Queen was so forward to condemn. Lastly, he acknowledged 'that he could not with a safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give his assent to the suppressing of the said exercises, much less send out any injunctions for the utter and universal subversion of the same. That if it were her majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove him out of that place, he would with all humility yield thereunto, and render again that which he had received of her. That he considered with himself, that it was a horrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God; and prayed her to bear with him, though he chose rather to offend her Majesty than to offend the Heavenly⁴⁵.'

⁴⁴ It is worthy of remark, that Lord Bacon expresses, most unequivocally, his agreement on this subject with Archbishop Grindal, whom he calls 'one of the greatest and rarest prelates of this land.' See his Treatise entitled 'Certain considerations touching the better pacification and edification of the Church of England.' Works, vii. 86, 87. Strype, whose careful eye nothing seems to escape, has noticed this approval of Lord Bacon, in his description of the character

of the Archbishop, p. 445. The whole description,—especially that part of it in which he vindicates Grindal's character from the charges brought against him by Fuller and Heylin, pp. 447—457, will amply repay a careful perusal. It is an admirable specimen of the scrupulous honesty and impartiality of this most patient chronicler.

⁴⁵ Strype's Life of Grindal, pp. 329—332. Also Appendix, book ii. No. ix. 558—574.

The remonstrance thus made was utterly disregarded. The Bishops were called upon at once to put down the 'Prophesyings;' and against the Archbishop himself a decree of the Star Chamber went forth, sentencing him to sequestration, and confinement to his house for six months. This gross outrage, for which no satisfactory reparation was ever made, was committed in the year 1577; and although, during those six months of personal restraint, the functions of his office were sometimes exercised by commission from the Queen, yet he appears not to have been restored to the full exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction until 1582, when the sequestration was removed⁴⁶. At the close of that year, a blindness, which had been for some time growing upon him, and which he had hoped might admit of remedy, became incurable, and he entreated permission to resign the duties of the See;—a permission, which before he had sought in vain, but which was now granted to him. No steps, however, were openly taken towards the appointment of his successor⁴⁷, until the following year, when death removed Grindal from the cares which, in his life, he had desired to commit to other hands; and, in the language of his biographer, 'the holy Archbishop,—spent with cares and labours for the good of his Church, after a very exemplary and useful life, surrendered his soul to God'⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Strype's *Life of Grindal*, pp. 342—403.

⁴⁷ This was owing to the refusal of Whitgift to be appointed during

Grindal's life-time. See Sir George Paul's *Life of Whitgift*, quoted by Strype, i. 222.

⁴⁸ Strype's *Life of Grindal*, p. 429.

The Puritans were, at this time, about to receive a portion of the same measure which they had meted out to others. Rigid and intolerant in the enforcement of their own claims, and ready to provoke the worst evils of division, rather than surrender one jot or tittle of their demands, they found themselves outstripped by others, who soon clamoured in their turn for a reformation yet more complete than that insisted upon by the Presbyterian discipline, and became as hostile to its supporters as they were to the Church herself. These were the men, who, in the following century, were known by the name of Independents; but, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, were called Brownists or Barrowists, from the names of their two leaders. Browne, a relation of Lord Burghley, was domestic chaplain of the Duke of Norfolk, at the time when he first drew down upon himself the condemning ordinances enforced against the Puritans, during Parker's primacy; and was compelled to flee to Holland to avoid them. He is described by Neal, the historian of the Puritans, as 'a fiery, hot-headed young man, who went about the country, inveighing against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church, and exhorting the people by no means to comply with them ⁴⁹.' His absence from England was not of long duration; for we are told, upon the same authority, that, although he settled at Middleburgh, in Zeeland, and formed a church according to his own model, it soon crumbled away

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ists.

⁴⁹ Neal's History of the Puritans, i. 245.

by the internal divisions of its members; and Browne himself came back to England, a reckless and disappointed man. He returned professedly to the communion of the Church, from which he had separated himself; but it was only to cast upon it the additional reproach of a long life wasted in dissolute and idle habits ⁵⁰.

The doctrines, however, which he had preached in his earlier days, did not die with him. His followers survived, as we have said, to establish a power before which, in the next century, Presbyterianism itself quailed in England; and which, in some of the Colonies of the British Empire, established a despotism as intolerant as any which the world ever saw ⁵¹. The Barrowists, who were the same party under another name, were so called from Henry Barrow, a layman, who may be regarded as their second founder ⁵²; and who, in 1593, was unrighteously executed, with Greenwood his associate.

Archbishop
Whitgift.

The severities, of which Barrow's execution was an instance, and which, in various order and degree, were put in force against the separatists in Elizabeth's reign, form the heaviest ground of accusation against the character of Grindal's successor in the Primacy, Archbishop Whitgift. Were we to determine the truth of these charges only by the representations of those who have urged them, it would

⁵⁰ Neal, ut suprâ, i. 246.

⁵¹ See the account given of their principles by Neal in his history, i. 246—248; also the points of

contrast between them and the Puritans, i. 423, 424.

⁵² Soames's Elizabethan Religious History, p. 416, 421, 422.

plainly be impossible to return any other verdict than such as would lead to the heaviest condemnation of Whitgift. But it is not from the scurrilous abuse heaped upon him in the libels of Martin Mar-Prelate, nor the unjust and uncharitable insinuations contained in the pages of Neal's History⁵³, that we are to derive a true estimate of one, whose lot was cast in such troublesome times.

From boyhood to his dying hour, he seems never to have been exempt from the trials of controversy. Cambridge, the scene of his laborious and successful studies, was the scene also in which each strong affection of his young nature,—whether of resentment against the oppressor, or of sympathy with the oppressed,—was brought into quick and active exercise. It was there that he became a pupil of 'Bradford, that holy man and martyr;' and there that he first learned to know and to love the sainted Grindal⁵⁴. It was there, also, when Grindal and others were compelled to flee, that he remained a witness of those cruelties and indignities of Popish persecution,—which, however abhorrent from the

⁵³ The very first mention which Neal makes of the Archbishop's name is an example of this unfair spirit; where, after having noticed the fact, that Whitgift, in 1565, had joined with some other authorities at Cambridge, in requesting their Chancellor Cecil to intercede with the Queen for a dispensation respecting vestments, on behalf of those members of the University, who scrupled to wear them, he adds, in the next page, that,

'Whitgift, seeing which way the tide of preferment ran, drew his pen in defence of the hierarchy in all its branches, and became a most potent advocate for the habits.' Neal, i. 147, 148. Had such an imputation of evil motives been made by any writer on the other side, who would have been more eager than Neal to expose its injustice?

⁵⁴ Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 8.

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character of mildness and equity generally ascribed by historians to Cardinal Pole,—were, notwithstanding, perpetrated by his authority; and from the destroying power of which, Whitgift was only saved by the secret connivance of the Master of his College, who was then Vice-Chancellor ⁵⁵.

Thus was he led to examine, with more than common anxiety, the grounds of alleged supremacy claimed by the Church of Rome; and, examining them, he prized more thankfully, and defended more resolutely, the barriers which had been raised up against it in his native land. He saw, too, on the other hand, the sin which would be committed, and the evil which would arise, if Catholic verities were to be disowned, and Apostolic ordinances abandoned, only because they had been associated with Rome; and, when the influence of the continental divines threatened, as we have seen, to destroy the integrity of some of these within the English Church, he was prompt and strenuous in his efforts to counteract it. Like Parker, having never fled for refuge to the continent, he may be said to have lacked that sympathy with the Helvetian Reformers, which his countrymen, who had shared their protection, and were daily brought within the influence of their teaching, so deeply felt. But then, like Parker, he was enabled, from that very cause, to arrive

⁵⁵ Dr. Perne, Master of Peter House, of which College Whitgift had been elected a Fellow in the preceding year, 1555. Whitgift's gratitude to Perne for this and other benefits, ceased only with his life. Strype, ut sup. i. 8—10.

at a more unbiassed judgment touching the matters in dispute. His residence at the University gave to him every possible aid in reaching that result; and he eagerly availed himself of it. His appointment, first, to the Lady Margaret's, and afterwards to the Regius Professorship of Divinity; and his elevation to the Mastership of Trinity College,—from that of Pembroke Hall to which he had been before preferred ⁵⁶,—supplied testimony, not to be mistaken, of the high reputation, which, at that early period of his life, he had acquired; and that such a man should be foremost to repel any assault made upon the rights of the University or Church, was only to confirm the expectations which all men entertained respecting him. He could not have remained silent, if he would; for Cartwright, who has been already mentioned, as the ablest and boldest champion of the Puritans, was a Fellow of the College of which Whitgift was Master. Throughout the whole controversy with him, Whitgift seems to have been guided solely by the love of that truth which he sought to vindicate. He was ever ready to argue with his opponent, either by conference or writing; and, when he was compelled to become a party to measures which affected the fortunes and person of his antagonist, it was not to gratify any feeling of ill-will, but the impartial discharge of a solemn trust, of which he was the appointed guardian. Thus, the restrictions, which he and the other authorities of

⁵⁶ Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 15. 22, 23.

the University imposed on Cartwright, as the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, not to continue the duties of that office, was only, as his biographer states, because 'both by his readings and conversation, Cartwright had infected the minds of the scholars of the younger sort, with mighty prejudices against the episcopal government and Liturgy established in the reformation of this Church ⁵⁷.' In like manner, when he soon afterwards declared Cartwright to be no longer Fellow of Trinity College, it was 'because, contrary both to the express words of his oath and plain statute of that college ⁵⁸,' he had not been, and did not intend to be, admitted to the order of Priesthood. It is stated, indeed, by Neal, that this was a forced interpretation of the statute; and he describes Cartwright's deprivation of his Fellowship, as a 'mean and pitiful triumph ⁵⁹' on the part of Whitgift. But this is only to take for granted the very point which demands proof, and then to ground an accusation upon it:—a mode of proceeding, which certainly cannot of itself prove that Cartwright was clear from the charge of perjury; or that Whitgift was guilty for discharging an express and positive, however painful, duty.

We have already adverted to the 'Admonition to the Parliament,' put forth by the Puritans, in 1572; to the work which Whitgift, at Archbishop Parker's

⁵⁷ Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 39. See also Strype's Annals of the Reformation, iii. 1, 2, and chap. 57.

⁵⁸ Whitgift's Letter to the Lord Treasurer, in Strype's Life, i. 96.

⁵⁹ Neal's History, i. 194.

request, wrote in answer to it; to Cartwright's defence of the 'Admonition;' and to Whitgift's rejoinder. And, although it is impossible, within the limits of the present chapter, to lay before the reader any detailed view of the arguments advanced, on either side, in this memorable controversy; yet it may serve as a clue to the feelings which were at work in Whitgift's mind,—and as a vindication, in some sort, of the severe measures to which he afterwards resorted,—to observe that he believed the authors of the 'Admonition' were propagating opinions, which, if received and acted upon, would lead to the destruction of all peace, and truth, and order. He showed the grounds of this belief, by a reference to the teaching and practice of the Donatists in old time⁶⁰, and of the Anabaptists of Germany, in his own day; and argued that the 'Admonitioners'⁶¹, who were so closely walking in the steps of both, were fast bringing ruin upon England. That there was ample ground to justify these apprehensions there can be no doubt. And, if the passages extracted from the 'Admonition' by Mr. Hallam, constrain that calm and impartial historian to declare, that its authors claimed 'an ecclesiastical independence, as unconstrained as the Romish priesthood in the darkest ages had usurped;' if they recall to his mind 'those tones of infatuated arrogance, which had been heard from the lips of Gregory VII., and of those who trod in his foot-

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⁶⁰ Archbishop Bramhall pursues the same line of argument, in his Replication to the Bishop of Chal-

cedon, Works, ii. 203.

⁶¹ Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 54—76.

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steps⁶² ;' who can wonder that one, like Whitgift,— who was not gazing at the field of battle from a distance, but himself struggling amid its hottest tumult,—should have proclaimed, in impassioned terms, the oppressive rigour of the adversary ?

Mr. Hallam, speaking of Whitgift's elevation to the Primacy, remarks, that 'it is seldom good policy to confer such eminent stations in the Church, on the gladiators of theological controversy ; who, from vanity and resentment, as well as the course of their studies, will always be prone to exaggerate the importance of the disputes wherein they have been engaged, and to turn whatever authority the laws, or the influence of their place, may give them against their adversaries⁶³.' This remark is, in its general substance, undoubtedly true. But the application of it to the case of Whitgift, should be qualified by remembering the fact, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of the disputes which occupied his time and thoughts ; and that there is much ground to doubt whether, in any instance, the charges of vanity and resentment can be established against him.

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against the
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That Whitgift turned much of the authority which the laws and his own exalted position gave him against his adversaries, there is no doubt ; that he did this, in spite of the remonstrance which the wisest of Elizabeth's counsellors, in some instances, addressed to him, must also further be admitted ; and so far the

⁶² Hallam's Constitutional History, i. 253, 254.

⁶³ Hallam, ut sup. i. 269.

justice of Mr. Hallam's observation respecting him is verified, and the ground of our own regret is, openly and unreservedly, confessed. But even here, it should be remembered that the authority which he exerted, was recognised by the laws of the land; and the practice of the times in which he lived had made it familiar to his mind. Upon them, and also upon the impetuous and domineering character of the Queen, and not upon the Archbishop himself, the chief blame, we think, ought to be laid. With respect to the interrogatories, indeed, which were issued by him, in 1584,—the year after he became Primate,—to such of the clergy as were suspected of a Puritanical bias, and which they were required to answer upon oath, it must be freely admitted that they were open to many of the objections which Cecil urged against them; being as he said, 'so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as the Inquisitors of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and trap their preyes;'—a 'kind of proceeding too much savouring of the Romish inquisition: and rather a device to seek for offenders, than to reform any⁶¹.' Nevertheless, the reasons which Whitgift alleged in defence of the measure,—albeit, judging of them at the distance of time which now separates us from the scenes which suggested them to his mind, we regret that he should have adhered to all of them,—were such as appeared to him of paramount authority. Another circumstance, also, which has been often lost sight of, should be re-

⁶¹ Strype's Life of Whitgift, Appendix, Book iii. No. ix. p. 106.

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marked, namely, that a short time afterwards, he modified considerably the terms of subscription, by the advice of Secretary Walsingham⁶¹. Moreover, with respect to Cecil, it can scarcely be supposed that the feelings of displeasure which he entertained towards Whitgift, were such as Mr. Hallam's strong description of them might lead us to suppose; since, in 1585,—during Leicester's absence in the Low Countries,—the Archbishop was sworn of the Queen's Privy Council; and we are distinctly told that 'this was brought to pass chiefly by the Lord Treasurer⁶⁶.'

The Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission.

The formidable instruments of power which existed in that day, and were wielded with such fatal determination, were the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission. The former of these possessed unlimited jurisdiction over all such offences as were not punishable by common law; and its power was vested in the privy councillors and judges, save when the sovereign was present, who was then sole judge. It was first established at an ancient period of our history; but, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, it had been new-modelled, and armed with fresh powers over the person and property of the subject, for the purpose of swelling the treasures of that avaricious monarch⁶⁷; and, again, in the present reign, the extent of its legal jurisdiction was increased, and its usurped authority became still greater⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 431, 432.

⁶⁶ Strype, ut sup. i. 471.

⁶⁷ Blackstone's Commentaries, iv. 502.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 506.

The Court of High Commission cannot be more correctly described than in the words of Blackstone, who states, that it 'was erected and united to the regal power by virtue of the statute, Eliz. c. 1, (namely, the Act of Supremacy,) instead of a larger jurisdiction which had before been exercised under the pope's authority. It was intended to vindicate the dignity and peace of the Church, by reforming, ordering, and correcting the ecclesiastical state and persons, and all manner of heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, under the shelter of which general words, means were found in that and the two succeeding reigns, to vest in the high commissioners extraordinary and almost despotic powers, of fining and imprisoning; which they exerted much beyond the degrees of the offence itself, and frequently over offences by no means of spiritual cognizance ⁶⁹.'

It is difficult to understand by what powers of reasoning Heylyn, the historian, could have brought himself to believe that a Court so constituted was the 'principal bulwark and preservation of the Church of England against all her adversaries, whether Popish or Puritan ⁷⁰.' It may, we think, be more truly described as her heaviest encumbrance and reproach. It lasted for the greater portion of a century; during which period, how many were the

⁶⁹ Blackstone's Commentaries, iii. 77. See also Hallam's Constitutional History, i. 271, 272; Burnet's History of the Reformation, ii. 599; and Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vi. 224, and vii. 154—159, with the notes subjoined to this last passage.

⁷⁰ Heylyn's History of the Reformation, p. 282.

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acts committed under its authority, at the recital of which the ears now tingle, and the cheeks blush for very shame! Lord Clarendon, indeed, might say,—and no doubt with perfect sincerity,—that, whilst the jurisdiction of the Court of High Commission ‘was exercised with moderation, it was an excellent means to vindicate and preserve the dignity and peace of the Church⁷¹’; yet, how could weak and fallible man, exposed to the provocation of enemies from without, and to the force of his own passions from within, be expected always to exercise with moderation a power so absolute and unrestrained? It were vain to suppose it possible. The reader has only to refer to the description which Clarendon himself gives, of the evils which resulted from the working of this Court, and which had come to their height in the sixteenth year of Charles the First’s reign,—the year which witnessed its abolition⁷²,—and to compare it with the accounts given by him of the enlarged jurisdiction of the Star Chamber, in the fifth year of the same reign⁷³, and he will see with what fatal consequences to the peace both of the Church and of the State, the authority of these Courts was exercised⁷⁴.

It may be regarded, therefore, as a real calamity,

⁷¹ Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, i. 496.

⁷² Ibid. i. 495—498.

⁷³ Ibid. i. 121, 122.

⁷⁴ The only matter of astonishment is, that a writer who has so faithfully described the evils in question, and who admits that the abolition of the Star Chamber

(which took place in 1641, the same year which witnessed the abolition of the High Commission Court,) was a politic as well as a popular measure, should have ever thought that the reviving it hereafter could be politic. Ib. p. 500.

which befell Whitgift and his successors, that they should ever have been called upon to direct any part of a machinery, in its own nature so terrible. The knowledge that he could at any time put it in operation, was, of itself, likely to betray him into a forgetfulness of the salutary caution, addressed to him by Hooker in the Preface to his Fifth Book, ‘that if any marvel how a thing in itself so weak [as the subject matter of the early controversies with the Puritans] could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire⁷⁵.’ The prudence, forbearance, and patience, which every moment are brought into exercise, as long as reason is the only weapon which men employ against the adversary, are in danger of being thrust aside when power waits upon the call of the provoked party. And when was provocation greater, or power more instant and irresponsible, than in the days of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court? It is a consolation, however, to know, that, although the jurisdiction of the latter Court almost reached its zenith in the earliest years of Whitgift’s Primacy⁷⁶, there are many recorded evidences,—and how many more may we not reasonably suppose there may have been, which historians have failed to notice?—which show that neither his judgment nor his affections were warped by familiarity with the exercise of its powers. Thus, we find him interceding with

⁷⁵ Hooker’s Works, iii. 4.

⁷⁶ Hallam’s Constitutional History, i. 271.

the Queen successfully for the life of John Udal, a Puritan Minister, who had been condemned to death ⁷⁷. And, when his old opponent, Cartwright, returned from abroad, in 1585, and showed a disposition not to renew the work of disturbance, Whitgift forthwith received him with that degree of kindness and courtesy, which drew forth from Leicester, the patron of Cartwright, the warmest expressions of acknowledgment ⁷⁸. Again, in 1591, when Cartwright had provoked further proceedings to be instituted against him, on the part of Aylmer, Bishop of London,—for whose rigorous acts we can offer no defence,—and was brought with others before the High Commission Court; not only did Whitgift absent himself ‘on purpose,’ as his biographer states, ‘for avoiding any uncharitable surmises of him ⁷⁹,’ but, further, used every exertion to procure the liberation of Cartwright and his associates from prison ⁸⁰. And, upon the retirement of Cartwright to a hospital at Warwick, Whitgift continued the same offices of good-will towards him, which Cartwright acknowledged proceeded from his grace’s ‘frank disposition, without any desert of his own ⁸¹.’

⁷⁷ Strype’s Life of Whitgift, ii. 38—40, and 102; also Hallam, ut sup. i. 279.

⁷⁸ Strype’s Life of Whitgift, i. 428, 429.

⁷⁹ Ibid. ii. 74.

⁸⁰ ‘The Archbishop,’ says Strype, ‘notwithstanding the false reports of people concerning his secret malice against Cartwright upon the old quarrel, showed himself above any such unchristian

spirit; and that it was only the peace of the Church, which he saw so extremely disturbed, and the Church itself endangered by him and his party, that made him so vigilant as he was in the prosecution of them.’ Ib. p. 90. See also Collier’s Ecclesiastical History, vii. 173.

⁸¹ Sir George Paule’s Life of Whitgift, in Wordsworth’s Ecclesiastical Biography, iii. 591.

Thus did the last few years of the lives of these two combatants close in peace towards each other; a peace, founded upon no false and hollow grounds. With respect to Cartwright, indeed, we possess evidence which cannot be doubted, that he looked back with sorrow and regret to the hostile career which he had followed; for it is recorded of him by Sir Henry Yelverton, as part of his last words, ‘that he seriously lamented the unnecessary troubles he had caused in the Church by the schism he had been the great fomentor of: and wished he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways:’—and that ‘in this opinion he died ⁸².’ And of Whitgift, may we not say, that, as he looked back upon the former scenes of fierce and heady strife, and compared them with the charity with which he and his antagonist looked upon each other in the evening of their lives, the contrast must have been acknowledged as a cause of special thanksgiving from him unto his God, and of most earnest prayer for the pardon of his own hard thoughts and words? Assuredly, he must have been a partaker of those deep searchings of heart, which, in a later generation, have been so touchingly expressed by one who was second to none of the masters of our Israel, for the boldness and zeal wherewith he vindicated the truth from reproach. Speaking of the time when his opponent

⁸² Strype’s Life of Whitgift, ii. at the end of 1602; and Whitgift’s
460; Walton’s Life of Hooker, p. at the beginning of the next year.
60. Cartwright’s death took place

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and he 'shall both be gone to those unseen abodes, where the din of controversy and the din of war are equally unheard,' he adds, 'There shall we rest together till the last trumpet summon us to stand before our God and King. That whatever of intemperate wrath and carnal anger hath mixed itself, on either side, with the zeal with which we have pursued our fierce contention, may then be forgiven to us both, is a prayer which I breathe from the bottom of my soul; and to which my antagonist, if he hath any part in the spirit of a Christian, upon his bended knees will say, Amen ⁸³.'

These are the realities which proclaim the peril of human controversies; and remind those who "walk in the flesh," that they should not "war after the flesh," but use for their "warfare," "weapons" which are "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds ⁸⁴." Such indeed were the weapons which Whitgift himself wielded for the most part, and rejoiced to see wielded by others whom he summoned to his aid, against his various adversaries. Among these fellow-labourers especially, may be named

Whitaker. Dr. Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, and also Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. He bore a distinguished part in the Romish Controversy, and was known not only by a Latin translation of Jewel's Apology, and his 'solid answer' to the Jesuit Campian's Book of the 'Ten

⁸³ Bishop Horsley's Remarks ters, p. 461.
upon Dr. Priestley's Second Let- ⁸⁴ 2 Cor. x. 3, 4.

Reasons⁸⁵,' but also by his work against Bellarmine, which was regarded most highly by Whitgift⁸⁶. He was sent for by the Archbishop, in 1595, to assist in drawing up those nine propositions touching the Predestinarian controversy, which are known by the name of the Lambeth Articles. They were indeed 'chiefly of his framing, and to be maintained by his learning⁸⁷;' and when, soon after the completion of them, the death of Whitaker took place at Cambridge, Whitgift was penetrated with profound sorrow. The generous affection which the Archbishop felt and expressed for Whitaker is the more worthy of notice, inasmuch as there were some points of his conduct as Master of St. John's, of which he had not hesitated to pronounce his disapproval⁸⁸. It is clear, also, that Whitaker was a disciple of the Calvinistic school; and, although the assent of Whitgift to the Lambeth Articles is a proof, that, on certain points of doctrine, he received the interpretation adopted by that school; yet the Puritanic bias, generally associated with it, was, as far as it was exhibited in England, totally abhorrent from his mind. Of this bias, Whitaker had been strongly suspected; and that Whitgift should not have been scared by such imputations, but have displayed a frank and cordial and consistent friendship towards

⁸⁵ Strype's Life of Parker, ii. 165.

⁸⁶ Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vii. 184.

⁸⁷ Strype's Life of Whitgift, ii. 278—297 and 315. It is scarcely

needful to remind the reader, that this attempt to make Calvinistic Articles a symbol of our Church entirely failed.

⁸⁸ Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 517—521.

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the man upon whom they rested, is a convincing proof that he was guiltless of the charge, so frequently urged against him, of bigoted intolerance.

To those who review the annals of our Colonial Church, the name of Whitaker commends itself with more than ordinary interest; for the son of that celebrated theologian, was, as we shall soon see, among the firmest and most faithful servants of Christ, who preached His Gospel in Virginia.

Hooker.

Another coadjutor with Whitgift in the field of Christian enterprise, now claims our notice, Richard Hooker. The antagonist, whom he was first called to encounter, was doubtless the most formidable of any who had appeared in the ranks of the Puritans, Walter Travers, author of the celebrated work *de Ecclesiasticâ Disciplinâ*. Travers had been engaged by Cecil, now Lord Burghley, as chaplain, and tutor to his children; and, upon the death of Alvie, Master of the Temple, in 1585, had been recommended by that nobleman, to succeed him. He already filled the office of 'Lecturer for the Evening Sermons' at the Temple; and is described as 'a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, and of a blameless life ⁸⁹.' And when,—for the ample and satisfactory reasons stated by Whitgift both to Lord Burghley and the Queen ⁹⁰,—his appointment to that office was not proceeded with, and Hooker was persuaded to accept it; it must be acknowledged, that a way was thereby opened to the most

⁸⁹ Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 65.

⁹⁰ Ib. pp. 35—41.

ample and perfect vindication of the Polity of the Church of Christ, which the world has ever yet seen. Most reluctantly, indeed, did the author of it enter into this 'book-war,' as his biographer designates it; but it was 'a war which he maintained not as against an enemy, but with the spirit of meekness and reason ⁹¹;' or, as Hooker himself describes it, he 'thought it convenient to wade through the whole cause, following that method which searcheth the truth by the causes of truth ⁹².' And, as far as the monument of his victory was permitted to be reared up by his own hand, it remains, and will to the end of time remain, to confirm the truth of those testimonies which enemies, as well as friends, bore to it upon its first appearance ⁹³. The composition of this matchless work of Hooker arose, as is well known, out of the opposition which existed between the views of Travers and himself, whereby, as it was said by one at that time, 'The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon, Geneva ⁹⁴.' These points of difference may be seen in the summary given by Izaak Walton of Travers's exceptions against Hooker, in the petition which he laid before the Privy Council; and of Hooker's

⁹¹ Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 43.

⁹² Preface to the Fifth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, Works, iii. 4.

⁹³ Pope Clement the Eighth, for example, when he had read the first Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, said of it, 'There is no learning that this man hath not

searched into; nothing too hard for his understanding: this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will gain reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning.' Walton's Life, p. 90.

⁹⁴ *Ib.* p. 66.

answer to them ⁹⁵. But the conflict was not determined by the publication of these documents. And, 'though,' according to Walton's authority, 'the chief benchers gave [Hooker] much reverence and judgment, yet he there met with many neglects and opposition by those of Master Travers' judgment: insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief: and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate sober Treatise of the Church's power to make canons for the use of ceremonies, and by law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he proposed to do in eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to show such arguments, as should force an assent from all men, if reason delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it ⁹⁶.' That he succeeded, indeed, fully in forcing that assent, no man can dare to say. To presume that such a result were possible, would be to ascribe to mortal man a power which belongeth to none but God. He only who hath made the hearts of men can unite them. It is His children's part to proclaim reverently His message, and obey diligently His laws: they must then patiently abide the end. That this was the duty which Hooker essayed to do, and this the spirit which animated him in the performance of it, we may truly affirm. And that Whitgift should have cheered and helped him, amid the difficulties which he had to encounter, is among

⁹⁵ Walton's *Life of Hooker*, pp. 66—83.

⁹⁶ *Ib.* 83, 84.

the brightest records of his faithfulness as chief pastor of the flock of Christ, in that day of trouble and rebuke⁹⁷.

That day soon closed upon Whitgift himself; but not until he had witnessed another token of the mutability of all earthly glory, in the death of the Sovereign, in whose counsels he had borne a part so long. 'He lived,' says Izaak Walton, 'to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed, to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection⁹⁸.'

He lived also to set the crown upon the head of her successor, James the First⁹⁹; and to be present at that memorable Conference, which was held at Hampton Court, at the beginning of the year 1604, for the purpose of adjusting some of the matters in dispute, between the Church and the Puritanical

Accession of
James the
First.

⁹⁷ Most truly is it observed by the last learned editor of Hooker's Works, that 'acute and indefatigable as [Whitgift] was in his efforts to produce a reaction [against the innovating influences of his day], not only by his official edicts and remonstrances, but by his disposal of preferment also, and the literary labours which he encouraged, there was no one step of his to be compared in wisdom and effect with his patronage

of Hooker, and the help which he provided towards the completion of his undertaking.' Keble's Preface, p. lxiv.

⁹⁸ Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 57.

⁹⁹ James the First, ascended the throne, March 24, 1603; and was crowned, July 25, in the same year. Strype's Life of Whitgift, ii. 468. For an account of the Hampton Court Conference, see Fuller's Church History, in loc.

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Hampton
Court Con-
ference.

party. It would far exceed the limits which we have prescribed to ourselves in the present chapter, were we to enter into any detailed account of the fears which were awakened on the one side, and of the hopes on the other, by the accession of the Scottish monarch to the throne of England. Suffice it to say, that, whilst the education and early associations of James, gave good reason for apprehending that he would not look with favour upon that Ecclesiastical Polity, which Elizabeth had been so zealous to uphold, such apprehensions were not realised. The alterations, which the Puritan members of the Conference desired to be made in the Liturgy, and other ordinances of the Church, were not agreed to; and the arguments, if such they could be called, which the King employed, touching the various matters which came under discussion, as well as the predilections which he expressed, were all in favour of their opponents.

The language of compliment, addressed to the King at this Conference by Whitgift and other Bishops who were present, has been made the subject of severe, and certainly not unmerited, reproach by historians. But they have forgotten to observe, that the employment of language which appears now (if it be correctly reported) so fulsome and unbecoming, may, in great measure, be ascribed to the fashion of the age, in which expressions of a superlative and extravagant character were every where in vogue. And this at least may be affirmed with safety, that, if the conclusion be attempted

to be drawn from the utterance of it on the part of Whitgift, that he was of a flattering and fawning spirit, it is an inference, to which the tenor of his whole life forms one uniform contradiction. Especially is it contradicted by that bold unwavering declaration of his to Queen Elizabeth, soon after his consecration to the See of Worcester; wherein he told her of the solemn responsibilities with which she was invested as temporal governor of the Church, and of the perils which would ensue to herself, if, in violation of them, she persisted in the course of conduct which the Earl of Leicester was then tempting her to pursue¹⁰⁰. This spirit of faithfulness failed not to guide and animate Whitgift even to the end. And, when the hour of mortal sickness came upon him¹⁰¹, it employed his latest breath in the utterance of fervent prayer unto God for the protection of His Church: ‘Pro ecclesia Dei, Pro ecclesia Dei,’ were the last words he spake¹⁰².

And, verily, that prayer has been answered. God has visited and protected His Church. Else, would she not have been overwhelmed and lost for ever, beneath the raging of that storm which soon burst over her? The coming shadows of the storm were even then at hand: but, ere that crisis came, some important circumstances in her history require to be noticed. Foremost among these, was the completion of the authorized Translation of the Bible.

Translation
of the Bible.

¹⁰⁰ Strype's Life of Whitgift, i. 172—175, and Walton's Life of Hooker, pp. 52—56.

¹⁰¹ February 29, 1604.

¹⁰² Strype's Life, ii. 506, and Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 58.

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The commission for executing this great work was issued soon after the Conference at Hampton Court; and arose, in fact, out of certain objections then urged against the last English Translation of the Bible, which had been made during the Primacy of Parker, and was generally known under the name of the Bishops', or Parker's, Bible. The translators entered upon their arduous duties in 1607; and, four years afterwards, the Sacred Volume was given to the Church of England, and remains to this hour the dearest inheritance of her children ¹⁰³.

Canons.

The first Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, which had been summoned, together with the Parliament, at the beginning of James's reign, met for the purposes of business on the twentieth of March, 1604 ¹⁰⁴, whilst the See of Canterbury was yet vacant. A second writ was accordingly issued, authorizing Bancroft, Bishop of London, to preside at the Synod; and a Book of 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical,' a hundred and forty-one in number, was then compiled out of the body of Synodical Acts which had been passed in the years 1571 and 1597 ¹⁰⁵. These Canons, although published by the King's Authority under the Great Seal of England ¹⁰⁶, were

¹⁰³ For an account of the various Translations of the Bible, see Bishop Short's History of the Church of England, Appendix D to chap. xii.

¹⁰⁴ It had begun to sit in London in 1603, (see the title prefixed to the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical,) and hence they are always called the Canons of 1603; although, in reality, they

were not ratified till the year following. They were received and passed about two years after, in the Province of York. See Preface to Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, p. xxxi. Tyrwhitt's edition, 1824.

¹⁰⁵ Fuller's Church History, Book x. p. 28.

¹⁰⁶ See the title prefixed to the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical.

‘never confirmed in parliament;’ and ‘it has been solemnly adjudged, upon the principles of law and the constitution, that where they are not merely declaratory of the ancient law, but are introductory of new regulations, they do not bind the laity’ of the Church¹⁰⁷. Neither is their obligation upon the clergy as entire and effectual as it ought to be. It is true ‘that they are,’ as stated by Archdeacon Sharp, ‘the standing ecclesiastical laws of the realm, the constant rules of the ordinaries’ enquiries at their visitations, the grounds of presentments of delinquents and irregularities upon oath, and the foundation upon which ecclesiastical censures and judgments commonly stand.’ But, on the other hand, it is equally true, as stated by the same authority, that ‘the alterations of customs, change of habits, and other circumstances of time and place, and the manner of the country, have made some of them impracticable;’ at least, ‘prudentially so, if not literally. Others of them are useless and invalid on course, through defect of proper officers and proper inquiries to render them of force and effectual. And there are hardly any of them, but what have been, upon

¹⁰⁷ Blackstone's Commentaries, i. 86. See also the judgment of Lord Hardwicke, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in the case of Middleton and Croft, 10 Geo. II, in which he says, ‘The canons of 1603, not having been confirmed by parliament, do not *proprio vigore* bind the laity; I say, *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority; for there are

many provisions contained in these canons, which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England, received and allowed here, which, in that respect, and by virtue of such ancient allowance, will bind the laity; but that is an obligation antecedent to, and not arising from, this body of canons.’ Preface to Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, p. xxxii. (1824.)

extraordinary occasions, dispensed with by our governours¹⁰⁸.' The recital of these facts cannot but excite, in the minds of all dutiful members of the Church, a feeling of deep regret, and of earnest desire that the time may soon come, when these defects shall be safely and effectually repaired. As long as they remain in their present state, it is plain that the discipline of the Church must be grievously impaired at home; and, that, in the Colonies and foreign dependencies of the British Empire, where, from the circumstances of the case, the presence and control of spiritual discipline among the members of the Church is yet more imperiously demanded, the want of it must operate as an additional and most serious impediment to her progress. Most devoutly, therefore, is it to be wished, that this object may more and more be brought home to the consideration both of the spiritual and temporal rulers of our country. And, if a code for the well ordering of the Colonial Church can be legitimately agreed upon, then may the hope be further entertained that it may serve as a basis, upon which to reconstruct a body of practicable and consistent ecclesiastical law for her people at home.

Meanwhile, it is a matter of thankfulness to know, that, if the obligation of the Canons upon the Clergy be thus defective; and if they fail also, of their own authority, to control the lay members of the Church, the penalties, which are affixed in some of them

¹⁰⁸ Archdeacon Sharp, as quoted the Prayer Book, p. 808. 4to. by Bishop Mant, in his notes on edition.

against those who impugn her authority, remain equally inoperative. They are penalties of an awful character, and carry with them additional terror, when associated with the power of those Courts which existed at the time of their enactment, and with the extent of civil disabilities which then oftentimes accompanied the exaction of them. And, even if separated for ever from such perilous alliance, it can hardly be denied that the frequency with which the sentence of excommunication is appealed to in some of the earlier Canons, has a tendency to weaken the sense of its real character among the people, and to place in a false position before them the Church from which proceed such heavy censures. It is well, therefore, for her, that she should be at least spared this trial; and be left to win her way by the exercise of means which earthly tribunals never gave; and earthly enemies can never take away;—even “by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left ¹⁰⁹.”

It has just been stated that Bancroft, Bishop of London, was President of the Synod, at which the body of ‘Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical’ was drawn up; and if, as is probable, he was their chief framer ¹¹⁰, we are supplied with a reason which

Archbishop
Bancroft.

¹⁰⁹ 2 Cor. vi. 6, 7.

¹¹⁰ Strype, speaking of the Canons, says, ‘Matters herein took the better effect, by virtue

of the Bishop of London, an active and resolute man, being President of this Convocation.’ Life of Whitgift, ii. 526. See also

explains, in some degree, the rigorous terms of those penalties to which we have adverted. He was, in very deed, a holy, conscientious, and learned man, and one to whom the Church is largely indebted for the zeal with which he contended "for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints¹¹¹." He was possessed also of a generous spirit¹¹². And, as will be seen in the next chapter, he looked with watchful interest towards those new scenes of England's power, which were opening to his view in the Western Continent; and did what in him lay to extend the ministrations of the Church in that quarter. Yet were his counsels, doubtless, characterised by over-much severity. Even Collier, who says of Bancroft, that he 'filled his see with great commendation,' describes his 'strictness' as 'unrelenting¹¹³.' And, called as he was now to fill the office of Primate, his lack of that wisdom, which had distinguished both his immediate predecessors, was speedily made manifest. He had long been familiar with all the chief points of controversy which were so hotly discussed in that day. We have Whitgift's own testimony, for believing that 'he had been a preacher against Popery above

Southey's Book of the Church, p. 437, fourth edition.

¹¹¹ Jude 3.

¹¹² The following striking evidence of it is recorded by Southey. 'A minister, estimable in all respects, saving that he troubled himself and others with those busy scrupulosities which were the disease of the party, told him in private, that it went against his conscience to conform, and therefore

he must submit to be deprived. Bancroft asked him how then he would be able to subsist? He replied, 'that nothing remained, but to put himself on divine Providence, and go a begging.'—'You shall not need that,' the primate answered, 'come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance.' Book of the Church, p. 437.

¹¹³ Compare his Ecclesiastical History, vii. 366 and 311.

twenty-four years¹¹⁴, before he was consecrated Bishop of London; and the celebrated Sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross, in 1589¹¹⁵, as well as his two works in defence of the Church, entitled 'Dangerous Positions,' and 'Survey of the pretended Discipline,' are testimonies which prove, no less clearly, the thorough mastery which he had acquired over all the subjects connected with the Puritanic Controversy; and the extent,—in some instances, indeed, an untenable extent,—to which he was prepared to carry his defence of those principles, upon which the authority of the Church of England is established.

But his own deep, unfeigned, conviction of their truth and importance, rendered him intolerant of all who refused to recognise them. And when can intolerance be, with impunity, indulged? The evils, attendant upon it, are sure to be visited upon their author. Hence, it is the most perilous, as well as the

¹¹⁴ Strype's Life of Whitgift, ii. 386.

¹¹⁵ It is worthy of remark, that one of the strongest arguments urged by Bancroft, in this Sermon, against the so-called authority of the Presbyterian discipline, is adopted, in terms substantially the same, by Hooker, in the Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity. The words of the latter are: 'A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak of should be taught by Christ and his apostles, in the word of God, and no church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time; contrariwise, the govern-

ment against which ye bend yourselves be observed every where, throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant.' The parallel passage in Bancroft's Sermon is subjoined in a note in Mr. Keble's valuable edition, i. 194, 195.

most frequent, consequence of division, let it assume what aspect it may. In the present instance, indeed, we can trace somewhat of its pernicious character in the description given of Bancroft, by one who was certainly disposed to regard his actions in a favorable light; who yet speaks of him, in his own quaint manner, as ‘having well hardned the hands of his soul, which was no more than needed for him who was to meddle with nettles and bryers, and meet with much opposition;’ and, again, that he ‘tasted plentifully’ of the poison which fell from the lips of malicious men, ‘till at last, (as Mithridates) he was so habited with poisons they became food unto him ¹¹⁶.’ None of the causes had then ceased to operate, which, in the reign of Elizabeth, had led to such unhappy strife. The monarch was as arbitrary as his predecessor, but less wise; the laws were enforced by penalties as oppressive and severe as ever; and the disturbing forces which provoked the infliction of them, whether on the side of Rome or of the English Separatists, were in no degree less. The counsels of the Gunpowder Plot, for instance, point out the extent to which Papists could proceed; and the description given of the Puritans by Bacon, in a Treatise written during Bancroft’s Primacy ¹¹⁷, proves that time had not mitigated their

¹¹⁶ Fuller’s Worthies of England, Lancashire, 112. He adds by way of illustration, ‘that once a gentleman coming to visit Bancroft, presented him a lyebell, which he found pasted on his door, who, nothing moved thereat,

Cast it, (said he,) to an hundred more which lye here on a heap in my chamber.’

¹¹⁷ ‘An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England,’ Works, vii. 53—55. Bancroft was Archbishop from

hostility. Exposed, therefore, as the Archbishop was to such trials, it was no improbable result that the workings of his own inflexible disposition should be strengthened, and the dangers which were already fast thickening around the Church should become aggravated. Bancroft, indeed, has not to bear alone the whole weight of this burden. His strict and rigorous counsels were enforced, with perhaps even greater stringency, in the ensuing reign; and the sequel of this history will show what fatal consequences to the welfare of our Church abroad, as well as at home, were produced by such measures.

Their mischief was perceived and noted by many who watched the progress of them in that day; and by none more clearly than by the illustrious Bacon. His 'Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England,' which has just been mentioned, is an evidence of this. In reading the prayer, for instance, which its writer addressed unto God, 'to inspire the Bishops with a fervent love and care of the people; that they may not so much urge things in controversy, as things out of controversy, which all men profess to be gracious and good;'—and the enumeration of such maxims as these, that 'laws, not refreshed with new laws, wax sour;' that, 'without change of ill a man cannot continue the good;' that 'a contentious retaining of custom

1604 to 1611; and the above Treatise of Bacon was written in 1606, according to the statement in his Life by Mr. Basil Montagu,

xvi. cxli.; although not published until 1641, as appears from the Analysis of the Treatise given in the Preface to vol. vii. p. xx.

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is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation;’ that ‘he seeketh not unity, but division, which exacteth that in words, which men are content to yield in action;’ that ‘laws are likened to the grape, that being too much pressed yields an hard and unwholesome wine:’—it can scarcely be doubted, but that there was present to the mind of that great philosopher, a painful consciousness of the neglect of these principles, manifested in Bancroft’s conduct.

It is true that an opposite view of the Archbishop’s character is presented to us by other writers. Hacket, for example, describes him as ‘the Atlas of our Clergy in his time ¹¹⁸.’ Heylyn, when he records his death, declares that with him ‘died the uniformity of the Church of England ¹¹⁹.’ And Lord Clarendon, speaking of the same event, says that it could be ‘never enough lamented;’ and, that, ‘if he had lived, he would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva ¹²⁰.’ But,—not now to dwell upon the circumstances which may have induced the last-mentioned historian to have put, in perfect sincerity, the most favorable construction upon the acts of Bancroft,—the correctness of the hypothetical conclusion which he has here drawn may justly be disputed. For the ‘fire kindled at Geneva’ had been burning even in England, as we have seen, for upwards of half a century; and where was the hand which, in a few brief years, could have extinguished

¹¹⁸ Hacket’s Life of Archbishop Williams, Part ii. p. 37.

Laud, p. 62.

¹¹⁹ Heylyn’s Life of Archbishop

¹²⁰ Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, i 156, 157.

it? Certainly not his, who cast into the flame that fresh fuel, which is supplied in the irritated passions and wounded consciences of men.

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Archbishop
Abbot.

But if Bancroft's rigour proved a hindrance in the way of accomplishing the great work which he sought to advance, verily the laxity and remissness of his successor, Abbot, in maintaining the order of the Church, encumbered and discouraged her not less. His was not the laxity, arising from the excess of benevolence,—that bias to which a kind and gentle spirit is inclined, and to which some compensation may be found in the soothing and conciliatory behaviour which accompanies it,—for in some matters, no man was more bold and resolute than he. The prerogatives of the High Commission Court, for example, he maintained and enforced with a degree of strictness which was never before known, and set at nought the prohibitions by which Coke had endeavoured to restrain their exercise¹²¹. The causes in that Court, which amounted only to eight at the time of Whitgift's death, increased more than an hundredfold under Abbot; and the sentences passed therein were no longer pronounced with that lenity by which they had been often characterised, even during Bancroft's Primacy¹²². That such a man should have weakened the hands of his own Clergy, and disheartened the lay members of her communion, by favouring that section of the Puritanical

¹²¹ See the account of his life, drawn up evidently by a friendly hand, in the Biographia Britannica.

¹²² Southey's Book of the Church, 437, 438.

party which had hitherto displayed such little regard for Church ordinances, can only be accounted for, by admitting the truth of the charge preferred against him, that he was indifferent to some of the most important principles upon which the authority of the Church depends, and by which her distinctive character is made manifest to the world. Neither was this indifference the necessary result of the attachment which he avowedly entertained for the doctrinal theology of Geneva; for the example of Whitgift and others, in assenting to the Lambeth Articles, proves that an agreement with Calvin in some of his most prominent views of doctrine was compatible with the most steadfast belief in the authority of the Ministry, and in the efficacy of the Sacraments, which Christ has constituted and ordained in His Church. It must have arisen from the sympathy which Abbot felt and expressed, without any disguise, towards the advocates of the Genevan discipline; and this sympathy, probably, had been quickened into stronger action by the very efforts which his predecessor had made to put them down. The force, which had been urged too long and too powerfully in one direction, now came back with more impetuous recoil to the opposite quarter. Nothing, however, is more difficult than to form a correct estimate of the character of one who lived in such critical times, and who is represented in such different colours by writers of opposite sides. Thus much at least is certain, and it ought to be thankfully noted, that, whatsoever be the difference

of opinion concerning the wisdom of Abbot in his government of the Church, none at all exists with respect to his personal holiness and piety. There were many occasions on which he was weighed strictly in the balance, and was not found wanting.

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The attempt, which has been thus far carried on, to place before the reader a general view of the condition of the Church of England, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, has been made only for the purpose of enabling him to judge more truly the nature of the difficulties which then encompassed her about. Our previous enquiries have shown that it was the age which witnessed the first acquisition by the English of any foreign settlements; and since, in those new fields of enterprise, it could not but happen that most of the same elements of evil or of good, which had been in long and active operation at home, would soon be again developed; since their progress might be expected to be even more rapid, and the collision produced by their antagonistic forces more violent, from the narrow limits of the space allotted to them within the borders of new Colonies; it seemed scarcely possible to avoid entering into some examination of the existing causes of disturbance.

Summary
Review.

Meanwhile, it is important to observe, that the Romish Church, although deprived of her mightiest and most glorious arm, by the severance of England from her communion,—a severance, of which her own corruptions, and the putting forth her unlawful

claims of supremacy, were the only causes,—was yet enabled to set up the tokens of her worship in the ampler colonial territories of Spain and Portugal, free from the assaults of any enemies who weakened her strength from within, or clamoured for her destruction from without. And more than this. Her system of operation not only remained intact amid those states of Europe, which still acknowledged her authority, and the dominions of which were so extensive; but she had received, by the institution of the Order of Jesuits, an accession of new and wonderful energy, at the very period when her sinful conduct was multiplying the trials of England.

Whether the success of her Jesuit missionaries were deserving of all the credit which her historians and divines have claimed for them; or whether the record of their labours may not be found to display many an evidence of their opposition to the very Church of which they professed themselves to be the ministers,—and, what is yet more important, to the Gospel of that blessed Saviour, whose cross they laboured to set up in foreign lands,—are questions which it is intended to examine in the second volume of this history. The fact, which the reader is now requested to bear in mind, is, that, whilst no position can be imagined more beset with difficulties than that of England, in the age which witnessed the plantation of her first settlements in America, the Church of Rome was in full possession of ready and most efficient instruments to propagate her name and worship to the furthest corners of the earth.

Nor is it only in relation to the Church of Rome that this remark holds good. If a comparison be made of the condition of England with that of the other Protestant countries of Europe, which, during the same period with herself, were seeking to extend their commerce and dominions abroad, it will be found that she had to contend with difficulties far greater and more numerous than any which attached to them. Holland, for example, was building up the fabric of her greatness, at the time when that of England seemed tottering to its fall. True, Holland was not exempt from the evils of religious controversy. The persecutions endured by Grotius, and the proceedings of the Synod of Dort, (to which James the First sent delegates of his own selection¹²³;)—identified as they are with the whole history of Arminius and the Remonstrants of Leyden,—are testimonies enough to prove, that, if intolerance and rancorous animosity be tokens of man's infirmity, the States of the United Provinces were not behind the rest of the world in supplying them. Nevertheless, the course of the history which we have to traverse, will show, that, in the faithful efforts of the Dutch to make the extension of the Christian faith commensurate with the extension of their maritime and commercial greatness, they were much less obstructed in their career by adverse combinations of external circumstances than were the citizens of our own country.

The like may be said also of Denmark, another

¹²³ In the year 1618.

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Protestant nation, to whose missionary labours the Southern Continent of India has been so largely indebted. The proof of these statements will appear, when the history connected with them passes under review. At present, the most transient glance only can be taken at the important facts which they involve. But this much at least we may be justified in drawing, as a conclusion from these and other records of history noticed in this chapter, that, if England, which now stands foremost among the empires of the earth, reached not that summit but by the pathway of a long, and arduous, and oft-repeated discipline; and if the truth of that Gospel, which is her choicest heritage, has thus been permitted to survive the fiercest assaults of her adversaries; then must the testimony of her faithfulness and love be seen in her walking by the guidance of that truth, or the greatness of her dominions shall only speed on her downfall. If she be regardless of her trust, "the kingdom of God shall be taken from" her, "and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof ¹²⁴."

¹²⁴ Matt. xxi. 43.

CHAPTER VIII.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA IN THE EARLY PART
OF JAMES THE FIRST'S REIGN.

A. D. 1603—1609.

Attempts towards Colonization in North America renewed, soon after the accession of James the First, by reason of Gosnold's voyage—Expedition fitted out from Bristol, in 1603—Notice of Richard Hakluyt, its chief promoter—Evidence of his religious zeal—Another expedition sent out by Lords Southampton and Thomas Arundel, in 1605—Letters Patent granted for the plantation of Virginia, April 10, 1606—Marked by the arbitrary spirit of the age, but acknowledging the duty of a Christian nation to communicate through her Colonies the knowledge of the truth which she enjoys—The same acknowledgment made by others who bore a part in those enterprises—Provision made at the same time by Royal Ordinance for the celebration of Divine Worship according to the rites of the Church of England—Character of Robert Hunt, the first Minister of the Church who accompanied the Colonists to Virginia—Archbishop Bancroft consulted respecting his appointment—Notice of Captain John Smith—Arrival of the Colony in Virginia—Settlement of James Town—The Holy Communion celebrated—Difficulties of the Colony—Valuable services of Smith—The church at James Town burnt—Hunt's patience and constancy—The church rebuilt—Smith's continued energy—His devotional habits—Appointed President—His heavy trials—Second Charter, May 23, 1609—Lord De la Warr appointed Governor—Crashaw's Sermon—Symonds's Sermon—Gates and Somers depart for Virginia as Lord De la Warr's lieutenants—Separated in a storm from those under their command—The rest reach Virginia—Confusion in consequence—Smith severely wounded—Compelled to return to England—His character.

In resuming the course of enquiry which has been interrupted, for the purpose of noticing the subjects Attempts towards colonization in

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North America renewed soon after the accession of James the First, by reason of Gosnold's voyage.

reviewed in the last chapter, we find that a very short period of the reign of James the First had passed away, ere the attention of many men of influence and high station was again fixed upon the scheme of planting settlements in the continent of North America. They were attracted to that object through the favourable reports brought to England by Captain Gosnold, who had sailed, in the last year of Elizabeth's reign, for the purpose of exploring the coast north of Virginia. He pursued a higher parallel of latitude than that followed by his predecessors; and thereby discovered, and gave names to, some of the chief capes and islands¹ belonging to those provinces of North America, which are now called New England and Massachusetts. He returned home, about three months after James had ascended the throne; and published in glowing, but just, terms, an account of the beauty and fertility of those regions, and the inviting prospect which they opened to his countrymen². His account was confirmed by notes of the same voyage, taken out of a Tractate written by James Rosier to Sir Walter Raleigh³; and, in the first and third years of King James's reign, vessels were sent out to ascertain the truth of the reports which these writers had proclaimed.

¹ They still retain the names originally given to them by Gosnold, e. g. Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth's Island, &c.

² See 'The relation of Captaine Gosnols Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begunne the six

and twentieth of March, Anno 42, Elizabeth Reginæ, and deliuered by Gabriel Archer, a Gentleman in the same Voyage.' Purchas, iv. 1647—1651.

³ Purchas, iv. 1651—1653.

The first of these expeditions, under the command of Captain Pring, was fitted out in 1603, by some of the chief merchants and inhabitants of Bristol ⁴. They were mainly incited to the enterprize by the representations of Richard Hakluyt, from whose important volumes so much information has already been derived; and who was, at that time, Prebendary of St. Augustin, in the cathedral church of Bristol ⁵. This diligent chronicler of England's maritime achievements was descended, as we are informed by Fuller and by Wood ⁶, from an ancient family in Herefordshire, and was brought up at Westminster. From that school he was elected, in 1570, to a studentship of Christ Church, Oxford ⁷, where he was a contemporary and friend of Sir Philip Sidney; and inscribed to him his first collection of voyages and discoveries, printed in 1582 ⁸. From his well known love for that pursuit, he was appointed, about the same time, to read public Lectures in the University on the subject of voyages and discoveries; and fulfilled that duty with great success. He was strongly urged by Sir Francis Walsingham, both on private and public grounds, to continue his 'travell in these and like

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Expedition
fitted out
from Bris-
tol in 1603.

Notice of
Richard
Hakluyt, its
chief pro-
moter.

⁴ Purchas, iv. 1654—1666.

⁵ Ib. iv. 1654.

⁶ Fuller's Worthies of England, (Herefordshire) p. 39; and Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, (Bliss's Edition) ii. 186.

⁷ He was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 19, 1573; and to that of Master of Arts, June 27, 1577. Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, i. 193. 206.

⁸ Zouch's Life of Sir Philip

Sidney, p. 347. 'This collection being afterwards swallowed up, like little streams or rivers in the ocean of his larger naval collections, the said first edition has been overlooked or undistinguished by those who have attempted any catalogue of [Hakluyt's] publications in particular, or of travels and voyages in general.' Hakluyt's Life in Biographia Britannica.

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matters⁹;’ and the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, the fortunes of which have been already told, and which then was on the eve of sailing, received at his hands the most valuable assistance¹⁰. Wood states, that, before he entered Holy Orders, he lived for some time in the Middle Temple, where he supposes that he studied the municipal law. But there is good reason for believing this statement to be erroneous. A kinsman, who bore the same name with himself, was a member of that Society, and Wood has mistaken the one for the other. To this kinsman and namesake, Richard Hakluyt, the Prebendary, owed his first ardent love of historical and geographical knowledge: and, in his ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’ to Sir Francis Walsingham, which is prefixed to the first edition of his voyages, he thus describes an interview which, in his boyhood, he had with him.—‘I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiestie’s scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt, my cosin, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord, certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an vniversal Mapped. He seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance by showing me the diuision of the earth, into three parts after the olde account, and then according to this latter, and better distribution into more: he pointed with

⁹ Hakluyt, iii. 227.

iii. 205; and Walsingham’s to Ald-

¹⁰ See Parmenius’s letter to him, worth, a Bristol merchant, iii. 227.

his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities and particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, and entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mapped he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalm, directed mee to the 23 and 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet, together with my cousin's discourse (things of high and and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolued, if ever I were preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time and more conuenient place might be ministered for these studies, I would, by God's assistance, prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.'

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Thus was the foundation laid of that valuable store of knowledge which Hakluyt afterwards acquired, and which he sought to make ever subordinate to the highest and noblest ends of God's service. Soon after he was ordained, he proceeded to Paris as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador; and, whilst in that city, availed himself of every opportunity to promote the great object which he had so much at heart. The sacred duties to be performed, and the blessings ultimately to be accomplished by the extension of the British name, in

Evidence
of his reli-
gious zeal.

foreign lands, were never absent from the mind of this extraordinary man. Nor was he slow to press them upon the attention of those who possessed and exercised influence in his native country. A remarkable evidence of this appears in two epistles dedicatory, which he wrote from Paris, in 1587, to Sir Walter Raleigh, the one in Latin, prefixed to his edition of Peter Martyr's History of the New World¹¹; and the other in English, prefixed to his translation of the voyages to Florida, made by the French admiral, Laudonnière. In the first of these, he expressly declares that the glory of God is the great end to which the extension of the borders of a Christian State should be subservient, and that each step made in this extension should be regarded as a fresh summons to promote it. Upon this ground, and with reference to this lofty aim, he urges Raleigh to persevere in the work which the acquisition of Virginia had placed before him. No grander monument, he assures him, could he raise, no brighter name could he leave to future generations, than the evidence that he had therein sought to restrain the fierceness of the barbarian, and enlighten his darkened mind by the knowledge of the true God¹². In

¹¹ This history, written of course in Latin, is dedicated by Peter Martyr to Charles the Fifth, and the preface is dated at Madrid, 1516, the year in which that youthful monarch succeeded to the Spanish throne. The edition to which I have referred above, and which was drawn up, as it is said in the title-page, 'labore et industriâ Richardi

Hakluyti Oxoniensis Angli,' was published at Paris, in 1587.

¹² I subjoin Hakluyt's own words, as they are found in the epistle dedicatory to which I have referred: 'Judex rerum omnium tempus, diligensque tuorum ministrorum inquisitio, multa inopinata quæ adhuc latent, modò Deus intersit, nobis aperient. Deum autem

the second, he speaks of the different objects which different men propose to themselves in the prosecution of discoveries such as those in which Raleigh was then engaged; and observes, ‘Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement; others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that oftentimes by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes; the fewest number the glorie of God, and the saving of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truly say with the Apostle to the Sauages, wee seeke not yours but you (2 Cor. xii. 12): I conceiue great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weaknesse, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building¹³.’

Of this success, as far as Raleigh was concerned, we have seen that the first efforts to colonize Virginia gave no proof. Yet, who can doubt, but that Hakluyt,—when he urged forward the renewal of further efforts in the same direction, and gave the influence of his character and rank in the Church to

ad futurum non est cur dubites, quandoquidem de ipsius gloriâ, animarum infinitarum salute, Reipublicæ Christianæ incremento agitur. Eja ergo age ut cœpisti, et æterni tui nominis ac famæ apud posteros, quæ nulla unquam obliterabit ætas, relinque monumenta. Nihil enim

ad posteros gloriosius nec honorificentius transmitti potest quam barbaros domare, rudes et paganos ad vitæ civilis societatem revocare, efferos in gyrum rationis reducere, hominesque atheos et à Deo alienos divini numinis reverentiâ imbueri.’

¹³ Hakluyt, iii. 366.

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their support, and even consented himself to become, as we shall find that he did, one of those to whom King James granted his first Letters Patent,—was animated with a sincere desire to promote the same precious object which he had proposed to Raleigh's mind, even 'the glorie of God, and the saving of the soules of the poor and blinded infidels?'

Upon Hakluyt's return to England, he resided frequently at Bristol, having been appointed to a Prebendal stall in its cathedral, during his absence in France ¹⁴. He was afterwards preferred to the rectory of Wetheringset in Suffolk. But, whatsoever sphere of duty engaged him, he never laid aside the great work of watching over, and recording, and giving a right and salutary direction to, the discoveries which his countrymen were making in different quarters of the globe. Notice has already been taken of the pains and diligence which he describes himself to have employed in the prosecution of this work ¹⁵; and it is amply confirmed by his publications. There was no document of an authentic character which escaped his careful search. Fuller gives a correct description of them, when he says that they were 'taken partly out of private letters, which never were (or without his care had not been) printed. Partly out of small treatises, printed, and since irrecoverably lost, had not his providence preserved them. For some pamphlets are produced, which for their cheapnesse and smalnesse men for the present neglect to buy,

¹⁴ In 1585, as appears from the list of Prebendaries given in Bar-

rett's History of Bristol.
¹⁵ Note 3 at page 3.

presuming they may procure them at their pleasure, which small books, their first and last edition being past (like some spirits that appear but once) cannot afterwards with any price or pains be recovered. In a word, many such useful tracts of sea adventures, which before were scattered as several ships, Mr. Hakluyt hath imbodyed into a fleet divided into three squadrons, so many volumes. A work of great honour to England ¹⁶. Hakluyt was anxious also to make permanent provision for interesting and instructing the public mind upon this important subject, by the establishment of a Lecture on the art of navigation; and held out the example of Sir Thomas Gresham, as one which the rulers of England might well follow ¹⁷. But the attempt, notwithstanding that it received the encouragement of Sir Francis Drake, proved fruitless. In 1605, Hakluyt was appointed a Prebendary of Westminster; and became, as will be soon seen, not only a member of the company to whom Virginia was assigned under the Letters Patent of James the First, but watched over the affairs of the Colony, with faithfulness and zeal, until the time of his death, which took place in 1616. He was buried in Westminster Abbey ¹⁸.

¹⁶ Fuller's Worthies of England (Herefordshire), p. 40. The three volumes of Hakluyt in Fuller's day are now increased to the number of five; and it is that edition (1809) which has been followed in the present work.

¹⁷ See the dedication of his second edition of *Voyages*, to Lord Charles Howard, i. xiv.

¹⁸ *Biographia Britannica* in loc. See also the account of his life in the *Biographie Universelle*. The name of this remarkable man still lives in some of the northern regions of the globe. Bylot, who had Baffin as his pilot, gave Hakluyt's name to an isle in Baffin's Bay, 77° 25' N. and 64° 20' W. Hudson conferred it upon a pro-

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Another expedition sent out by Lords Southampton and Thomas Arundel in 1605.

The expedition which Hakluyt had been instrumental in sending to America from Bristol, in 1603, was followed by another which sailed from the same port in 1605, under the command of Captain Weymouth, and was fitted out by Henry, Earl of Southampton, and the Lord Thomas Arundel. The account of its progress is given by Rosier¹⁹, the author of the Tractate before mentioned on Gosnold's voyage, and is full of interest. It bears evident marks of having been written by one, who, whilst he recorded fresh discoveries and opportunities of extending temporal dominion, sought thereby to enlarge the borders of Christ's spiritual kingdom. It were needless now to dwell upon the other particulars which it contains. It is enough to remark that it amply verified,—as that supplied by the former expedition had done,—the favourable description, which had been given by Gosnold, of the countries north of Virginia.

Letters Patent granted by James the First for the plantation of Virginia, April 10, 1606.

The receipt of such cheering information was soon followed by the appearance of the first Letters Patent, granted by James the First, for the plantation of Virginia. They bear date the tenth of April, 1606. The whole territory, assigned by this instrument to the parties named therein, was the portion of the American continent lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, and the islands adjacent to it within an hundred miles of the coast. This territory was divided into two parts;

montory of Spitzbergen, 79° 47' N. and 60° 51' E. And some English navigators called after him a river which they discovered in 1611, near Petschora.
¹⁹ Purchas, iv. 1659—1667.

the first of which was to the south, between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of north latitude, and assigned to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, and divers others, knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London, and elsewhere, as a place of settlement for the first Colony. This province continued to bear its original title of Virginia. The second,—which afterwards received from Prince Charles, the second son of James the First, the title of New England,—extended from thirty-eight to forty-five degrees of the same latitude, and was assigned to Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and others of the towns of Plymouth, and Bristol, and Exeter, as a place of settlement for the second Colony. In each of these separate districts, the different companies in question were invested with authority to settle in any part most convenient for them, and to have a right of property over fifty miles along the coast each way from the place of their first habitation, and also over one hundred miles into the interior. They were not, however, to plant within one hundred miles of each other; an arrangement, of which it is not easy to see in what way the provision could have been secured, since there was an obvious intermixture of the two districts in the geographical limits marked out for their respective boundaries²⁰. The privileges

²⁰ Bancroft, in his History of States, i. 120, 121, says that the the Colonization of the United extent of the southern district

conferred upon the Colonists were, in substance, the same with those which have been already noticed in the instances of Gilbert and of Raleigh: and the government of each Colony was to be conducted by a council of thirteen persons, to rule and to be ruled according to articles set down and confirmed under the Privy Seal. Another council, consisting of the same number of persons, was also to be established in England for the superior management and direction of the affairs of the two Colonies²¹. Sir Thomas Smith was appointed the first Treasurer.

Marked by the arbitrary spirit of the age, but acknowledging the duty of a Christian nation to communicate through her Colonies the knowledge of the truth which she enjoys.

The character of this Charter, as well as of the several Articles, Instructions, and Orders which accompanied it, has been justly described as more consonant with the high notions of kingly prerogative and arbitrary power prevalent in that age, than with the principles of justice and freedom, upon which alone any successful system of colonization can be established²². But, whilst this fact is fully admitted, we must not omit to notice, as some have done²³,

was from thirty-four to thirty-eight degrees of north latitude; and that of the northern from forty-one to forty-five degrees; whilst the intermediate district from thirty-eight to forty-one degrees, was open to the competition of both companies. I cannot find any authority for this statement.

²¹ These Letters Patent are given at length in the Appendix, No. 1, to Stith's History of Virginia; and the most important parts of them in Purchas, iv. 1683, and Chalmers's Political Annals of Virginia, p. 13.

²² Robertson's History of Ame-

rica, Works xi. 181; and Chalmers's Political Annals of Virginia, p. 14. 'What right,' asks the last writer here quoted, 'could a people be said to enjoy, who, without possessing the smallest particle of self-government, were at once subjected to the will of the prince; to the edicts of a council they did not appoint; to the ordinances of a commercial association over which they had no controul?'

²³ Robertson is one of the writers who have been guilty of this omission; and it is the more remarkable, since, notwithstanding

another point, which stands forth no less prominently in the same Letters Patent, namely, the recognition of the duty incumbent upon a Christian nation to communicate through her Colonies the knowledge of the truth which she professes, and of the mercy which she enjoys. The desire of the Colonists to settle in the Western continent was listened to by the King, and the means of promoting it granted by him, because, as it is expressly set forth in the terms of the Patent, 'so noble a worke may by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glorie of his Divine Maiesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages (living in those parts) to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government.'

That this was no mere formal statement, but the expression of a feeling which sincerely influenced the minds of many who were foremost in such enterprises, is evident from the testimonies to that effect which are found in the narratives connected with them. These testimonies are the more valuable, because they are obviously undesigned, and arise incidentally out of the relation of events which took place. Thus, to cite one instance out of many, the narrator of Waymouth's voyage, in 1605, states

The same acknowledgment made by others who bore a part in those enterprises.

that he professes carefully to revise the contents of these Letters Patent, he passed over the very same provision, (as we have already pointed out, in the fourth chapter of this volume, p.66,) in his description of the Charter granted by Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Chalmers, on the other hand, distinctly acknowledges it.

that their party refused an invitation, which some of the natives urged upon them, to push their discoveries further, because, as he says, 'We would not hazard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private or particular ends, being more regardfull of a publick goode, and promulgating God's holy Church by planting Christianity, which was the interest of our adventurers so well as ours'²⁴.'

Provision made at the same time, by Royal Ordinance, for the celebration of Divine Worship according to the rites of the Church of England.

It should be observed also, that, before the expedition, which was fitted out under the authority of the above Charter, left England for the Virginian coast, an Ordinance was further passed under the sign-manual of the King, and the Privy Seal, in which occurs the following important declaration: 'That the said presidents, councils, and the ministers, should provide that the Word and Service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the savages bordering among them, according to the rites and doctrine of the Church of England'²⁵.'

The expedition set sail on the nineteenth of December, 1606, under the command of Captain Newport, who is described as 'a mariner well practised for the westerne parts of America.' The Minister of the Church of God, who accompanied it, was Robert

²⁴ See Rosier's account of Waymouth's Voyage in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 20.

²⁵ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 37. This instrument was dated November 20, 1606, and is given at length in the above passage. It

is truly described by Chalmers, 'as a provision for the interests of religion, by interweaving into the Virginian constitution the establishment of the Church of England,' p. 16.

Hunt. To his hands was committed the high and holy work of consecrating to God's glory the settlement of the British name in America; and all that is recorded of his ministry proves that the choice of such a man for such an office was made in a faithful spirit. It is much to be deplored, that the minutes of proceedings of the Virginia Council at home have been lost, notwithstanding the precautions which the excellent Nicholas Ferrar employed to save a copy of them, when the tyrannical decree of the Star Chamber went forth afterwards against the Company²⁶. They would probably have supplied much clearer information than can now possibly be obtained with respect to the first proceedings of the Colony; and the view taken of them by Hakluyt and others who were associated with him in its management. It is also highly probable that they would have furnished us with many particulars concerning Robert Hunt, and the manner of his appointment, which it would now be so interesting and important to ascertain. I am thankful, however, to have found in Lambeth Library a manuscript which throws some light, however faint, upon this latter point. It is marked in the catalogue as 'anonymous', and the description is so far correct that its author's name is not formally inscribed upon it; and the dedication is not signed at all. But, perceiving that it was a Journal of the earliest proceedings of the Colony, I felt persuaded that it would well repay

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Character of
Robert
Hunt, the
first Minister
of the
Church who
accompanied
the Colonists to
Virginia.

²⁶ Peckard's Life of Ferrar, in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biography, iv. 169, 170.

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perusal. Nor was I disappointed; for I found it written by a person of no less importance than Edward-Maria Wingfield, one of those to whom the first Letters Patent were granted, and who, upon the arrival of the Colonists in Virginia, was elected their first President. It contains a minute account of the transactions which chiefly concerned himself, from the time of their first landing in Virginia, to his return to England, after he had been deposed from his office. This manuscript will be further noticed in the course of the present chapter: for I am not aware that its contents have, in any shape, been placed before the public. The point, however, which it is important to observe, at the present moment, is the following notice given by the writer of Hunt's appointment:—'For my first worke (which was to make right choice of a spirituall pastor) I appele to the remembrance of my Lo. of Caunt. his grace, who gave me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whom I took with me, truly a man, in my opinion, not any waie to be touched with the rebellious humor of a papist spirit, nor blemished with the least suspicion of a factious schismatic.'

Archbishop
Bancroft
consulted
respecting
his appoint-
ment.

It is evident, from this passage, that not only was Robert Hunt a man well and favourably known to the people of England, but further, that Archbishop Bancroft was consulted in the matter of his appointment; that Wingfield, evidently one of the most influential of the parties concerned, waited upon his grace expressly for that purpose; and that, with the concurrence, and under the authority of, the Primate,

this first Presbyter of the English Church went forth to the work which awaited him. He had many and sore difficulties to encounter from some of the companions of his voyage; but the struggle bore witness to his own integrity; and the fact that such a man was among that company, is one of the most grateful memorials which we possess of their early history²⁷. It is a light which breaks through the thick gloom of their disastrous trials. Even in the outset of the voyage, the record of their proceedings contains this affecting notice of the trials by which he was assailed, and of the spirit with which he endured them: 'On the nineteenth of December, 1606, we set sayle from Blackwall, but by vnprosperous winds were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time Mr. Hunt our Preacher was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes²⁸) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him,

²⁷ Bancroft adds his testimony to that which has been given by every other writer upon this subject, and describes Robert Hunt as a 'clergyman of persevering fortitude and modest worth.' History of the United States, i. 118.

²⁸ It is evident, from this expression, that Robert Hunt's habitation must have been in Kent; and I find in Hasted's History of Kent, iii. 640, that Robert Hunt, A. M. was appointed to the Vicar-

age of Reculver, Jan. 18, 1594, and that he resigned it in 1602. I cannot find, in the list of the Kentish Clergy at that time, any other Mr. Hunt who bore the same Christian name; and, coupling the date of the resignation abovestated with the period at which the first pastor of the English Colony must have been contemplating his departure to America, I think it most probable that he was the Vicar of Reculver.

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all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted example,) quenched those flames of envie and dissension ²⁹.’

It is evident that some members of the Council at home must have been influenced too much by private interests, or they would have shown greater discrimination in the choice of the men whom they sent forth to that new settlement. In the Instructions, which they added to their own Orders, and which they drew up as a means of assisting the Colonists towards a proper observance of the Royal Ordinances under which they had authority to act, they made a full and distinct recognition of the only principles upon which the good government of their body could be maintained. They declared therein, that ‘the way to prosper and obtain success was to make themselves all of one mind, for their own and their country’s good; and to serve and fear God, the giver of all goodness, since every Plantation which He did not plant, would certainly be rooted out ³⁰.’ But what availed such instructions, if so many of

²⁹ The narrative of Studley and others in Smith’s History of Virginia, p. 41. See also Purchas, iv.

1705.
³⁰ Stith’s History of Virginia, p. 44.

those to whom they were addressed were resolved to put them to scorn?

One ground of dissension was the jealousy which many of the leading men entertained of Captain John Smith, the first historian of Virginia; and, as the sequel of the narrative will show, a man of the highest integrity, and zeal, and courage. The notices which are extant of his previous life, had we time to enumerate them all, would exhibit him more like some fabled hero of romance, than one who actually lived as a man amongst men. They are nevertheless distinguished by an air of truth which leads the reader to the conclusion, that such were really the exploits which he achieved, and the dangers from which he escaped. The fact also that he drew up the report of them with his own hand, at the request of Sir Robert Cotton³¹, is a further guarantee for believing it to be authentic. And, since his history of Virginia fully proves, that, wherever he is the narrator of his own deeds, he neither displays any vain-glorious spirit, nor indulges in a rhetorical style of narrative³², the fair presumption is, that, with equal faithfulness and simplicity, he has recorded the autobiography of his former years. Taking, therefore, the received account of

Notice of
Captain
John Smith.

³¹ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 108.

³² Burk, in the Preface to his History of Virginia, printed at Petersburg, Virginia, 1822, p. ii. describes Smith's Work as 'a sort of epic history or romance, where the author, like Ossian, recounts his achievements in the spirit with

which he fought.' But this is not a correct description. The greater part of Smith's History is made up of the narratives of his companions, expressed sometimes, certainly, in grandiloquent terms; but Smith's own language is remarkable for its simplicity.

this extraordinary man, we find, that, although not more than twenty-seven years of age when he embarked for Virginia, he had already served as a soldier in the Low Countries, and, after passing through many adventures in France and Italy, had entered the Austrian army against the Turks; had distinguished himself by the most signal feats of personal prowess; had been left for dead upon the field of battle; had thence been taken up and sent as a slave into the service, first, of a Turkish lady at Constantinople, and afterwards of her brother, a bashaw of the country near the Sea of Azov; that, having escaped from him, he had fled through parts of Russia and of Poland, and returned to his friends in Transylvania; that, before he turned his steps towards England, he had next passed over to Morocco; and, upon his passage homewards in a French galley from that country, had taken part in a long and desperate engagement with two Spanish men-of-war whom she encountered ³³.

There were many of his cotemporaries, who, having witnessed some of these scenes of his eventful life, helped to increase Smith's fame by their reports of him ³⁴. And his return to England at the time when the preparations for the Virginian Colony were in progress, combined with his own love of enterprise, led to the selection of him as one of those who

³³ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 107—112.

³⁴ 'So famous was he in his own age, that he lived to see himself brought upon the stage, and

the chief dangers and most interesting passages of his life, racked, as he complains, and misrepresented in low Tragedies.' Stith's History of Virginia, p. 112.

should accompany it, and be intrusted with a share of its management. He was regarded, indeed,—as has just been said,—with suspicion and fear by many who embarked with him; and it is probable that the reputation of his name and mighty deeds may have stimulated their apprehension of his overwhelming influence. But, from whatever cause, it is clear that they were ready to proceed to any extremities against him; for, after their departure from the Canaries, they threw him into confinement, upon the pretence of a design entertained by him of enslaving and murdering them³⁵. At the end of a tedious voyage,—so tedious that the Captain of one of the three vessels which formed the squadron³⁶ desired to bear up the helm for England, and give up further search,—the voyagers descried the Southern promontory of Chesapeak Bay, to which they gave the name of Cape Henry, which it still retains, in honour of the then Prince of Wales. To the Northern promontory of the same Bay, the name of Cape Charles was also then given, in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards Charles the First³⁷. This was on the twenty-sixth of April, 1607; and, unhappily, a party from the squadron having landed, came into collision with some of the natives³⁸. No life appears to have

Arrival of
the Colony
in Virginia.

³⁵ Studley's narrative in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 43.

³⁶ Of these three vessels, one was of 100 tons, another of 40, and a Pinnace of 20.' Smith's History of Virginia, p. 41.

³⁷ Smith's History of Virginia, p. 21.

³⁸ See the narrative of this expedition by George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland who accompanied it. Purchas, iv. 1685. The point of land called Cape Comfort was then also discovered and named.

been lost on either side; but, doubtless, the foundation was herein laid of future troubles.

Upon examining that night the sealed orders which they had brought, and which were not to be opened until their arrival in Virginia, a discovery was made, which added not a little to the confusion of Smith's enemies. For his name was found actually recorded as a member of the Council, by which the Colony was to be governed³⁹. Great opposition was, of course, made to his admission; but, before that matter could be determined, it was necessary that a spot of ground should be selected for their future habitation. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of May, a promontory was chosen for that purpose, on the northern bank of a river which flows into Chesapeake Bay, called by the natives Powhatan, after the name of their king; but the English gave to it the name of James River. Upon this spot, about fifty miles from the river's mouth, they resolved to build their first town, to which they gave likewise the name of the English monarch. As soon as this point was settled, 'the Councill,' in the words of the original narrative, 'was sworne, Mr. Wingfield was chosen President, and an oration made why Captaine Smith was not admitted of the Councill as the rest'⁴⁰. Every accusation against him was forthwith renewed, and supported with all the eagerness which jealousy and envy could supply. But Smith triumphed over them; and, when at length a penalty

Settlement
of James
Town.

³⁹ The narrative of Studley and others, in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

of two hundred pounds was awarded to him, by way of satisfaction for the injuries which he had endured, he generously returned the whole amount for the use of the Colony⁴¹. In the midst of this painful discord among the rulers of the infant settlement, the affectionate services of their Minister were quickly, and for a time successfully, employed to allay its evils. ‘Many,’ it is said, ‘were the mischiefs that daily sprung from their ignorant, yet ambitious, spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher, Mr. Hunt, reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted of the Councill.’

‘The next day,’ adds the same narrative,—namely, The Holy Communion celebrated. the day after Smith’s admission, and the day before Newport’s return to England,—‘all received the Communion⁴²;’ all, that is, who, being won by the conversation and prayers of their spiritual guide, and remembering the obligations which they had obeyed and the privileges which they had enjoyed at home, were ready to draw near in faith, repentance, and charity, and take that Holy Sacrament to their comfort. Some, it cannot be doubted, from the humiliating description already given of their character and conduct, must have stood aloof from this solemn assembly of their brethren, and been strangers to the spirit of reconciliation and peace with which the hearts of the rest were filled. The day, on which this first celebration of Christ’s holy ordinance was observed by Englishmen, upon the shore of the Western Continent, was Sunday, the twenty-first of

⁴¹ Studley’s Narrative in Smith’s History of Virginia, p. 49.

⁴² Ibid.

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June, about five weeks after they had fixed upon the site of their future habitation⁴³. The interval had been taken up in exploring the unknown territory; in opening such intercourse as they best could with the natives; and in clearing away the ground and collecting materials for the building of their town. Captain Newport also, with some of their party, had gone higher up the River Powhatan, to obtain a better knowledge of the country; and a manuscript journal of his progress upon that occasion is still in the State Paper Office. His excursion did not terminate until the twentieth of June; and the last entry from the journal, which I have myself copied from the above manuscript, confirms, in the following terms, the fact just noticed. 'June 21. Sunday We had a Communion. Captain Newport

⁴³ Dr. Hawks in his 'Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States,' p. 20, and Mr. Caswall in his work upon 'America and the American Church,' p. 164, both say that the fourteenth of May was the day on which the Communion was first celebrated. I can find no authority for this date, and believe it to be incorrect. It is clear from the narrative which I have followed in the text, that the oration against the admission of Smith into the Council was not formally made until the thirteenth of May, when the site of James Town had been marked out, and the rest of the Council had been sworn. It is equally clear that the Holy Communion was not celebrated until the day after Smith's admission into the Council. Therefore, unless his acquittal of the charges

brought against him, and the consequent reconciliation, had been the work of a moment, it is impossible that these two days could have immediately followed each other. There must have been a considerable interval between them. What that interval was, and upon what authority its extent is determined, are points which I have stated in the text.

Whilst this sheet was passing through the press, I observe that Archdeacon Wilberforce, in his History of the American Church, p. 22, assigns the same date to the first celebration of the Holy Communion in Virginia, as that given by Dr. Hawks and Mr. Caswall. This has led me to examine again more carefully my own statement; and, having done so, I see no reason to depart from it.

dyed with our dyet, and invyted many of us to supper as a farwell.' On the following day, Newport returned to England to report the issue of the expedition, which had sailed under his command ⁴⁴.

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VIII.

Difficulties
of the Co-
lony.

The number of Englishmen who remained on the borders of James River, amounted to one hundred ⁴⁵ and four or five ⁴⁶. Such was the small nucleus around which gathered, in little more than a century and a half afterwards, a population so vast and strong as to be victorious in the struggle with the powerful country from which they derived their origin. And, small as this band was, half its number was swept off by sickness or hunger, before the autumn of that year had passed away. It seems almost incredible that no better provision should have been made for their support; but in the quaint, yet forcible description still extant of their state at that time, there remained, after the departure of their ships to England, no 'place of reliefe but the common kettell,' out of which was 'equally distributed half a pinte of wheat, and as much barley boyled with water for a man a day; and this having fryed some six and twentie weekes in the ship's hold contained as many

⁴⁴ Percy's Narrative, Purchas, iv. 1689. In the extracts which have been referred to above from Smith, and which are copied for the most part by Purchas, iv. 1705, the date of Newport's departure is said to have been on the fifteenth of June; but the separate and more circumstantial narrative of Percy, confirmed as it is so remarkably by the manuscript in the State Paper Office, is no doubt

correct. In the Lambeth manuscript also, to which I have before referred, I find this further proof: 'June 1607. The 22nd. Captayne Newport returned for England, for whose good passage, and safe retorne wee made many prayers to our Almighty God.'

⁴⁵ Smith, pp. 43, 44. Purchas, iv. 1706; where most of their names are also given.

⁴⁶ Ib. 1689.

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wormes as graines; so that wee might truely call it rather so much bran than corne; our drinke was water, our lodgings castles in the ayre; with this lodging and dyet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting pallsidoes, so strained and bruised vs, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heat had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natiue Countrey, or any other place in the world⁴⁷.

A circumstance is mentioned in the President Wingfield's manuscript, which I cannot find recorded elsewhere, which shows, in a remarkable manner, the careful and pious reverence manifested by the Colonists for the due celebration of Christ's holy ordinance, in their sad extremity. He states that when 'the common store of oyle, vinegar, sack, and aquavite were all spent, sauing twoe gallons of each; the sack was reserued for the Communion table.'

The miseries which the Colonists endured for want of provisions, were aggravated by the divisions of the President and Council. Wingfield was, after a few months, deposed, upon the charge of wishing to abandon the settlement, and of being meanwhile unmindful of its wants; and Ratcliffe was appointed in his place. It must be confessed, that all the documents, which have been printed concerning this period of Virginia's history, press hard upon Wingfield's character. The only defence of him which I have met with, is that drawn up by himself in the

⁴⁷ The narrative of Studley and others in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 44.

manuscript already quoted; and it seems but fair to cite from it the following vindication of himself from at least one portion of the charges brought against him,—however quaintly it may be expressed: ‘As I understand by report I am much charged with staruing the Collony I did always giue euery man his allowance faithfully, both of corne, oyle, aquivite, &c. as was by the Councell proportioned; neither was it bettered after my time untill towards the end of March, a bisket was allowed to euery workeinge man for his breakefast, by meanes of the provision brought us by Captain Newport, as will appeere hereafter. It is further said I did much banquit and ryot; I never had but one squirrell roasted, whereof I gave a part to Mr. Ratcliffe then sick; yet was that squirrell given me. I did neuer heate a flesh pott, but when the common pot was so used likewise; yet how often Mr. Presidentes and the Councillors haue night and daie been endangered to break their backes so laden with swanns, geese, ducks, &c. How many tymes their flesh potts have swelled, many hungry eies did behold to their great longing: and what great theeves and theeuing thear hath bene in the comon stoar since my tyme, I doubt not but is already made knowne to his Maties. Councell for Virginia.’

The new President and his chief coadjutor, it is said, being ‘little beloved, of weake judgement in dangers, and lesse industrie in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captain Smith¹⁸.’

¹⁸ Studley’s narrative in Smith’s History of Virginia, p. 45.

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Valuable
Services of
Smith.

And, in the midst of all the difficulties and distresses consequent upon this state of things, he seems to have been, as he ever was, firm, courageous, and persevering. At one time, he is found urging on the people to build and thatch their houses, anxious to provide each with a place of lodgment, but neglecting any for himself; at another, going abroad to open intercourse and trade with the native inhabitants of the country; and, last of all, watching and checking the attempts made by some of the Colonists to fly away to England. Whilst Smith was rendering these valuable services to his countrymen, he was one day surprised and taken prisoner by the natives, and brought into the presence of their king Powhatan, who with his 'two hundred grim courtiers,' stood staring at him. After having been kept in a state of suspense for several weeks, the instruments of death were at length prepared for him; his head was laid upon two stones; and the savages stood by with clubs ready to dash out his brains, when Pocahuntas, a child only twelve or thirteen years of age, and a favorite daughter of the King, ran forward, and by her entreaties prevailed upon her father to spare his life. The King soon afterwards sent Smith back to his countrymen at James Town⁴⁹; and there, within a short time, at the close of the year 1607, he had the satisfaction of seeing a reinforcement both of men and supplies brought by Newport from England⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Ib. p. 49, and Purchas, iv. 1709.

manuscript, that Smith was indebted to Newport's timely arrival for the preservation even of his

⁵⁰ It appears from the Lambeth

Upon the strength of the assistance thus seasonably obtained, and by the skill and sagacity of Smith in directing it, a friendly intercourse was opened not only with king Powhatan, but also with his brother, the king of Pamaunke, whose name was Opechancanough.

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Of the minister of God, who was all this time watching over and helping his distressed fellow countrymen, we can only gather up here and there a few scattered notices. Yet they are valuable; for they show him to have been patient and constant, because faithful. Amid the rude log cabins, which were rising up on the banks of James River, his piety and zeal caused a House of Prayer to be erected⁵¹. It was one of the earliest buildings of James Town; and, ere the first winter had passed over the heads of those who worshipped beneath its humble roof, it was burnt down, together with the greater part of the dwellings of the new Colony. The fire broke out in the storehouse, in which several hundred bushels of corn, obtained by barter from the natives, had lately been deposited; and, as the houses

The church
at James
Town burnt.

own life from the malice of some of the settlers. During Smith's absence from James Town, Archer had been (illegally, as Wingfield declares), sworn a member of the Council; and 'being settled in his authority sought how to call Mr. Smythe's lief in question, and had indicted him upon a chapter in Leviticus, for the death of his two men. He had his tryall the same daie of his retorne, and I believe his hanging the same, or the next

daie, so speedy is our lawe thear, but it pleased God to send Captain Newport unto us the same euening to our unspeakable comfortes, whose arrival saued Mr. Smythe's lief, and myne, because he took me out of the Pynnasse, and gave me leaue to lye in the Towne.'

⁵¹ Captain Newport's mariners gave valuable help in this work. Lambeth MS. ut supra. The designation of this MS. in the Catalogue is No. 250, fol. 382.

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Hunt's patience and constancy.

were all thatched with reeds, its flames spread quickly, and destroyed not only them but the palisades, which had been set up for the defence of the town, together with the arms, and great part of the clothing and provisions belonging to the settlers. The following mention is made of Hunt in the narrative which describes their disaster: 'Good Master Hunt our Preacher lost all his Librarie, and all that hee had (but the clothes on his backe) yet none ever saw him repine at his losse. Upon any alarme he would be as readie for defence as any; and till he could not speake he never ceased to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist: whose soule questionlesse is with God ⁵².' How long the spirit of this good man was permitted thus to animate and control his brethren, before it left its earthly tabernacle, to be, as it is so confidently expressed by the narrator of his services, 'with God,' we know not. Some have thought that he lived for a year or two longer ⁵³, and that the first marriage in Virginia, which took place towards the end of 1608 ⁵⁴, was solemnized by him. This, however, is mere conjecture; and I am disposed to think that had he lived so long, some more distinct traces of his valuable ministrations would have been preserved. The influence of his character and example was shown, in the spring of that year by the rebuilding of the Church;—a work, the commencement of which is described as

The church rebuilt.

⁵² Purchas, iv. 1710.

⁵³ Hawks' Ecclesiastical Contributions, &c. p. 22.

⁵⁴ The narrative of Wyffin and others in Smith's History, p. 73.

having been simultaneous with that of repairing the palisades, and planting the corn-fields, and recovering the storehouse⁵⁵. But after this, I can find no evidence of his services; and, since they had been as prominent as they were valuable, and the disorganized state of the Colony needed them more than ever, the conclusion seems to be inevitable, that the shepherd was taken from the flock, over which he watched so anxiously and faithfully, early in the second year of its settlement in that strange land⁵⁶. And, truly, the “merciful” and “righteous” man may, in this instance, be said to have been “taken away from the evil to come⁵⁷,” for enemies many and fierce,—those “grievous wolves” spoken of by the Apostle⁵⁸,—even the greedy and unbridled passions of man’s devices, soon entered in and made further havoc of the flock. Smith stood forward boldly to resist the adversaries; but he stood well nigh alone. Scrivener, a newly appointed member of the Council, seems to have been his only

⁵⁵ The narrative of Studley and others in Smith’s History, p. 53.

⁵⁶ The following entry in the Lambeth manuscript is worthy of notice. It is written by Wingfield in answer to a charge brought against him, that he had forbidden Mr. Hunt to preach: ‘Two or three Sundayes morninges the Indians gave us allarums at our Towne, by that times they were answered, the place aboute us well discouered, and our divine service ended, the daie was far spent. The preacher did aske me if it were my pleasure to haue a ser-

mon; hee said he was prepared for it. I made answer that our men weare wearie and hungry, and that he did see the tyme of the daie farre past (for at other tymes hee neuer made such question, but the seruice finished he began his sermon) and that if it pleased him, wee would spare him till some other tyme. I never failed to take such noates by writinge out of his doctrine as my capacity could comprehend, unlessee some rainie daie hindered my endeavours.’

⁵⁷ Isaiah lvii. 1.

⁵⁸ Acts xx. 29.

hearty supporter. The vessel, which had brought out their first supplies, was about to return with her disorderly crew, laden, as they eagerly, but vainly supposed, with gold; and the historians of the Colony thus describe the wretchedness of the scene: 'The worst was, our gilded refiners with their golden promises made all men their slaues in hope of recompences; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold; such a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands, lest they should by their art make gold of his bones. Captain Smith,' they go on to say, 'was not inamoured with their durty skill, breathing out these and many other passions; neuer did any thing more torment him, than to see all necessary busines neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded durt⁵⁹.' In reading the narration of such humiliating scenes, varied only by the history of fresh quarrels and divisions, we feel them to be so painful, that we are tempted to omit altogether the notice of them. Nevertheless, the justice of the remark made by one of the writers restrains us from doing this; for he says, that 'it were better their basenes should be manifest to the world, than the busines bear the scorne and shame of their excused disorders⁶⁰.'

Smith's
continued
energy.

Upon the departure to England of the vessels which had brought their supplies, Smith set him-

⁵⁹ The narrative of Studley p. 53.
and others in Smith's History, ⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 46.

self zealously to the work of opening, as far as he was able, a safe communication with the natives, and exploring not only the adjacent shores of Chesapeake Bay, but also those of the river Rappahanoc, the Pamunke (now York), and the Potomac, which discharge their waters into it. Upon his return to James Town, his honest energy was again demanded to repair the disorders which had grown up in his short absence; which being done, he went forth once more to make fresh discoveries along the shores of two other rivers which flow into the same Bay, the Susquehannah, and the Patuxent. The vessel, in which these voyages were performed, was a small open barge, containing fourteen men. And it is remarkable, that, amid all the perils and difficulties of this roving life, the devotional habits of Smith and his associates seem never to have been laid aside. The following evidence of it occurs in the history, given by one of his followers, of a meeting held with some Indian Chiefs, on his second expedition: 'Our order was daily to haue Prayer with a Psalme, at which solemnitie the poor Salvages much wondered; our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their businesse ⁶¹.'

His devo-
tional
habits.

The narrative is full of stirring incident, and told with a sincerity and distinctness which stamp it with the impress of truth; but there is not time to dwell upon it ⁶². Upon Smith's return to James

Appointed
President.

⁶¹ The narrative of Bagnall and others in Smith's History, p. 53. apeak Bay and of the rivers which run into it, together with a description of the various tribes in-

⁶² Ibid. 55—65. A map of Ches-

Town, he was by the election of the Council, and request of the Company, appointed to the office of President. And it is not a little characteristic of the order of proceedings under his authority, that, in the very next sentence after that which describes his elevation, we read, 'Now the building of Ratcliffe's [the former President's] Pallace stayed as a thing needlesse; and the church was repaired ⁶³.' Soon afterwards, a second reinforcement of men, about seventy in number ⁶⁴, and supplies, arrived from England; and, again, under the command of Newport. A great portion of the time and strength of the Colony, in spite of Smith's entreaties, was now spent, most unprofitably, in heaping presents upon King Powhatan, and offering to him, whose country they had actually invaded, the mockery of a coronation ⁶⁵. The English tried also to discover, and

habiting the neighbouring countries, was drawn up by Smith and sent to the Council in England. It is inserted in some editions of Purchas, and in Smith's own History; and is drawn up with such exactness as to be the model from which all subsequent maps of Virginia have been chiefly copied. See Smith's letter to the Treasurer in England (p. 71), and Holmes's American Annals, i. 133.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 66.

⁶⁴ The list of their names is given in Smith's History, p. 72; and among them is that of 'Master Francis West, brother of the Lord La Warre' [De la Warr] who was soon afterwards the first Governor of the Colony. West is spoken of on more than one occasion, as

a man of kind and gentle nature. Some Dutch and Polish artizans were also of the party, and sent for the purpose of introducing the manufacture of glass, &c.

⁶⁵ Were it not for the gross outrage against truth and justice involved in the whole proceeding, the reader might be tempted to smile at the following description of it:—'All being met at Werowocomoco, the next day was appointed for his Coronation; then the presents were brought him, his bason and ewer, bed and furniture set up, his scarlet cloke and apparell with much adoe put upon him, being persuaded by Namontack they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his

establish intercourse with, the tribes which dwelt beyond Powhatan; and renewed their fruitless experiments of sifting and refining the earth for gold. Unwilling as Smith and his people were to carry these, and other equally absurd, instructions into effect, they were nevertheless compelled to do so, on pain of remaining for ever as banished men in Virginia ⁶⁶. This reinforcement of their countrymen, in short, appears to have done more mischief, in the vicious habits which it was the means of introducing and keeping up among the Colonists, than benefit by the addition which it gave to their numbers.

The letter, which Smith sent home, in consequence, to the Treasurer and Council in London, is one of the most admirable specimens on record, of honest and indignant zeal rebuking ignorance and folly ⁶⁷.

The history of the events which followed must be passed over rapidly. The expeditions undertaken by Smith and the parties under his command; their interviews with King Powhatan; the stratagems and counter-stratagems to which each party resorted, that they might gain their several ends; their hair-breadth escapes, their daring deeds, and enduring for- His heavy trials.

Crowne, he neither knowing the meaning nor the majesty of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples and instructions, as tyred them all; at last by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and three having the Crowne in their hands put it on his head,

when by the warning of a Pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King start vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well.' Smith's History, p. 68.

⁶⁶ Chalmers's Political Annals of Virginia, p. 22.

⁶⁷ Smith's History, pp. 70—72.

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titude, exhibited under every variety of aspect, might well lead us to pause and review them more closely. But to do this would be to defer too long the special object proposed to our consideration. One point, however, is deserving of notice, namely, the constant train of services which the young daughter of Powhatan rendered to the English, amid all their dangers and vicissitudes. It has been seen already, that, by her cries and prayers, she had saved the life of Smith, at the very moment in which the clubs of the savages were raised to murder him. Thus, likewise, in the beginning of the year following, when he and his company, having gone to visit her father, were, through his designs, in danger of being starved, she came 'in that darke night through the irksome woods,' and, with her eyes streaming with tears of tenderness, cheered them with the tidings that she would send food; and, within an hour afterwards, sent abundance by the hands of some of the Indians⁶⁸. Her services did not end there, as the sequel of the history will show. But the difficulties from which the English were saved, for a time, whilst they were in the woods, came back upon them, with all its aggravated horrors, after their return to James Town. At first, indeed, their affairs proceeded peaceably; they built twenty more houses, and finished the restoration of their church. But their provisions soon failed them; and then, for three months, they dragged on a miser-

⁶⁸ Smith's History, p. 77, and 122.

able existence, their chief and best food consisting of the flesh of sturgeon dried and pounded, and mixed up with sorel and other herbs. In this, as in every other crisis, the energy and fortitude of Smith remained unshaken.

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Meanwhile, the repeated tidings of ill success which had reached England from the Colony of Virginia, induced those who were interested in its welfare to apply to James the First for a fresh commission, giving them enlarged powers, and extending their influence over a wider and more influential portion of the community. They obtained this new Charter, which recited and confirmed the first, in May, 1609. Some of the chief nobility and bishops, most of the commercial companies, and several merchants and others of high character, were now added to the number of those who had been before engaged in the enterprise, and incorporated under the name of 'The Treasurer and Company of the City of Adventurers, of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia.' The number of Peers in this Company were twenty-one, among whom may be noticed as the most influential, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, then Lord High Treasurer, and Henry, Earl of Southampton. The names, also, of Abbot, then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop, of Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, of Mountain, Bishop of Lincoln, of Parry, Bishop of Worcester, and Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, are to be found in the list. Hakluyt, as might be expected, retaining the

Second
Charter,
May 20,
1609.

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interest which he had ever felt in such enterprises, was again seen in the ranks of the second Virginia Company; and with him were associated Sir Edwin Sandys, the pupil of Hooker, and John and Nicholas Ferrar, and others, whose memory,—precious as it ever must be in the sight of all true-hearted members of the Church of England,—is rendered yet more dear by reason of the efforts, which, in the face of the heaviest discouragement and sorest oppression, they strove to make in her behalf, in the infant Colony of Virginia.

The whole list of the members of this second Company presents a most imposing array of influence⁶⁹; and that the labours of so many who were zealous, and faithful, and persevering, in that assembly should have proved abortive, is only a demonstration of the faulty nature of the machinery which was supplied in the provisions of their Charter, and with which alone they had the power to work. In what way this machinery frustrated the labours of those to whom it was consigned, will be seen hereafter. Meanwhile, it may be observed, that, by virtue of this second Charter, lands, which formerly seem to have been conveyed in trust, were now granted in absolute property. Licence was also granted to carry to Virginia all persons willing to go thither, provided they had first taken the oath of supremacy; and, among the privileges intended for the benefit of the settlers, was granted a free-

⁶⁹ It is given at length in Smith's History of Virginia, pp. 130—138; and in Stith's Appendix, No. II.



dom from all subsidies in the Colony for twenty-one years, and from all impositions on imports and exports to and from England, except only five per cent. due for customs. The Colonists and their descendants were declared to be entitled to the same rights which they would have possessed, had they remained within the realm; and the power of enforcing martial law, in case of rebellion or mutiny, was granted to the governor ⁷⁰.

The first, who bore the office of Governor, or Captain-General, of Virginia, was Thomas, Lord De la Warr, a man in whom there is every reason to believe, that, if his life had been prolonged, the Colony would have found a just and wise ruler. Descended from a long line of noble ancestry, and already summoned to the discharge of duties which showed the great confidence which his sovereign reposed in him ⁷¹, he consented to leave the honours and prospects which awaited him at home, and accept, as it has been well described, ‘a barren province, which had nothing of a government but its anxieties and its cares, merely for the service of his country ⁷².’ The Virginian Council at home, in the ‘Declaration’ which they published in 1610, and which will be noticed more fully in the next

Lord De la
Warr ap-
pointed Go-
vernor.

⁷⁰ Chalmers's Political Annals of Virginia, p. 25.

⁷¹ The name of Sir Thomas West, afterwards Lord De la Warr, appears in the commission, appointed in the first year of James the First, for enquiring into the

case of all such persons as should be found openly opposing the doctrines of the Church of England. Rym. Fœd. xvi. 546—560.

⁷² Burke's Account of the European Settlements in America, ii. 219.

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chapter, speak of this nobleman as ‘one of approved courage, temper, and experience, whose honour nor fortune needed not any desperate medicine;’ who exposed ‘himselfe for the common good to al these hazards and paines which we feare and safely talk of, that sitte idle at home;’ who did ‘beare a great part vpon his owne charge, and reuiue and quicken the whole by his example, constancy, and resolution.’ The truth of this testimony is found in the desire, which his daily life exhibited, to discharge the duties of his high office in a faithful spirit; and also in the pains which he took, that others should receive the same lessons of righteousness which he, in his own person, was anxious to obey.

Crashaw's
Sermon.

Among those wholesome exhortations, which were, with such plainness of speech, addressed to him and to the others associated with him in the government of the Virginia Colony, may be noticed a Sermon by William Crashaw, at that time Preacher at the Temple. It was delivered in their presence, a few months before the departure of the expedition; and, under any circumstances, would deserve attention, from the circumstance of its being, as far as I can learn, the first Sermon, ever preached by a minister of the Church of England, to those who were about to carry forth her name and character to the New World. But, independently of this consideration, it possesses other and strong claims to the reader's notice⁷³. The text is taken

⁷³ Crashaw was a divine of the poet to whom Cowley has some note in his day; and father paid so lofty a tribute of praise,

from St. Luke, xxii. 32; "But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." The preacher first notices the various glosses which Bellarmine makes upon this passage of Scripture, with the view of proving the supremacy of St. Peter; and, after pointing out their fallacy, proceeds to speak of Christ the Saviour as our true spiritual Physician, and the threefold medicines which we receive from Him; namely, cleansing, restorative, and preservative. He considers the text as an evidence of the last of these, and exhibiting the preservation, afforded to the Church of Christ, through His prevailing intercession. He then divides it into two parts; the first, showing the mercy of our Lord, who thus prayed for His followers; and the second, the duty of St. Peter, who, when he was converted, was to strengthen his brethren.

Under the first of these two heads, Crashaw enforces, with no ordinary power, the great argument which the example of our Lord furnishes towards

and whose sentiments and expressions Pope has not disdained to imitate. The title of his Sermon is as follows: 'A Sermon preached in London before that honorable the Lord La Warre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginia, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that kingdome, and the rest of the Aduenturers in that Plantation, at the said Generall his leaue taking of England his native countrey and departure for Virginia, February 21, 1609. By W. Crashaw, Bachelor of Divinitie,

and Preacher at the Temple. Wherein both the lawfulness of that Action is maintained, and the necessity thereof is also demonstrated, not so much out of the grounds of Policie, as of Humanity, Equity, and Christianity. Taken from his mouth, and published by direction. Daniel xii. 3. "They that turn many to righteousnesse shall shine as the starres for euer and euer." London, Printed for William Welby, and are to be sold in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Swan, 1610.'

the practice of prayer by ourselves: and the application of it to the object which he had in hand shall be given in his own words: 'Let us about all duties not forget to pray for our absent friends. When they are present, we do such duties as may let them see we love them, and when they are absent let us pray for them; that doth testify to God that we love them. And no better duty can we perform to this noble voyage now in hand than earnestly to commend it to the Lord. Men may furnish it, but God must bless it, and prayer must procure that blessing. Money may winne, and profit may allure men to assist it; but prayer alone can prevail with God to bless it. Some engage their persons, and more their purses; but our petitions shall do more good than our persons, and our prayers than our purses. Thou, therefore, that canst do nothing else, yet pray for us: thou that canst do more yet pray besides; for though thou shouldst venture thy person, and engage thy money, yet let us have thy prayers also, which (if thou be as thou oughtest) will do more good than all the rest. Remember the end of this voyage is the destruction of the devil's kingdom, and propagation of the Gospel. Are not these ends worthy of thy prayers? Remember thy brethren who have engaged their persons, and adventured their lives to lay the first foundation, and do now live in want of many comforts and pleasures which thou at home enjoyest. Are not these men's souls worthy of thy prayers? Canst thou open thy mouth in publique or

in priuate, and not remember them? O, let their liues be precious, and their enterprize honourable in thine eies; and if thou canst doe nothing else, send up thy praiers to heaven for them⁷⁴.’

Again, under the second head of his Sermon, speaking of the duty resulting from our Lord’s great mercy, and the necessity of being converted unto Him, he proceeds to make this application of it: ‘Whereas Christ bids Peter, when he is conuerted, strengthen his brethren, as though then a man was fitted to doe good to others, when he is himselfe conuerted and not till then: wee may heere learne the true cause why men are so negligent in performance of duties to others, euen because themselves are vnsanctified men: for true loue begins at home: and how can hee loue another that loues not himselfe? or care for another’s good, that neglects his owne? Seest thou, therefore, a magistrate that governes not his people carefully, but lets all runne as it will, and himselfe takes his ease, follows his pleasure, or fills his purse? The cause is, he is an vnsanctified man. Seest thou a merchant or tradesman that deceiues, a master, a father, a husband, wife, childe, or servant, that are negligent or vnfaithfull? The cause is, they are vnsanctified: for if a man were conuerted himselfe, his next care will be to doe all good he can to others. More particularly, we heere see the cause why no more come in to assist this present purpose of plantation

⁷⁴ Crashaw’s Sermon, pp. 14, 15.

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in Virginea, euen because the greater part of men are vnconverted and vnsanctified men, and seek merely the world and themselves, and no further. They make many excuses, and devise obiections; but the fountaine of all is, because they may not have present profit. If other voiages be set afoot, wherein is certaine and present profit, they run, and make meanes to get in: but this, which is of a more noble and excellent nature, and of higher and worthier ends, because it yields not present profit, it must seeke them, and with much difficultie are some brought in, and many will not at all. Tell them of getting XX in the C. Oh how they bite at it; Oh how it stirres them! But tell them of planting a Church, of converting 10,000 soules to God, they are senselesse as stones; they stirre no more than if men spoke of toies and trifles: nay, they smile at the simplicities, and laugh in their sleeves at the sillinesse of such as ingage themselves in such matters; but these men proclaime to the world what they bee, euen sowes that still wallow in the mire of their profit and pleasure, and being themselves unconverted, haue therefore no care to convert others. And indeed no marvell, if having cast all care of their owne salvation behind their backes, they be insensible of others' miseries⁷⁵.

The arguments, which he urges to induce his countrymen to help the enterprise, are admirably put, and I regret that there is not room to give even

⁷⁵ Crashaw's Sermon, pp. 18, 19.

a summary of them. The conclusion of the Sermon is taken up with noticing the discouragements which existed in the way of the undertaking, and the aids which were at hand to promote it. With a view to remove the former, he shows the lawfulness of the action in which they are engaged; and beseeches them to conduct it in a lawful way. 'A Christian,' he says, 'may take nothing from a Heathen against his will, but in faire and lawful bargain. Abraham wanted a place to burie in, and liked a piece of land; and being a great man, and therefore feared, a iust and meeke man, and therefore loved of the heathen, they bad him chuse where hee would, and take it. No, saith Abraham, but I will buie it, and so he paid the price of it; so must all the children of Abraham doe ⁷⁶.' With regard to the uncertain profit likely to arise from the settlement, he thus speaks, 'If there be any that come in, only or principally for profit, or any that would so come in, I wish the latter may never bee in, and the former out again. If the planting of an English Colonie, in a good and fruitfull soil, and of an English Church in a heathen cuntry; if the conuersion of the Heathen, of the propagating of the Gospell, and inlarging of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, be not inducements strong enough to bring them into this businesse, it is pitie they be in at all. I will discharge my conscience in this matter. If any that are gone, or

⁷⁶ Crashaw's Sermon, p. 29.

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purpose to go in person, do it only that they may liue at ease, and get wealth; if others that aduenture their money have respected the same ends, I wish, for my part, the one in England again, and the other had his money in his purse; nay, it were better that every one gave something to make vp his aduenture, than that such Nabals should thrust in their foule feete, and trouble so worthie a businesse. And I could wish, for my part, that the proclamation which God injoined to bee made before the Israelites went to battell, were also made in this case: namely, that whosoever is faint-hearted, let him returne home againe, lest his brethren's hart faint like his; (Deut. xx. 8.) for the coward not only betraieith himself, but daunts and discourages others. Priuate ends haue been the bane of many excellent exploits; and priuate plots for the gaine of a few haue given hindrance to many good and great matters. Let us take heed of it in this present businesse, and all iointly with one heart aime at the generall and publike ends, lest we finde hereafter to our shame aud grieffe, that this one flie hath corrupted the whole box of oyntment, though never so precious. Let vs therefore cast aside all cogitation of profit, let vs looke at better things; and then, I dare say vnto you as Christ hath taught me, that if in this action wee seeke first the kingdome of God, all other things shall be added unto us, (Matt. vi. 33.) that is, (applying it to the case in hand) if wee first and principally seeke the propagation of the Gospell, and conuersion of soules, God will

vndoubtedly make the voiage very profitable to all the aduenturers, and their posterities, even for matter of this life: for the soile is good, the commodities many, and necessarie for England, the distance not far offe, the passage faire and easie, so that there wants only God's blessing to make it gainfull. Now, the highway to obtain that, is, to forget our owne affections, and to neglect our owne priuate profit in respect of God's glorie; and he that is zealous of God's glorie, God will be mindful of his profit; and he that seekes only or principally spirituall and temporal things, God will reward him both with these spirituall and temporal things. And as, though we may not do wel to be wel spoken of, yet if wee do wel, God will make us wel thought of, and spoken of to all good men: so, though wee do not intend our profit in this action, yet, if wee intend God's honor, and the conuersion of soules, God will assuredly send vs great profit, which wee may take lawfully and thankfully as His blessing⁷⁷.

The appeal which he addresses, last of all, to those who were about to sail for Virginia, is most solemn and forcible. To Lord De la Warr himself, he speaks the following language: 'And thou, most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred vp to neglect the pleasures of England, and with Abraham to goe from thy country, and forsake thy kindred and thy father's house, to goe to a land which God will show thee, giue me leaue to speak the truth. Thy ances-

⁷⁷ Crushaw's Sermon, pp. 25—54.

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tor many hundred years agoe gained great honour to thy house ⁷⁶; but by this action thou augmentest it. He tooke a king prisoner in the field in his owne land; but by the godly manuing of this businesse, thou shalt take the Diuell prisoner in open field, and in his owne kingdome; nay the Gospell which thou carriest with thee shall bind him in chaines, and his angels in stronger fetters than iron, and execute upon them the judgement that is written; yea, it shall lead captiuitie captiue, and redeeme the soules of men from bondage. And thus thy glory and honour of thy house is more at the last than at the first.

‘Goe on therefore, and prosper with this thy honour, which indeed is greater than euery eie discernes, euen such as the present ages shortly will enioy, and the future admire. Goe forward in the strength of the Lord, and make mention of His righteousnesse only. Looke not at the gaine, the wealth, the honour, the aduancement of thy house that may follow and fall vpon thee; but looke at those high and better ends that concerne the kingdom of God. Remember thou art a generall of English men, nay, a generall of Christian men; therefore principally

⁷⁶ The circumstance, to which reference is here made, is described by Collins in the account, taken from Froissart, of the capture of the French king at the battle of Poitiers, by Sir Roger la Warr and John de Pelham. He states also, that, ‘in memory of the king’s surrendering his sword to them, Sir Roger la Warr, Lord la

Warr, had the crampet, or chape of his sword, for a badge of that honour; and John de Pelham (afterwards knighted,) had the buckle of a belt, as a mark of the same honour.’ Collins’s Peerage, v. 490. Sir Egerton Brydges’ edition. This John de Pelham was an ancestor of the Earls of Chichester. Ibid.

looke to religion. You goe to commend it to the heathen; then practise it yourselues: make the name of Christ honourable, not hatefull vnto them ⁷⁹.’

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In this strain of high and holy encouragement did the minister of the Church of Christ in England then speak to the ‘Adventurers’ of Virginia. If there be any alloy of baser feeling mixed up with this language, it is the strong vituperation which he casts upon the enemies by which the Church was beset in that day; and the violent eagerness with which he exhorts his hearers not to suffer any Papists, or Brownists and factious Separatists, to have place among them, in their new Colony ⁸⁰. But with this exception,—for which some excuse is to be found in the tone of feeling and of language so prevalent in that day, and which its alarming dangers were so strongly calculated to sustain,—the Sermon of William Crashaw proves that he was a faithful and courageous minister of Christ; and that, upon an occasion which involved the most important interests of other nations as well as of his own, he “gave all diligence to” speak unto his countrymen “of the common salvation ⁸¹.”

Crashaw’s is not the only Sermon preached at that time, from which the reader may judge the sentiments, entertained and expressed by the Church of

Symonds’s
Sermon.

⁷⁹ Crashaw’s Sermon, pp. 80, 81.

⁸⁰ Ibid. pp. 82, 83.

⁸¹ Jude 3.

England, with respect to the great work upon which her children were about to enter. A few weeks after its delivery, another was preached, upon the same subject, by Dr. Symonds, Preacher at Saint Saviour's in Southwark⁸². His text is from Genesis xii. 1—3; the Scripture which relates the call of Abram, and the promise of blessing which he then received from God. The following passage, in which the preacher states the reasons why Englishmen should seek to enter the distant regions which were then opening to their view, is a most remarkable one:—‘Look seriously into the land, and see whether there bee not iust cause, if not a necessity, to seek abroad. The people, blessed be God, doe swarme in the land, as young bees in a hiue in June; insomuch that there is very hardly roome for one man to liue by another. The mightier, like old strong bees, thrust the weaker, as younger, out of their hiues. Lords of manors conuert townships, in which were a hundredth or two hundredth communicants, to a shepheard and his dog. The true labouring husbandman, that susteineth the prince by the plow, who was wont to feed manie poore, to set many people on work, and pay twice as much subsidie and fifteenes to the king for his proportion of earth, as his Landlord did for tenne times as much; that was wont to furnish the church with

⁸² The title is as follows: ‘A Sermon preached at White-Chappell in the presence of many honourable worshipfull, the Aduenturers and Planters for Virginia, 25 April, 1609. Published for the benefit and vse of the Colony planted, and to be planted there, and for the aduancement of their Christian purpose. By William Symonds, Preacher at Saint Saviors in Southwarke.’

Saints, the musters with able persons to fighte for their soveraigne, is now in many places turned labourer, and can hardly scape the statutes of rogues and vagrants. The gentleman hath gotten most of the tillage in his hand; he hath rotten sheepe to sell at Michaelmas: his sommer fed oxen at Easter: asking no better price for his hay, than his beasts, to keep that till spring that they got at grasse. By these meanes he can keep his corne til the people starue, always prouided that the poore husbandmen which are left, and the clothier must buy their seed and wool at such a rate, that shall weare them out in a very few yeeres. And were it not that the honest and Christian merchant doth often helpe, who putteth all his estate upon the prouidence of God, which they call venturing, to bring corne into the land, for which he hath many a bitter curse of the cursed cornmongers, we should find an extreame famine in the midst of our greatest plenty. The rich shopkeeper hath the good honest poor labourer at such aduantage, that he can grind his face when he pleaseth. The poore mettall man worketh his bones out, and swelteth himself in the fire, yet for all his labour, having charge of wife and children, he can hardly keep himselfe from the almes box. Alwaies provided that his masters to whom he worketh, will give never a penny towards his liuing; but they can tell of their owne knowledge, that if the poore man were a good husband, he might liue well: for he receiveth much money in the yeere at their hands, very neere fourepence for every sixepenny worth of

work. The thoughtfull poore woman, that hath her small children standing at her knee, and hanging on her breast; she worketh with her needle and laboureth with her fingers, her candle goeth not out by night, she is often deluding the bitternes of her life with sweete songs, that she singeth to a heavy heart. Sometimes she singeth, "Have mercy on mee, Lorde;" sometimes, "Help, Lord, for good and godly men doe perish and decay,": sometimes, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord;" and many such like: which when a man of understanding doth heare, he doth with pittie praise God, that hath giuen such meanes to mock hunger with, and to giue patience. I warrant you, her songs want no passion; she never saith, O Lord, but a salte teare droppeth from her sorrowfull head, a deep sigh breatheth as a furnace from her aking heart, that weepeth with the head for company, with teares of sweetest bloud. And when all the weeke is ended, she can hardly earn salt for her water gruel to feede on upon the Sunday. Many such sweets are in England, which I know not how better to interpret than to say the strong olde bees doe beate out the younger to swarme and hiue themselves elsewhere. Take the opportunity, good honest labourers, which indeed bring all the honey to the hiue; God may so blesse you, that the pro- verbe may be true of you, that a May swarme is worth a king's ransome.'

Among his concluding remarks, the following may be noted, 'What blessing any nation had by Christ, must be communicated to all nations; the office of his

Prophecie, to teach the ignorant; the office of his Priesthood, to give remission of sinnes to the sinnefull; the office of his Kingdome, by word, and sacraments, and spirit, to rule the inordinate; thas such as are dead in trespasses, may be made to sit together in heavenly places.' Again, 'If it be God's purpose, that the Gospell shall be preached through the world for a witnesse, then ought ministers to bee carefull and willing to spread it abroad, in such good seruices as this that is intended. Sure it is great shame vnto us of the ministry, that can be better content to set and rest us heere idle, than undergoe so good a worke. Our pretence of zeale is cleare discouered to be but hypocrisy, when we rather choose to mind unprofitable questions at home, than gaining soules abroad.'

In this, as in the former Sermon, there is evidence of the deep feeling of abhorrence and indignation, which prevailed in that day, against the emissaries of the Church of Rome. And, if the reader bear in mind that it was the day in which the minds of men were still reeling under the shock of the horrible and wicked enterprise, which had been plotted against the King and the whole State of England, he will scarcely marvel that some who were so disturbed, should have spoken in the strongest terms of reprobation and alarm. But it was only for a moment that their course was thus impeded. The main object which they kept in view, and which they enforced with an earnestness, which admitted

of no retreat from their appeal, was the work of evangelizing the world. And the way, which led to that object, they faithfully marked out, with a breadth, and distinctness, and vigour, of illustration which has been seldom equalled.

Looking at the arguments and exhortations addressed by such men, as exponents of the train of thought, which then generally prevailed among the members of the Church of England, there seem to be two considerations which are directly suggested by them for our own benefit. The one may teach us to regard, more gratefully than we are in the habit of doing, the counsels and labours of a former generation, and to think less highly of our own. It has, certainly, become too much the custom among many of us, in the present day, to suppose that no traces whatsoever of a missionary spirit in our own Church can be found, in the age which is now passing under review; and, in the same degree that we suppose this to be the case, we are tempted to put too high an estimate upon the tokens of that spirit which we see manifested, at the present time, among ourselves. But if, as is evident from the testimonies glanced at in the present chapter, the spirit of Christian love did truly animate the hearts of many who were engaged in the plantation of the earliest Colonies of England; if the promises of God's mercy and the warnings of God's justice were then sounded in the ears of their countrymen who went abroad to plant them; if they left not their father land, save with the prayers and affectionate exhortations of those

who remained at home; and, if the spiritual blessings, which would have been their portion had they still tarried here, were permitted,—not fully indeed, but yet in a large measure,—to follow them to other climes; it is our duty, at least, to acknowledge these things; and, acknowledging them, to feel, that, in those days of difficulty and division, God “left not Himself without witness⁸³.”

The other consideration may teach us this lesson, namely, not to magnify the obstacles which impede our present progress; and, in an invidious comparison of them with those which have been the portion of other ages of the Church, to find a ground for our murmurings, or an excuse for our failures. The distress, for instance, of some of our fellow-citizens, and the oppression, or carelessness, of others; the eagerness with which men pursue each scheme of worldly interest which holds out the promise of temporal gain, and their reluctance to make any sacrifices in the prosecution of a work which seeks the salvation of souls; these are the crying evils which men now find it so hard to remove, and under the pressure of which they are tempted so frequently to complain. And yet, if the spirit of that complaint should lead any one to ask the oft-repeated question, “What is the cause that the former days were better than these?” he needs but refer to the passages which have been just cited, to see, in the description given of the same evils by the writers of

⁸³ Acts xiv. 17.

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those "former days," the justice of the reproof, wherewith the Royal Preacher of Israel restrains the working of such a spirit, saying, "Thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this"⁸⁴.

Gates and Somers depart for Virginia, as Lord De la Warr's lieutenants, in May, 1609; and a Clergyman, Mr. Bucke, accompanies them.

A clergyman was appointed to accompany the band of Colonists who embarked, under the authority of their second Charter, for Virginia. His name was Bucke. He was a graduate of the University of Oxford; and had been recommended to the Council by Dr. Ravis, then Bishop of London, as a faithful and zealous minister of the Church of Christ. Evidences of the justice of this selection, and the authority from which our knowledge of it is derived, will be cited in the next chapter. It had been arranged that Lord De la Warr should not enter upon the duties of his office, until the following year. And, consequently, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers⁸⁵, the next in authority under him, embarked on board Newport's, the vice-admiral's, ship, and sailed in May, 1609, with eight other vessels under the command of that experienced navigator. The clergyman, whose name has been just mentioned, was in

⁸⁴ Eccles. vii. 10.

⁸⁵ Chalmers states, in his Political Annals of Virginia, p. 27, that 'Sir George Somers being a Member of Parliament, the Commons declared his seat vacant; because, by accepting a colonial office, he was rendered incapable to execute his trust: and this, it should seem, was the first time that Virginia was noticed in Parliament.' He

adds also, in the Appendix, p. 41, (where he cites his authority for the above, Com. Journal, iv. p. 2, 3,) that 'the common law disability, which was declared by this resolution, was not probably adverted to at a subsequent day, when it was enacted by 6 An. c. 7. s. 25, 'that no governor, or deputy governor, of any of the plantations, shall be eligible to parliament.'

the same ship with them. The reason which induced these three officers to embark, all of them, in the same ship, was the power of superseding Smith's commission which had been granted to the first of them who should arrive under the sanction of the new Charter, and the difficulty, through mutual jealousy, of determining who that should be⁸⁶. This circumstance gave no very encouraging presage of success; and, as the event speedily proved, was the cause of the chief disaster which fell upon the Colony. For a storm, which overtook them in the Atlantic, and destroyed the smallest of the vessels, separated Newport's ship from the rest of the squadron; and no tidings were heard of her during the remainder of the voyage. The seven remaining vessels reached Virginia, greatly damaged and distressed, early in August. Some intimation of their approach had been already made to the Colony by Captain Argall, who had been sent out some months before, with letters containing various charges and complaints against Smith; and Smith had sent back, through the same channel, his answer and defence⁸⁷. Under these circumstances, it may be imagined what confusion ensued, when the expedition arrived without its chief commanders. Smith, on the one hand, was ready to delegate his authority to any who were authorised to receive it; but, as long as he remained answerable for its exercise, he was resolute to en-

Separated in a storm from those under their command. The rest reach Virginia.

⁸⁶ Narrative of Pots and others, in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 89.

⁸⁷ Smith's History, p. 88.

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Confusion
in conse-
quence.

force it. The new comers, on the other hand, were eager and clamorous to have a share in regulating that order of things, which they hoped to keep under their own control. The character and condition also of the new settlers tended materially to aggravate the difficulties of the Colony, being, it is said, for the most part, 'poore gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a commonwealth, than either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one⁸⁸.' It is difficult to describe the scene in clearer terms than those employed by some of the eye-witnesses, who state, that in the 'company were many vnruely gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies, and those would dispose of the government, sometimes to one, the next day to another; to-day the old commission must rule; to-morrow the new; the next day, neither; in fine they would rule all, or ruine all: yet in charitie,' they add, 'we must endure them thus to destroy us, or by correcting their follies, haue brought the world's censure vpon vs to be guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they neuer arriued, and we for euer abandoned, and, as we were, left to our fortunes: for on earth, for the number, was never more confusion or misery than their factions occasioned⁸⁹.'

Smith se-
verely
wounded.

A dark and humiliating page, indeed, it is, in the annals of our history, which relates the quarrels and conspiracies of these unhappy men. In the midst of

⁸⁸ Narrative of Potts and others, in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 94.

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 90.

their troubles, Smith was rendered helpless by the explosion of a powder-flask, which wounded him in a most severe and distressing manner; and, even then, whilst he lay in agony upon his bed, a plot was made to take away his life; but it failed, through the fear of him who 'should have given fire to that merciless pistol.' Unable, therefore, any longer to make head against his adversaries; unable even to procure surgical help for the healing of his wounds; knowing that his commission was to be superseded, and that the ships were on the eve of departing for England; he determined to go home in one of them. The Earl of Northumberland's brother, whose name has been already mentioned, consented to act as President in the interim.

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Compelled
to return to
England.

In spite of all the adverse circumstances which had taken place, the Colony itself was not ill furnished with the means of support, at the time when Smith left it. The number of the men amounted to near five hundred; they were in possession of three ships and seven boats, with commodities ready for trade; the harvest was newly gathered in, and ten weeks' provision in store, besides a sufficient supply of arms, tools, clothing, and cattle. Of the loss sustained by Smith's departure,—and the reality of which was soon witnessed in the calamities which ensued,—the strongest proof is found in the following description given of his character by one who witnessed its constant influence, and whose faithful narrative has often been our guide: 'Had that unhappie blast not happened, [Smith] would quickly

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His charac-
ter.

have qualified the heate of those humours and factions, had the ships but once left them and us to our fortunes; and have made that provision from among the salvages, as we neither feared Spanyard, salvage, nor famine, nor would have left Virginia nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as dear a price as we had bought it, and payd for it. What shall I say but thus, we left him, that in all his proceedings made justice his first guide, and experience his second, even hating basenesse, sloath, pride, and indignitie, more then any dangers; that neuer allowed more for himselfe, then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see vs want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loued action more then words, and hated falshood and covetousnesse worse then death; whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deaths⁹⁰.

⁹⁰ Narrative of Potts and others, in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 93.

CHAPTER IX.

NOTICE OF THE BERMUDAS, AND CONTINUATION OF
THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA, DURING JAMES THE
FIRST'S REIGN.

A. D. 1609—1616.

The Bermudas—Gates and Somers wrecked there—The duties of the Church sustained by Mr. Bucke, the Chaplain, during their detention in the islands—Two vessels built, in which they sailed to Virginia, May 10, 1610—Arrive at James Town—Its miserable condition—Divine Service in the Church—Resolution to abandon the Colony—Changed by Lord De la Warr's arrival—His personal piety—Appointment of 'true preachers' for the due celebration of Divine Worship—Order and industrious habits restored in the Colony—Somers returns to the Bermudas, and dies there—Gates sent to England to report progress—Lotteries—Lord De la Warr compelled to return to England by sickness in 1611—Sir Thomas Dale sent out to Virginia, accompanied by Rev. Alexander Whitaker—Declaration of the Virginia Council—Gates returns to Virginia, accompanied by Rev. Mr. Glover—Henrico and New Bermudas built—Upon the return of Gates to England in 1614, Dale is entrusted with the sole command of the Colony—His character—The power of exercising martial law committed to him—Its tyrannical enactments—Dale abstains from enforcing it in all its extent—Whitaker a most valuable labourer with Dale—His character—His Sermon—Pocahuntas taken prisoner by the English, in 1612—Baptized by the name of Rebecca—Married to John Rolfe, in 1613—Proceeds in 1616 to England with her husband and Sir Thomas Dale, who leaves the government in charge of Yeardley—Her reception by Captain Smith—And by King James and his Queen—Her death—Proceedings of the English, during Dale's government, towards the French and Dutch settlements in North America.

IN the midst of the Atlantic Ocean, at a distance of about six hundred miles from the American continent, lies a cluster of islands, which extend in a

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The Ber-
mudas.

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crescent-like shape, from east to west, in length about twenty miles, and in breadth two miles and a half. Their very existence was unknown for thirty years after the first discovery made by Columbus of the Western world; and, when tidings of the fact at length reached Europe, it was but to announce the wreck of a Spanish vessel upon the rocks with which these islands are surrounded. The name of the vessel, or of its captain, was Bermudaz; and the same was given in consequence to the islands themselves¹. The English mariners, therefore, who ventured to sail in that direction, sought rather to avoid than to visit the dangerous spot. Strange and portentous rumours, also, were spread abroad, which ignorance and love of the marvellous were not slow to exaggerate; and which reported, that these islands were the habitation of furies and monsters, whose enchantments evoked fierce hurricanes, and rolling thunders, and visions of most hideous aspect. Shakspeare, accordingly, did but avail himself of the prevalent belief in these wild stories, and make this department, as indeed every other, of the world of fiction or of reality, tributary to his own genius, when, in his play of the *Tempest*, he introduces Ariel, as able

‘ To fly,
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curl’d clouds ;’

¹ By some the name of the vessel is said to have been Gorza, which was also applied to the islands. See extract from Oviedo's History, in Strachy's Narrative, Purchas, iv. 1738. The Spanish vessel in question is said to have had on board some hogs which she was carrying to the West Indies, and these having swum ashore, had increased in vast numbers when the English became possessors of the island. Stith's History of Virginia, p. 114.

and makes her answer the question of Prospero by saying,

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‘ Safely in harbour
Is the king’s ship ; in the deep nook where once
Thou call’dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still vex’d Bermoothes, there she’s hid ?’

Gates and
Somers
wrecked
there.

Upon the ‘still vex’d’ shore of these very islands, was wrecked the vessel, spoken of in the last chapter, which contained Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, and Newport, vice-admiral of the squadron. They, and the whole of the ship’s company, amounting to an hundred and fifty souls, succeeded in landing in safety; and soon found, to their joy, that the spot, which had been so long associated in their minds with images of confusion and terror, was fair and beautiful. So inviting a prospect of safe and commodious habitation did it hold out to them, that designs were quickly formed by some of their party of relinquishing altogether the Virginian scheme, and of remaining there. To quell the conspiracies and mutinies which arose out of these designs, and to punish the ringleaders of them, formed not the least arduous part of the difficulties which Gates had first to encounter. He kept constantly and faithfully in view the object for the attainment of which he had received his commission. Soon after the landing of his party, he had fitted out the long boat, with such supplies as could be obtained from the wreck; and dispatched her, with six sailors under the command of the master’s mate, to Virginia, with

² Shakspeare’s *Tempest*, Act i. Scene ii.

letters for the Colony. Of this small vessel and her crew, no tidings were ever heard. Instructions had been given to the mate, in case of his safe arrival, that he should return 'the next new moone;' and, for this purpose, it is stated, in the simple and touching narrative from which our information is derived, that 'the Ilands were appointed carefully to be watched, and fiers prepared as beacons to haue directed and wafted him in, but two moones were wasted vpon the promontory, and [we] gaue many a long and wished looke round about the horizon from the north-east to the south-west, but in vaine, discovering nothing all the while, which way soeuer we turned our eye, but ayre and sea³.'

The failure of their hopes from this quarter did but stimulate them to fresh efforts; and, whilst Somers was employed in making a survey of the islands, Gates, at his suggestion, urged onward the building of a vessel about eighty tons' burden, large enough to transport the whole party to Virginia. It was constructed, in part, of the oak-beams and planks belonging to the vessel in which they had been wrecked, and the rest of it of cedar, a tree which grows in rich luxuriance upon the islands. After the labour of a few months, this vessel and another of smaller size were brought to a state of great forwardness; and, the mutinous and discontented members of their company,—some of whom had fled away into the woods,—having been, with the exception of

³ Strachy's Narrative, Purchas, iv. 1742.

two persons, brought back to a state of order and obedience, and the differences which had sprung up, for a brief season, even between the leaders themselves, having been reconciled⁴, preparations were made for their departure.

This band of Englishmen had not been without the guidance and consolations of religion, during the period in which they remained thus cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the world. Mr. Bucke⁵ has been already mentioned in the last chap-

The duties of the Church sustained by Mr. Bucke, the Chaplain, during their detention in the islands.

⁴ 'Such a great difference fell amongst their commanders, that they liued asunder in this distresse, rather as meere strangers than distressed friends : but necessity so commanded, patience had the victory.' The relation of Jordan and others in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 175.

⁵ I was for a long time unable to obtain any information concerning this clergyman, beyond that of his name, and those few particulars recorded of him in Purchas, which I have interwoven into my own narrative. At length I met with it in a Tract, published in London, in 1613, containing a Sermon of Alexander Whitaker, preached a short time before in Virginia, which will be noticed more fully in the latter part of this chapter. To this Sermon is prefixed an Epistle Dedicatorie, &c., to Lord Ure, by William Crashaw, whose name has been already brought to the reader's notice, p. 232, &c. ; and in the Epistle I found many valuable notices of the first Virginia clergy. I was prepared to meet with some account of Whitaker in this Epistle, both from its relation to Whitaker's Sermon, and from an

extract concerning him from it, quoted by Dr. Hawks, in his 'Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Virginia,' p. 28. But the description given of his associates was altogether unlooked for, and therefore the more welcome. The following relates to Mr. Bucke : 'There is also (besides it may be some others that I know not of) Master Bucke, an able and painfull preacher ; of whom I can say the lesse, because he was of Oxford, and unknowne to me ; but of whom I have heard Sir Thomas Gates give a good and worthie testimonie ; and he came to the Counsell and this employment with the commendation of a Right Reverend Prelate (Dr. Ravis, Lord Bishop of London). But no matter though I say nothing of him ; seeing, I doubt not he will shortly giue notice to the world what he is, and what the country of Virginia is, and what hope there is of that Plantation, for the service whereof he hazarded his dearest life ; and the rather do I expect it from him, because hee is a man now of long experience, hauing been there so long a time, and was himself in person, in the danger and deliuer-

ter, as the clergyman appointed to accompany the Colonists who had gone forth under the second Charter, and to labour in the same field of duty which had been opened by his excellent predecessor, Robert Hunt. He had, it will be remembered, embarked on board the same vessel with Gates and Somers; and frequent notices occur of him and of his services in the narrative of their adventures, as will be seen from the following extract, which I have preferred to place before the reader, just as it appears in the original, rather than present a summary of it in any other form. ‘During our time of abode vpon these Ilands, wee had daily euery Sunday two Sermons preached by our Minister, besides euery Morning and Evening at the ringing of a Bell, wee repayred all to publique Prayer, at what time the names of our whole Company were called by Bill, and such as were wanting, were duly punished ⁶.

‘The contents (for the most part) of all our Preacher’s Sermons, were especially of Thankfulnesse and Vnitie, &c.

‘It pleased God also to giue vs opportunitie to performe all the other Offices and Rites of our Christian Profession in this Iland: as Marriage, for the

ance at the Barmudaes.’ I have searched, but hitherto in vain, for any work coming from the pen of Mr. Bucke, the publication of which is here said to have been looked for as probable.

⁶ If the reader should be startled by this painful intermixture of secular discipline with the ordinances of Divine worship, he

should remember the stringency of the laws which were, at that time, in force against Recusants and Separatists in England, and the nature of the penalties affixed to the violation of them. Some of these have been adverted to in the seventh chapter of this Volume.

six and twentieth of November, we had one of Sir George Summers his men, his cooke, named Thomas Powell, who married a maid seruant of one Mistris Horton, whose name was Elizabeth Persons; and vpon Christmasse Eue, as also once before, the first of October, our Minister preached a godly Sermon, which being ended, he celebrated a Communion, at the partaking whereof our Governour was, and the greatest part of our Company: and the eleuenth of February, wee had the childe of one John Rofe christened, a daughter, to which Captain Newport and myselfe were witnesses, and the aforesaid Mistris Horton, and wee named it Bermuda: as also the fiue and twentieth of March, the wife of one Edward Eason, being delivered the weeke before of a boy, had him then christened, to which Captaine Newport and myselfe, and Master James Swift were godfathers, and we named it Bermudas. Likewise we buried five of our Company, and my goddaughter, &c.⁷

The two vessels intended for the voyage to Virginia having been at length completed, the Governor gave to the former the appropriate name of 'The Deliverance,' and to the latter that of 'The Patience;' and, on the tenth of May, 1610, he and his party proceeded to leave the Bermudas⁸. The tokens, left of their sojourn in those islands, shall be described in the words of the narrator who witnessed them: 'Before we quitted our old quarter, and dislodged

Two vessels built, in which they sail to Virginia, May 10, 1610.

⁷ Strachy's Narrative, Purchas, iv. 1746.

⁸ Ib. p. 1747.

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to the fresh water with our pinnasse, our Gouvernor set vp in Sir George Summers' garden a faire Mnemosynon in figure of a Crosse, made of some of the timber of our ruined shippe, which was scrued in with strong and great trunnels to a mightie Cedar, which grew in the middest of the said garden, and whose top and upper branches he caused to be lopped, that the violence of the winde and weather might have the lesse power ouer her.

'In the middest of the Crosse, our Gouvernour fastened the picture of his Maiestie in a piece of Siluer of twelue pence, and on each side of the Crosse, he set an inscription, grauen in Copper, in the Latine and English to this purpose: In memory of our great deliuerance, both from a mightie storme and leake; wee haue set vp this to the honour of God. It is the spoyle of an English ship (of three hundred tunne) called the Sea Venture, bound with seven ships more, (from which the storme diuided vs) to Virginia, or Noua Britannia, in America. In it were two Knights, Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, Gouvernour of the English forces and Colonie there: and Sir George Summers, Knight, Admirall of the seas. Her Captaine was Christopher Newport: passengers and mariners she had beside (which came all safe to land) one hundred and fiftie. We were forced to runne her ashore (by reason of her leake) vnder a Point that bore South-east from the Northerne Point of the Iland, which wee discouered first the eight and twentieth of July, 1609⁹.'

⁹ Strachy's Narrative, Purchas, iv. 1747.

The voyagers reached Virginia in safety; and most dismal tidings there awaited them. Of the five hundred men, who had been left at James Town by Captain Smith at his departure, a few months before, only threescore remained; the rest had been cut off by the Indians, or by sickness, and hunger. The survivors were in most piteous condition, and had been compelled to live, for the most part, on roots, acorns, and berries, and the flesh and skins of horses. That period of dreadful suffering was emphatically called, and ever afterwards known, by the name of 'The starving time'¹⁰. To such misery had the settlers been reduced by their improvidence, and dissensions, and contemptuous treatment of the only man who had shown himself able, either to keep the Indians in awe, or to control themselves. The rude cedar vessels which had borne the commanders of this unhappy Colony from the Bermudas, slowly and 'sadly plyed it up the river;' and, at length, on the twenty third of May, cast anchor before James Town, where their crews landed.

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Arrive at
James Town.
Its miserable
condition.

The first place which Gates visited in this desolate abode was the ruined and unfrequented Church. He caused its bell to be rung; and such as were able to crawl out of their miserable dwellings, repaired thither that they might join in the 'zealous and sorrowful prayer' of their faithful minister, who pleaded, in that solemn hour, for his afflicted brethren and

Divine Service in
the Church.

¹⁰ Dr. Simons's evidence, &c., in Smith's History of Virginia, pp. 105, 106.

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himself, before the Lord their God. At the conclusion of Divine Service, the commission of Gates, the new Lieutenant Governor, was read, and the seal of office was given up to him by Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's brother, who, notwithstanding his great weakness of body, had still retained the office of President, delegated to him upon Smith's departure. They then proceeded to view the fort, and found its palisadoes torn down, the ports open, the gates forced off the hinges, and the houses of those who had died rent up, and burnt for firewood; the people fearing to venture beyond the bounds of the block-house, lest they should be surprised by the Indians. The only stock of provisions which they possessed, was that which had just been transported from the Bermudas, and which was not more than enough for those who had brought it. From the Indians, even if they could have succeeded in obtaining their good will, it was impossible to procure corn; for they never kept any larger store than sufficed for their immediate wants; and the seed time of the coming harvest was scarcely over. Last of all, their nets were well nigh destroyed, so that the means of obtaining food by fishing was cut off; and, even if the nets could have been repaired, the supply of fish, once so abundant in the river, seemed to have entirely failed.

Resolution
to abandon
the Colony.

Driven, therefore, to such extremities, and finding that the food which remained, if limited only to the portion of two cakes a day to each person, could not hold out more than sixteen days, the



Lieutenant Governor resolved to abandon the settlement, and proceed to Newfoundland; where he expected to fall in with some English vessels, among which he might distribute the miserable remnant of the Virginian Colony. Accordingly, on the seventh of June, at noon, he embarked the whole of his party; 'none dropping a tear,' it is said, 'because none had enjoyed one day of happiness.' He was the last of all to go on board; after which the vessels dropped down the river with the tide that same evening¹¹.

On the following morning, whilst they lay at anchor, waiting for the return of the tide, a boat was descried making towards them, which proved to have been sent by Lord De la Warr, the Captain General of the Colony, to announce his arrival from England. Gates and his party, of course, returned forthwith to the forlorn abode which they had just quitted; and, on the tenth of June, which was Sunday, the squadron of Lord De la Warr, consisting of three ships, arrived off the fort, and he and his retinue landed¹², at the south gate of the palisado.

Changed by
Lord De la
Warr's
arrival.

¹¹ Strachy's Narrative, in Purchas, iv. 1748—1752.

¹² The circumstances here mentioned, are, with some others, referred to, in the following affecting terms, by Crashaw, in his 'Epistle Dedicatorie.' 'When this departure of Sir Thomas Gates (full sore against his heart) was put in execution, and every man aboard, their ordenance and armour buried, and not an English soule left in James Towne, and giuing by their

peale of shot, their last and wofull farewell to that pleasant land, were now with sorrowfull hearts going downe the river: Behold the hand of heaven from above, at the very instant, sent in the Right Honourable La Warr to meet them euen at the riuer's mouth, with prouision and comforts of all kind: who if hee had staid but two tydes longer, had come into Virginia and not found one Englishman.'

The Lieutenant-Governor and the few remaining survivors were drawn up under arms in order to receive him; and, before he showed any token, or performed any act of authority, he fell down upon his knees, and, in the presence of all the people, made a long and silent prayer to himself; after which he arose, and, marching in procession to the town, passed on into the Church, where he heard a sermon preached by the clergyman, whose name has been already mentioned, and whose services both at the Bermudas, and upon his arrival at James Town with Sir Thomas Gates, have been noticed¹³. At the conclusion of Divine Service, the commission, by which his Lordship was to act as Captain General of the Colony, was read; the seals of his deputies were surrendered to him, and he addressed to the assem-

¹³ Dr. Hawks, in his 'Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Virginia,' p. 23, has confused, in his relation of this scene, two separate narratives; and applied the language which describes the services performed by Mr. Bucke, when he arrived with Sir George Gates at James Town, (Purchas, iv. 1749) to those which he afterwards performed, upon the arrival of Lord De la Warr (Purchas, iv. 1754). It would appear from his relation of the latter circumstance, as if Mr. Bucke had then, for the first time, come out in the capacity of Chaplain to Lord De la Warr. But this, we know, is not the fact. Other clergymen, as will be seen hereafter, did accompany his lordship to Virginia upon that occasion; but they are not to be mistaken for one who had already been la-

bouring, amid many perils and vicissitudes, for so many months before their arrival.

Since writing the above note, I find that Archdeacon Wilberforce, in his History of the American Church, has been misled in the same manner, and probably by Dr. Hawks's History. He will find, upon a closer examination of the original narratives in Purchas, that the description of the services of Mr. Bucke, which he says (p. 26), were 'first called for by Lord Delaware,' who came 'happily attended by' him as 'chaplain,' had reference, not to the occasion of Bucke's preaching at James Town upon Lord De la Warr's arrival, but to the period when he first came from the Bermudas with Sir Thomas Gates.

bly a few words of admonition and encouragement. Not the least cheering part of his address was the announcement made in it, that he had brought in his ships a store of provisions sufficient to supply four hundred men for twelve months.

It is impossible not to be struck with the devo-
His personal piety.
 tional feelings of the man, who thus entered upon the duties of Captain General of England's first Colony, in that dark hour of her distress. The character which he bore among the nobles of his native land, and the tenor of his government abroad,—as long as his delicate and enfeebled frame was able to retain the charge,—forbid the thought that he was actuated by any other spirit than that of undisguised humility and faith, when he bowed down in prayer for guidance and for help, upon the land which called him governor. He saw the danger which encompassed his countrymen and himself; he felt his own liability to err; he knew the power and compassion of that God, who could alone make him to dwell in safety; and, in faith and meekness of wisdom, implored the blessing of His protection, ere he ventured to take one step in discharge of the solemn trust committed to him.

It is evident, also, that the provision made by Lord De la Warr, for spreading and preserving among the Colonists, through the exercise of the public means of grace, the same devout feelings by which he was himself sustained, was among the earliest acts of his government. The author of the narrative, to which the reader is indebted for the particulars already
Appointment of 'true preachers' for the due celebration of Divine Worship.

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placed before him, and who, upon the chief governor's arrival, was appointed to the office of Secretary and Recorder¹⁴, speaks in the following terms upon this subject: 'The Captaine Generall hath giuen order for the repairing of [the Church], and at this instant many hands are about it. It is in length threescore foote, in breadth twenty-foure, and shall haue a Chancell in it of Cedar, and a Communion Table of the Blake Walnut, and all the Pewes of Cedar, with faire broad windowes, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpet of the same, with a Font hewen hollow, like a Canoa, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast, as it be very light within, and the Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall doth cause it to be kept passing sweete, and trimmed vp with diuers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it: and in it euery Sunday wee haue Sermons twice a day, and euery Thursday a Sermon, hauing true preachers, which take their weekly turnes; and euery morning at the ringing of a bell, about ten of the clocke, each man addresseth himselfe to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before Supper. Euery Sunday, when the Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall goeth to Church, hee is accompanied with all the Counsailers, Captaines, other Officers and all the Gentlemen, with a guard of Holberdiers, in his Lordship's Liuery, faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty both on each side, and behinde him: and being in the Church, his Lordship hath his

¹⁴ Strachy's Narrative, in Purchas, iv. 1754.

seate in the Quier, in a greene veluet chaire, with a cloath, with a veluet cushion spread on a table before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines, and Officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner¹⁵.’

The appointment of ‘true preachers,’ mentioned in the above passage, whose duty it was to proclaim in turn the Word of God, and to conduct the weekly and daily services of the Church, implies that more than one clergyman must have accompanied Lord De la Warr to Virginia. And, assuredly, if they were, in the full and real sense of the term, ‘true preachers,’ it cannot be doubted but that they were among the efficient instruments in establishing that peace, and order, and watchful industry, which speedily distinguished the Colony under his administration.

As soon as a Council¹⁶ and other Officers had been appointed, Sir George Somers was dispatched, at his own suggestion, to the Bermudas, accompanied by Captain Argall in another vessel, for the purpose of procuring that further supply of provisions which was needful for the settlement, and which it seemed impossible to obtain either from the land, or river, adjoining James Town, or from the Indians, whose

Order and industrious habits restored in the Colony.

Somers returns to the Bermudas, and dies there.

¹⁵ Strachy’s Narrative, in Purchas, iv. 1753.

¹⁶ It consisted of the six following persons, Sir Thomas Gates, whose title was changed from Governor, to that of Lieutenant-General; Sir George Somers, Admiral; Captain George Percy; Sir Ferdinand Weinman, Master of

the Ordnance; Captain Newport, Vice-Admiral, and Mr. Strachy, Secretary, whose narrative of the events which he witnessed has been our chief guide in this chapter. Captain Argall was afterwards added to the number. Purchas, iv. 1754.

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king Powhatan was still a bitter and active foe. They failed to accomplish the object of their mission. Adverse winds first drove them out of their course; and, being afterwards separated from each other by dense fogs, Argall bore up again for James Town. Somers, after much difficulty, reached the Bermudas; and there, feeling that his strength was about to fail, and his earthly course to end, he exhorted his men to perform with all diligence the duty which had been entrusted to their hands, and to return, as soon as they were able, to Virginia. In the beginning of the year 1611, he breathed his last, in the place which, in honour of his Christian name, is still called St. George's Town. The islands themselves also received the designation of his surname, and have ever since been designated the Bermudas, or Somers Isles. The party who had been under his command, and of whom his nephew was now the leader, neglected his injunctions to return to Virginia; being, it is said, 'as men amazed, seeing the death of him who was euen as the life of them all.' Two of them remained in the islands, having been persuaded to do so by a runaway criminal of their former crew¹⁷. The rest embalmed the body of their brave leader; and, having set sail for England, buried him with military honors at Whitchurch in Dorset-

¹⁷ The relation of Jordan and others in Smith's history of Virginia, p. 176. These three men are described as erecting 'their little commonwealth for a while with brotherly regency, repairing

the ground, planting corn,' &c. and afterwards, in the midst of their plenty, growing 'so proud and ambitious,' that, 'though but three forlorne men, more than three thousand miles from their

shire¹⁸. Thus early ended the career of one who had borne a conspicuous part in the perils and difficulties which attended the settlement of the British power in the Western world.

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Others were soon afterwards, from other causes, removed, for a time or wholly, from the scene. A few weeks after the departure of Somers from Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates had been dispatched to England, in order that he might lay before the Council in London an account of all that had hap-

Gates sent
to England
to report
progress.

native country, and but small hope euer to see it againe, they sometimes fell from words to blowes about meere trifles; in one of which fights, one of them was bitten with his owne dog, as if the dumbe beast would reprove them of their folly. At last the two greater spirits must try it out in the field, but the third wisely stole away, affecting rather to liue amongst his enemies, than by being rid of them liue alone.⁷ In

this miserable state they existed full two years, when an English vessel arrived, which they were glad to conduct safely into their harbour.⁷

¹⁸ The Latin epitaph inscribed to his memory at Whitechurch, with its translation (Smith's History, p. 176), is here given, as furnishing a fair specimen of the fanciful and quaint conceits which occur in the writings of that day :

Hei mihi Virginia quod tam cito præterit Æstas,
Autumnus sequitur, sæviet inde et hiems;
At ver perpetuum nascetur, et Anglia læta
Decerpit flores Florida terra tuas.

In English thus :

Alas Virginia's summer so soon past,
Autumne succeeds, and stormy winter's blast;
Yet England's ioyfull spring with ioyfull showers,
O Florida, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

The above epitaph was not the only one which recorded the virtues of the gallant Somers; for, we read in Smith's History, p. 193, that in the year 1620, Butler, then governor of the Bermudas, caused

a marble stone to be placed on the spot in which his heart was buried, and an inscription to be engraved thereon, the character of which may be determined from the two first lines;

In the yeere 1611

Noble Sir George Summers went hence to heauen.

pened¹⁹. During his residence in England at that time, he seems to have had many interviews with Crashaw, and to have given him that authentic information which has been so useful a guide in the present history. ‘I have it (says Crashaw, in his ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’) from the faithful relation of that religious, valorous, and prudent gentleman, Sir Thomas Gates, then and yet our Lieftenant generall, who being himselfe in his owne person a doer of much, a sufferer of more, and an eye-witness of the whole, hath since related this and much more unto mee, face to face.’

Lotteries.

In order to obtain more quickly the funds necessary for the expenses of the Colony, the Council of the Virginia Company in London were, about this time, induced to venture upon the establishment of Lotteries;—a scheme for raising money, which, notwithstanding the sanction which it has received from other governments in Europe as well as from our own, is, nevertheless, based upon a most vicious principle, and has been most justly abolished, we trust for ever, by the British Legislature. Even in that early period of Lotteries, the evils which they produced soon called for the interference of Parliament. The sum brought into the Company’s treasury, upon their commencement in 1615²⁰, amounted to twenty-nine thousand pounds²¹; and this large

¹⁹ Smith’s History, p. 108.

²⁰ The licence for holding the Lottery by proclamation of the Council, upon application of the Company, was issued probably two or three years before; but the actual drawing of it does not seem to

have taken place until 1615, see Smith’s History of Virginia, pp. 117, 118, where many particulars connected with it are given.

²¹ Stith’s History of Virginia, p. 191.

profit was accompanied with the infliction of such great injury upon others, that the House of Commons complained of it, and an Order of Council was passed in 1620, suspending their operation ²².

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The departure of Gates from Virginia was soon followed by that of Lord De la Warr himself, who, in the beginning of the year 1611, was compelled by sickness to leave his charge under the command of Captain Percy, and return to England. In the course of his voyage homewards, he is said to have put into the mouth of a large river, then called Chihohocki, but which, from that event, has ever since been named the Delaware ²³.

Lord De la Warr compelled to return to England by sickness in 1611.

Before his Lordship's arrival, the Council in London had sent Sir Thomas Dale,—whose proper title was that of High Marshal of Virginia ²⁴,—with three ships, and a fresh supply of men and provisions, to James Town; and, upon reaching the settlement, he entered forthwith upon the duties of his office with firmness, and moderation, and wisdom. He was accompanied by Alexander Whitaker, son of the celebrated Dr. Whitaker, Master of St. John's College,

Sir Thomas Dale sent out to Virginia, accompanied by Rev. Alexander Whitaker.

²² Chalmers's Political Annals of Virginia, p. 33, and the references p. 41. He justly observes, that these points are worthy of notice, as showing 'not only that Virginia was not settled entirely at the cost of her first inhabitants, but the modes of public business, and the decisive interposition of the Commons.' Chalmers, however, is not correct in saying that these Lotteries were the first ever drawn in England; for there is the record

of one drawn at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1569, for the purpose of repairing the public harbours of the kingdom. See Smith's History of Virginia, p. 117; also Article Lottery in Encyclopædia Britannica, and in Brande's Dictionary of Science.

²³ Appendix to Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, drawn up by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, pp. 333 and 341. London, 1787.

²⁴ Stith's History, p. 122.

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Cambridge, whose name has been already recorded, in connection with that of his friend Archbishop Whitgift²⁵. The faithfulness and zeal of this devoted minister of Christ; the prospects of temporal advantage which he left behind him at home; and the success with which his labours were attended abroad, will be in some measure learnt from the sequel of the present chapter. All that at present calls for notice is, the proof of a right spirit animating the hearts of our countrymen, which is afforded by the appointment of such a man to fulfil so arduous a mission.

Declaration
of the Vir-
ginia
Council.

Several publications are still extant, which prove the fidelity and care bestowed by the Virginia Council upon the proper execution of the work entrusted to them²⁶. But the most important of them is a Pamphlet, published in the year before Dale's departure, and containing a formal Declaration in the name of the Council, of the purpose and ends of the Colony, and of the measures which they had taken in its behalf. In the course of this Declaration, they review the various disasters which had already befallen the Colony, and ask: 'Who knows, whether He that disposed of our hearts to so good beginnings, bee now pleased to trye our constancie and perseuerance, and to discern betweene the ends of our desires, whether Pyety or Couetousnesse carryed us swifter? For if the first were the principall scope,

²⁵ pp. 170—172.

²⁶ For instance, two Tracts, entitled 'Nova Britannia' and "A Good Speed to Virginia." London, 1609.

hence ariseth nothing to infirme or make that impossible: But as it falleth out in businesse of greatest consequence, sometime the noblest ends, vpon which wee are most intense, are furthest remoued from the first stepps made vnto them, and must by lesser and meaner bee approached; so Plantation of religion, being the maine and cheefe purpose, admitts many things of lesse and secondary consequence of necessity to bee done before it: for an error or miscarriage in one of which to desist or stagger, were to betray our principall end cowardly and faintly, and to drawe vpon ourselues iust scorne and reprehension ^{27.}

Again, in the call which they address to their countrymen for help, they bid them ‘remember that what was at first but of conueniency, and for honor, is now become a case of necessity and piety: let them consider that they haue promised to aduenture, and not performed it, that they haue encouraged and exposed many of honorable birth, and which is of more consequence, 600 of our Brethren by our common mother the Church, Christians of one faith and one Baptisme, to a miserable and vneuitable death. Let not any man flatter himselfe that it concernes not him: for hee that forsakes another, whom he may safely relieue, is as guilty of his death, as he that can swimme, and forsakes himself by refusing, is of his owne. Let every man looke inward, and disperse that clowd of auarice, which darkeneth his spirituall sight, and hee will finde there, that when

²⁷ Declaration of Virginia Council, pp. 15, 16.

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hee shall appeare before the Tribunall of Heauen, it shall be questioned him what hee hath done? Hath hee fed and cloth'd the hungry and naked? It shall be required, what hee hath done for the aduancement of that Gospell which hath saued him; and for the releefe of his Maker's image, whome hee was bound to saue. O let there bee a vertuous emulation betweene us and the Church of Rome, in her owne Glory and Treasury of good workes! and let vs turne all our contentions vpon the common enemy of the Name of Christ. How farre hath she sent out her Apostles, and through how glorious dangers? How is it become a marke of Honor to her faith, to haue conuerted Nations, and an obloquie cast vpon vs, that wee hauing the better Vine, should haue worse dressers and husbanders of it? If Piety, Honor, Easinesse, Profit, nor Conscience cannot prouoake and excite (for to all these wee haue applyed our discourse), then let us turne from hearts of Stone and Iron, and pray vnto that mercifull and tender God, who is both easie and glad to be intreated, that it would please him to blesse and water these feeble beginnings, and that as he is wonderfull in all his workes, so to nourish this graine of seed, that it may spread till all people of the earth admire the greatness, and seeke the shades and fruite thereof; That by so faint and weake indeuors his great Councils may bee brought forth, and his secret purposes to light, to our endlesse comforts and the infinite Glorye of his Sacred Name. Amen ²⁸.'

²⁸ Declaration of Virginia Council, pp. 22—24.

The conclusion of this Declaration is remarkable also for the distinct and unequivocal testimony which it gives to the desire of the Council, that none should go forth to their infant Colony, save those who were likely to uphold and adorn it by their own blameless character. And hence it follows, that the reckless and abandoned men who contrived to escape thither, must have done so by fraudulent representations. The recorded will of the Council was against them. ‘To auoyde,’ say they, ‘both the scandall and perill of accepting idle and wicked persons, such as shame or feare compels into this action; and such as are the weedes and rancknesse of this land; who beeing the surfet of an able, healthy, and composed body, must neede bee the poyson of one so tender, feeble, and yet vnformed: And to divulge and declare to all men, what kinde of persons, as well for their religion and conuersations, as Faculties, Arts, and trades, we purpose to accept of, wee haue thought it conuenient to pronounce that for the first prouision, we will receiue no man, that cannot bring or render some good testimony of his religion to God, and ciuill manners and behauour to his neighbour with whom he hath liued; and for the second, wee haue set down in a Table annexed, the proportion and number wee will entertain in euery necessary Arte, vpon proof and assurance that euery man shall bee able to performe that which hee doth vndertake; whereby such as are requisite to vs, may haue knowledge and preparation to offer themselues, and wee shall bee ready to giue honest entertainment and

content, and to recompence with extraordinary reward every fit and industrious person, respectiue to his paines and quality²⁹.' The particulars of this Table are given below³⁰; and the reader will not fail to observe, that, foremost among those whom the Council desired to settle in the Colony, were 'four honest and learned Ministers.'

Gates returns to Virginia, accompanied by Rev. Mr. Glover.

Alexander Whitaker, we have lately said, was one of these. Another was Mr. Glover, who accompanied Sir Thomas Gates upon his second return to Virginia; and who, as we learn from Crashaw's Epistle Dedicatorie, was 'an approved Preacher in Bedford and Huntingdonshire, a graduate of Cambridge, reuerenced and respected,' in easy circumstances, and already somewhat advanced in years. It was scarcely to be expected that an aged man should have been found eager to brave the dangers of an unsettled Colony; but Crashaw states that Glover

²⁹ pp. 25, 26.

³⁰ The Table of such as are required in their Plantation:—

Four honest and learned Ministers.

2 Surgeons.

2 Druggists.

10 Iron men for the Furnace and Hammer.

2 Armorers.

2 Gun-founders.

6 Blacksmiths.

10 Sawyers.

6 Carpenters.

6 Shipwrights.

6 Gardeners.

4 Turners.

4 Brickmakers.

2 Tilers.

10 Fishermen.

6 Fowlers.

4 Sturgeon-dressers, and preservers of the Caueary.

2 Salt-makers.

6 Coopers.

2 Coller-makers for draught.

2 Plow-wrights.

4 Rope-makers.

6 Vine-dressers.

2 Presse-makers.

2 Ioyners.

2 Sope-ash makers.

4 Pitch-boylers.

2 Minerall-men.

2 Planters of sugar-cane.

2 Silke-dressers.

2 Pearle-drillers.

2 Bakers.

2 Brewers.

2 Colliers.

had felt an earnest desire to go to Virginia; and, having made it known 'to a Reuerend Preacher in Huntingdon, Master Beard,' had been summoned to London, where he was 'so well liked of the Counsell,' that 'he went away with Sir Thomas Gates, in June, 1611.' But the course, which he essayed to run, was soon finished. His bodily strength broke under him. He 'endured not,' says Crashaw, 'the sea sicknesse of the countrey, so well as younger and stronger bodies; and so, after zealous and faithfull performance of his ministeriall dutie, whilest he was able, he gave his soule to Christ Jesus (under whose banner he went to fight; and for whose glorious name's sake he undertooke the danger), more worthy to be accounted a true Confessor of Christ, than hundreds that are canonized in the Pope's Martyrologe ³¹.'

Soon after the second arrival of Sir Thomas Gates at James Town, it was agreed upon between him and Dale that the latter should set out, with three hundred and fifty chosen men, and build a second town, about seventy miles higher up the river. A spot of ground accordingly was soon marked out, and enclosed; and a town, consisting of three streets of well-framed houses, was founded, and called Henrico, in honour of Henry, Prince of Wales, who was then living. A

Henrico and
New Ber-
mudas built.

³¹ Crashaw's 'Epistle Dedicatorie' &c. The manner in which Crashaw introduces the notice of these two clergymen is worthy of remark: 'I name two especially, Master Glouer and Master Whit-

aker, because they went by my knowledge, but not by my procurement; for I testifie it for truth, they moued me that they might go; not I them, that they would go.'

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Church was also erected, which, although intended only for temporary use, is said to have been a handsome structure; and the foundation was laid, at the same time, of another to be built of brick.

The establishment of this town was speedily followed by that of a third, which Dale also founded, about five miles from Henrico, and to which he gave the name of the New Bermudas. He divided the land adjoining this last settlement into Hundreds, each of which was designated by its proper title³².

Upon the return of Gates to England, in 1614, Dale is entrusted with the sole command of the Colony.

The Governor, Sir Thomas Dale, under whose guidance this extension of the Virginian Colony was made, was a man of no ordinary character. Courageous, patient, and persevering, he was ever mindful of the great end to which all earthly thoughts and labours ought to be directed; and his desire to attain that end was sincere and ardent. The sole command of the Colony again devolved upon him, upon the return of Gates to England, in the beginning of the year 1614³³; and a letter is still extant, written by Dale to a friend of his in London, which clearly shows the character of his mind. His friend and himself had evidently both regarded and spoken of the enterprise in which he was engaged, as a part of that 'religious warfare,' to which in Baptism he had been pledged; and the prize of which was, the advancement of God's glory. In this warfare, his friend had always hitherto encouraged him to persevere; but, owing to the non-performance of promises

His character.

³² Smith's History of Virginia, p. 111; Purchas, iv. 1768.

³³ Stith, i. 132.

made by certain parties at home, had, in his last letter, advised him to abandon the work, especially as the time for which he had undertaken to labour had expired. The death also of Henry, Prince of Wales³⁴, furnished another reason which, it was said, might justify his drawing back from the path on which he had entered. But to these representations Dale answered, that he sought to discharge the duties allotted to him with all alacrity, not knowing when or what recompence he was to expect 'from Him in whose Vineyard' he laboured, and 'whose Church with greedy appetite' he desired 'to erect.' He acknowledged that Prince Henry, whom he called his 'glorious Master,' was gone,—a master, who 'would haue enamelled with his fauours the labours which were undertaken for God's cause,'—and that 'the whole frame of this business,' seemed fallen 'into his grave.' Nevertheless, the value which he set upon the work entrusted to his hands, and the necessity of personal superintendence which it required, constrained him to abide patiently all the dangers and difficulties which then encompassed him about. And, having described the circumstances which had recently happened under his government, —to one of which the reader's attention will soon be especially called,—he added, in reference to the divisions and jealousies, which he saw were weakening the cause at home, 'Oh, why should so many princes and noblemen ingage themselves, and thereby inter-

³⁴ Nov. 6, 1612.

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meddling herein, haue caused a number of soules to transport themselves, and be transported hither? Why should they (I say) relinquish this so glorious an action? for if their end be to build God a Church, they ought to persevere; if, otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant³⁵. Howsoever they stand affected, here is enough to content them, let their ends be either for God or Mammon. These things hauing animated me to stay for a little season, to leaue those I am tied in conscience to return unto, to leaue the assured benefits of my other fortunes, the sweete society of my friends and acquaintance with all mundall delights, and reside here with much turmoile, which, I will constantly doe, rather than see God's glory diminished, my King and Country dishonoured, and these poore people I have the charge of, ruined. And so I beseech you to answer for me, if you heare me taxed for my staying, as some may justly doe; and that these are my chiefe motiues, God I take to witnesse. Remember me, and the cause I haue in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of those that

³⁵ How emphatically is this sentiment echoed by Lord Bacon, at the end of his Essay 'Of Plantations!' 'It is the sinfulllest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many comiserable persons.' Works, i. 119. The first edition of Bacon's Essays was published as early as 1597; but it does not appear that the Essay 'Of Plantations' was written until

the last edition, which was completed in 1625, the year before Lord Bacon's death. (See Preface to Basil Montagu's Edition of his Works, i. vi—xvi.) Certain allusions also in the Essay to points of mismanagement in Virginia, prove it to have been written some time after the establishment of the Colony there. The dictum of the philosopher, therefore, has, in this instance, the authority of experience.

doe sincerely love you and yours, and will euer rest in all offices of a friend to do you seruice ³⁶.'

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The power of exercising martial law committed to him.

An authority had been delegated to Dale, at an early period of his government of Virginia, the notice of which must not be omitted in this place, since it militated greatly against the proper character and influence of the Church in that Province. The authority was nothing less than that of establishing, as an universal rule, that exercise of martial law which, under the Charter, had been limited to cases of rebellion or mutiny. The duties of each department in the Colony were, henceforth, to be regulated by the same summary process; and, although in the hands of Sir Thomas Dale, the possession of such terrible power created no present mischief, it was impossible that evil should not result from that which was in itself an evil. The Book of Articles and Laws, which was to guide his conduct in this matter, was entitled 'For the Colony in Virginea Britannia, Laws Divine, Moral and Martial,' ³⁷ &c.; and was sent to him by Sir Thomas Smith, Treasurer, but without the sanction, it is said, of the Council and Company in England ³⁸. Their sanction may not have been formally given; but it can hardly

³⁶ Sir Thomas Dale's Letter 'to the R. and my most esteemed friend M. D. M. at his house at F. Ch. in London, written from James Town in Virginia, June 18, 1614.' Purchas, iv. 1768—1770.

³⁷ It was printed in London, 1612, and is prefaced by dedications to the Company and Lord

De la Warr, &c. There is a Latin motto on the title-page, which confesses the objectionable nature of the Instructions which it contained:—'Res nostra subinde non sunt, quales quis optaret, sed quales esse possunt.'

³⁸ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 123.

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be affirmed, with truth, that the measure had not their concurrence. For the Book was drawn up by William Strachey, Secretary of the Colony, to whose narration of the events of which he was an eye-witness, such frequent reference has been made in this chapter; and it is stated by him to consist of laws, which had been first established by Sir Thomas Gates, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1610; which, in the same year, had been 'exemplified and approved' by Lord De la Warr; and again 'exemplified and enlarged' by Sir Thomas Dale, on the twenty-second of June, 1611. They had been copied, for the most part, from the Laws observed during the wars in the Low Countries, in which Dale had himself served with high distinction.

A statement with reference to this subject, occurs in Robertson's History of America, which calls for some notice. He says of the establishment of martial law at this period in Virginia, that, 'however unconstitutional or oppressive this may appear, it was adopted by the advice of Sir Francis Bacon, the most enlightened philosopher, and one of the most eminent lawyers of the age³⁹.' I cannot find any ground for such an unqualified statement. Robertson refers to Bacon's Essay on Plantations, as his authority, but the only passage in that Essay which relates to the matter is as follows: 'For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to

³⁹ Robertson's Works, xi. 201.

exercise martial laws, with some limitation; and above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his services, before their eyes⁴⁰. All that is here recommended is, that, in so peculiar a case as that of an infant Colony, the governor should have commission to exercise martial laws, if present necessity should call for it; and even then, it is stated, that the power should be ‘with some limitation;’—a recommendation, obviously very different from that which advised the constant and uniform adoption of them. It is important also to observe the circumstance lately noted in this chapter⁴¹, that Bacon’s Essay on Plantations, probably, did not appear until the last Edition in 1625, the year before his death; and hence, whatsoever interpretation may be made of the passage which occurs therein, his advice could have had no influence upon a course of action which was adopted so many years before its publication.

That part of the ‘Laws Martial,’ which relates only to the observance of military discipline, does not, of course, come under our notice. We are concerned only with those, which bore more directly upon the civil and religious interests of the Colony; and a review of a few of them will be sufficient. Thus, ‘to speak impiously or maliciously against the Holy and blessed Trinitie, or against the knowne Articles of the Christian faith,’ or to ‘do any act that may tend to the derision or despight of God’s

Its tyrannical enactments.

⁴⁰ Bacon’s Works, i. 117, 118.

⁴¹ See note at p. 280.

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Holy Word,' was constituted an offence punishable by death. To utter blasphemy or 'unlawfull oathes' exposed the criminal to 'haue a bodkin thrust through his tongue;' and a repetition of the offence was to bring him 'to a martial court, and there receive censure of death.' To behave irreverently 'unto any Preacher or Minister' of God's Word, was a crime, for which the offender was to be 'openly whipt three times, and to ask publike forgiveness in the assembly three severall Saboth daies.' Absence from Divine Service 'upon the working daies,' or 'the Saboth,' was to be visited, the first time, by a forfeiture of the day's or week's allowance; the second, by whipping; and the third, by condemnation 'to the Gallies for six moneths,' or even death. If any persons, upon arriving in the Colony, should refuse to repair to the Minister to give up an account of their faith and religion, they were, for the first refusal, to be whipt once; for the second, to be whipt twice, and made 'to acknowledge their fault upon the Saboth day in the assembly of the congregation;' and, for the third, to be whipt every day until they had made acknowledgment, and asked forgiveness for the same. Lastly, 'euery Minister or Preacher' was to read 'euery Saboth day before catechising,' all these lawes and ordinances, which were thirty-seven in number, 'publikly in the assembly of the congregation upon paine of his entertainment checkt for that weeke'⁴².

⁴² Lawes Divine, &c. pp. 3—19.

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Dale abstains from enforcing it in all its extent.

It must be evident, that to attempt to build up any good work upon so miserable a foundation as this, would utterly fail, as it deserved to do. It is not by the lash, or fine, or imprisonment, or death, that truth can be enforced. The loveliness of her features is destroyed, and the majesty of her high prerogatives trampled under foot, when tyranny, such as this, dares to wait upon her. The very cruelty of such enactments was, in fact, a barrier against the execution of them. Dale, no doubt, saw that it was impracticable to carry them into effect; and that to urge the observance of them, would only be to hold out a premium for the outbreak of that fierce passion, which would soon sweep away all authority before it. But we have seen that higher motives, than any which mere expediency could suggest, influenced him; and, whilst he availed himself of the power of the 'Lawes Martiall,' strictly so called, to repress the plots and insurrections which endangered the welfare of the Colony⁴³, he carefully abstained from laying upon the people those burdens, which were created by the 'Lawes Politique' of the same code. That part of it may be said to have remained, under his administration, a dead letter. All that was salutary, and just, and of good report, he strenuously upheld; but the unjust and cruel penalties, imposed by these Articles, he would not exact.

Among the faithful and true-hearted men who

Whitaker,
a most valu-

⁴³ Hanor's 'Notes of Virginian Affaires,' in Purchas, iv. 1767.

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able fellow-
labourer
with Dale.

His cha-
racter.

cheered and assisted Sir Thomas Dale in his arduous labours, the most prominent was Alexander Whitaker, who, it has been already stated, accompanied him, when he first left England for Virginia. Whitaker was, at that time, a Graduate of five or six years' standing of Cambridge, 'seated,' to use the words of Crashaw, 'in the North Countrey, where he was well approued by the greatest⁴⁴, and beloued of his people, and had competent allowance to his good liking, and was in as good possibility of better liuing as any of his time; he had also meanes of his owne left him by his parents: all which notwithstanding, he merely of himselfe, for ought I know, entertained a purpose of going to Virginia to assist that Christian Plantation in the function of a Preacher of the Gospell. And hauing after many distractions and combates with himselfe (as he told me) settled his resolution, that God called him thither, and therefore he would goe; he accordingly made it good, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasions of many of his nearest friends, and the great discouragements which he daily heard of, touching the businesse and countrey itselfe: and arrived there with Sir Thomas Dale, by a very speedy and safe passage (scarce of eight weekes long) in May, 1611,

⁴⁴ Crashaw's testimony, in this instance, is of peculiar value, because Lord Ure, to whom the Epistle Dedicatorie is addressed, was personally acquainted with Whitaker. 'Your Lordship,' he says towards the conclusion, 'knew Master Whitaker in the

North, and by your peculiar knowledge of the man, and the place where hee liued, can be an honorable witsnesse with mee, and an euidence beyond all exception, to a good part of what I have here said.'

from whence he hath since then written many comfortable letters both to the Counsell and Committee and his private friends ⁴⁵.’ Speaking of Whitaker, in another part of his Epistle, Crashaw again says, that, ‘he without any persuasion (but God’s and his own heart) did voluntarily leaue his warme nest ⁴⁶; and, to the wonder of his kindred, and amazement of them that knew him, undertooke this hard, but in my judgment, heroicall resolution to go to Virginia, and helpe to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles. Men may muse at it,’ he adds, ‘some may laugh, and others wonder at it. But will you know the reason? God will be glorified in his owne workes, and what he hath determined to do, hee will finde means to bring to passe; for the perfecting therefore of this blessed worke, he hath stirred up able and worthie men to undertake the manning and managing of it. Magistracie and Ministry are the strength and sinewes; nay, the very life and being of a Christian body politique. Therefore seeing without these, all emptying of purses heere, and venturing of persons thither, is to no purpose, God in his owne wisdom provided, and

⁴⁵ Crashaw’s Epistle Dedicatorie.

⁴⁶ This phrase is a peculiar one; and, as it occurs also in the Prayer which was ordered to be ‘duly said Morning and Evening upon the Court of Guard, either by the Captaine of the watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers,’ I am disposed to think that the Prayer was composed, at least

in part, by Crashaw himself. Other passages, also, in Crashaw’s writings go to prove the same point. The Prayer is too long to be subjoined in this place; but as it presents many points of interest, and is, for the most part, expressed in language faithful and eloquent, I have given it entire in the Appendix.

in his mercie prouoked, godly and able men to furnish both these functions; and such as might at home have lived in places of honour and command, or in fashion competent and conuenient to their conditions.'

The minister of Christ, to whom the above testimony is borne, proceeded with Sir Thomas Dale, when he went up the James River; and assisted him in laying the foundation of the town of Henrico. In that second settlement of the English, as in the first, we have seen, that a Church was among the earliest buildings, raised; and, if the revered and beloved name of Robert Hunt be associated with the one, the name of Whitaker is not less closely connected with the other. The 'faire framed Parsonage impaled for Master Whitaker,' and the 'hundred acres called Rocke hall' set apart for the future support of those who should preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of that district, are spoken of in the narrative of the first planting of Henrico⁴⁷, to which reference has been before made; and, in another history of Virginia, Whitaker is designated as 'Minister of Bermuda Hundred⁴⁸,'—a division of territory five miles from Henrico, which, we have seen, had been so marked out and named by Sir Thomas Dale. The period for which Whitaker had promised, in the first instance, to go out and labour as a Minister of the Church of Christ, in the Colony, was three years; but,

⁴⁷ Smith's History of Virginia, p. 111.

⁴⁸ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 136.

at the expiration of them, he was still resolute and anxious, as we learn from his own testimony and that of Crashaw, to continue his ministrations there.

Upon the departure of Gates for England in 1614, His Sermon. and the consequent return of Dale to James Town, the chief seat of government, Whitaker returned with him; and there continued to carry on faithfully the work entrusted to him. About this period, he sent home to England for publication the Sermon which he had preached in Virginia ⁴⁹, and to which Crashaw prefixed the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' which has been so constant and useful a guide to ourselves. Crashaw thus writes of this Sermon, and the labours in which its author was engaged: 'Master Whitaker hath put himself into this dangerous voiage, where now he diligently preacheth and catechizeth; and thereby, and by other Ministerial duties, publike and private (and otherwise also, for he is otherwaies qualified), he performes daily and diligent seruice, acceptable to God, and comfortable to our people, ouer whom hee is Pastor. And from whence, as a token of his loue and dutie to the Counsell and Aduenturers, and as a testimonie of the good liking he conceiues of the Countrey (by these almost two years' experience) he hath sent us this plaine, but pithie and godly exhortation, interlaced with narrations of many particulars, touching the Countrey, climate, and commodities worthie to

⁴⁹ The title is, 'Good Newes in England, From Alexander from Virginia, sent to the Counsell Whitaker, Minister of Henrico in and Company of Virginia, resident Virginia, &c.' London, 1613.

bee knowne of all, especially comming from one of his place and profession, and of so good experience in the matter he writes of.

The text of Whitaker's Sermon is from Ecclesiastes xi. 1, "Cast thy bread upon the waters; for thou shalt find it after many days." He first explains the duty of liberality, as it is therein enforced, and divides the consideration of the subject into five parts; and, under the last head, — which relates to the parties towards whom liberality ought to be shown,—his words are: 'This is the doctrine, and I beseech God to stirre up your minds to the practise of liberalitie in all things towards all men. And remember the poore estate of the ignorant inhabitants of Virginia. Cast forth your almes, my brethren of England, and extend your liberalitie in these charitable workes, which God hath called you to performe. Let not the seruants of superstition, that thinke to merit by their good works (as they terme them), goe beyond us in well doing; neither let them be able to open their mouths against us, and to condemne the religion of our Protestation for want of charitable deeds. It may bee some men will say the work is great, I am not able to relieue it. I answer the work is such, and such order is now taken, that those that cannot giue much, may be liberal in a little. Those that cannot help in monies by reason of their pouerty, may venture their persons hither, and heere not only serue God, but helpe also these poore Indians, and build a sure foundation for themselves; but if you can do

neither of these, then send your earnest prayers to God for the prosperity of this worke ⁵⁰.

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‘Wherefore, my brethren,’ he adds, a little further on, ‘put on the bowels of compassion, and let the lamentable estate of these miserable enter in your consideration. One God created us; they haue reasonable soules and intellectual faculties as well as wee; we all haue Adam for our common parent; yea, by nature the condition of us both is all one, the servants of sinne and slaves of the divell. Oh remember, I beseech you, what was the state of England before the Gospell was preached in our cuntry! How much better were we then, and concerning our soules health, than these now are? Let the word of the Lord sound out, that it may be heard in these parts; and let your faith which is toward God spread itself abroad, and shew forth the charitable fruits of it in these barren parts of the world: “and let him know that he which hath converted a sinner from going astray out of his way, shall save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sinnes ⁵¹.”’

Only one more passage shall be quoted, which is as follows: ‘Shall our nation, hitherto famous for noble attempts and the honourable finishing of what they haue undertaken, be now taxed for inconstancie, and blamed by the enemies of our Protestation for uncharitableness? Yea, shall we be a scorne among princes, and a laughing-stocke among our

⁵⁰ Whitaker’s Sermon, pp. 18, 19.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* pp. 24, 25.

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neighbour nations, for basely leauing what we honourably began; yea, for beginning a Discoverie, whose riches other men shall gather, so soon as wee haue forsaken it? Awake, you true-hearted Englishmen, you servants of Jesus Christ, remember that the Plantation is God's, and the reward your Countries. Wherefore aime not at your present priuat gaine; but let the glory of God, whose Kingdome you now plant, and good of your cuntry, whose wealth you seeke, so farre preuaile with you, that you respect not a present returne of gaine for this yeare or two; but that you would more liberally supplie for a little space, this your Christian worke, which you so charitably began. As for those spirits of slander, whom the Divell hath stirred up to speak evill of this good land, and to weaken the hands of our brethren; lest they should goe forward and pull Satan out of his dominions:—let them take heed, lest the punishment of Shammua and his nine companions, the faithlesse searchers of the Land of Canaan, do befall them, and that they never liue to taste of the commodities of this good Land ⁵².

This Sermon, were there room to quote the expository portions of it, would amply bear out the high character which is assigned to Whitaker; and, taken in conjunction with the other testimonies of his patient and arduous ministry, well justifies the glowing language of thankfulness with which Crashaw bears witness to the blessing conferred upon the Colony

⁵² Whitaker's Sermon, p. 33.

by him and by his fellow-labourers. I subjoin the concluding passage of this testimony: ‘So that now we see to our comfort, the God of heauen found us out, and made us readie to our hands, able and fit men for the ministeriall function in this Plantation; all of them Graduates, allowed preachers, single men, hauing no Pastorall cures, nor charge of children; and, as it were, every way fitted for that worke. And because God would more grace this businesse, and honor his owne worke, he prouided us such men as wanted neither liuing, nor libertie of preaching at home: more in my judgment haue they to answer for, who wanting both, will not only not go themselves, but disparage and depraue them that go. Hereafter, when all is settled in peace and plentie, what marvell, if many and greater than they be willing to goe. But in the infancie of this Plantation to put their liues into their hands, and, under the assurance of so many dangers and difficulties, to deuote themselues unto it, was certainly a holy and heroicall resolution, and proceeded undoubtedly from the blessed spirit of Christ Jesus, who “for this cause appeared that he might dissolve the works of the diuell.” And though Satan visibly and palpably raignes there, more than in any other knowne place of the world: yet be of courage, blessed brethren, “God will treade Satan under your feet shortly;” and the ages to come will eternize your names as the Apostles of Virginia ⁵³.’

⁵³ Crashaw’s Epistle Dedicatorie.

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Pocahuntas
taken pri-
soner by the
English, in
1612.

The foremost of these ‘Apostles of Virginia’ was now about to be associated with Sir Thomas Dale in a work, which is related by that officer, in the letter already cited, and to which we have promised to call the reader’s attention, namely, the conversion to the Christian faith of Pocahuntas, daughter of the King Powhatan. The name of this Indian princess is already known to the reader. About five years before, when she was only twelve years old, it will be remembered that she had seen Captain Smith, a prisoner in her father’s hands, and the cruelties then inflicted upon him; and, when he was on the point of being put to death, had rushed forward, and, with her entreaties, had saved his life. At later periods, also, she had, once and again, risked her own safety, that she might bring succour to the English in their distress; warning them to flee from dangers of which they were not cognizant; and coming, in the darkness and stillness of night, to allay their hunger with the food which she had procured. It was a cruel and shameful act to ensnare and take captive one who had rendered such signal services as these; and, albeit in the end it was overruled for good, the contrivers of the scheme must still bear the burden of its reproach. During the time of Gates’s government, in 1612, Capt. Argall,—desirous to regain from King Powhatan the prisoners, and arms, and working implements of which at various times he had gained possession,—ascended the river in a vessel of which he was commander, and, by a series of stratagems which

it is needless here to detail ⁵⁴, succeeded in prevailing upon Pocahuntas to come on board, and there made her prisoner.

The object which he had in view,—namely, the surrender by Powhatan of the men and property in his possession, as the price of his daughter's freedom,—was for a long time delayed. But, in the following year, Dale appeared, accompanied by Pocahuntas, and a force strong enough to attack the natives, if necessary, and insisted upon the restitution of the English prisoners and their property. At first, the natives tried to baffle him, sometimes by fraud, and at others by open violence; but, finding resistance useless, and the sons of the Indian king, who had been permitted to visit their sister, having brought back a favourable report of the kindness with which she was treated, it was agreed to make peace, upon the terms announced by the English commander.

Pocahuntas, however, returned no more to her own people. During the time which had already elapsed since her capture by Argall, Dale and Whitaker had been most careful and assiduous in bringing her to the knowledge of the Christian faith. She showed a great capacity, as well as an earnest desire for instruction; and, after the lapse of some months, made, at her own request, a public renunciation of the idolatry of her country, and was baptized, receiving the name of Rebecca. An attachment also had sprung up between her and an

Baptized by
the name of
Rebecca.

⁵⁴ They are given at length in Hamor's narrative, in Smith's Virginia, p. 112.

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Married to
John Rolfe,
April 1,
1613.

Englishman named John Rolfe, who is described as ‘an honest gentleman, and of good behaviour;’ and, information of this circumstance having been communicated, with the approval of Sir Thomas Dale, to her father Powhatan, that king sent an aged uncle of hers, Opachisco, and two of his sons, that they might bear the tidings of his consent to the marriage, and do what was required in his behalf for the confirmation of it. The marriage was celebrated on the first of April, 1613; and Dale, speaking of it in the letter which has been before cited, says: ‘She liues ciuilly and louingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. She will goe into England with mee; and were it but the gaining of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toile, and present stay well spent ⁵⁵.’

Whitaker speaks in like terms of the marriage, in a letter written to a cousin of his, who was a clergyman in London; and,—adding in the language of most fervent gratitude, an eulogy upon Sir Thomas Dale, whom he calls their ‘religious and valiant Gouvernour,’—vindicates his character from the aspersions which some of the Colonists had tried to cast upon it. The letter closes with this remarkable passage: ‘I maruaile much that any men of honest life should feare the sword of the Magistrate, which is unsheathed only in their defence. But I much more muse, that so few of our English Ministers that

⁵⁵ Purchas, iv. 1769. See also Hamor’s narrative, in Smith’s Virginia, 112, 113; and Stith, 129.

were so hot against the Surplis and subscription, come hither where neither are spoken of. Doe they not either wilfully hide their tallents, or keepe themselves at home for fear of loosing a few pleasures? Be there not any amongst them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ? But I referre them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward euery one according to the gaine of his talent. But you, my cosen, hold fast that which you haue, and I, though my promise of three yeeres seruice to my Countrey be expired, will abide in my vocation here until I be lawfully called from hence. And so betaking us all unto the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, I rest for euer⁵⁶.’

Having stated thus much of the conversion and marriage of this the first Indian princess, who had been brought to the knowledge of the true God, it may be well to anticipate, for a few moments, the exact order of our narrative, and follow her brief story to the end. She accompanied her husband and Sir Thomas Dale to England, when that officer, —having placed the affairs of the Colony in good order, and left them under the charge of Mr. George Yeardly, deputy-governor,—returned home in 1616. They landed at Plymouth, on the twelfth of June in that year; and great interest was felt and shown, as might be expected, towards her who came, under such circumstances, a stranger to these shores. Among the first who welcomed her was Captain

Proceeds, in 1616, to England with her husband and Sir Thomas Dale, who leaves the government in charge of Yeardly.

⁵⁶ Purchas, iv. 1770.

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Her recep-
tion by Cap-
tain Smith.

Smith, whose life, in the days of her childhood, she had saved at the hazard of her own; and whose wants, and the wants of his countrymen, she had so often relieved. He was eager to introduce her to the notice of the consort of King James; and the letter in which he commends her to the favour of her Majesty, and relates the services she had rendered to himself and the Colony under his command, is not among the least striking evidences which remain to tell us of the honest and hearty zeal of that extraordinary man. He was himself on the point of embarking at that time upon a voyage to New England, and could not stay to render to Pocahuntas the service which she required, and so well deserved. He was the more desirous, therefore, that she should receive a generous reception from those who were in authority. There is something very touching in the simple and affectionate spirit with which she received the man who had exercised such wonderful influence upon her life. At first, Smith relates, she seemed disturbed, and unwilling to express her thoughts; but, not long afterwards, she began to speak, and called him 'Father,'—the same title, she said, by which he had addressed her own father, Powhatan, when he had been a stranger in his land. And when Smith hesitated to receive such a title from one who was a king's daughter, she answered; 'Were you not afraid to come into my father's countrie, and cause feare in him and all his people (but mee), and feare you here that I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call

mee childe, and so I will be for euer and euer your councieman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth; yet Powhatan did command Vitaniatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your counciemen will lie much ⁵⁷.'

Upon the arrival of Pocahuntas in London, she was graciously received by King James and his Queen. The Governor also of Virginia, Lord De la Warr, and his Countess, are named among those who rejoiced to welcome her. The Treasurer and Company of Virginia voted a suitable provision for herself and for her child; and Purchas reports of her, that she 'did not onely accustome herselfe to ciuilitie, but still carried herselfe as the daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected, not onely by the Company, which allowed provision for herselfe and her sonne, but of diuers particular persons of honor, in their hopefull zeal by her to aduance Christianitie.'

And by
King James
and his
Queen.

⁵⁷ Smith's Virginia, 121—123. Of the Indian mentioned in the above letter, Smith further says, that he was 'one of Powhatan's Councill, being amongst them held an understanding fellow; the king purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and inform him well what wee were and our state. Arriving at Plimoth, according to his directions, he got a long stick, whereon by notches hee did think to haue kept the number of all the men he could see, but he was quickly wearie of that taske: Comming to London, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance where

many were desirous to heare and see his behauiour, hee told me Powhatan did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of: Concerning God, I told him the best I could; the King I hearde he had seene, and the rest he should see when he would; he denied euer to haue seene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replied uery sadly, You gaue Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as himselfe, but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white dog.'

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Among these, Purchas names especially the then Bishop of London, Dr. King⁵⁸.

Many and great advantages, it might have been hoped, would have followed the return of Pocahuntas to Virginia, had she been permitted to show to her countrymen the reality of that truth which had guided and refreshed her own spirit. But it was the will of God that she should not return thither. Her husband was appointed Secretary and Recorder General of Virginia⁵⁹; and, when she was on the point of embarking with him for her native land, in the beginning of the year 1617, she died. In the quaint, but emphatic, language of Purchas, 'she came at Grauesend to her end and graue, hauing giuen great demonstration of her Christian sinceritie, as the first fruits of Virginian conuersion, leaving here a godly memory, and the hopes of her resurrection, her soule aspiring to see and enioy presently in heaven, what here shee had ioyed to heare and beleue of her beloued Sauour⁶⁰.'

Proceedings of the English during Dale's government, towards the French and Dutch settlements in North America.

The government of Sir Thomas Dale was marked by the occurrence of other events, which are too important to be overlooked; but the relation of which has been purposely deferred, in order that it might not interrupt the course of the above narrative. They relate to the proceedings of the English Colonists in Virginia, under his command, towards the French and Dutch settlements which, during

⁵⁸ Purchas, iv. 1774.

⁶⁰ Purchas, iv. 1774.

⁵⁹ Stith, p. 146.

the same period, were forming in some of the adjacent provinces of North America.

As early as the year 1524, Verazzano, a Florentine, had been sent forth by the French monarch, Francis the First, for the purpose of exploring those regions; and, from the country now called Carolina, along the whole coast of the great American continent, as far as fifty degrees of North latitude, that bold and persevering mariner extended his search⁶¹, and called the land New France. In 1534, Jaques Cartier was commissioned by the same king, to survey accurately that extensive gulf which now bears the name of St. Lawrence⁶²; and, four years afterwards, an expedition was fitted out with the view of planting a French settlement upon its coast⁶³. The troubles which distracted France, during the remainder of the sixteenth century, prevented the work of colonization from making any progress. But, as soon as those obstacles were removed, it soon advanced. Thus, in the year 1598, we find

⁶¹ Hakluyt, iii. 357—364.

⁶² The three voyages of Cartier from 1534 to 1540, and the voyage of the Sieur de Roberval, in 1542, together with many other papers relating to them, well worthy of perusal, are all recorded by Hakluyt, iii. 250—296. See also Purchas, iv. 1603—1605.

⁶³ In Sharon Turner's History of England, ix. 475—477, (third edition,) is given a curious and interesting paper, which that indefatigable historian has derived from the collection of State Letters, made by Ribicres in 1666, and

addressed by him to Colbert, the minister of Louis the Fourteenth. It is the 'Memoir of the Men and Provisions necessary for the Vessels which the King intends to send into Canada.' The squadron was to consist of six vessels; and among the persons required to go on board were 'six Churchmen, with all things necessary for Divine service.' I notice this, as one of the many evidences to be found of the care displayed by Roman Catholic rulers, for the efficient propagation of their faith and worship in foreign lands.

Henry the Fourth issuing his commission to the Marquis de la Roche to plant a settlement in the same quarter; and, although the enterprize consequent upon that commission failed, another was granted by the same king to De Monts, to be governor of all that part of America, which lies between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of North latitude; and also to establish a French colony in the province of Acadie, now Nova Scotia ⁶⁴. It will be remembered that these limits include a large portion of the territory assigned, in 1606, by our own king, James the First, to the Virginia Company ⁶⁵; and, since the language of the English charter professed only to deal with such countries as were not, at that time, ‘actually possessed by any Christian prince or people,’ his assignment was, upon the face of it, so far invalid. It has been argued, indeed, by some writers, that the title of the English to the country rested upon the original commission which Henry the Seventh had granted to the Cabots, and which had never been superseded. But we have seen that the terms of this commission were not carried into effect by those on whom it was conferred ⁶⁶; and, that, although the English flag, under the guidance of the Cabots, was the first ensign of European power which ever visited the shores of the North American continent, it was nowhere set up by them as a token of permanent

⁶⁴ Purchas, iv. 1619, 1620.

fifth degrees of North latitude.

⁶⁵ The limits laid down in the Charter of James the First were between the thirty-fourth and forty-

See pp. 202, 203.

⁶⁶ See the first chapter in this Volume.

sovereignty in the New World. Moreover, no reference is to be found in the Letters Patent, issued by Elizabeth and James the First, to any inchoate right possessed, or claimed to be possessed, by the British Crown in those regions. And yet, some such reference must have been made, if the enterprise, encouraged by Henry the Seventh, had led to any definite results. It must be admitted, therefore, that the limits, assigned under the English charter of 1606, embraced a large portion of the territory already claimed by the French, under their charter of 1603. And not only did the French precede us in putting forth formally their pretensions to that country; they preceded us, likewise, in the actual possession of a part of it. So active were they in the prosecution of their designs, that, in 1605, they settled the town of Port Royal, in Acadie⁶⁷; and, in 1608,—the year after that which had witnessed the building of James Town by the English, amid the savannahs of Virginia,—they laid the foundations of the city of Quebec, upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. From the very commencement, indeed, of the seventeenth century, the attention of the French had been strongly directed to this spot, and the country adjacent to it, by the reports of their countryman, the celebrated navigator, Champlain⁶⁸. From Acadie and

⁶⁷ It is situated in lat. 44° 47', and therefore just within the prescribed limits of the English Charter; and is now called Annapolis, from its having been ceded by the French to this country, during the reign of Queen Anne. There is

another city of the same name in the United States, the capital of Maryland.

⁶⁸ See *Voyages de Champlain, Livres Premier et Second, en la première Partie.* (Paris, 1632, 4to.) Also Purchas, iv. 1605—1645.

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Canada, they gradually extended their settlements to that province which is now known by the name of Maine, in the United States; and everywhere the efforts of the French Seigneurs were supported by the zeal and piety of laborious Jesuits.

But the French were not the only Europeans who, at this time, were seeking habitations in the New World. The Dutch East India Company had, in the year 1609, sent out thither, at his own solicitation, Henry Hudson, who was, probably, by birth a British subject, and had, certainly, until that period, been always in the employment of British merchants. The main object of Hudson's search was a Northern passage to the East Indies; and, having been baffled in his attempts to penetrate the way by the North-east, he turned to the opposite quarter, in the hope of finding some channel which might connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean. In the prosecution of this purpose, he discovered, and entered into, one of the mouths of the majestic river which now bears his name⁶⁹. The report which he made to the Dutch of his discovery, induced them to claim possession of the country: and, in 1610, they fitted out a vessel for the purpose of opening a trade with it; and erected some stations on Manhattan island, on the southern extremity of which the city of New York is now built.

Tidings of these proceedings on the part of the

⁶⁹ Purchas, iv. 581—595; Bancroft's History of the Colonization of the United States, ii. 264—266; and Murray's History of the United States, in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, i. 278—281.

French and Dutch soon reached the ears of the English in Virginia. And, deeming them encroachments upon the English territory, Argall, in 1613, destroyed the French settlement which had just been established upon the coast of Maine; and, afterwards, proceeding to Acadie, plundered Port Royal and St. Croix, and brought away with him a ship and pinnace, which had recently arrived from France, laden with provisions and clothing ⁷⁰.

On his return from this expedition, Argall landed upon the island of Manhattan, to vindicate it, in the name of England, from the claim which Holland had put forward.

These transactions are worthy of notice, as marking the earliest collision of European interests in the Western Continent. They led not, it is true, to any immediate rupture between those parent nations, whose children were thus seeking to thrust one another aside. But they may be regarded as the first shadows of the coming hostility which was pursued in a later age, and turned the New World into a battle-field, on which the armies of the Old contended for the mastery.

⁷⁰ Purchas, iv. 1768; Smith's History of Virginia, p. 115; Bancroft's History of the Colonization of the United States, i. 148, 149; and Holmes's American Annals, i. 149.

CHAPTER X.

REMAINDER OF THE HISTORY OF VIRGINIA, DURING
JAMES THE FIRST'S REIGN.

A. D. 1616—1625.

Yeardley succeeded in the office of Deputy-Governor by Argall — Argall's despotic rule — The death of Lord De la Warr, in 1618—Yeardley again entrusted with the command of the Colony, in 1619—Proceedings of the Virginia Council at home—Sir Edwin Sandys elected Treasurer—King James's Letter to the Archbishops — Measures taken towards the establishment of Henrico College— The pious help of many private individuals towards that and other similar objects—Provision for the support of the Clergy—The Bishop of London applied to by the Virginia Council to provide Clergymen; and chosen a member of it— Emigration of apprentices, and young women to be married to the Colonists, encouraged—First transportation of convicts to Virginia, in 1620—Negro slaves first brought into Virginia—Sir Francis Wyat appointed Governor, and the Earl of Southampton Treasurer—Charter and Articles of Instruction entrusted to Wyat — Kind and liberal treatment of Puritan settlers — Sermon and appointment of the Rev. Mr. Copeland — Massacre of the English by Opechancanough, March 22, 1622—Donne's Sermon and Prayer—Internal dissensions of the Virginia Company—Commissioners sent out from the Privy Council to Virginia—Laws of the House of Assembly relating to the Church—Petition to the House of Commons in 1624—Nicholas Ferrar—The Virginia Company dissolved.

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Yeardley
succeeded in
the office of
Deputy-
Governor
by Argall.

YEARDLEY, who had been left in charge of the Colony of Virginia, when Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, in the year 1616, was succeeded, in the beginning of the next year, by Captain Argall, whose name has already been brought before the reader in connection with some of the events recorded in the last chapter. Argall was a re-

lation of the Treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and a friend of Lord Rich, afterwards the Earl of Warwick, a nobleman, whose factious and grasping spirit was already creating an influence fatal to the best interests of the Company¹. Rolfe, the widowed husband of Pocahuntas, accompanied Argall as secretary, leaving his infant son under the charge of Sir Lewis Stukely. The infamous conduct towards Raleigh, of which Stukely was soon afterwards guilty, so drew down upon him the indignation of the public, that young Rolfe was removed from his protection, and placed under the charge of his uncle who lived in London. After his education had been there completed, he went and settled in Virginia; where we learn that he became a person of fortune and distinction, and left a long line of descendants².

The settlement of James Town, under Yeardley's administration, is said to have fallen back very greatly from that state of prosperity, in which it had been left by Dale. And, if Argall's description of it is to be received, the public works and buildings had all fallen into decay; only a few houses were fit for habitation; the Church was converted into a store-house; the market-place and streets were

¹ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 145.

² The following account of Rolfe's family is given by Stith, p. 146. 'He left behind him an only daughter, who was married to Col. Robert Bolling; by whom she left an only son, the late Major John Bolling, who was father to the present Col. John Bolling, and

several daughters, married to Col. Richard Randolph, Col. John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray. So that this remnant of the imperial family of Virginia which long ran in one single person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous progeny.'

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planted with tobacco; and the Colonists scattered about, as they chose, in all directions³.

Argall's des-
potic rule.

It is possible that Argall may have described this state of things in stronger terms than it deserved, in order to contrast it with the prosperity which he reported as the result of his own administration. But, be this as it may, there is no doubt that Argall's despotic and extortionate rule speedily involved the Colony in greater difficulties than those which he found upon his arrival. He enforced without mercy the rigorous enactments of martial law; and, in one particular instance, in which Captain Brewster, an agent of Lord De la Warr, was concerned, the Clergy were constrained to come forward, in conjunction with some of the leading members of the Court by which he had been tried, and intercede for his life, against the cruel and unjust condemnation passed upon him by Argall⁴. They succeeded so far as to obtain permission for Brewster to return to England; and the examination, which the Council at home were led, in consequence, to make into the whole subject, led speedily to the abolition of this hateful law⁵.

³ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 146; and Smith's ditto, p. 123.

⁴ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 153.

⁵ It is observed by Chalmers in his Political Annals of Virginia, p. 38, that 'this is the first instance of an appeal carried from the Colonies to England; and it is equally remarkable that it was

made to the Company, and not to the King in Council; to whom appeals were not probably transmitted till, by the dissolution of the Corporation, the reins of government were grasped by royal hands; nor were they commonly prosecuted till a period subsequent to the restoration.'

There was one man, indeed,—Lord De la Warr, —whose authority, could it have been exercised by him in person, would have prevented the infliction of the perilous evils which his deputies brought upon the Colony. But the bodily illness which had driven him away from James Town, a few months after he had first landed there, in the capacity of Captain-General, continued to wear down his strength; and, in the year 1618, he finished his course in this world. A considerable discrepancy exists between the accounts which have come down to us respecting his death. Collins states that it took place whilst he was returning, a second time, to England⁶. Walpole, in his Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors⁷, adopts the report that he died at Wherwell, in Hampshire, an estate which then belonged to the family; and appeals to the inquisition taken at Andover, in the following year, for proof of its correctness⁸. On the other hand, every other authority concurs in stating that he died on his second voyage to Virginia⁹. Their notices, though brief,

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The death
of Lord De
la Warr, in
1618.

⁶ Collins's Peerage, v. 23.

⁷ Walpole, ii. 181.

⁸ 'These inquests of office,' says Blackstone, iii. 286, 'were more frequently in practice than at present, during the continuance of the military tenures amongst us; when, upon the death of every one of the king's tenants, an inquest of office was held, called an *inquisitio post mortem*, to inquire of what lands he died seised, who was his heir, and of what age, in order to entitle the king to his marriage, wardship, relief, *primer-*

seisin or other advantages, as the circumstances of the case might turn out. To superintend and regulate these inquiries the courts of wards and liveries were instituted by statute, 32 Hen. VIII. c. 46, which was abolished at the restoration of King Charles the Second, together with the oppressive tenures upon which it was founded.'

⁹ Camden (quoted by Collins and Walpole, ut sup.); Burke's European Settlements in America, ii. p. 221; Stith's History of Virginia, p. 148; Holmes's American

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are circumstantial. The only apparent difference between any of them is, that Camden reports him to have sailed on the seventh of May, 1618; whereas, according to Purchas, we are told that his ship was finished and set forth in April. But this difference may easily be accounted for, by supposing that the former refers to the day of his embarkation, and the latter to the time when the ship was in readiness for sailing. They all agree, however, in saying that Lord De la Warr, in the course of his voyage, landed at the island of Saint Michael, where he was sumptuously entertained by the Governor; and, that, sailing thence, he soon afterwards died, with thirty men, not without suspicion of poison. Stith, indeed, relates that he had somewhere seen an account of his Lordship having died about the mouth of De la Warr Bay, which thence took its name from him¹⁰. Had Stith related this account with any degree of confidence, it would have gone far to establish its correctness; for his attention to historical details is minute even to tediousness. But he speaks of it only as a vague report. And, in this instance, his information or memory must evidently have failed him; for, it has been already stated, upon the authority of the Appendix to Jefferson's Virginia¹¹, that the River and Bay, which now bear the name of Delaware, were so called from the Captain-General of Virginia,

Annals, i. 159; Smith's History of Virginia, p. 124; and Purchas, iv. 1774.

¹⁰ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 148.

¹¹ See p. 271 of this Volume.

when he put in there on his way to England, in 1611. In further proof of the correctness of this statement, there is still extant¹² a letter, from Captain Argall to Master Nicholas Hawes, dated June 1613—five years before Lord De la Warr's death,—in which he calls the Bay after the name of that nobleman.

But, wheresoever the death of Lord De la Warr took place, there can be no doubt that it was a grievous loss to the province, and to the nation, which had appointed him to be its chief governor. To his family, the privation was rendered still greater, by another afflicting event, which probably had preceded it, by a few years,—the death of his eldest son¹³. It is stated, by the Author of the Account of the European Settlements in America, that, when Lord De la Warr was compelled by sickness to return from Virginia, 'he left his son, with the spirit of his father, his deputy¹⁴.' This son, I am informed by the present Earl, was drowned on his return to England; and it is supposed that all his father's papers were then lost with him. Thus not only did the choicest of England's nobility fall, in the effort to plant her power in the Western hemisphere, but that which would have been so precious in the

¹² Purchas, iv. 1764.

¹³ My reason for thinking this probable, is, that, according to the inquisition referred to above, the marriage of Lord De la Warr with the daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley, of Whiston, is said to have taken place, in 44 Eliz. 1601-2, and his

eldest son to have been in his fifteenth year at the time of his father's death. Collins, v. 23. The eldest son therefore, who had been left in Virginia, in 1611, must have been by a former marriage, although he is not mentioned in the peerages.

¹⁴ ii. 220.

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 } their labours,—has been lost for ever.

Yeardley
 again en-
 trusted with
 the com-
 mand of the
 Colony, in
 1619.

The despotic conduct of Argall soon led to his recall. And, in 1619, Yeardley, now Sir George, went out a second time as chief Governor of the Colony. His first work, under the enlarged instructions and authority which he brought out with him from England, was to repair the miseries which had been inflicted upon the settlers by the extortionate oppression of his predecessor. His second, was to establish and convene a House of Assembly, consisting of Representatives, who were to be sent from the Boroughs or Townships of Virginia, and by whom, in conjunction with the Council and Governor, its affairs were henceforth to be administered. Copies of all their proceedings were to be forwarded to the Council of the Company at home, who still retained the power of confirming or annulling the Acts of the Colonial Assembly. James Town, Henrico, Bermuda Hundred, and four others, were the first Boroughs which received the right of sending Burgesses to this Assembly; but, before the summer of 1619 had passed away, four more were added to the list; so that the whole number of Representatives was eleven¹⁵. The number of members of the Council appears to have been unlimited; and, among those now added to it by Sir George Yeardley, Francis West, brother of the late Lord De la Warr,

¹⁵ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 160.

is again found to have a place. He had been one of the earliest settlers of the Colony ¹⁶; and, albeit more than one of those who bore his honoured name had fallen under the arduous labour of establishing it, he remained stedfast at his post.

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The securities, which had been thus given for the better administration of the affairs of the Colony, by the establishment of a Representative Assembly, and the additional barriers which had been raised up against oppressive and unjust rule, are to be traced to the change which, during the same year, had taken place among the officers of the Council at home. And to the important proceedings consequent upon this change, the reader's attention must now be directed.

Proceedings
of the Vir-
ginia Coun-
cil at home.

The resignation of the office of Treasurer by Sir Thomas Smith, was followed by the election of Sir Edwin Sandys to that important post; and Mr. John Ferrar was, at the same time, chosen Deputy Treasurer, in the room of Alderman Johnson. Difficulties of no ordinary magnitude were to be encountered by them. In a period of twelve years, an expenditure of eighty thousand pounds had been incurred; and a further debt of upwards of four thousand pounds was owing by the Company. The English population of the Colony consisted of about six hundred persons, including women and children; but, upon the lands and plantation belonging to the Company,

Sir Edwin
Sandys
elected
Treasurer.

¹⁶ See note ⁶⁴, at p. 226 of this Volume.

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the cruelty of Argall's rule had wrought such destruction, that only three tenants were left upon them ¹⁷.

To reform, therefore, the abuses which had produced such disastrous consequences; to set forward in a right direction the energies of the people; and to secure to them, more completely, all the appliances and means of improvement, were the objects to which Sir Edwin Sandys and his associates directed their whole thoughts.

King
James's Let-
ter to the
Archbi-
shops.

Foremost among their schemes of high and holy enterprise, was the erection of a College in Henrico, for the training and educating the children of the natives in the knowledge of the true God. A Letter had already been issued by James the First to the Archbishops, authorizing them to invite the members of the Church throughout the kingdom, to assist in the prosecution of this and other kindred works of piety. Stith, who notices this letter ¹⁸, has not given its date; nor have I been able yet to ascertain it from any other quarter. I have found, indeed, a copy of the Letter itself in the State Paper Office; but the date is obliterated. It is, I believe, the first document of the kind, ever issued in this country, for the benefit of its foreign possessions. It bears upon its front the most distinct and open avowal of the obligation, laid upon a Christian empire, to uphold and spread abroad the Christian name; and, as I am not aware that it has

¹⁷ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 159, 160.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 162.

ever been presented to public notice, I now place it before the reader:—

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‘Most Reuerend Father in God, right trustie and well beloued Counsellor, Wee greete you well. You haue heard ere this time of y^e attempt of diuerse Worthie men our Subjects to plant in Virginia (under y^e warrant of our L^{tes} patents) People of this Kingdome, as well as for y^e enlarging of our Dominions, as for propagation of y^e Gospell amongst Infidells: wherein there is good progresse made, and hope of further increase: so as the undertakers of that Plantation are now in hand wth the erecting of some Churches and Schooles for y^e education of y^e children of those Barbarians w^{ch} cannot but be to them a very great charge, and aboue the expence w^{ch} for ye civill plantation doth come to them. In w^{ch} wee doubt not but that you and all others who wish well to the encrease of Christian Religion will be willing to give all assistance and furtherance you may, and therein to make experience of the zeale and deuotion of our well minded Subjects, especially those of y^e Clergie. Wherefore Wee doe require you, and hereby authorize you to write y^{or} Letters to y^e severall Bishops of y^e Dioceses in y^{or} Province, that they doe giue order to the Ministers, and other zealous men of their Dioceses, both by their owne example in contribution, and by exhortation to others, to moue our people wthin their seuerall charges, to contribute to so good a Worke in as liberall a manner as they may, for the better aduancing whereof our pleasure is that those Collec-

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tions be made in all the particular parishes four severall tymes, wthin these two years next coming: and that the severall accounts of each parish, together wth the moneys collected, be returned from time to time to y^e Bishops of y^e Dioceses, and by them be transmitted half yearely to you: and so to be deliuered to the Treasurer of that Plantation, to be employed for the Godly purposes intended, and no other.'

Thus plainly did the Church of England,—speaking by the mouth of her spiritual and temporal rulers, in that day,—acknowledge the sacred duty unto which she was bound: thus faithfully did she seek to animate her children with the desire to accomplish it.

Measures taken towards the establishment of Henrico College.

Upon the election of Sir Edwin Sandys to the Treasurership, it appears that about fifteen hundred pounds had been collected towards the building of the College at Henrico, and that more was expected to come in. One of his first measures was the appointment of a Committee to urge onward the prosecution of the work in the Diocese of Lichfield, where there had been some delay in receiving the proper warrant to make a collection. Authority was also given, at his suggestion, to set apart ten thousand acres at Henrico for the College: and an hundred men were sent from England to occupy and cultivate the same; who were to receive one moiety of the produce as the profit of their labour, and to pay the other moiety towards the maintenance of the College. Reckoning a man's

labour at that time at ten pounds a year, it was estimated that these lands would yield an annual income of five hundred pounds. The College was intended to be not only a place of education for the Indians, but for the English also; and, early in the year 1620, Mr. George Thorpe, a relation of Sir Thomas Dale, was sent out as its superintendent. A further portion of land, consisting of three hundred acres, was set apart for his sustenance¹⁹.

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Whilst these designs were carried on at the public charge of the Virginia Company, the pious help of many private individuals, in furtherance of the same end, showed how ardently they desired to help the Colony. The Bishop of London, Dr. King, had himself collected, and paid in, a thousand pounds towards Henrico College. Vessels for the celebration of the Holy Communion, in the same College, were presented by a benefactor who has not divulged his name; and a similar offering was made by another, whose name is likewise unknown, for the use of a Church, towards the building of which two hundred pounds had been bequeathed, in 1618, by a lady, named Mary Robinson. Several other anonymous gifts of Bibles and Books of Common Prayer for the Colony are also related to have been made²⁰. Moreover, the sum of five hundred pounds was forwarded to Sir Edwin Sandys,—whom the donor, at that time unknown, justly addressed as ‘The faithful Treasurer of Virginia,’—for the purpose of

The pious help of many private individuals towards that and other similar objects.

¹⁹ Ibid. pp. 162, 163.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 171; and Purchas, iv. 1786.

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training in the knowledge of the Christian faith a certain number of Indian children, from seven, or under, to twelve years of age ; after which, they were to be brought up in the knowledge and practice of some trade, until they reached the age of twenty-one ; when they were to be admitted to an equality of liberty and privileges with the native English of Virginia. Fifty pounds were further given, by direction of the same benefactor, to two religious and worthy persons, who should, every quarter, examine and certify to the Treasurer in England, the due execution of this design, with the names of the children and of their tutors and overseers. At the same time that Sir Edwin Sandys communicated this intelligence to the Council, he informed them that he had also received sundry other assurances and promises of support. One of these has been recorded, namely, a legacy of three hundred pounds left by Nicholas Ferrar, the elder, for the conversion of native Indian children of Virginia ; and to be applied by Sir Edwin Sandys, to that purpose, as soon as ten children were received into the College ²¹.

Similar exertions were, meanwhile, going forward in Virginia, for the purpose of making these pious designs acceptable to her native population. The old Indian chief Powhatan, with whom the English had first come into contact, and whose name has been so often mentioned, had died in the same year with Lord De la Warr. His brother

²¹ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 171, 172.

Opitchapan had succeeded him, in the first instance; but, from his imbecility, soon surrendered all his power into the hands of another younger brother, Openchancanough²². With this latter personage, Sir George Yeardley was empowered to make a special treaty, and to propitiate him, by every lawful means, in order that the introduction of the Indian children into Henrico College might be facilitated, and the designs of its pious founders realised. Others also, in the province, sought to forward the same good work; among whom we find a clergyman, named Thomas Bargrave, who gave his library to the College²³.

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Amid these various manifestations of private zeal and munificence, one is recorded, which, although a little later in order of time, was so completely identified in spirit and object with those just mentioned, that it may be well noticed in this place. It was the effort made by Mr. Copeland, to establish a Church and School in Virginia. He was chaplain on board the Royal James, East Indiaman; and, upon the return of that vessel to England in 1621, had prevailed upon the officers and crew to contribute seventy pounds towards that object. Two benefactions were afterwards given, one of thirty pounds, and another of twenty-five, for the same purpose, by persons whose names were not known. Charles City, one of the new settlements of Virginia, was the place fixed upon for the erection of the School, which was to be

²² Ibid. pp. 154, 155.

²³ Purchas, iv. 1787.

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called the East India School, and to be dependent upon Henrico College; into which latter Institution the scholars were to be received as soon as circumstances would permit. The Company allotted a thousand acres of land for the maintenance of the master and usher of the School; and Mr. Copeland himself was presented with three hundred acres of land in Virginia. Workmen were sent out, early in the year 1622, to begin the building²⁴.

Provision
for the sup-
port of the
Clergy.

Whilst these efforts were multiplying on every side for the Christian training of Indian and English children in Virginia, arrangements were likewise begun for ensuring a permanent maintenance for the Clergy. Each Borough was constituted a distinct Parish; and, in each of them, a portion of land, consisting of one hundred acres, was set apart for a glebe; which glebes were, in the first instance, to be cultivated by six tenants placed on each of them at the public expense. A further settlement also was made, for the minister's maintenance, of fifteen hundred weight of tobacco, and sixteen barrels of corn, to be raised yearly at the rate of ten pounds of tobacco²⁵, and a bushel of corn, per head, for every man or boy above sixteen years of age. The value of the produce so contributed was estimated at two hundred pounds sterling; and this was fixed as the

²⁴ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 204.

²⁵ The whole crop of tobacco in 1618, which, in the next year, was imported into England, from Virginia, was twenty thousand

pounds; and was seldom sold at a higher rate than that of three or four shillings a pound, while Spanish tobacco was usually sold at eighteen shillings or more. Ibid. p. 168.

highest amount of stipend to be received by any minister. If, in any plantation, the quota required from each person should fail to make up the prescribed amount, the individual assessment was not to be increased, but the minister's stipend to be reduced in that ratio. If, on the other hand, it should exceed it, then the minister's stipend was not to be enlarged, but the individual assessment to be proportionably diminished ²⁶.

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At the time of making these arrangements for the maintenance of the Clergy, there were only five in the Colony ²⁷, a number sufficient for the English population, had they been all settled in one place. But the Colony had now extended itself to a distance of an hundred and forty miles on both sides of the James River ²⁸; and a division, we have seen, had been already made of its territory into eleven Boroughs, which were to send each its representative to the House of Assembly. These Boroughs were, henceforward, to be constituted distinct Parishes; and it was evident, therefore, that in each one of

²⁶ Ibid. p. 173.

²⁷ Namely, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Stockham, Mr. Mease, Mr. Bargrave, and Mr. Wickham. (Hawks's Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Virginia, p. 36.) The faithful and zealous labours of the first of these clergymen have been already noticed. Of Mr. Bargrave's desire to promote the efficiency of Henrico College, an instance has just been cited above, at p. 319. Mr. Mease is mentioned by Stith, p. 291, as having lived

ten years in Virginia, and drawn up an answer to the calumnies of Captain Butler, which will be hereafter noticed. Upon Mr. Stockham's opinions I shall have to make some remarks in the sequel of this chapter. With respect to Mr. Wickham, I have not yet been able to obtain any further information, than that which Dr. Hawks has furnished by the recital of his name.

²⁸ Smith's History of Virginia, p. 146.

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them there ought to be appointed some one authorized minister of the Church of Christ, to bring home its saving ordinances to the hearts of the people, and be responsible for their welfare.

The Bishop of London applied to by the Virginia Council to provide Clergymen.

For this purpose, the Virginia Council made application to the Bishop of London, to assist them in providing 'pious, learned, and painful ministers.' The position of the Bishop in the metropolis would naturally have induced the Council,—who carried on all their proceedings in the same city,—to consult his judgment, and act under his authority, in matters ecclesiastical. And when, to this circumstance, is added the deep interest which Bishop King was known to have felt in the welfare of the Colony, and the zealous exertions which he made for the establishment of the College,—an Institution so well fitted to confer real and permanent benefit upon the native and English population,—we may easily understand that they, who were responsible for the right management of the province, would be not less anxious to obtain his help than he to give it. He was forthwith chosen a member of the King's Council for Virginia²⁹; and, so far, one channel of direct and authoritative communication was established between himself and the Clergymen whom he nominated, and over whom he was to exercise, as far as it was practicable, the Episcopal control. But I cannot find that any other measures were adopted, at this time, by which Virginia was formally constituted a part of the Diocese of London.

And chosen a member of it.

²⁹ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 173.

Whilst these important arrangements were going forward, during the Governorship of Sir George Yeardley, and the Treasurership of Sir Edwin Sandys, others were also proposed by them to the consideration of the Council, which had for their object, not less, the permanent benefit of the Colony, by placing upon a better footing the system of emigration from the mother country. To this end, plans were formed, in the first place, for increasing the number of tenants upon the lands belonging to the Company, the College of Henrico, and the Governor; secondly, for sending over, under proper supervision, an hundred boys and girls, as their servants and apprentices; and, thirdly, the same number of young single women of blameless reputation, for the purpose of forming marriages with the Colonists. The expense of their conveyance was to be defrayed by the Company, in all cases where the women were married to the tenants and farmers of the public lands; but, in the case of their being married to private settlers, the husband was to repay to the Company the charge of his wife's conveyance from England³⁰.

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Emigration of apprentices, and young women to be married to the Colonists, encouraged.

It had been well for the Colony, if the measures thus taken for its welfare could have proceeded in their course without impediment. But the same period witnessed the commencement of a system

First transportation of Convicts to Virginia, in 1620.

³⁰ 'The price of these wives,' adds Stith, 'was stated at an hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, and afterwards advanced to an hundred and fifty, and proportionably more, if any of them should happen to die;—and it was also ordered that this debt should have the precedence of all others, and be first recoverable.' Ibid. p. 197.

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which marred it grievously; and which, in other extensive portions of our Colonial empire, has since produced results so full of misery,—the transportation of convicted criminals. The manner of its commencement was as tyrannical and unjust as its subsequent course was ruinous. It was a punishment utterly unknown to the common law³¹; and, not until the thirty-ninth year of Elizabeth³², is any trace of it to be found in the English Statute Book. An enactment was then passed, ‘that such rogues as were dangerous to the inferior people should be banished the realm.’ But Chalmers is of opinion,—and, I think, rightly,—that the present measure was not pretended to be justified under that statute, but is to be regarded simply as an act of the royal prerogative³³. The Treasurer and Council received a letter from the King, commanding them to receive from Sir Edward Zouch, the Knight Marshal, an hundred ‘dissolute persons,’ and send them forthwith to Virginia. That such persons would be acceptable to the Colony, by supplying it with the means of labour, was the only plea attempted to be urged in its behalf. But I cannot agree with Chalmers, who thinks it was a mark of ‘the good sense of those days,’ to consider that the labour of these men ‘would be more beneficial in an infant settlement,

³¹ Blackstone, i. 147.

³² 39 Eliz. c. 4.

³³ Chalmers’s Annals, &c. p. 47. It may be remarked, that the word ‘transportation’ does not occur in any statute until 18 Car. II. c. 3, which empowers the

judges to transport for life the moss-troopers of Cumberland and Northumberland to any of his Majesty’s possessions in America. See Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, 1838, p. iii.

which had an immense wilderness to cultivate, than their vices could possibly be pernicious³⁴.' On the contrary, I believe that the evils produced by the transportation of criminals, according to the system pursued by our own country, have been far greater than can be compensated by any amount of assistance which their labour has afforded to free settlers in the same lands; and that the indignant remonstrance of Franklin must remain for ever a testimony against the error committed by our Legislature, when they let 'loose upon the New World the outcasts of the Old³⁵.' There can be no doubt, that, in the instance now before us, the proposal to transport criminals to Virginia, was most unpalatable to the Company; but their opposition was vain. Notwithstanding that the Treasurer represented to Mr. Secretary Calvert the great inconvenience and expense to which the Company would be exposed by supplying the means of transport for these convicts, the King's command was urgent; and the embarkation of at least fifty of the number, on board the next ships bound for Virginia, was absolutely insisted upon. The historian of the Colony truly remarks that such arbitrary, insulting, and oppressive conduct was but in accordance with many other like acts committed by him who then occupied the English throne. And not less true is his description of the evils which so speedily ensued. 'It hath laid,' he says, 'one of the

³⁴ Chalmers's Political Annals of Virginia, p. 47. Committee of the House of Commons above cited, p. iv.

³⁵ See Report of the Select

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finest countries in America under just scandall of being a mere hell upon earth ³⁶, another Siberia, and only fit for the reception of malefactors, and the vilest of the people.' What a melancholy commentary upon these words has the history of our penal Colonies, since that period, exhibited!

Negro slaves brought first into Virginia.

The same year, 1620, which witnessed the first transportation of convicts to Virginia, is remarkable also for the introduction of another evil into the Colony,—that of negro slavery. It is some consolation to know that the authorities at home and in the province seem not, in any way, to have invited, or prepared the way for, its approach. It was,—as far as can now be traced,—an act of private cupidity and injustice, committed by some of the settlers in James Town, who purchased twenty negroes from a Dutch ship, which had put in there for the purposes of trade ³⁷. And, behold, from this source, how deep a tide of guilt and wretchedness has since set in upon the shores of that mighty continent!

Sir Francis Wyat appointed Governor, and the Earl of Southampton, Treasurer.

Some important changes now took place in the officers of the Colony. The commission of Sir Geo. Yeardley expired in 1621; and, as he desired that it might not be renewed, Sir Francis Wyat, whose high character amply justified his appointment ³⁸,

³⁶ They who have examined the records of our penal Colonies, in later years, will remember with what fearful emphasis this very phrase employed by Stith, (p. 168) nearly a century ago, was repeated by one of the wretched mutineers

in Norfolk Island, in 1834. See Judge Burton's Account of the State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, p. 258.

³⁷ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 182.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 187.

was appointed to succeed him. Upon the expiration also of Sir Edwin Sandys's period of office, the Earl of Southampton was chosen Treasurer in his room, much against the will of King James³⁹. Both public and private reasons for displeasure existed, on the King's part, against Southampton, and those members of the Virginia Company who acted with him. They were of that party which, in both Houses of Parliament, resisted most strongly the encroachments of the royal prerogatives; and, independently of those questions of general policy which prejudiced the King against them, they felt it their duty also to resist his measures for limiting, first, the importation of tobacco from Virginia; and, secondly, for granting a monopoly of it to certain favoured members of the Company.

The arbitrary imprisonment of Sandys by the King, during the session of parliament, in 1621, and the arrest of the Earl of Southampton, after its dissolution, are sufficiently strong proofs of the hatred of the King against them⁴⁰, and of the mis-

³⁹ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 179—181.

⁴⁰ Some remarkable circumstances connected with his arrest are to be found in Miss Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of James the First, ii. 240—243. Of the hatred entertained by James against that nobleman and his associates, some striking instances occur also in a Tract, printed in London, 1651, and entitled 'A Short Collection of the most remarkable passages from the Originall to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company.'

A speech of the King, for example, is there recorded (p. 4), in which he swore that 'the Virginia Company was a seminary for a seditious Parliament;' and, upon another occasion, when the period of Sir Edwin Sandys's office had expired, and the Company were anxious to reappoint him, but the King objected to him, Lords Pembroke and Southampton waited upon his Majesty for the purpose of removing, if they could, his objection. But he refused to listen to their appeal, declaring Sandys

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chief which he was prepared to bring upon the Colony which they supported, rather than be thwarted in the prosecution of his own selfish and capricious aims. The ascendancy which Spain had for some time acquired in the English court, and which she skilfully maintained through the agency of her ambassador, Count Gondomar, tended also, in no slight degree, to influence the conduct of James; insomuch that he scrupled not to countenance measures, the direct tendency of which was to benefit the Spanish Colonies to the prejudice of his own. To relate the various proceedings which arose out of this state of things, falls more within the province of the general historian than our own⁴¹. The brief reference here made to them has been given for the purpose of showing the formidable difficulties which the real friends of Virginia had to encounter in that day.

Charter and
Articles of
Instruction
entrusted to
Wyat.

Turning our attention now to Sir Francis Wyat, we find that he carried out with him from England a new Ordinance for the constitution of a Council of State⁴², as well as regulations for the General Assembly. He was entrusted also with certain Articles of Instruction, the wisdom and piety of which are very remarkable. The first recommenda-

'his greatest enemy,' and that 'he could hardly think well of whomsoever was his friend; and all this in a furious passion, returning no other answer but 'Choose the devill, if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys,' pp. 7, 8.

⁴¹ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 199—207.

⁴² This Ordinance is given at length by Stith, in his Appendix, No. iv. and bears date July 24, 1621.

tion, addressed therein to the Governor and Council in Virginia, is, 'to take into their especial regard the service of Almighty God, and the observance of His divine Laws; and that the people should be trained up in true religion and virtue. And since their endeavours, for the establishment of the honour and rights of the Church and Ministry, had not yet taken due effect, they were required to employ their utmost care to advance all things appertaining to the Order and Administration of Divine Service, according to the form and discipline of the Church of England; carefully to avoid all factious and needless novelties, which only tended to the disturbance of peace and unity; and to cause that the Ministers should be duly respected and maintained, and the Churches, or places appointed for Divine Service, decently accommodated, according to former orders in that behalf. They were, in the next place, commanded to keep the people in due obedience to the King; to provide that justice might be equally administered to all, as near as could be, according to the forms and constitution of England; to prevent all corruption, tending to the perversion or delay of justice; to protect the natives from injury and oppression; and to cultivate peace and friendship with them, as far as it should be consistent with the honour of the nation and safety of the people.— They further pressed upon them, in a particular manner, the using all probable means of bringing over the natives to a love of civility, and to the knowledge of God and his true religion. To which

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purpose, they observed to them, that the example given by the English in their own persons and families would be of singular and chief moment: that it would be proper to draw the best disposed among the Indians to converse and labour with our people, for a convenient reward; that thereby, being reconciled to a civil way of life, and brought to a sense of God and religion, they might afterwards become instruments in the general conversion of their countrymen, so much desired: that each Town, Burrough, and Hundred, ought to procure by just means a certain number of their children, to be brought up in the first elements of literature: That the most towardly of these should be fitted for the College; in building of which they purposed to proceed, as soon as any profit arose from the estate appropriated to that use; and they earnestly required their utmost help and furtherance, in that pious and important work; not doubting the particular blessing of God upon the Colony, and being assured of the love of all good men, upon that account⁴³.

Besides these instructions, others were, at the same time, given, to encourage the growth of corn, vines⁴⁴, and mulberry-trees, and the breed of silk-worms; and to establish the manufacture of silks. Every effort was made to forward these designs, not only on account of the profit which, it was hoped, might be derived from them, but also for the pur-

⁴³ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 194, 195.

⁴⁴ The French vigneron, who had been sent out for the purpose

of carrying these instructions into effect, reported that the Virginia soil and climate surpassed those of Languedoc. Purchas, iv. 1786.

pose of discouraging, as far as possible, the growth and exportation of tobacco, which ‘besides many unnecessary expenses,’ as the King writes in a letter to the Earl of Southampton, ‘brings with it many disorders and inconueniences⁴⁵.’ Such language was reasonably to be expected from the author of the ‘Counterblast to Tobacco;’ but not by his edicts could the growth of the staple produce of Virginia be restrained.

Further regulations were, at the same time, carried out to the Colony by Wyat, for the conduct of the General Assembly, which provided that no ordinance passed by it should be valid, until it had been ratified in a General Quarterly Court of the Company in England; and, likewise, that no orders of the Court at home should bind the Colony, unless ratified in the same manner in its General Assembly. With respect to the administration of justice, it was distinctly provided, that the laws, customs, and manner of trial observed in England should be the model for their imitation⁴⁶.

The members of the London Council, by whom these aids and instructions were given, came forward voluntarily with private subscriptions to promote the enterprises which they recommended. And in this, as in every other work intended for the welfare of the Colony, the Earl of Southampton and Sir Edwin Sandys still occupied the foremost place⁴⁷. So active were they in their efforts to increase the

⁴⁵ Purchas, iv. 1787.

⁴⁶ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 195—197.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 198.

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strength of the Colony, and so acceptable to the public mind were the conditions which they annexed to grants of land throughout the province, that not less than fifty patents for new settlements were issued in the year 1621; and, in that and the two preceding years, upwards of three thousand five hundred and seventy persons emigrated to Virginia⁴⁸.

Kind and liberal treatment of Puritan settlers.

Among these, some were Puritans. And the kind and liberal treatment which they received, at the hands of English Churchmen already settled in Virginia, is worthy of remark, not only for its own sake, as a token of the generous spirit which then animated the members of our communion in that country; but also for the sake of the contrast which it exhibits to the cruel intolerance of the Puritans themselves, when they set foot, a few years afterwards, in New England. It may be regarded, too, as the evidence of a charitable and humane spirit on the part of those who chiefly influenced the counsels of the Virginia Company at home.

For we learn from Rapin, that, in consequence of the rigorous measures adopted towards the Puritans by Archbishop Bancroft, a short time before his death, many had resolved to go and settle in Virginia, and some had accordingly departed; but that he, 'seeing abundance more were ready to take the same voyage, obtained a Proclamation, commanding them not to go without the King's licence⁴⁹.' To

⁴⁸ Chalmer's Political Annals of Virginia, p. 57; and Purchas, iv. 1787.

⁴⁹ Rapin's History of England, x. 312. See also Neal's History of the Puritans, i. 438.

insist upon such a condition was, according to the policy then pursued, to forbid the emigration of the Puritans; and this is one of the instances of overmuch severity, to which we have already adverted in our notice of Bancroft's character, as aggravating the very dangers which he sought to repel⁵⁰. Now it is clear that this royal proclamation could have no longer been in force, or that its conditions must have been relaxed; or not a single Puritan would have been found amid the thousands who now emigrated to Virginia. It is true, as we have seen already, that the Church of England was no less avowedly established in that Colony than at home; and, if the enactments concerning it,—to some of which reference has been made,—had been literally enforced, the Puritan would have found no resting-place within its borders. But there has been laid before the reader abundant evidence to prove, that, whilst the letter of the Colonial Law was the echo of that pronounced by the despotic Courts then existing in the mother-country, its spirit was mild and equitable. The passage already cited from Whitaker's epistle to his cousin⁵¹, is one proof of this; and others are to be found in the words and acts of the several governors of the Colony, from the first appointment of Lord De la Warr to the present time. With the single exception of Argall, their rule was distinguished by gentleness and meekness of wisdom.

⁵⁰ See p. 185 of this Volume. ⁵¹ See pp. 296, 297, of this Volume.

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I am anxious that the reader should bear these facts in mind, because by some writers they have been left wholly unnoticed, and by others unfairly represented. Jefferson, for example, in his Notes on the State of Virginia, speaking of 'the first settlers in this country,' says that they 'were emigrants from England, of the English Church, just at a point of time when it was flushed with complete victory over the religious of all other persuasions. Possessed, as they became, of the powers of making, administering, and executing the laws, they showed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian brethren, who had emigrated to the northern government.' He tries to bear out this gross misstatement of facts, by citing instances of persecution which occurred in Virginia, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, when the Church was encumbered, and well nigh laid prostrate by heavy trials; and passes over, in complete silence, the records which we are now reviewing. Not content with this suppression of the truth, he hesitates not to deny to the Church in Virginia the only credit which might be claimed for her, amid the difficulties which tempted her afterwards to resort to severe measures. He admits, that, in all the persecutions laid to her charge, 'no capital execution took place, as in New England;' but asserts that 'it was not owing to the moderation of the Church, or spirit of the legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself, but to historical circumstances which have not been handed down to us⁵².' Thus

⁵² Jefferson's Notes, &c. pp. 261, 262.

boldly has this writer dared to tamper with the facts before him. Bancroft, indeed, in his valuable History of the Colonization of the United States, has given a totally different account. Consulting carefully the original authorities, and giving the results of his enquiries with a clearness and energy which, I believe, has never been surpassed, he fully admits, that, at this time (1620), ‘Virginia was a refuge even for Puritans;’ that the invitation from ‘the southern planters,’ ten years afterwards, ‘to the people of New Plymouth to abandon the cold and sterile clime of New England, and plant themselves in the milder regions on Delaware Bay,’ was ‘a plain indication that Puritans were not then molested in Virginia⁵³;’ and, last of all, he distinctly confesses, ‘I know of no act of cruel persecution that originated among men who were settlers in Virginia when left to themselves; from the days of John Smith, I think the Virginians were always tolerant⁵⁴.’ Having made this open and distinct avowal, assuredly the truth further demanded of Bancroft,—if he noticed Jefferson’s perversion of facts at all,—to have spoken out plainly in condemnation of it; and not varnished it over by saying, as he has done in the last mentioned passage, that it was a mode by which Jefferson, ‘in his benevolence, palliated New England cruelties.’ Strange benevolence! to palliate deeds of blood, by disparaging the motives of those who refused to lay

⁵³ Bancroft’s History, &c. i. 156
and 198.

⁵⁴ Ibid. ii. 459, note.

so heavy a burden of guilt upon their souls! Were it not for Bancroft's admiration of Jefferson, and his hearty agreement with him in many of his views, we might well have mistaken these words for the expression of most keen and cutting irony.—But return we now to our narrative.

The fleet, which carried out Sir Francis Wyat and the various settlers who accompanied him, reached its destination in safety. The same letters which announced that fact, contained also most favorable reports of the success which had already attended the commencement of the various works which had been recommended and designed. And, with hearts full of gratitude on account of the cheering prospect thus opened to them, the Company in London resolved to meet together in the House of Prayer, and commemorate the mercies of God which they had received. Mr. Copeland, whose zeal in behalf of their undertaking has been already noticed, was appointed to preach upon the occasion; and this service he performed, at Bow Church, on the seventeenth of April, 1622. He was also soon afterwards entreated by the Council to go over to Virginia, and do there the work of an Evangelist. To this end, he was constituted a Member of the Council of State, and Rector for the College for the conversion of the Indians. He was to have, moreover, the pastoral charge of the College tenants about him; and to receive, for the performance of the duties,

Sermon and
appointment
of the Rev.
Mr. Cope-
land.

the tenth part of the produce of the College lands ⁶⁵.

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But, whilst these devout acknowledgments of the happy issue of past labours, and these hopeful anticipations of new designs, were awakening the prayers and praises, and stimulating the energies, of wise and faithful Englishmen at home, a cry of bitter lamentation was heard amid the dwellings of their countrymen in Virginia. They thought that all was peace, and with good reason; for, at no time, from the first settlement of the English on the banks of Powhatan River, had their relations with the native tribes appeared more friendly. But the Indian was, at that very moment, marking them out for slaughter. Upon the arrival of Sir Francis Wyat in the province, he had sent Mr. Thorpe,—to whom, we have before said, the charge of preparing the establishment of Henrico College had been entrusted,—to confirm all former leagues which had been made between the native tribes and the English. Opechancanough, the youngest brother, and now the successor, of King Powhatan, received these advances with a good will, apparently most sincere, and expressed a desire to be instructed in the knowledge of the Christian faith. A house had been built for him, after the English fashion, in which he dwelt, and ‘shewed it to his owne people and strangers with pride, keeping,’ it is said, ‘his keyes charily, and busying himself with locking and

Massacre of
the English
by Opechan-
canough,
March 22,
1622.

⁶⁵ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 218.

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unlocking the doores, sometimes a hundred times in a day, admiring the strangeness of that engine, a lock and key ⁵⁶.' In return, he had given leave to the English to settle on any part of the banks of the river not occupied by the Indians; and entered into further covenants of amity with them. His people also vied with each other in offices of kindness towards the English; guiding them through the woods, entering unarmed into their houses, and supplying them freely with every kind of provisions. The English, on the other hand, received them without suspicion or fear; invited them to eat at their tables, and sleep under their roofs; taught them their language; encouraged them to worship the true God; furnished them with implements of labour; and lent them their boats to ply up and down the river. The sword and the musket were gradually laid aside as useless. The houses of the settlers were built in solitary places, wheresoever the fertility of soil or convenience of situation appeared to hold out the greatest attraction. No danger seemed at hand. Only one adverse circumstance had recently occurred to disturb the harmony which prevailed between the white man and the tribes to whose land he had come; and, even from that, no evil consequences, it was thought, were likely to arise. An Indian, named Nemattanow, who, from his fantastic dress, was called 'Jack o' the Feather' by the English, and, from his always having escaped un-

⁵⁶ Purchas, iv. 1787.

hurt the dangers of the battle or the chase, deemed himself immortal, had beguiled a planter of the name of Morgan from his house, and murdered him. A few days afterwards, two lads, servants of Morgan, meeting Jack o' the Feather, and seeing him wear upon his head their master's cap, asked him where he was; and, when the Indian told them he was dead, they seized him, that they might bring him before the superintendent of the College, who lived a few miles distant. The Indian resisted them; and, in the struggle, was wounded by a bullet from one of their fire-arms. They then placed him, wounded as he was, in a boat, and proceeded with him to the superintendent's. In the way, the Indian felt the pains of death overtaking him; and the chief entreaty which he addressed to the English lads was, that they should keep the cause of his death a secret, and never let his countrymen know where he was buried, in order that they might still cherish their belief in his invulnerable and immortal nature. His death, however, could not be concealed; nor was any mischief apprehended from it, for it had manifestly been the result of his own violence and fraud. Moreover, Opechancanough had received with the utmost kindness a messenger who had been sent to him, about the middle of March, on this subject; and had assured him that he held the peace so firm 'that the sky should fall sooner than it should be violated on his part.' But his word was false. The savages were even then waiting for his signal to fall upon their victims. The twenty-second of March was to

be the day of doom. In one hour, upon that day, and almost at the same instant, there fell, beneath the Indian club and tomahawk, three hundred and forty seven men, women, and children, of the English settlers. Among these, were six members of the Council; of whom the most distinguished was Mr. Thorpe, whose zeal and piety and gentleness had already given so precious an earnest of the blessedness of the work to which he had devoted himself. When the Indians were at hand, his servant, suspecting some treachery, had warned him to be on his guard, whilst he himself escaped by flight: but his guileless unsuspecting master was at a loss to guess the meaning of the words addressed to him; and, in a few moments, his body was torn, limb from limb, amid the yells and derision of his murderers.

The destruction of the English would probably have been complete, had it not been for a converted Indian, named Chanco, who lived with his English master, Edward Pace, as a son with his father. On the night before the massacre, he had been solicited by another Indian,—his own brother, who rested on the same couch with himself,—to rise and murder his master; but, as soon as his brother was gone, Chanco hastened to tell Pace of the impending danger⁵⁷. The Englishman, in consequence, rowed

⁵⁷ 'Such,' it is well said, 'was (God be thanked for it) the good fruit of an Infidell conuerted to Christianity; for though three hundred and more of ours died by many of these Pagan Infidels, yet thousands of ours were saued by

the meanes of one of them alone which was made a Christian: Blessed be God for euer, whose mercy endureth for euer; Blessed be God whose mercy is aboue his iustice, and farre aboue all his works; who wrought this de-

across the river, before it was dawn, to announce it to the Governor at James Town. Intelligence was then forwarded, as speedily as possible, to all the plantations which were within reach; and, wheresoever the slightest preparation was made to resist the threatened attack, the savages refrained from attempting it. In every other quarter, the work of murder was complete ⁵⁸.

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So grievous a blow as this, followed as it was soon afterwards by famine and sickness, might have been considered as the utter destruction of the Colony. Out of eighty plantations, which, before these events, were prospering, only eight remained; and, of the thousands who had settled among them, not more than eighteen hundred survived. But one of the worst results of the massacre, was the spirit of unrelenting severity towards the Indians, which it engendered in the minds of the English. A most harassing warfare was forthwith begun against them. This, indeed, seemed well nigh inevitable, after such fearful provocation had been given. But a yet more humiliating circumstance is, the conviction which seems to have prevailed, that the Indians were fit for nothing but to be trodden under foot and destroyed. There were some in the Colony who, even before the massacre, had entertained these hard thoughts of the people into whose fair land they had

liuerance, whereby their soules 1790.

escaped, even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler.—Purchas, iv. ⁵⁸ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 208—212.

forced themselves; and, with shame and sorrow be it confessed, a clergyman was found to give such thoughts utterance. It is, as far as I can learn, the only blot which attaches to any of the clergy of the province in that day; but truth demands that it be not concealed. Thus writes Mr. Jonas Stockham, on the twentieth of May, 1621, in a letter to Alexander Whitaker, to be forwarded by him to the Council at home:—‘As for those lasie seruants, who had rather stand all day idle than worke, though but an hour in this Vineyard, and spend their substance riotously than cast the superfluity of their wealth into your Treasury, I leaue them as they are to the eternall Iudge of the world. But you, right worthy, that hath aduentured so freely, I will not examine, if it were for the glory of God, or your desire of gaine, which it may be you expect should flow vnto you with a full tide, for the conuersion of the Saluages, I wonder you vse not the meanes; I confesse you say well to haue them conuerted by faire meanes, but they scorne to acknowledge it: as for the gifts bestowed on them they deuour them, and so they would the giuers if they could, and though many haue endeoured by all the meanes they could by kindnesse to conuert them, they finde nothing from them but derision and ridiculous answers. We haue sent boies amongst them to learne their language, but they returne worse than they went: but I am no States-man, nor loue I to meddle with any thing but my Bookes, but I can find no probability by this course to draw them to goodnesse: and I am per-

swaded if Mars and Minerua goe hand in hand, they will effect more good in an houre, than these verball Mercurians in their liues; and till their Priests and Ancients haue their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conuersion⁵⁹.' The hasty and impatient spirit which this writer manifests, and which clearly rendered him unfit for the work whereunto he had put his hand, now found access to the hearts of the great mass of his countrymen. The horrors of the massacre seemed to them to justify the counsel which he had ventured to propose. It 'caused them all,' says Smith, 'to belieue the opinion of Master Stockham, and draue them all to their wit's end⁶⁰.'

Nevertheless, wisdom, and humanity, and faith still animated the supporters of the Colony at home. They did not despair. They were compelled, indeed, to leave for the present in abeyance many of

⁵⁹ Smith's History of Virginia, pp. 139, 140; and Purchas, iv. 1779. Smith acknowledges that he agreed with Stockham in his view of the Indian character; and, however it may excite our regret that he should have done so, the fact cannot be denied. But I observe in Stith's History, (p.233),—and it is almost the only inaccuracy I have met with in that writer,—that he represents Whitaker as coinciding also with both Smith and Stockham in this respect. There is no authority for this statement. The letter of Stockham quoted above, is stated by Purchas, in the margin, to have been addressed to Whitaker,—and, so far, the association of their names upon this subject

may have led Stith to think that they agreed together,—but the terms of the letter itself certainly go to prove that Stockham and Whitaker had taken opposite views of the method to be pursued in converting the Indians. Stith has also, I think, in the same passage, not rightly interpreted the language of the Council at home on this subject. They might say that the blood of their countrymen who had been massacred 'would be the seed of the Plantation;' but this by no means implied the resolution upon their parts only to manage the Colony by violence.

⁶⁰ Smith's History of Virginia, p. 150.

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their most important schemes; and the appointment of Mr. Copeland, for example, as Rector of Henrico College, and the other works connected with the College, were not proceeded with. But the flame of Christian love was still burning in the hearts of the chief friends of Virginia at home; and, had not the hateful atmosphere of discord and jealousy gathered around it, a bright and blessed ray might yet have beamed from England upon that Colony.

Donne's
Sermon.

I know not a more striking evidence of the truth of the above remark, than that supplied in a Sermon, preached before the Virginia Company, by the celebrated Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, on the thirteenth of November, 1622, a few months after the intelligence of the massacre must have reached England. He had long felt a deep interest in the welfare of the Colony, and was, at that time, a member of the King's Council for Virginia⁶¹. His text is from the eighth verse of the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, "But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." He divides his Sermon into two parts; and, having shown, in the second of these, that the principle of municipal law,—which declares it to be the interest of every particular State to take care that every man improve that he hath for the advantage of that State,—is also a principle which pervades the law of nations; and that, upon this

⁶¹ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 178.

foundation, the lawfulness of making plantations in foreign lands is established; he proceeds, in his own forcible manner, to apply, in subordination to the text, his argument to the case before him:—‘And for that, *Accepistis potestatem*, you haue your Commission, your Patents, your Charters, your Seales from Him, vpon whose Acts any priuate Subject, in Ciuill matters, may safely relye. But then, *Accipietis potestatem*, You shall receiue power, sayes the Text; you shall, when the Holy Ghost is come on you; that is, when the instinct, the influence, the motions of the Holy Ghost enable your conscience to say, That your principall end is not gaine, nor glory, but to gaine Soules to the glory of God; this seales the great Seale, this iustifies Iustice itself, this authorises Authoritie, and giues power to Strength itself. Let the conscience be vpright, and then Seales, and Patents, and Commissions are Wings; they assist him to flye the faster: Let the Conscience be lame and distorted, and he that goes vpon Seales, and Patents, and Commissions, goes vpon weake and feeble Crutches. When the Holy Ghost is come vpon you, your conscience rectified, you shall haue Power, a new power out of that; what to doe? that follows, to bee Witnesses unto Christ⁶².’

The Apostles had been commanded to bear their testimony unto Christ, both in Jerusalem and in Judæa; and, in the following passage, Donne shows how it was the duty of the Church to bear a like testimony both in the city and in the country:—[Christ] ‘hath

⁶² Donne's Sermon, 4to, pp. 27, 28.

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sent a great many Apostles, Preachers, to this Citie; —for there are more Parish Churches heere than in others. Now, beloued, if in this Citie you haue taken away a great part of the reuenue of the Preacher to yourselues, take thus much of his labour vpon yourselues too, as to preach to one another by a holy and exemplar life, and a religious conuersation. Let those of the Citie, who haue interest in the Gouvernement of this Plantation, be witnesses of Christ, who is Truth itselfe, to all other Gouvernours of Companies, in all true and iust proceedings: That as Christ said to them who thought themselues greatest, Except you become as this little child; so wee may say to the Gouvernours of the greatest Companies, Except you proceed with the integrity, with the iustice, with the clearenesse of your little Sister, this Plantation, you doe not take, you doe not follow a good example. This is to beare witnesse of Christ in Jerusalem, in the Citie; to bee examples of Truth, and Justice, and Clearenesse, to others, in, and of this Citie⁶³. Again, ‘You (who are his Witnesses) must preach in your iust actions, as to the Citie, to the Countrey too. Not to seale vp the secrets and the mysteries of your businesse within the bosome of Merchants, and exclude all others: to nourish an incompatibilitie betweene Merchants and Gentlemen; that Merchants shall say to them in reproach, You haue playd the Gentleman; and they in equall reproach, You haue playd the Merchant: but as Merchants grow vp into worshipfull Families, and worshipfull Families let fall branches amongst

⁶³ Donne’s Sermon, pp. 31, 32.

Merchants againe; so for this particular Plantation, you may consider Citie and Countrey to be one Body: and as you giue example of a iust Gouverment to other Companies in the Citie (that's your bearing witnesse in Jerusalem), so you may be content to giue reasons of your proceedings, and account of moneyes leuied ouer the Countrey, for that's your bearing witnesse in Judæa ^{64.}

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In further illustration of his text, he describes, in the strong language that follows, the blessedness of the work unto which they were summoned:—‘Those of our profession, that goe; you, that send them who goe, doe all an Apostolic function. What action soeuer hath in the first intention thereof a purpose to propagate the Gospell of Christ Iesus, that is an Apostolicall action: Before the end of the world come, before this mortalitie shall put on immortalitie, before the creature shall be deliuered of the bondage of corruption, vnder which it groanes, before the Martyrs vnder the Altar shall be silenc'd, before all things shall be subdued to Christ, his Kingdome profited, and the last enemy (Death) destroyed, the Gospell must be preached to those men to whom ye send; to all men. Further and hasten you this blessed, this ioyful, this glorious consummation of all, and happie re-vnion of all bodies to their soules, by preaching the Gospell to those men. Preach to them doctrinally, preach to them practically, enamore them with your Iustice, and (as farre as may consist with your securitie) your Ciuilitie: but inflame them with

⁶⁴ Donne's Sermon, p. 35.

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your Godlinesse and your Religion. Bring them to loue and reuerence the name of that King that sends men to teach them the wayes of Ciuilitie in this world; but to feare and adore the Name of that King of Kings, that sends men to teach them the wayes of religion for the next world. Those amongst you that are old now, shall passe out of this world with this great comfort, that you contributed to the beginning of that Commonwealth, and of that Church, though they liue not to see the growth thereof to perfection: Apollos watred, but Paul planted; he that begun the worke, was the greater man. And you that are young now, may liue to see the enemy as much impeached by that place, and your friends, yea children, as well accommodated in that place, as any other. You shall haue made this Iland, which is but as the suburbs of the old world, a bridge, a gallery to the new; to ioyne all to that world which shall neuer grow old, the Kingdome of Heauen. You shall adde persons to this Kingdome, and to the Kingdome of Heauen, and adde names to the Bookes of our Chronicles, and to the Booke of Life ⁶⁵.

In conclusion, he thus notices the assistance which had been given to the design:—‘I do not speake to moue a wheel that stood still, but to keepe the wheel in due motion; nor perswade you to begin, but to continue a goode worke; nor propose forreigne, but your own examples; to doe still, as you haue done hitherto. For, for that which is especially in

⁶⁵ Donne’s Sermon, pp. 42. 44.

my contemplation, the conuersion of the people; as I haue receiued, so I can giue this testimonie, that, of those persons who haue sent in moneyes, and conceal'd their names, the greatest part, almost all, haue limited their deuotion and contribution vpon that point, the propagation of religion, and the conuersion of the people; for the building and beautifying of the House of God, and for the instruction and education of their young children. Christ Iesus himself is yesterday, to-day, and the same for euer. In the aduancing of His glory, be you so too, yesterday, to-day, and the same for euer here: and hereafter, when time shall be no more, no more yesterday, no more to-day, yet for euer and euer, you shall enioy that ioy, and that glorie, which no ill accident can attayne to diminish or eclipse⁶⁶.'

Donne ends his Sermon with a Prayer, which, And Prayer. although strongly marked by the quaint phraseology of the age, breathes such a spirit of heavenly love that I dare not omit to place it before the reader:—
 'We returne to thee againe, O God, with prayse and prayer; as for all thy mercies from before minutes began, to this minute; from our election, to this present beam of sanctification, which thou hast shed vpon us now: and, more particularly, that thou hast afforded vs that great dignitie, to be this way witnesses of thy Sonne Christ Iesus, and instruments of his glorie. Looke graciously, and looke powerfully vpon this Body, which thou hast been now some yeeres in building and compacting together, this Plantation. Looke graciously vpon the Head

⁶⁶ Donne's Sermon, pp. 45, 46.

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of this Body, our Soueraigne, and blesse him with a good disposition to this worke, and blesse him for that disposition: Looke graciously vpon them, who are as the Braine of this Body, those who by his power, counsaile, and aduise, and assist in Gouvernment thereof: blesse them with a disposition to Vnitie and Concord, and blesse them for that disposition. Looke graciously vpon them who are as Eyes of this Body, those of the Clergie, who haue any interest therein: blesse them with a disposition to preach there, to pray here, to exhort euey where, for the aduancement thereof, and blesse them for that disposition. Blesse them who are the Feet of this Body, who goe thither; and the Hands of this Body, who labour there; and them who are the Heart of this Body, all that are heartily affected, and declare actually that heartinesse to this action; blesse them all with a cheereful disposition to that, and blesse them for that disposition. Blesse it so in this calme, that, when the tempest comes, it may ride it out safely; blesse it so with friends now, that it may stand against enemies hereafter. Prepare thyself a glorious haruest there, and giue us leaue to be thy labourers; that so, the number of thy Saints being fulfilled, wee may with better assurance ioyne in that prayer, Come, Lord Iesus, come quickly; and so meet all in that Kingdome which the Sonne of God hath purchased for vs with the inestimable price of his incorruptible blood. To which glorious Sonne of God, &c. Amen ⁶⁷.

It is humiliating to think, that, whilst such was

⁶⁷ Donne's Sermon, pp. 47—49.

the faithful and true-hearted energy exhibited by Donne, and men like him, the work which they sought to carry forward should have been thwarted, and, in the end, completely overthrown, by factious and designing members of their own body, who weakened them from within, and by the tyranny of the Crown, which assailed them from without. The Earl of Warwick and Sir Thomas Smith were the chief agitators of these unhappy strifes. They were supported, on the one hand, by a Mr. Wrote, who carried on an incessant warfare against the leading officers of the Company, upon the ground of their receiving excessive salaries; and, on the other hand, by Argal, now Sir Samuel, who was anxious to escape, if he could, from the account which he had yet fully to render of his oppressive government of Virginia⁶⁸. They had the opportunity of frequent access to the King's presence; and found it an easy matter to fill his mind with prejudices against the Council and its proceedings, as he already entertained, on personal and public grounds, a dislike of its leading officers. Mr. John Ferrar, who had filled for some time the office of Deputy-Treasurer, was now succeeded in that office by his brother Nicholas, who shared, with the Earl of Southampton and Sir Edwin Sandys, the attacks which, from various quarters, and in various shapes, were made against the Council. At length, in 1623, Commissioners were appointed under the Great Seal, to examine

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Internal dis-
sensations of
the Virginia
Company.

⁶⁸ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 255 and 276.

into the state of the Virginia Colony; all books and records belonging to the Company were forthwith sequestered by an order of the Privy Council, and Ferrar was put under arrest⁶⁹. The Virginia Council courted the fullest enquiry into their conduct; and deputed a committee, consisting of Sir Edward Sackvill, Sir Robert Killigrew, and Sir John Danvers, to assist the Commissioners in obtaining information upon every subject of enquiry. Among the allegations brought against the Company, the most important were those of Captain Nathaniel Butler, an agent of the Earl of Warwick, who had gone as Governor to the Bermudas; and thence, after displaying a most extortionate and grasping spirit, had proceeded to Virginia⁷⁰; and published the result of his observations in a paper, entitled 'The unmasked face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in the winter of 1622⁷¹.' Deplorable as the condition of the Colony then was, his representations of its disorganized and wretched state far exceeded the truth, as was proved by documents soon afterwards drawn up and signed by Sir Francis Wyat and the chief members of the Council of State and the House of Burgesses. The wish was most sincerely felt and unreservedly expressed by the Council at home, that the minutest scrutiny should be made into their proceedings and affairs; satisfied, as they were in their own minds, that they had acted throughout with justice,

⁶⁹ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 298.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 243.

⁷¹ Ibid. pp. 278—280.

and with an unfeigned desire to promote the best interests of the Colony.

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But the work of opposition had now gone too far to cease. In November, 1623, an order of the Privy Council was transmitted to the officers of the Virginia Company, requiring them to convene a court forthwith for the purpose of considering whether they would choose to surrender all their rights under the existing charter, and accept another which should bring their affairs under the immediate control and direction of the Crown. They were also informed, that, in default of such submission, the King was determined to recall their former charters, in such manner as should seem to him most expedient. Argall and his party were for obeying implicitly the order thus conveyed to them; but a large majority supported their officers in declaring resolutely against it. Soon afterwards, the Deputy-Treasurer and others were served with a process of Quo Warranto out of the King's Bench, calling upon them to show by what authority they claimed to exercise the liberties and privileges of a body corporate. And it is no ordinary proof of the zealous and disinterested spirit which animated Ferrar and his brethren, that, when an order was passed that they should conduct their defence not at the public charge of the Company, but of their own private fortunes, they were ready to encounter the risk, and persevered in that course which justice and truth marked out⁷².

⁷² Ibid. p. 298—300.

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Commissioners sent from the Privy Council to Virginia.

Whilst affairs were proceeding in this manner at home, Harvey and Pory, who had been sent out as Commissioners from the Privy Council to Virginia, arrived there, in the beginning of the year 1624; and the documents, which have been already referred to, signed by Sir Francis Wyat and others, were drawn up and laid before them. The Laws, also, by which the House of Assembly and the Council of State were regulated, were freely submitted to their inspection; and, in no department of the government of the Colony, does any needful information appear to have been held back from them ⁷³.

Laws of the House of Assembly relating to the Church.

The Laws of the House of Assembly consisted of thirty-five articles, of which the first seven related to the Church and Ministry, and, for that cause, they are here subjoined. It was enacted by them, 'That, in every Plantation, where the people were wont to meet for the worship of God, there should be a house, or room, set apart for that purpose, and not converted to any temporal use whatsoever; and that a place of burial be empaled and sequestered, only for the burial of the dead: That whosoever should absent himself from Divine Service any Sunday, without an allowable excuse, should forfeit a pound of tobacco, and that he, who absented himself a month, should forfeit fifty pounds of tobacco: That there should be an uniformity in the Church, as near as might be, both in substance and circumstance, to the Canons of the Church of England;

⁷³ Ibid. pp. 304—312.

and that all persons should yield a ready obedience to them, upon pain of censure: That the 22nd of March (the day of the massacre) should be solemnized and kept holy; and that all other holidays should be observed, except when two fall together in the summer season, (the time of their working and crop,) when the first only was to be observed, by reason of their necessities and employments: That no Minister should be absent from his cure above two months in the whole year, upon penalty of forfeiting half his salary; and whosoever was absent above four months, should forfeit his whole salary and cure: That whosoever should disparage a Minister, without sufficient proof to justify his reports, whereby the minds of his parishioners might be alienated from him, and his ministry prove the less effectual, should not only pay five hundred pounds of tobacco, but also should ask the Minister forgiveness, publicly in the congregation: That no man should dispose of any of his tobacco, before the Minister was satisfied, upon forfeiture of double his part towards the salary; and that one man of every Plantation should be appointed to collect the Minister's salary, out of the first and best tobacco and corn ⁷⁴.

If the reader compare these Laws with those cited at an earlier period of this history ⁷⁵, when Sir Thomas Dale was governor of the Colony, he will perceive, that, although still retaining in some respects that

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 319.

⁷⁵ See pp. 283, 284 of this Volume.

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severe and arbitrary character which has been represented as so hurtful to the cause of truth, their tone is milder and their principles more equitable. The provisions, also, which they contain for securing the proper attention of the Minister to the duties of his cure, indicate a spirit of impartiality and justice, which may be in vain sought for amid the articles of the former code.

Attempts were made by the Commissioners to tempt the House of Assembly to surrender the rights which they possessed under their charter; but without effect. Their proceedings throughout were distinguished by the most unfair spirit; and, although no record is to be found of the report which they made upon their return home, it was, most probably, of such a nature as to induce the King to hasten the measures which he had for some time been contemplating ⁷⁶.

Petition to
the House of
Commons,
in 1624.

The Company at home, meanwhile, satisfied that justice was not to be obtained from the King and his ministers, addressed a Petition to the House of Commons, setting forth the great advantages which they had had in view when they settled the Virginia Colony; the first of which is declared to have been 'the conversion of the Savages to Christianity, and establishing the first Colony of the Reformed Religion.' The Petition next states the successes and disasters they had met with, and their inability to remedy the evils under which they laboured; and concludes

⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. 316, 317, and 328.

by praying that the House would take into their careful consideration the particulars of their case, which would be submitted to them by such members of the King's Council of Virginia as had also seats in that House⁷⁷. Nicholas Ferrar, who was at that time in Parliament, was entrusted with the chief management of all matters connected with this Petition. The House, after some opposition, received it; and referred it to a Committee, before whom the members of the Virginia Council, who had seats in the House, were authorized to bring all such particulars as they were cognizant of, touching the four chief points of grievance, namely, the oppression exercised in the importation of tobacco; the contract made between the Company and the Government; the proceedings of the Commissioners; and the measures which had since been adopted. The late period of the Session at which these matters were introduced, prevented the full and adequate investigation of each question. The first of them was the only one which was satisfactorily arranged; and that mainly through the assistance of Sir Edwin Sandys, who thus proved his devotion even to the last.

Before any further hearing or redress could be obtained, respecting other acts of injustice committed against the Company, their charter was formally cancelled by judgment given in the Court of King's Bench against them in Trinity Term, 1624. This

The Virginia
Company
dissolved.

⁷⁷ Ibid. pp. 324—326.

was followed, in a few weeks, by a proclamation, which forbade the holding of any more meetings of the Company at Ferrar's house; and an order was passed, at the same time, that the Lord President and others of the Privy Council should meet, with a certain number of knights and gentlemen, at the house of Sir Thomas Smith, for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the Colony, until some permanent arrangement could be effected⁷⁸. A Commission, under the Great Seal, was issued, in August in the same year, continuing Sir Francis Wyat in the Government, and Yearley and West and others in the Council of Virginia⁷⁹; but, before King James could realize any of those schemes by which doubtless he hoped to manifest the superior wisdom of his own counsels, death put an end to his career. On the twenty-seventh of March, 1625, began the disastrous reign of his successor.

No further attempt was made by those who had laboured so long and faithfully for the welfare of England's first Colony, to recover the rights thus unjustly wrested from their hands. They found it hopeless to resist any longer the combined assaults of fraud, corruption, and violence. They had expended, out of their own private fortunes, more than an hundred thousand pounds; they were suffering, also, in their own persons, all the evils

⁷⁸ Ibid. pp. 329, 330. Chalmers' Political Annals, p. 62; Smith's History of Virginia, p. 168; Rym. Fœd. xvii. 609; and Hazard's Historical Collections, i. 183.
⁷⁹ Rym. Fœd. xvii. 618; and Hazard's Historical Collections, i. 231.

which an adverse and absolute authority could heap upon them. The law gave them no redress; for the law was not then, as now, administered by free and independent judges. The records of their own proceedings could not be published; for the hand of despotic power had laid its grasp upon them. Moreover, the leaders who had so long cheered them onwards to the struggle, were soon parted from them. Southampton,—whose early years had been stained by a share in the insurrection of the Earl of Essex, and by other acts of rashness, now forgotten amid those more prominent and pleasing records of his life, which proclaim him the generous patron of Shakspeare⁸⁰, and the intrepid champion of Virginia,—died in the winter of the same year which had witnessed the suppression of the Company⁸¹. A very few years more beheld Sandys also numbered with the dead; and Ferrar,—although his life was prolonged throughout more than half of the reign of King Charles the First,—returned no more to the turmoil of secular pursuits; but devoted to the service of his heavenly Master, as an ordained Minister of His Church, that piety and zeal which hitherto had been confined to the House of Commons and Council Chamber of the Virginia Company⁸².

⁸⁰ The reader can scarcely fail to remember the manner in which Shakspeare expresses his gratitude to the Earl of Southampton in the dedication to his poems of *Venus and Adonis*, and the *Rape of Lucrece*. A yet more important

tribute is paid to Southampton's character by Camden, in his *Britannia*.

⁸¹ Stith's *History*, &c. p. 331.

⁸² These three men are thus described in Peckard's *Life of Ferrar*: 'Lord Southampton, cele-

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X.
Nicholas
Ferrar.

It is impossible to take even the most transient glance at the ministrations of this holy man, and not record the faithfulness and zeal with which he was animated. Such a spirit had distinguished him from boyhood. His career at Cambridge gave further tokens of it; and when, at the age of twenty-one (1613), he left England in the train of the Princess Elizabeth, after her marriage with Frederic, the Elector Palatine, the farewell letter, written by him to his family, and found in his study a few days after he was gone, exhibits most touching and persuasive proof of the extent to which his young heart had been sanctified by the grace of God ⁸³. Thus, likewise, when from Germany he bent his course for Italy, and prosecuted his studies in Venice, Padua, and Rome, it was an advancement in holiness, not less than in learning, which made him in every city a bright example. It gave an increase of strength and energy to each faculty of his nature; so that, leaving Italy for Spain, he could heroically encounter and surmount the dangers which beset him, as he travelled, alone and on foot, through the wild and mountainous regions which lay between Madrid and St. Sebastian's. From that port he set sail for England; and, after an absence of five years (1618), returned to his father's house, that he might devote to his family, his

brated for wisdom, eloquence, and sweet deportment; Sir Edwin Sandys, for great knowledge and integrity; and Nicholas Ferrar, for wonderful abilities, unwearied diligence, and the strictest virtue.'

Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biography*, iv. 151.

⁸³ Ferrar's *Life*, ut sup. iv. 126, 127.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 132—146.

country, and his God, the gifts and graces of his ripening manhood. His father, who bore the same Christian name with himself, and his elder brother John, were merchants in the city of London, and had, for a series of years, carried on an extensive trade with the chief seats of commerce known in that day⁸⁵. To this cause may be ascribed his own association in the same enterprises. His elder brother already occupied the post of King's Counsel for the plantation of Virginia; and the great hall and other rooms of his father's house were used for the weekly and daily meetings of the Virginia Council. The younger Ferrar, therefore, was soon constrained to abandon the design which he had once cherished of making the University of Cambridge his abode; and, upon the elevation of his brother to the rank of Deputy-Governor, succeeded him in the office of Counsel. He continued, for the space of three years, to discharge its duties; during which period his father died, bequeathing a sum of money, as has been already stated⁸⁶, for the education of the native children of Virginia, and charging his son Nicholas to carry his intention into effect. In the beginning of the year 1622, the very time which witnessed the dreadful massacre of Opechancanough, Ferrar was summoned to succeed his brother, as Deputy-Governor of the Virginia Company. The adverse influence of Gondomar, to which allusion has been already made⁸⁷, was then at its height, in conse-

⁸⁵ Ibid. 117 and 149.

⁸⁶ See p. 318 of this Volume.

⁸⁷ See p. 328 of this Volume.

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quence of the intended marriage with the Prince of Wales with a Princess of the reigning family of Spain. But Ferrar held on his course, undismayed by the threats, and uninfluenced by the artifices, whereby his enemies sought to turn him from it. And, foreseeing that they would not scruple to possess themselves, by means however violent and unlawful, of the documents belonging to the Company which were in his custody, he had caused them to be all copied, and attested copies to be carefully preserved⁸⁸. But his fidelity, diligence, and precaution were all, as it seemed, in vain. The blow was struck; and the plans, which Ferrar had formed for the future welfare of Virginia, were scattered to the winds. There was a time when he had entertained the design of leaving England and settling in that province, that he might devote his remaining years to the work of converting the natives to Christianity. He had spoken fully and frequently upon this subject to that zealous and faithful clergyman, Mr. Copeland, whose efforts to promote the same object have been already mentioned⁸⁹; and had found in him a fellow-labourer as eager as himself, to enter upon the enterprise. 'If he should do so,' said Copeland to Sir Edwin Sandys and others, 'I will never forsake him, but wait upon him in that glorious work'⁹⁰. But the design was never realized.

⁸⁸ Ibid. pp. 169—171. These papers were consigned by Ferrar to the charge of the Dorset family; but, unfortunately, no trace of them can now be found.

⁸⁹ See pp. 319. 336 of this Volume.

⁹⁰ Ferrar's Life, ut sup. iv. 152. In this passage Mr. Copeland is described as 'a minister in the So-

It was the will of the great Head of the Church that his faithful servant should proclaim the word, and dispense the ordinances of grace, not in a foreign, but in his native, land. In 1626, Ferrar was ordained Deacon by Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, to whom he was introduced by his old tutor at Clare Hall, Dr. Lindsel; and forthwith entered upon the duties of the parish of Little Gidding, in the county of Huntingdon⁹¹. From that period to the time of his death, which took place in 1637⁹², he gave himself up to those duties, with an ardour and stedfastness of devotion which the world has never seen surpassed⁹³. It forms no part of the present work to relate the particulars of the economy which he then established in his house and in the church; still less can it be required to enter into any explanation of the personal austerities, exercised by himself and the members of his family,—austerities not exceeded, as his biographer justly observes, by the severest orders of monastic institutions. It is clear that such rigorous observances were not required by that branch of the Church Catholic of

mers Islands, who was a worthy man, and zealous for the conversion of the infidel natives in America.' I cannot help thinking, that there is an error in the first part of this description; for the early histories of the Somers Islands make no mention whatever of Copeland's name; and the ensuing chapter will show, that, had he been there, it was scarcely possible that the fact should have been unnoticed. The appointment of Copeland to

Henrico College, in Virginia (mentioned at p. 336 of this Volume), and the intimate connexion of Virginia at that time with the Somers Islands, led Peckard, as I believe, to confound the names of the two Colonies.

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 174.

⁹² Walton, in his *Life of Herbert*, assigns the date of Ferrar's death to the year 1639.

⁹³ Ibid. pp. 174—200. See also Macdonough's *Life of Ferrar*.

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which Ferrar was an ordained minister; and the exaction of them upon his part, may therefore have been justly disapproved of by many who loved and shared the piety which prompted them. There is reason also to think that his own life was shortened by the hardships of fast and vigil which he endured. But, blessed be the memory of this holy man! And praised be the name of God, who, in a day of trouble and rebuke, caused the burning light of his example to shine upon the land!

The remembrance of the American Colonies was not altogether banished from Ferrar's mind, amid the incessant labours of his parochial cure. A few years before his own death, hearing of the illness of another devoted minister of the Church, whose spirit was congenial with his own,—the sainted George Herbert,—he dispatched from his house of Gidding Hall his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Duncon, to see Herbert, and assure him that he wanted not daily prayers for his recovery. Upon the arrival of this messenger at Bemerton, Herbert raised himself from his pallet; and, after enquiring after Ferrar and the course of his life, desired Duncon to pray with him. 'What prayers?' asked Duncon. To which Herbert answered, 'O, Sir, the prayers of my mother, the Church of England; no other prayers are equal to them. But at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint⁹⁴.' Before Duncon's final departure from Bemerton, Herbert gave to him the manuscript of his own precious

⁹⁴ Walton's *Life of Herbert*, pp. 244, 245.

poems, and said: 'Sir, I pray thee deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus, my Master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom. Desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies⁹⁵.' A few days afterwards, George Herbert fell asleep in Jesus.

This well-known passage in Herbert's Life has been brought to the reader's recollection, because it is connected with an act of Nicholas Ferrar, which may be regarded as a token of the feelings with which he still looked towards America. In the last of the poems thus delivered into his hands, is one, entitled, 'The Church Militant,' in which, tracing her visible progress among the nations of the earth, Herbert thus writes:—

' Religion stands tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand.'

And, again,

' Then shall Religion to America flee ;
They have their times of Gospel, ev'n as we.
My God, thou dost prepare for them a way,
By carrying first their gold from them away :
For gold and grace did never yet agree ;
Religion always sides with poverty.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 250.

We think we rob them, but we rob amiss ;
 We are more poor, and they more rich by this.
 Thou wilt revenge their quarrel ; making grace.
 To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place
 To go to them, while that, which now their nation,
 But lends to us, shall be our desolation.'

When Ferrar sent the book which contained this and other poems to Cambridge, to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor insisted upon the erasure of the two first lines which we have quoted. It may be thought, that, if they were open to objection, the second passage might also have been included in the censure ; but, be this as it may, Ferrar was resolute in retaining the lines ; and the Vice-Chancellor at length yielded to his wishes, expressing great admiration for Herbert, but adding, also, that he hoped the world would not take him to be an inspired prophet ⁹⁶.

It can scarcely be said, with truth, I think, that Ferrar, when he rescued these lines from the censor's condemnation, was influenced only by a blind determination to preserve whatsoever his departed friend had written. There must have been present to his mind a conviction much stronger than any which the impulses of kindly affection could have wrought. The prospect of troubles at that moment quickly gathering around the sanctuary of Christ in our own country, divisions multiplying, and brother lifting up his hand against brother, might well have persuaded Ferrar that the image of Religion fleeing thence in confusion to another clime, was not the

⁹⁶ Ibid. pp. 250, 251.

mere coinage of the poet's brain, but an actual and present reality. And, when we bear in mind the exertions which he and other faithful citizens had made for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ in the Western world; the pains which they had taken to secure for their brethren who resorted thither every spiritual birthright; the firmness with which they had resisted the unjust encroachments of the oppressor; and the prayers and exhortations which they had urged in behalf of those who were seeking to establish themselves in those distant provinces; we can understand the reasons which cheered Ferrar with the belief, that, notwithstanding all the enemies by whom she was oppressed, the Church of Christ would not perish, but find, upon 'the American strand,' that resting-place which in England seemed about to be denied her. The seed which had been scattered abroad was "incorruptible," even "the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever"⁹⁷. And, mysterious though it be, that the husbandman who, we believe, was pre-eminent in patience, and zeal, and diligence, should not have been permitted to receive the fruit of his labours, yet we record gratefully the faithfulness with which he strove to work in God's wide harvest-field, and the unquestioning humility with which he committed his "way unto the Lord," and trusted in His promise, knowing that He would "bring it to pass"⁹⁸.

⁹⁷ 1 Pet. i. 23.⁹⁸ Ps. xxxvii. 5.

CHAPTER XI.

REMAINING NOTICES OF THE BERMUDAS AND NEW-
FOUNDLAND, IN JAMES THE FIRST'S REIGN.

A. D. 1611—1625.

The Bermudas included in the third Virginia charter, 1611-12—The Somers-Islands Company formed—Richard More, first Governor, 1612—Rev. Mr. Keath—Articles drawn up and subscribed by the Colony—Keath's hasty conduct—Church built; and a second clergyman, Mr. Hues, arrives—Six monthly Governors appointed in 1615, after More's departure—Captain Tuckar, Governor in 1616—Succeeded by Captain Butler, in 1619—Unsatisfactory conduct of the clergy—Nicholas Ferrar, Deputy-Treasurer; and Barnard, Governor—The Company dissolved in 1624—Notice of Virginia and the Somers-Isles, in Lord Chancellor Bacon's speech—Bacon's views with respect to colonization—The necessity of Bishops watching over the Colonial Churches involved in his statements—Bacon, a member of the Company for the Colony in Newfoundland, in 1610—Terms of the Patent—Whitbourne's Discourse on Newfoundland—His description of its fisheries in 1615—His kindly feeling towards the natives—Letter from the Privy Council to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in 1621—Colony planted at Avalon, by Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore—Present claims of Newfoundland upon England's sympathy.

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XI.
The Ber-
mudas.

BEFORE the history of Virginia, under the successors of James the First, is resumed, the reader's attention is directed to the progress which English Colonization had made elsewhere, during the reign of that monarch. And, first, — inasmuch as the subject is closely connected with the history of Vir-

ginia,—let us notice briefly what had been passing in the Bermudas.

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The position of these Islands in the Atlantic,—the shipwreck which Gates and Somers had suffered there, whilst on their way to Virginia, in 1609,—their sojourn upon the coast for ten months,—their departure, at the expiration of that period, for Virginia, in two rude cedar vessels which the timber of the Islands furnished,—the return of Somers thither, after a short interval, to obtain provisions for the settlement at James Town,—and his death, in 1611, whilst he was striving to accomplish the work entrusted to him,—have all been related in a former chapter. It was also there stated, that, after the death of Somers, two of the party remained in the Islands, with a runaway criminal of the former crew; and that the nephew of Somers, with the rest who were under his command, proceeded to England, carrying with them the body of their brave leader from the spot which, even to this hour, has retained the appellation of both his names¹.

The description which the younger Somers gave, upon his return, of the productions and beauty of the Islands, did not at first meet with credit; but, at length, an hundred and twenty members of the Virginia Company were encouraged to plant a settlement there. The authority granted to them under their charter, then existing, did not extend to a further distance from the American coast than an hun-

Included in
the third
Virginia
charter,
1611-2.

¹ See p. 268 of this Volume.

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dred miles. They procured, therefore, fresh Letters Patent, dated the twelfth of March, 1611-2, which granted to the Treasurer, and the Virginia Company, 'all and singular those Islands, whatsoever, situate and being in any part of the Ocean Seas, within three hundred leagues' of the coast already assigned to them, 'and being within or between the one and fortieth and thirtieth degrees of Northerly Latitude².'

The Somers
Islands
Company
formed.

As soon as these Letters Patent were obtained, the Virginia Company sold the Bermudas to those members of their body who were desirous of embarking in the enterprise; and a distinct Society was forthwith constituted, under the name of the Somers Islands Company, with Sir Thomas Smith as their Treasurer³.

Richard
More, first
Governor,
1612.

In the summer of 1612, Mr. Richard More, to whom had been entrusted the government of the plantation about to be established in these Islands, reached his destination, with a party of sixty men. The three Englishmen, who had been left there, gave an eager welcome to their countrymen, hoping that they might turn quickly to their own profit some treasure of ambergris which they had already found among the rocks. But this supposed treasure proved their bane: for, in their desire to keep the possession of it a secret, a fraudulent

² The whole of this third charter is given at length in the Appendix to Stith's History of Virginia. It contains a clause empowering the Company to hold

the Lotteries which have been mentioned at p. 270 of this Volume.

³ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 126, 127.

scheme was contrived between them and some of More's party, by which the greater part of the value of the material was forfeited, and their own lives brought into jeopardy ⁴.

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Several traces are to be found in the early history of this Colony of the desire to make the influence of the Church coincident with its first establishment: but this desire was, in a great measure, frustrated by circumstances which shall be briefly noticed.

A clergyman, named Keath, accompanied the party under More's command; and, unhappily, he was not endowed with the wise, and gentle, and conciliatory spirit of him who had sustained and guided the first settlers of James Town; or with the stedfastness and patience of that second minister of the Church of Christ, who,—sharing the disasters of Gates and Somers in these very Islands,—had been the first to proclaim upon their shores the message of his Divine Master. Of that message the Englishmen, who now set foot upon the same shores, were not unmindful; and, in the original narrative of their proceedings, occurs the following testimony to the fact, on the day of their arrival ⁵: ‘As soone as wee had landed all our company, we went all to praier, and gaue thankes vnto the Lord for our safe arriuall; and whilest wee were at praier, wee saw our three men come rowing downe to vs, the sight of whom did much reioice vs; so they welcomming vs,

Rev. Mr.
Keath.

⁴ The story is an interesting one, and told at length in the narrative of Richard Norwood in Smith's History of Virginia, pp. 176—178.

⁵ July 11, 1612.

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and wee the like to them againe, we sung a Psalm, and praised the Lord for our safe meeting, and went to supper ⁶.

Articles
drawn up
and sub-
scribed by
the Colony.

In less than a month after their arrival, the following Articles were drawn up and subscribed by More and his party. They form a very remarkable document; and, for that cause, I have not hesitated to place them at length before the reader. They are entitled, ‘The Articles which Master R. More, Gouverneur Deputie of the Sommer Ilands, propounded to the Company that were with him to be subscribed unto, which both he and they subscribed the second of August, in his house, Anno 1612, which about the same time he sent into England, to the Worshipfull Company of the Aduenturors.

‘Wee, who haue here vnder subscribed our names, being by the great goodnesse of God safely arriued at the Sommer Ilands, with purpose here to inhabite, doe hereby promise and binde ourselues to the performance of the seuerall Articles hereafter following, and that in the presence of the most glorious God, who hath in mercy brought vs hither.

‘First, We doe faithfully promise, and by these presents solemnly binde ourselues euer more to worship that aforesaid only true and euerliuing God, who hath made the Heauens, and the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, and that according to those rules that are prescribed in his most holy Word, and euer to continue in that faith into the

⁶ Purchas, iv. 1794.

which wee were baptised in the Church of England, and to stand in defence of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretikes and Sectaries whatsoeuer, dissenting from the said Word and Faith.

‘Secondly, because the keeping of the Sabbath day holy is that wherein a principall part of God’s worship doth consist, and is as it were the key of all the parts thereof, wee do therefore, in the presence aforesaid, promise, That wee will set apart all our owne labours and imployments on that day, vnlesse it be those that be of meere necessitie, much more vaine and vnfruitfull practises, and apply ourselues to the hearing of God’s Word, Prayer, and all other exercises of Religion in his Word required, to the vttermost of our power.

‘Thirdly, Seeing the true worship of God and holy life cannot be seuered, we doe therefore promise, in the presence aforesaid, That to the vttermost of our power we will liue together in doing that which is iust both towards God and Man, and in particular we will forbear to take the most holy name of God in vaine, in ordinary swearing by it or any other thing, or by scoffing, or vaine abusing of his most holy Word, or to vse cursing, or filthy speeches, or any other thing forbidden in God’s most holy Word, as also to liue together without stealing one from another, or quarrelling one with another, or slandering one of another: And to auoide all things that stand not with the good estate of a Christian Church and well gouerned

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Commonwealth, and to embrace the contrary, as Justice, and Peace, Loue, and all other things that stand with the good and comfort of Societie.

‘Fourthly, Whereas we are here together farre remote from our natiue soile of England, and yet are indeed the naturall subiects of our most Royall and gracious King Iames of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. We doe therefore in the presence aforesaid, solemnly promise euermore to continue the loyall subiects of our said Soueraigne King, his Heires and Successors, and neuer to reuolt from him, or them, vnto any other whatsoever, but euermore to acknowledge his Supreme Gouernment.

‘Fifthly, Whereas wee were sent hither by diuers Aduenturers of the Citie of London, and other parts of the Realme of England, wee doe here, in the presence aforesaid, promise to vse all diligence for the good of the Plantation, and not to purloyne or imbesell any of the prohibited commodities out of the generall estate; but to vse all faithfulnessse, as it becommeth Christians to doe, as also to bee obedient to all such Gouvernour or Gouvernours, or their Deputie or Deputies, as are, or shall be by them sent to gouerne vs: As also to yeeld all reuerence towards the Ministry or Ministers of the Gospel, sent, or to be sent.

‘Sixthly and lastly, Wee doe here, in the presence aforesaid, promise, the Lord assisting us, that, if at any time hereafter, any forrain power shall attempt to put vs out of this our lawfull possession, not

cowardly to yeeld vp the same, but manfully to fight as true Englishmen, for the defence of the Commonwealth we liue in, and Gospel wee professe, and that whiles we haue breath wee will not yeeld to any that shall inuade vs vpon any conditions whatsoever ⁷.' CHAP.
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It had been a happy thing for this infant Colony, if the resolutions set forth in the above Articles had been faithfully observed by those who subscribed them. But differences soon broke out, and were fomented, in a quarter where such provocation ought least to have been expected. It is possible, indeed, that More might too rigorously have exacted from others the labour which he was forward to endure in his own person; for we read, that, having fitted up some small cabins of palmeto leaves for his wife and family, on the spot now occupied by St. George's Town, he forthwith set about the erection of several forts; and, that, 'although he was but a carpenter, he was an excellent artist and good gunner, very witty and industrious.' In mounting these forts with the ordnance which he had ⁸, and in preparing the ground for building houses and raising corn, he kept 'his men,' it is said, 'somewhat hard at worke;' whereupon 'Master Keath, his Minister,—were it by the secret prouocation of some drones, that grew weary of their taskes, or his affection to popularity is not certaine,—begins to tax the Gouvernour in the

⁷ Purchas, iv. 1795.

⁸ Two of these pieces of ord-

nance he had drawn up from the wreck of the Sea Venture.

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Pulpit, hee did grinde the faces of the poore, oppressing his Christian brethren with Pharaoh's taxes. More, finding this, in short time, might breed ill bloud, called the Company together, and also the Minister, vrging them plainly to tell him, wherein he had deserued those hard accusations: whereupon, with an uniuersall cry they affirmed the contrary, so that Keath downe of his knees to ask him forgiveness. But Master More kindly tooke him vp, willing him to kneele to God, and hereafter be more modest and charitable in his speeches⁹. It was not in this spirit that good Robert Hunt had acted, upon his voyage to Virginia, and afterwards in James Town. He, by his earnest and godly exhortation, but chiefly by his faithful example, had soothed, instead of irritating, the hot tempers of the men with whom he was associated¹⁰. How humiliating is the contrast exhibited in Keath's impatient conduct!

Church
built;

Among the works begun and carried onward by More, during the first year of his government, was the erection of a Church. In the first instance, he had framed one of timber, which was speedily blown down by a tempest; whereupon, he constructed another, in a more sheltered spot, of leaves of the palmeto. Soon afterwards, another clergyman, named Lewis Hues, came into the Islands.

and a
second
clergyman,
Mr. Hues,
arrives.

The remaining two years of the time for which

⁹ Norwood's Narrative, in Smith's History of Virginia, p. 178. ¹⁰ See pp. 210 and 215 of this Volume.



More's office was to continue, were marked by those scenes which too often distinguish the history of Colonies in their infancy; namely, the eagerness of adventurers at home to realize the hoped-for profit; the difficulties of the settlers, preventing them from making the return; and disappointment from both parties venting itself in reproaches upon the Governor. These were the trials which More had to encounter, and this the censure which visited him, when, at the end of the year 1614, he left the Bermudas for England ¹¹.

Six members of the Colony were then left, with authority to act as its Governors, each one in turn for a month, until further instructions were received. No better plan than this could well have been devised to keep up discord amid this small band of settlers. The event soon proved its impolicy. A petition was set on foot, requesting the Governors to retain their authority for a certain time, whatsoever might be the orders sent out from England; and 'Master Lewes Hues their Preacher,' it is said, 'was so violent in suppressing this unwarrantable action, that such discontents grew betwixt the Gouvernors and him, and diuisions among the Company, he was arraigned, condemned, and imprisoned, but not long detained before released. Then the matter fell so hotly againe to be disputed betwixt him and one Master Keath, a Scotchman, that professed scholler-ship, that made all the people in great combustion :

Six monthly
Governors
appointed in
1615, after
More's de-
parture.

¹¹ Norwood's Narrative, &c. pp. 179—181.

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much adoe there was, till at last as they sate in the Church and ready to proceed to a iudiciary course against Master Hues, suddenly such an extreme gust of wind and weather so ruffled in the trees and Church, some cried out, A miracle; others, it was but an accident common in these isles; but the noise was so terrible, it dissolved the assembly: notwithstanding, Master Hues was againe imprisoned, and as suddenly discharged¹².

Captain
Tuckar
Governor,
in 1616.

This disordered state of things was corrected, in some degree, by the arrival of a new Governor, Captain Tuckar, in 1616. He 'found,' it is said, 'the inhabitants both abhorring all exacted labour, as also in a manner disdainng and grudgng much to be commanded by him; it could not but passionate any man liuing.' But, having already been in Virginia, and seen there the discipline which had been maintained by Sir Thomas Dale, he was not slow in enforcing the same over the few men now entrusted to his charge. Five of them, indeed, persuaded him to give them leave to construct a boat of two or three tons, with a close deck, for the purpose of fishing. In this small boat they contrived to make their escape: and, if the story is to be believed, reached Ireland in safety. One of the party had borrowed 'a compasse diall' from Mr. Hues, the clergyman: and, taking it away with him for the voyage, wrote to Mr. Hues, saying, that 'as hee had oft perswaded them to patience, and that God would

¹² Norwood's Narrative, &c. p. 181.

pay them, though none did; hee must now bee contented with the losse of his diall, with his owne doctrine. Such leasure,' it is said, 'they found to bee merry, when, in the eye of reason, they were marching into most certaine ruine ¹³.'

The second year of Tuckar's government, 1617, was rendered memorable by a strange and most destructive visitation of rats, which, having been brought in some ships, about two years before, had multiplied to such an extent, that they not only swarmed in those quarters where they had first appeared, but, swimming from place to place, spread themselves over the Islands, and threatened, for a time, the entire devastation of all the produce ¹⁴.

Upon the disappearance of this plague,—for such, from its description, it might be truly called,—the Islands were divided, according to a plan laid down by Norwood, whose narrative has thus far been our chief guide. By this instrument, certain of the Islands were assigned for the general maintenance of 'the Governour, Ministers, Commanders of Forts, Souldiers, and such like;' and the rest divided into eight parts, to be called Tribes, and each Tribe into fifty shares, which were to be distributed by lot among the members of the Company ¹⁵.

¹³ Norwood's Narrative, &c. pp. 183, 184. Upon the arrival of the five men in Ireland, adds the Narrative, 'The Earle of Tomund honourably entertained them, and caused the boat to be hung vp for a Monument, and well she might, for shee had sailed more than 3300

miles by a right line thorow the maine Sea, without any sight of land; and, I thinke, since God made the world, the like nauigation was neuer done, nor heard of.' Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 185, 186.

¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 187, 188. These

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Notwithstanding this appearance of order, there was much disturbance in the Colony, arising, it appears, chiefly through dislike of the Governor, who appropriated to himself 'a faire house of cedar,' at a time when doubtless the rest had but a miserable lodgment. This disregard of his people 'occasioned,' it is said, 'exceeding much distaste,' and 'endlesse vnciuill broiles;' and the Minister¹⁶, notwithstanding threats of imprisonment, was among the foremost who remonstrated against the Governor's selfish policy.

Upon Tuckar's temporary departure for England in 1618, and, during the government of his deputy Kendall, the foundation of a Church, to be built of cedar, was laid: and, soon afterwards, a vessel arrived from England, containing 'a Preacher and his family, with diuers Passengers, and newes of a new Gouvernor.' The mild and equitable rule which Kendall had maintained among the people made the intelligence of any new commander unwelcome to them; and

tribes were called by the names of Hamilton, Devonshire, Pembroke, Paget, Warwick, Southampton, (in honour of the noblemen who bore those respective titles, and who were members of the Company), and Smith and Sandys (in honour of its successive Treasurers). The names of the shareholders, and the number of shares allotted to each, are also given in the passage referred to; and, among these, may be recognized the names of John and Nicholas Ferrar, and others, who have been mentioned in the former chapters, in

connection with the history of Virginia. A very curious, and, as I am informed, a correct map, giving a representation of the various buildings, forts, and bridges, erected upon the Islands, was also drawn up by Captain Smith, from Norwood's description, and is prefixed to the fifth book of his History.

¹⁶ Norwood's Narrative, &c. p. 189. The name of the Minister is not given, nor does it appear whether both those, whose names have been before mentioned, Keath and Hues, were now in the Islands.

this feeling of displeasure was heightened by the consideration that they were 'themselues still kept there, whether they would or no, without any preferment, no, nor scarce any of them their inhabiting, to haue any land at all of their owne, but to live all as tenants, or as other men's poore seruants ¹⁷.'

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The new Governor was Captain Butler, who has been mentioned, in the last chapter, as having gone afterwards to Virginia, and been active in forwarding the factious designs of the Earl of Warwick and others, to the prejudice of that Colony. He was a man ill suited for the office which he was now called upon to discharge. Despotic, cruel, and avaricious, his three years of government, from 1619 to 1622, brought only fresh evils upon the settlers, who had, by that time, increased to the number of fifteen hundred ¹⁸.

Succeeded
by Captain
Butler in
1619.

Religious divisions also were soon added to those which were kept up by Butler's misrule. The two clergymen in the Islands had refused to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer; or, as it is stated more particularly in Purchas, were 'not conformable to the Church of England, nor vniforme with themselves in administration of the Sacrament and Matrimony ¹⁹.' Whereupon, it is said, that the Governor 'finding it high time to attempt some conformitie, bethought himself of the Liturgie of Garnsey and Iarse, wherein all the particulars they

Unsatisfactory
conduct
of the
clergy.

¹⁷ Sparks's Relation in Smith's History, &c. p. 190.

—200; also Stith's History, p. 277.

¹⁸ Smith's History, &c. pp. 191

¹⁹ Purchas, iv. 1804.

so much stumbled at, were omitted.' They willingly consented to use this Liturgy; and, an English translation having been made, the observance of it began upon the following Easter Day ²⁰.

²⁰ Smith's History, &c. p. 192. The islands of Guernsey and Jersey, whose Liturgy was thus adopted for a time in the Bermudas, had, at the time of the Reformation, received a French translation of the Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth. The reign of Mary brought back the services of the Church of Rome, as it had in England. But, in the reign of Elizabeth, a number of French Protestants, who had formed their churches according to the model of Geneva, having fled for refuge from their own country into those islands, their mode of worship was, with the Queen's permission, established in the Parish Church of St. Helier. From the documents quoted by Collier, it is evident that the English Service was strictly enjoined in all the other Parishes of Jersey; but, owing to the increase of refugees and other causes, these injunctions were disregarded, and the English Liturgy was generally laid aside. This seems to have been connived at by Elizabeth's counsellors, insomuch that in a letter of James the First to the synod of both islands, soon after his accession, it is said that Elizabeth had permitted unto these isles, which were 'parcel of the duchy of Normandy, the use of the government of the reformed Churches of the said duchy.' And the King further ordains, in the same letter, that they 'shall quietly enjoy their said liberty in the use of ecclesiastical discipline, there now established;' and for-

bids 'any one to give them any trouble or impeachment, so long as they continued themselves in his obedience and attempted not any thing against the power and sacred word of God.' But this state of things did not long continue. The governor, Sir John Peyton, came into collision with the synod, upon the subject of an appointment to a vacant living. This was soon afterwards renewed by the nomination of another clergyman, a native of Jersey, who had been ordained by the Bishop of Oxford, at which university he had studied. Appeals to England and counter-appeals followed these differences; and, in 1619, the order of the Privy Council was read by Archbishop Abbot, that, to redress the disorders which had sprung up, 'it was thought most convenient to revive the office and authority of the Dean; that the Book of Common Prayer should be reprinted in French, and used in their churches: but that the Minister should not be tied to it in every particular.' Two years afterwards Bandinell, an Italian, and then minister of St. Mary's, was appointed Dean of Jersey. Articles also were drawn up, and signed by the King, for the management of the Ecclesiastical affairs of the island, until a body of Canons should be agreed upon. For this cause they were called the 'Interim;' the title which had formerly been attached to articles presented by the Emperor Charles the Fifth to the Diet of Ratisbon,

It is obvious that herein an open departure was made from that profession of their Communion in the Church of England which the first planters of the Colony had made; and a violation consequently of those Articles of obedience to which, by subscription, they had bound themselves. I have not been able, in any way, to ascertain the authority by which Keath and Hues had been sent out to the Colony. I find, indeed, the name of Archbishop Abbot in the list of those 'Adventurers,' to whom the third Virginia Charter was assigned ²¹, and out of which arose, as we have seen, the Somers Islands Company. And it is possible, that the Archbishop may have undertaken the same office in the appointment of Ministers for those Islands, which, we know, was borne by the Bishop of London for Virginia ²². But I do not think this probable; since, however some may be of opinion that Abbot's known sympathy for the advocates of the Genevan discipline may account for the fact that clergymen selected by him should have

in 1548. The Canons were soon afterwards drawn up and corrected by Archbishop Abbot, Bishop Williams, then Lord Keeper, and Andrewes, then Bishop of Winchester. And, inasmuch as the islands were part of that diocese, it was ordered in the King's Letters Patent, which confirmed these Canons, that the Bishop of Winchester should authorize the Dean of Jersey to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, according to their tenor. Thus Jersey was brought back to a conformity with the Church of England. The same course would also have been pur-

sued in Guernsey, had not the rupture with Spain turned the attention of the English government to other matters. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vii. 371—377; Heylyn's History of Presbyterians, 395—400; and Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, i. 438—440. The reader will observe, therefore, that the Liturgy of Guernsey and Jersey was adopted at the Bermudas, before authentic information of these changes could have been brought from England.

²¹ Appendix to Stith's History, &c. p. 25.

²² See p. 322 of this Volume.

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departed from the instructions of the Book of Common Prayer²³; yet the only other fact recorded of Keath and Hues—beyond those already mentioned,—is a most humiliating one, and forbids the belief that Abbot could have appointed them to the mission. They dishonoured the Church by their undutiful neglect of her services; but they dishonoured her yet more by the carelessness of their lives. We learn this in a manner which cannot be mistaken; for, in the memorial addressed by the planters to Captain Butler, just before the expiration of his government, it is stated, at the head of their long catalogue of grievances, that ‘they were defrauded of the food of their soules: for not being fewer than one thousand and five hundred people, dispersed in length twenty miles, they had at that present but one Minister, nor neuer had but two, and they so shortened of their promises, that but onely for meere pity they would haue forsaken them²⁴.’

Nicholas Ferrar, Deputy-Treasurer; and Barnard, Governor, in 1622.

It is remarkable, that, as soon as some of the same parties, who had shown such fidelity and zeal in the Council of the Virginia Company, came to have any direct influence in the management of the present Colony, a beneficial change was at once produced among the inhabitants. For, the same year, 1622, which saw Nicholas Ferrar Deputy-Governor of the Virginia Company, saw him, likewise, filling the same office with reference to the Bermudas. Under his auspices, Mr. John Barnard was sent out as

²³ See p. 188 of this Volume.

²⁴ Smith's History, &c. p. 199.

Governor; 'a gentleman,' it is said, 'both of good meanes and quality;' and, 'during the time of his life, which was but six weekes, in reforming all things he found defectiue, he shewed himself so iudiciall and industrious as gaue great satisfaction, and did generally promise vice was in great danger to be suppressed, and vertue and the Plantation were much aduanced ²⁵.'

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The early termination of this excellent Governor's career was but the precursor of another event which soon took place,—the dissolution of the Company itself. It fell mainly from the same causes which had overthrown the Virginia Company. The wholesome remedies, which its officers would now have applied to the evils which had been introduced and grown up among the first settlers, were obstructed and made abortive by the oppressive exercise of the King's influence. That influence was, in the first instance, exerted, as it had been in the case of Virginia, to impede the growth of Tobacco, (which, since the year 1618, had been extensively planted throughout the Islands,) by fettering the importation of it with unjust restrictions; and by granting to the importers of the same commodity from the Spanish Colonies, privileges, which were denied to those of England ²⁶. But the final extinction of the Somers Islands Company was arrived at by a process even more summary than that which had put an end to the authority of the Virginia Council; for, without

The Com-
pany dis-
solved in
1624.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 200.

²⁶ Stith's History of Virginia, pp. 246—249.

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sending out any Commission of Enquiry, or resorting to any intervention of a Court of Law, the further holding of the Company's Courts was suppressed, early in the year 1624, by a simple letter from the King; and the future management of the Colony was appointed to be carried on, at the house of Sir Thomas Smith, by persons entirely in that officer's interest, and without any control of the Privy Council²⁷. Thus did the same reign witness the first settlement of Virginia and the Bermudas under chartered Companies, and their subsequent transfer to the sole jurisdiction of the Crown.

Notice of
Virginia and
the Somers
Isles in Lord
Chancellor
Bacon's
speech.

A remarkable notice of these earliest possessions of the British empire in the West, occurs in the speech addressed by Lord Chancellor Bacon to Mr. Serjeant Richardson, who was Speaker of the House of Commons, in the Parliament which met for business on the thirtieth of January, 1620²⁸. In the

²⁷ Ibid. p. 329.

²⁸ By some writers the meeting of this Parliament is assigned to the year 1621; and, even in the Journals of both Houses, both years are given. For instance, the proceedings of the House of Commons during that session, on Saturday the 24th of March, are dated 18 Jac. I., 1620; but those on the next Monday, the 26th of March, are dated 19 Jac. I., 1621. The change of reckoning in the years of James's reign, is easily explained by remembering that he ascended the throne on the 24th of March, 1603. But it is not so easy, at

first sight, to perceive why the year 1620 should at the same time have ended, and the year 1621 have begun; and some readers may be perplexed by this apparent confusion of dates. It may be well, therefore, to remind them of the fact already pointed out in note⁵ of the first chapter of this Volume, that, although the historical year began on the first of January, yet the civil, ecclesiastical, or legal year, (which, until the end of the fourteenth century, began at Christmas,) was made, after that time, to begin on the Feast of the Annunciation, the 25th of March; and

enumeration which Bacon therein makes of the 'benefits, attributes, and acts of government' of King James, he says, 'This kingdom now first in his majesty's times hath gotten a lot or portion in the new world by the plantation of Virginia and the Summer Islands. And certainly, it is with the kingdoms on earth as it is in the kingdom of heaven; sometimes a grain of mustard-seed proves a great tree, Who can tell ²⁹?' Alas, for him whose

'old experience' did 'attain
To something like prophetick strain,'

when he thus glanced at the future destinies of England! The self-same hour in which he uttered these words saw him tottering to his fall. Ripe in years, and rich with the investiture of honours heaped upon him by the King, Bacon was ennobled by a dignity far loftier than any which age can command, or royal favour can bestow: for the wisest of the earth had united to pay homage to that great philosophical work which, albeit a portion only of that which he had once designed, he had, but a short time before, fashioned to that form which has won the admiration of the world ³⁰. But there was

continued to be so reckoned until the end of the year 1752. Hence, from the accidental circumstance of James's accession preceding the commencement of the civil year by a single day, the nineteenth year of his reign and the civil year 1621 began at nearly the same point; although, according to the

historical mode of reckoning, it would be the year 1620.

²⁹ Bacon's Works, vi. 68.

³⁰ The *Novum Organum* was published by Bacon, in 1619, when he was in his sixtieth year. In January of the previous year he had been appointed Lord Chancellor; in the July following, he

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a worm at the root of all his greatness; and, in a few short weeks, he was cast from his high estate, a ruined and a degraded man. Nor can it be denied that his disgrace was the wages of his sin; the bitter harvest of shame and sorrow, gathered in from the seed of corruption which he had sown. Still less can it be denied, that the loss of Bacon's fame, in any one respect, has made his country,—yea, the whole world,—the poorer. Yet the monuments of his genius are imperishable; and, gazing upon them, we reverence the hand that reared their greatness and their beauty. We share the ardour of Bacon's friend, Ben Jonson, who hesitated not to say of him, in the day of his humiliation, 'My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever by his works one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration that had been in many ages; in his adversity, I ever prayed that God would give him strength, for greatness he could not want³¹.' We remember also that appeal which Bacon, with such touching solemnity, has recorded in his will,—'For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and to the next

had been created Baron Verulam; and in January 1620, Viscount St. Alban's. Parliament, as has been stated above, met three days after his elevation to the last named dignity; and, on the fifteenth of the following March,

those petitions were presented against his corrupt practices in the Court of Chancery which led to his disgrace. See the Life of Bacon by Basil Montagu, Works, xvi. cclviii. ccxiv. and ccxliii.

³¹ Ibid. p. ccccxxv.

age;’ and we know that the appeal has not been urged in vain. Last of all, we trust that the prayer which Bacon, in the day of his prosperity, poured forth, did not return unto him void, when he said, ‘O Lord God, my Creator, my Redeemer, my Comforter.—Remember what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in my intentions. I have loved thy assemblies: I have mourned for the divisions of thy Church; I have delighted in the brightness of thy sanctuary. This vine, which thy right hand hath planted in this nation, I have ever prayed unto thee that it might have the first and the latter rain; and that it might stretch her branches to the seas and to the floods.—Thy creatures have been my books, but thy Scriptures much more. I have sought thee in the courts, fields, and gardens, but I have found thee in thy temples³².’ May he not have found God in vain!

More than five years were added to Bacon’s life, after he had fallen from his high office; and the works, which he composed in that period, were second to none of those in his earlier days, for the depth and range of thought which they exhibit. It is this fact which leads me to ask the reader carefully to consider the principles which, in these and some of his former writings, he thought needful to be observed in the plantation of Colonies; and the pains which he employed to impress them upon those who then stood in the high places of the earth.

Bacon’s view
with respect
to Coloniza-
tion.

³² Ibid, p. cccccxxiii. ; and vii. 5.

The erroneous observation of Robertson, that the establishment of martial law in Virginia was owing to the advice of Bacon, has already been pointed out³³; and, in the passage there quoted from Bacon's Essay on Plantations,—an Essay written in the evening of his life,—it has been seen that the great end which, above all, men ought to keep in view, in the conduct of such enterprises, was, as he said, that they should 'have God always, and his services, before their eyes.' That many of his own countrymen were negligent in regarding that end, and slow to exercise the means necessary to attain it, is an evil which he condemns elsewhere in terms of glowing eloquence. Thus, in his 'Advertisement touching an Holy War,' written in the year 1623, and therefore nearly contemporary with his Essay on Plantations, Bacon introduces Martius as saying that there was, in that day, 'a kind of meanness in the designs and enterprises of Christendom;' and that the 'wars were as the wars of heathens,—for secular interest or ambition, not worthy of the warfare of Christians. The Church, indeed, maketh her missions into the extreme parts of the nations and isles, and it is well: but this is "Ecce, unus gladius hic." The Christian princes and potentates are they that are wanting to the propagation of the faith by their arms. Yet our Lord, that said on earth to the disciples, "Ite et prædicate," said from heaven to Constantine, "In hoc signo vince." What Christian

³³ See pp. 282, 283, of this Volume.

soldier is there that will not be touched with a religious emulation to see an order of Jesus, or of St. Francis, or of St. Augustine, do such service for enlarging the Christian borders; or an order of St. Jago, or St. Michael, or St. George, only to robe, and feast, and perform rites and observances? Surely the merchants themselves shall rise in judgment against the princes and nobles of Europe; for they have made a great path in the seas, unto the ends of the world; and set forth ships, and forces, of Spanish, English, and Dutch, enough to make China tremble; and all this for pearl, or stone, or spices: but for the pearl of the kingdom of heaven, or the stones of the heavenly Jerusalem, or the spices of the spouse's garden, not a mast hath been set up: nay, they can make shift to shed Christian blood so far off amongst themselves, and not a drop for the cause of Christ³⁴. Thus, again, in one of his earlier works, in which he gives Advice 'to Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, how to govern himself in the station of Prime Minister,' the seventh article of instruction is that of 'Colonies, or foreign plantations.' Under which head,—after giving many suggestions as to the choice of place and fit governors, and the necessity of the plantations being settled under Letters Patent from the King, that they might be under his protection, and acknowledge their dependency upon the Crown of England—Bacon observes further: 'For the discipline of the

³⁴ Bacon's Works, vii. 119, 120.

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Church in those parts, it will be necessary that it agree with that which is settled in England, else it will make a schism and a rent in Christ's coat which must be seamless; and, to that purpose, it will be fit, that, by the King's supreme power in causes ecclesiastical within all his dominions, they be subordinate under some bishop or bishoprick of this realm ³⁵. Again, with respect to the cautions to be observed in such undertakings, he forbids that any 'extirpation of the natives be made under pretence of planting religion,' saying, 'God surely will in no way be pleased with such sacrifices;' and makes it a recommendation 'to establish there the same purity of religion, and the same discipline for Church government, without any mixture of popery or anabaptism, lest they should be drawn into factions and schisms, and that place receive them there bad, and send them back worse;' and, as a further protection against such consequences, he urges, 'that if any transplant themselves into plantations abroad, who are known schismatics, outlaws, or criminal persons, that they be sent back upon the first notice; such persons are not fit to lay the foundation of a new Colony ³⁶.'

When Bacon thus ranks schismatics in the same class with outlaws and criminals, he repeats, it must be confessed, to a certain extent, the severe language of the Statutes of that day, against Recusants and Separatists. The causes of such severity, and

³⁵ Bacon's Works, vi. 438—440.

³⁶ Ibid. vi. 441, 442.

the evil consequences which flowed from it, have already been set before the reader; and it were needless again to advert to them. It is necessary, however, to remark, that the approval which Bacon, in the above passage, seems to give of such rigorous enactments, was not in accordance with his ordinary train of thought. Upon all questions of general policy, his opinions, doubtless, were far more wise and moderate than those of the age in which he lived³⁷. It is important also to observe, that the hurtful influences which such severe instructions, if strictly pursued, might have produced, did not operate in Virginia, during any part of the reign of James the First. The Puritans found a refuge in that province, from the harsh treatment which elsewhere awaited them; and, whatsoever may have been the severity of the written Colonial law, the spirit which administered it was mild and equitable.

With respect to the other instruction set forth by Bacon in the above passage, that 'the Church in those parts' should 'agree with that which is settled in England,' and should therefore 'be subordinate under some bishop or bishoprick of this realm;' it followed as a corollary from the propositions already laid down in the Acts of Supremacy and Conformity. Whatsoever reasons existed for incorporating the Church with the State at home, or whatsoever the principles upon which those Acts, passed in the first

³⁷ See his letter to Villiers, in 1616, quoted in a note in Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i. 557.

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year of Elizabeth were established³⁸, it is evident that they applied also to those regions which were peopled by children of the parent country. And, albeit it is impracticable to make that application,—and would be unjust even to attempt it,—in the English Colonies of the present day, because in some of them the institutions, different from our own, which we found in existence there, are secured by treaty to the inhabitants; and, in others, the circumstances which have marked their history from our first possession of them, are such as to forbid the introduction of all those laws by which we ourselves are bound;—yet, every one must admit, that, if unity in the body be a law of the Church of Christ, it is an unity which ought to pervade every member of the body, howsoever remote from the head, or it is marred and weakened. With equal readiness, too, must it be admitted, even by those who deny to our Church the character which her affectionate and faithful children claim for her, that, if we believe her to be a branch of the ‘One Catholic and Apostolic Church,’ we are bound to secure her ministrations in all their integrity, to the brethren whom seas and lands now separate from their native land. That separation, in well nigh every instance, is made for the real or supposed benefit of ourselves who remain at home, not less than for the benefit of those who depart; and hence a quicker impulse is imparted to the performance of the duty required on their behalf.

³⁸ See pp. 130—133 of this Volume.

Upon this principle, rests the instruction which Bacon has set forth, and which we again quote, namely, that to guard against the sin of rending the coat of Christ 'which must be seamless,' 'the discipline of the Church in' the Colonies should 'agree with that which is settled in England;' and, that, to that purpose, it should 'be subordinate under some bishop or bishoprick of this realm.' But, this proposition being admitted, another, claiming equally our acceptance, immediately follows it, namely, that this 'bishop or bishoprick' to which the discipline of Colonial Churches is required to be subordinate, although necessarily '*of* this realm,' should not be *in* it. Its existence, that is, must be derived from the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church at home, acting under the authority of her supreme temporal ruler, the Sovereign; but its functions must be transferred, directly and visibly, to the region whose inhabitants it professes to control; or the subordination, insisted upon, is little better than a name. It is impossible that the limbs of the body can retain their vital energy, if severed from the head; or armies be victorious, if the voice of the commander be not heard among them; or the vessel reach the haven, if the hand of the pilot be not ever upon the helm. And equally impossible is it that Episcopacy can be known and felt to be the appointed instrument by which God governs His Church, save by the personal and constant presence of him who is called to the Episcopate. This is evident from the nature of the case. To state the proposition is to demonstrate it. If

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The necessity of Bishops personally watching over the Colonial Churches involved in his statements.

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further proof of its truth be required, it is furnished by Bacon himself in another Treatise³⁹, in which he shows that the deputation of the Episcopal authority to commissaries official, is a departure 'from the examples and rules of government.' 'In all laws of the world,' he says, 'offices of confidence and skill cannot be put over, nor exercised by deputy, except it be especially contained in the original grant: and in that case, it is dutiful.' For proof of this, he states further, that, no Chancellor of England, nor any Judge of any Court, appointed deputies. But 'the bishop is a judge, and of a high nature; whence (he asks) cometh it that he should depute, considering that all trust and confidence, as was said, is personal and inherent; and cannot, nor ought to be transposed?' If, then, the delegation of the Episcopal authority, even in such cases, be regarded by Bacon as a departure from the primitive model; and if, for the reasons alleged by him, in the context of the above passage, he argues that the bishop should supply 'his judicial function in his own person;' and, from the nature of the suits brought forward in spiritual courts, he thinks it reasonable that 'there were no audience given but by the bishop himself;' how much more stringent is the necessity which his argument supplies, that the presence of the Bishop should quickly follow, if not accompany, the earliest planting of Churches in foreign lands?

³⁹ Entitled, 'Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England,' Bacon's Works, vii. 74.

Bacon, at a previous period of James's reign, had been personally interested in promoting the colonization of Newfoundland, the earliest foreign possession of the British Crown. We have already noticed the first discovery of that Island in Henry the Seventh's reign, and the fortunes of Sir Humfrey Gilbert, to whom a charter for the settlement of it was granted by Elizabeth⁴⁰. In the year 1610, an expedition upon a large scale was fitted out by Mr. Guy, a merchant of Bristol, with the view of opening a permanent intercourse with Newfoundland; and a Patent was then granted to the Earl of Northampton, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Francis Bacon, Solicitor-General, and more than forty other associates, incorporating them under the name of 'The Treasurer and Company of Aduenturers and Planters of the Cities of London and Bristoll, for the Colony and Plantation in Newfoundland.'

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Bacon a member of the Company for the Colony of Newfoundland, in 1610.

This document sets forth the fact, that the English had resorted, for more than fifty years, in no small number to that Island, for the purpose of fishing, and that it was hereby intended to protect them in the prosecution of their trade; that the coasts were 'so destitute and desolate of inhabitation, that scarce any one sauage person had in many yeeres beneene seene in the most parts thereof;' that, 'by the Law of Nature and Nations,' the same might be taken possession of, and assigned to Englishmen,

Terms of the Patent.

⁴⁰ See the first and fourth chapters of this Volume.

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‘without doing wrong to any other Prince, or State, considering that they cannot iustly pretend any Soueraigntie or Right thereunto;’ that, ‘therefore thinking it a matter and action well beseeing a Christian King, to make true vse of that which God from the beginning created for mankind; and intending not onely to work and procure the benefit and good of many of’ his people, ‘but principally to increase the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and the propagation of the Christian Faith,’ the English monarch had ‘graciously accepted of the intention and suit’ of those of his subjects who desired to establish a Colony there; reserving, at the same time, to others of his subjects, and to those of every other nation, any right of fishing which they had acquired⁴¹. Mr. Slany was appointed Treasurer; and the letters addressed to him and the Council from Guy, the commander of the Colony, are still extant⁴², and contain much interesting matter, but none which bears upon the subject of the present work.

Whit-
bourne’s
Discourse
on New-
foundland.

Supplies were sent yearly to the settlers in Newfoundland from Bristol, until 1614⁴³; after which period, I cannot find any trace of the active operations of the Company. But the intercourse with the Island must still have been kept up in various ways; for I find in Whitbourne’s Discourse, published in 1622⁴⁴, that ‘the undertakers of the Newfoundland

⁴¹ Purchas, iv. 1876.

⁴² Ibid. iv. 1877—1882.

⁴³ Barrett’s History of Bristol, p. 178; and Stow’s Annals, p. 193.

⁴⁴ The title of this work is ‘A Discovrse and Discouery of Newfoundland, with many reasons to proue how worthy and beneficiall a Plantation may there be made,

Plantation, to whom Slany was Treasurer, had maintained a Colony of his Maiestie's subjects there aboute twelue yeares,' and were 'willing to entertain such as will further his Maiesties said Plantation upon fit conditions.' Other parties are also mentioned in the same work, as having undertaken to plant Colonies in the same Island, and ready to entertain such as should adventure with them therein. The most distinguished of these parties were Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputy General of Ireland, and Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore; of the latter of whom more will be said hereafter. Whitbourne possessed many opportunities of obtaining accurate information of Newfoundland, from the long period in which he had been engaged in trading with the Island, and from the authority which he had been commissioned to exercise over it. It has been already stated that he was at St. John's, when Sir Humfrey Gilbert arrived there in 1583; and that he witnessed the formal acts by which possession was then taken of that haven and the adjoining country, under the charter of Queen Elizabeth⁴⁵. Whitbourne speaks also, in the preface of his Discourse, of many other voyages which he made to the same Island in after years; and, in 1615, he was sent

after a far better manner than now it is. Together with the laying open of certaine enormities and abuses committed by some that trade to that countrey, and the meanes laid downe for the reformation thereof. Written by Captain Richard Whitbourne, of Exmouth, in the County of Deuon,

and published by Authority. As also, an Inuitation; and likewise certaine Letters sent from that Countrey; which are printed in the latter part of this Booke. Imprinted at London by Felix Kingston, 1622.'

⁴⁵ See p. 71 of this Volume.

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out, with a commission from the High Court of Admiralty, to correct certain abuses which had sprung up among the fisheries.

His description of its fisheries, in 1615.

The fisheries had even then obtained an importance far greater than is commonly believed; for, besides the French, Biscayan, and Portuguese mariners, who annually resorted to Newfoundland, Whitbourne mentions that not less than two hundred and fifty sail of English vessels were engaged in fishing off its coast, in 1615; that, calculating these vessels at sixty tons' burden each, they supplied an amount of fifteen thousand tons; that, according to the usual mode of manning these vessels, they employed not less than five thousand hands; that each of these vessels had taken, upon an average, an hundred and twenty thousand fish, and five tons of train oil; and that the joint produce of these cargoes yielded, at the lowest rate, an hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds ⁴⁶.

His kindly feeling towards the natives.

But Whitbourne does not confine his Discourse to the fisheries of Newfoundland. He gives several notices of its native inhabitants, its geographical position, and the productions of its soil and climate. And the spirit in which he makes these remarks, proves that he had other and higher objects present to his mind than those of mere traffic. For instance, speaking of the savages in Trinity Bay, who used to come secretly in the night time, and steal the lines, and sails, and knives of the English fishermen, he

⁴⁶ Whitbourne's Discourse, &c. pp. 11—13.

says; 'If they might be reduced to the knowledge of the true Trinity indeed, no doubt but it would be a most sweete and acceptable sacrifice to God, an euerlasting honour to your Maiesty, and the heauenliest blessing to those poore Creatures, who are buried in their superstitious ignorance. The task thereof would proue easie, if it were but well begun, and constantly seconded by industrious spirits: and no doubt but God himselfe would set his hand to reare vp and aduance so noble, so pious, and so Christian a building ⁴⁷.' And, again; 'It is by a Plantation [in Newfoundland], and by that meanes onely, the poore misbeleeuing inhabitants of that Countrey may be reduced from Barbarisme to the knowledge of God, and the lighte of his truth; and to a ciuill and regular kinde of life and gouernement. This is a thing so apparant, that I neede not enforce it any further, or labour to stirre vp the charity of Christians therein, to giue their furtherance towards a worke so pious, euery man knowing that euen we ourselues were once as blinde as they in the knowledge and worship of our Creator, and as rude and sauage in our liues and manners. Onely thus much I will adde, that it is not a thing impossible but that, by meanes of these slender beginnings which may be made in Newfoundland, all the regions neere adioyning thereunto may in time bee fitly conuerted to the true worship of God ⁴⁸.'

The appeal which Whitbourne, upon the strength

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 4.

⁴⁸ Ibid. pp. 14, 15.

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Letter from
the Privy
Council to
the Arch-
bishops of
Canterbury
and York,
in 1621.

of these and other statements, urged upon the people of England, in behalf of her earliest Colony,—although it failed to produce a general and uniform response,—was yet favourably received by those who were in authority. A letter, dated the last day of June, 1621, from the Lords of the Privy Council to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, is prefixed to his Discourse, recommending that copies of it be distributed throughout their respective Provinces, ‘for the encouragement of Aduenturers unto the Plantation there,’ and that collections be made on his behalf in the several Parish Churches. This letter is accompanied by a copy of the King’s order, dated Theobalds, the twelfth of April, 1622, confirming the proposed design, and commanding that it be proceeded with. Obstacles, however, existed in the way of accomplishing all that was thereby intended; and the superior attractions which the provinces of the American Continent held out to English settlers, tempted them, for the most part, to turn away with indifference from the invitation which Whitbourne addressed to them in behalf of Newfoundland.

Colony
planted at
Avalon by
Sir George
Calvert, the
first Lord
Baltimore.

If success could have followed a compliance with the suggestions which Whitbourne then brought under the public notice, such a result might reasonably have been expected, when Sir George Calvert made the attempt, towards the close of James’s reign, and gave to that enterprise all the help which it could derive from his intelligence, experience, high character, and commanding influence. He was a native of Yorkshire; which county he also repre-

sented in Parliament. His education was conducted, first, at Trinity College, Oxford, and afterwards upon the Continent, where he received probably that impulse which led him finally to enter into communion with the Romish Church. When Robert Cecil was Lord Treasurer, he appointed Calvert his Secretary; from which office, he was promoted to be Clerk of the Council. In 1618, he received the honour of knighthood; and, in 1619, succeeded Sir Thomas Lake, as one of the two Secretaries of State; in which capacity, it has been already stated, that he communicated the King's instructions to the Virginia Company⁴⁹.

Whilst he was discharging the duties of that important post, he received a Patent from his Sovereign, which constituted him and his heirs absolute proprietors of the whole of the south-eastern peninsula of Newfoundland. He gave to it the name, which it still retains, of Avalon. This had been the ancient name of Glastonbury; in which spot, tradition reports that Joseph of Arimathæa, having come over to Britain, had received from King Arviragus twelve hides of land, as a dwelling place for himself and his associates; had there preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of the country; and had there too built a church, which afterwards became his sepulchre⁵⁰. As Avalon, therefore, according to this story, had been the first-fruits of Christianity in ancient Britain, so Calvert desired to perpetuate the name, and invest

⁴⁹ See p. 325 of this Volume. ⁵⁰ Fuller's Church History, pp. 6—8.

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it with similar associations, in his own portion of Newfoundland.

This dependence upon a tradition which rests upon the very weakest authority⁵¹, may be regarded as a token of the tendency of Calvert's mind, at that period, to receive with implicit faith those questionable narratives, which Fuller justly describes as being 'much swoln and puff'd up with the leaven of Monkey.' At the same time, it must be admitted that his exertions to make the Avalon of the New World a precious seed-plot of Christianity to its benighted inhabitants, were as great as if the dark legend had been a sure record of Holy Writ. He built a 'fair house' in Ferryland, one of the chief promontories upon the eastern coast, and expended not less a sum than twenty-five thousand pounds in advancing the plantation. 'Indeed his publick spirit,' says Fuller, 'consulted not his private profit, but the enlargement of Christianity, and the King's dominions⁵².' The Colony seems to have been first established in Avalon, in 1621; and there are several letters, appended to Whitbourne's Discourse, which were written in the following year to Calvert, from the Governor and others whom he had sent out. Up to this period, Calvert had been apparently a faithful and consistent member of the Church into which he had been received by Baptism. But, early in the year 1624, he announced to King James that

⁵¹ See the writers quoted by Fuller, *Ibid.*

⁵² Fuller's *Worthies*, (Yorkshire,) pp. 201, 202.

he had entered into communion with the Church of Rome; and therefore resigned his office of Secretary of State, which, he said, he could no longer with a safe conscience hold⁵³. The prudence, however, and ability which Calvert had always displayed in the exercise of his trust, and the high regard which James entertained for him on personal grounds, led that Sovereign to retain him as a member of the Privy Council, and to create him Lord Baltimore, of Baltimore, in Ireland. Upon James's death, he went twice in person to Newfoundland; but, receiving much annoyance and injury from the attacks of the French, and from those 'Pyrats and erring subiects' of England whom Whitbourne describes, in his Preface, as hindering 'the good purposes' of the settlers, he withdrew entirely from the Colony which he had intended to make⁵⁴.

But the thoughts and wishes of Calvert were still turned towards the New World. He had been a member of the Virginia Company during James's reign; and, from Charles the First, obtained a Patent to colonize the province lying north-east of the Potomac. This province, in honour of Charles's Queen, Henrietta Maria, received the name, which it retains to this day, of Maryland; and, in the designation of one of its chief cities, Baltimore, has perpetuated the title of him who first made the British name respected within its borders⁵⁵.

⁵³ Ibid.

England, iii. 26.

⁵⁴ Ibid. See also Collier's Historical Dictionary, in loc.; and Granger's Biographical History of⁵⁵ The first Lord Baltimore died in 1632; and the title became extinct in 1774.

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A fuller notice of Maryland will be given, when we come to relate the progress of affairs during the reign of Charles the First. The transient glance which has now, by anticipation, been taken of that Colony, has arisen only from the association of the name of its founder with his previous abortive effort to plant a settlement in Newfoundland.

Present
claims of
Newfound-
land upon
England's
sympathy.

There are, however, some considerations suggested by this brief notice of Newfoundland, to which, before the present chapter is concluded, I desire to call the attention of the reader. The first is supplied in the fact, that, whilst Virginia, and Maryland, and the other provinces of North America, whose earliest colonization is recorded in this Volume, have all been separated from their mother-country, through the unjust and disastrous policy which she afterwards pursued towards them, Newfoundland still remains an integral portion of her empire. As it was the most ancient, so has it ever since continued to be a most important, foreign possession of England.

The same, indeed, may be predicated also of the Bermudas, the progress of whose history has just been noticed in this chapter, and which now constitute, with Newfoundland, one Diocese of our Colonial Church. But the tropical climate and beautiful scenery of the Bermudas; the name and character of a Colony which, since the first acquisition of them by this country, they have always retained; the grateful associations connected with them, as a place

of refuge for the Cavaliers, in the time of the civil wars; the distinction early conferred upon them by the verses of Waller and of Marvel⁵⁶; their spacious harbours, the abundant supply of timber from their cedar-groves, the strong natural defences of their rock-bound coasts, made yet stronger by the help of art; the convenience of their position in the Atlantic, with reference to our other Colonies in the West; the testimony borne to that fact in the designation of these Islands as 'the Gibraltar of the West Indies;' the desire which, in consequence, has been ever manifested to extend to them every aid and protection which England could afford; all these circumstances have contributed to secure to the Bermudas, in return, those benefits which the friendly and intimate union of a Colony with the mother-country can scarcely fail to realize.

But it has not been so with Newfoundland. Possessing an area, in square miles, more than sixteen hundred times as great as that contained in the Bermudas⁵⁷, and a population about seven times as large⁵⁸, it was not, until the last few years, formally

⁵⁶ The exquisitely beautiful descriptions of the Bermudas, given by Moore, in his poetical Epistle to the Marchioness Dowager of Donegal, Works, pp. 109, 110, (ed. 1843), and by Basil Hall, in the fourth and nineteenth chapters of his First Series of Fragments of Voyages and Travels, will remind the reader of the valuable materials, which writers of the present day have continued to draw from the scenery of these Islands.

⁵⁷ The area of square miles of

the Bermudas is stated, in the Colonial Church Atlas, to be 22, and that of Newfoundland 36,000, an extent which exceeds that of Ireland. In Mc.Culloch's Geographical Dictionary, a much greater area is given to the latter, namely, 57,000 square miles.

⁵⁸ The population of the Bermudas, according to the Colonial Church Atlas, is rated at 12,000, and that of Newfoundland at 80,000. The last returns, laid before Parliament in the present Session, and

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recognized as a Colony of the British Empire. The importance of its fisheries, as a source of wealth, and a means of cherishing and exercising the zeal and hardihood of British sailors, has never been overlooked. Hence, the fierce contests for its possession, during the seventeenth century, between the rival powers of England and France, which were only terminated for a time by the peace of Ryswick, in 1698. Hence, the renewal of like contests, when the War of the Succession broke out, at the commencement of the eighteenth century; and, again, the shores and seas of Newfoundland were defiled with the blood of European nations struggling for exclusive sovereignty over them. The peace of Utrecht, in 1713, awarded that sovereignty to England; liberty being, at the same time, granted to the French to carry on their fishing on certain quarters of the coast. Still no attempt was made to establish any permanent Colony in the Island. On the contrary, every thing was done to discourage the attempt; insomuch, that upon the renewal, immediately after the Restoration, of the merchants' charter which had been granted in 1634, a clause was added, prohibiting any settlers being sent thither on board any of their ships. The nominal administration of the Island was entrusted to the Governor of Nova Scotia; the naval officer in command having the real superintendence of its

ordered to be printed February 20, 1845, put them at a much lower amount, namely, the former at 9930, and the latter at 75,094. There are reasons, however, which

will be noticed hereafter, for thinking that this amount, as far as it relates to Newfoundland, is below the real number.

affairs. The same course of conduct was continued afterwards, with the view of preserving the fisheries from interference. At the beginning, indeed, of George the Third's reign, 1765, in consequence of the seizure of some vessels, Newfoundland was recognized as one of His Majesty's Plantations, and the authority of the Navigation Laws was extended to it, in accordance with a recommendation of the Board of Trade to that effect. The recognition, however, was little more than formal. And, although the Supreme Court of Judicature, first established temporarily in 1792, was rendered permanent by Act of Parliament, early in the present century (1809); and all the coast of Labrador, as far as Hudson's Straits, together with the Island of Anticosti, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, was included in the same government with Newfoundland; nevertheless, constant obstacles were thrown in the way of all British subjects not concerned in the fisheries, which prevented them from making settlements upon its coast. Such was the unjust and hurtful policy pursued, for so long a term of years, by this country towards her most ancient foreign possession⁵⁹.

In 1826, a more wholesome order of civil govern-

⁵⁹ Montgomery Martin's *History of the British Colonies*, iii. 459—466; Bonnycastle's *Newfoundland*, i. 78—158; Murray's *British America*, (Edin. Cab. Lib.) ii. 283—290. See also page 1 of the Letter of the present Earl of Ripon, then Viscount Goderich, and Secretary of State for the

Colonies, to Sir Thomas Cochrane, Governor of Newfoundland; and the Royal Instructions which accompanied it. The Letter is dated 27 July, 1832; and was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7 August, 1832.

ment was established, by virtue of a Royal Charter then granted; and, under the auspices of a distinguished naval officer, Captain Sir Thomas Cochrane, the benefit of its enactments was first extended to the Island. This was followed, in 1832, by the appointment of a Legislative Assembly. And thus, after the lapse of two centuries and a half from the period in which Sir Humfrey Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland in the name of Queen Elizabeth, the British Parliament at length granted to it ‘that form of constitution which generally prevails throughout the Transatlantic Colonies;’ which is in accordance with ‘the genius and principles of our own Government;’ and ‘has been brought to the test of frequent and successful experiment ⁶⁰.’

But what had been going on in Newfoundland, during this long period of neglect and misrule? Howsoever stringent had been the various statutes passed to prevent the colonization of the Island, and to render this Kingdom still the domicile of all persons engaged in its fisheries, it was impossible to prevent the violation of those restrictions. And, accordingly, it is admitted upon the highest authority, that, ‘long before Parliament admitted the necessity of repealing those laws, a Colony had gradually settled itself along the shores of the Island, and assumed a rank of no inconsiderable importance amongst the foreign possessions of the British Crown ⁶¹.’ It is easy to foresee what conflicting interests and aggravated

⁶⁰ Lord Goderich’s Letter, ut sup. p. 2.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 1.

disorders must have been produced by such a state of things; and what a barrier must thereby have been raised up against the beneficial exercise of a well organized and equitable government, when it came to be applied. To prove this by reference to authentic documents, would be only to anticipate the details which await our examination hereafter. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state that such has been the fact; and that it was the inevitable result of the system, pursued for so many years towards this important Island.

These evils are indeed formidable; but they are only a portion of those which we have to deplore. For what has been the fate of the native inhabitants of Newfoundland? There is every reason to believe that they are all exterminated. And upon whom but upon ourselves lies this heavy burden of guilt? It is the hand of the Englishman which has destroyed the poor defenceless savage. Vain has been the hope which the zealous Whitbourne once expressed, that the savages of Trinity harbour 'might be reduced to the knowledge of the true Trinity;' and that such conversion of them might be 'a most sweet and acceptable sacrifice to God, an everlasting honour to' our Sovereign, 'and the heavenliest blessing to those poor creatures who' were 'buried in their own superstitions.' Vain, also, has been the earnest and simple-hearted appeal, which he addressed to his countrymen in that day, that they should 'giue furtherance towards a work so pious,' remembering that their ancestors 'were once as

blind as' those savages 'in the knowledge and worship of' their 'Creator, and as rude and savage in' their 'lives and manners⁶².' The descendants of those savages have arisen to inhabit the land of their fathers; and we, the descendants of those merchants and mariners of England to whom such thoughts were once addressed, have swept them from the face of it. What the numbers of the Red Indians once were in Newfoundland, it is impossible now to ascertain. At first, as has been already stated, the Island appeared so 'destitute and desolate of inhabitation, that scarce any one savage person' had 'in many yeeres been seene in the most parts thereof⁶³.' But, when a further knowledge was acquired of its shores, the natives were found in considerable numbers; and their hunting and fishing stations were unscrupulously seized upon by the invading English. These poor creatures, therefore, being robbed of their chief means of subsistence, were left, in many instances, to perish by hunger; and the work of destruction was made yet more rapid and complete by a harassing warfare, carried on against them by the English and Micmac Indians, whom they instigated, and who had come over, towards the end of the eighteenth century, from Cape Breton and Nova Scotia⁶⁴. Captain Buchan, a naval officer of high character, who was employed by Sir John Duckworth, the Governor of Newfoundland, to open a communica-

⁶² See p. 401 of this Volume.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Report from the Select Com-

mittee on Aborigines (British Settlements), 1837, p. 6. See also

Minutes of Evidence, 4204.

tion with the Aborigines in 1810 and 1811, has stated, in his Evidence before the House of Commons, in 1836, that not less than four or five hundred of them were in existence at that time⁶⁵. The quantity of fences which he found had been run up by them, sometimes to the extent of thirty miles, for the purpose of conducting the deer down to the water, could only have been raised and kept in repair by great numbers of the natives⁶⁶. And yet, when he visited every part of the Newfoundland coast, with Sir Thomas Cochrane, in 1826 and the three following years, he could not see or hear that any natives were in existence. The last man and last woman, he believes, had been seen in March, 1823, by two of our people who had settled in a part of Notre Dame Bay, for the purpose of carrying on the furriery trade in the winter months. And no sooner did the Englishmen discover them, than they made ready their fire-arms, and, advancing from their wigwam, shot them both⁶⁷. Captain Buchan further states it as his opinion, that no attempt had ever been made, before his time, to impart to the natives the benefits of civilization and Christianity; and that the only effect of intercourse with Newfoundland by men professing civilization and Christianity, had been the cruel and entire extirpation of the whole body of the natives: that, 'in fact, it was considered a meritorious act, at one time, to kill an Indian;' that,

⁶⁵ See Minutes of Evidence, Ibid. 4192.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 4227, 4228.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 4211.

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until the time of Lord Gambier, who was Governor of the Island from the year 1802 to 1804, there had been no effort whatsoever to establish friendly intercourse with its inhabitants; and that the only attempt made by that excellent man to open it, had failed ⁶⁸.

How dark and revolting is the picture here placed before us! It diminishes not aught of its fearful character, to be told, that, in other regions of the globe, like scenes have been witnessed; and, that, by other nations of Europe, like crimes have been committed. We are at present only concerned with ourselves, and with our shameful treatment of the most ancient foreign possession belonging to this Kingdom, of its native inhabitants, and of our own fellow-subjects who have settled upon its coast. To confess that the treatment has been shameful, and not to strive, as far as in us lies, to mitigate its evil consequences, has been justly described, by one who has written with wisdom and earnestness upon the important subject of Colonization, to be little better than 'mere idle philanthropy, or the mere fulfilment of certain ceremonies by which the mind relieves itself of the sense of a debt.' The duty which should engage our attention, the same writer describes, not less truly, to be 'one, of which the consideration peculiarly requires practical and dispassionate views; while to act upon those views, requires in addition, patience under discouragement, contentment with small successes and imperfect agents,

⁶⁸ Ibid. 4230—4232.

faith in sound principles, zeal without blindness, firmness without obstinacy ⁶⁹.'

It is precisely such a spirit as this which we would desire to see animating all the counsels, and sustaining all the efforts, which are directed for the benefit of Newfoundland. Let the members of our own "household of faith ⁷⁰" consider, that, if the evils of which the outline has been here attempted to be drawn, have thus operated to the temporal disadvantage of this Colony, the spiritual ministrations of the Church therein must also have been most seriously affected by them. If the design of establishing permanent settlements upon the Island was not only discouraged, but absolutely forbidden by penalties so severe, that the ruthless decree went forth to burn the houses of all who durst venture thither, except those connected with the fisheries, and to reduce the country to a waste more dreary even than that which its first aspect presents ⁷¹,—how was it possible for the minister of the Gospel to preach the Word, or to dispense the ordinances of grace in that region? The spoiler's violence, the blasphemer's curse, the drunkard's madness, were all doing the work of Satan upon its rugged and tempestuous shore; but the power, which could alone have stayed the plague of man's wickedness, was not there. And yet, not wholly without some tokens of God's saving truth, had the

⁶⁹ Merivale's Lectures on Colonization, ii. 151.

⁷⁰ Gal. vi. 10.

⁷¹ This was the policy recommended by Sir Josiah Child, in

1670, the highest mercantile authority at that time, and acted upon by the Lords of Trade and Plantations. Murray's British America, ii. 283.

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Englishmen who visited that Island, been permitted to draw their wealth from the inexhaustible treasure-house of the deep sea. They were remembered in the prayers of some of their countrymen at home; and, for their benefit, the earliest efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were made. This Society was established by Royal Charter, on the sixteenth of June, 1701; and, in its first Report⁷², occurs the following notice of Newfoundland; ‘Has several settlements of English, with many occasional inhabitants, as workers, mariners, &c. at the fishing seasons, to the amount of several thousands: but no publick exercise of religion, except at St. John’s, where there is a congregation, but unable to subsist a Minister.’ A Minister, however, Mr. Jackson, was forthwith sent out by the Society; and, in the same Report, it is stated that the annual stipend of fifty pounds was assigned to him for three years, besides a benefaction of thirty pounds. In the Historical Account also of the Society, published in 1720, by Dr. Humphreys, the Secretary, it is stated that a handsome Church had been built at St. John’s, which was destroyed by the French when they burnt the town, in 1705; and that, afterwards, when the English had driven out the French, they built another small Church and houses for themselves round the fort, for their greater security. We are told also, upon the same authority, that, in consequence of the poverty of the people, the Society for the Pro-

⁷² A Copy of this Report has been lately reprinted by the Society.

pagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts continued, for several years, the annual allowance which they had assigned to Mr. Jackson, in the first instance, only for a limited period, and also bestowed upon him several other gratuities⁷³. I find, moreover, in the Journals of the Society, that their assistance was, in a few years afterwards, extended to other quarters of the Island; and that a Missionary, Mr. Jones, was sent to Bonavista, towards whose support the inhabitants of that place, poor as they were, contributed fifty pounds a year. In 1727, a communication was received from him, relating the kind reception which he had met with from the inhabitants; the gladness with which they had received his books; and the efforts which he had made to instruct their children⁷⁴. A very short time afterwards, a third Missionary, Mr. Kilpatrick, was sent by the Society to Trinity Bay, in consequence of a petition from the inhabitants to that effect, who promised to build a Church, and to provide an annual stipend of thirty pounds towards his maintenance⁷⁵. In 1731, Mr. Jones sent home intelligence that the Church at Bonavista was nearly finished, and that a gentleman had given vessels for the celebration of the Holy Communion, and a handsome stone font⁷⁶. He continued his services at that station for many years; and when, upon the death of Mr. Kilpatrick, in 1742, he was removed to Trinity Bay, the inhabi-

⁷³ Humphreys's Historical Account, &c. pp. 40, 41, and Journals of S.P.G. i. 107. 194.

⁷⁴ Journals of S.P.G. v. 186.

⁷⁵ Ibid. v. 255.

⁷⁶ Ibid. v. 285.

tants of Bonavista sent home a petition to the Society, complaining of the spiritual destitution which they thereby suffered, and entreating that the means of instructing their children might be extended to them ⁷⁷.

These are evidences which, few and feeble as they are, at least demonstrate the desire of the Church to do what she could to mitigate the evils which the cupidity of trade and the counsels of State policy had created; and also the desire of some who tarried upon the Island to honour the Lord their God.

In glancing at the scanty evidences, which are scattered over the long and dreary interval of the eighteenth century, of a kindly and earnest feeling for the spiritual welfare of Newfoundland, and of a desire to secure to its inhabitants the means of reverently celebrating the ordinances of Christ, we may not pass by unnoticed that which is supplied in the gift of our late Sovereign, William the Fourth, to the Church at Great Placentia. That town had been the seat of government, whilst the French had possession of the Island; and was, during the war, a place of great importance, as a military post of our own. Many families, also, members of our own communion, lived in it; and two of our Missionaries, Mr. Harris and Mr. Evans, were successively stationed there. Placentia had attracted the notice of our

⁷⁷ Original Letters of S.P.G. i. 61. I have extracted other notices concerning Newfoundland from the Journals &c. of S.P.G., but forbear to recite them now, as they will help better to illustrate the sequel

of the history. Those which have been given above are only for the purpose of bearing out the summary statements which I am here endeavouring to place before the reader.

late King, when, in early life, he was engaged in the honourable service of his profession, as an officer in the Royal Navy; and he was not slow in supplying that which he there saw wanting in the administration of the public services of the Church. The valuable set of vessels for the celebration of the Holy Communion, which are now in the Church of that town, testify, by the inscription engraven upon them, that they were given by His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, in 1787⁷⁶.

It has been already stated, that, during the reign of the same monarch (1832), the establishment of a Legislative Assembly gave to Newfoundland its proper character as a Colony of the British Empire. And, as approaches to the same result had been made, before that period, by the substitution of a civil for a naval governor, and by the appointment of judicial and other officers, so the effort had been also made to extend to the inhabitants, in a distinct and authorised character, those spiritual advantages which they ought to have received, in all their

⁷⁶ See the interesting narrative, entitled 'Six months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal, from February to August, 1835,' p. 26. It is much to be regretted, as we learn from the same narrative, that owing to the altered circumstances of Placentia, and the consequent removal of a regular Missionary from the station, the benefit of this and other pious offerings of Bibles and Prayer-Books for the use of the Church, was greatly impaired at the time of the writer's visit, pp. 29, 30. Much information

of a valuable character is likewise to be found in the Rev. Lewis 'Anspach's History of Newfoundland,' London, 1819. He was formerly a magistrate in the Island, and Missionary for the District of Conception Bay; and possessed not only the amplest means of information, but has shown great diligence in the preparation of his materials. I have only forbore to refer to his work, lest I should be led into a relation more minute than is required for my present object.

fulness and integrity, long before. The first See, established in any of our Colonies, was that of Nova Scotia, in 1787; and Dr. Charles Inglis, whose name deserves to be held in grateful remembrance, was consecrated its first Bishop. In 1825, his son, who, as a Missionary in that country, had already trodden faithfully in the steps of his venerable father, was summoned to preside as Bishop over the same Diocese⁷⁹; and, on the tenth of May, in the same year, Letters Patent were issued, which constituted the Island of Newfoundland part of his Diocese. The Royal Instructions, transmitted from the Colonial Office, in 1832, and to which reference has been before made, point out particularly the relations which had thus been established between Newfoundland and the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the important duties which consequently devolved upon the Governor of the former. These Instructions,—so far as they relate to the subject for which they are now cited,—are given in the Appendix to this Volume⁸⁰; and the sacredness of the interests which it is the avowed object of the Instructions to uphold, is the most convincing demonstration of the evil which must have been created by the long neglect of them. If further evidence of the mournful fact be required, it is supplied in the description given of Newfoundland by the Bishop of Nova Scotia, when he proceeded to visit it as part of his Diocese. We are forbidden, indeed, by our

⁷⁹ A second Bishop, Dr. Robert Stanser, had intervened between Dr. Inglis and his son, and pre-

sided over the Diocese of Nova Scotia from 1816 to 1825.

⁸⁰ See Appendix, No. II.

present limits, to enter into the details of this description, or of the arduous labours which he underwent in his faithful desire to mitigate the ills he witnessed; but we trust that the record of them has been too recently brought before the public mind, and the value of that decisive testimony too gratefully acknowledged, to require a minute recital in this place ⁸¹.

Valuable as were the benefits received by Newfoundland from the watchful superintendence of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, they were yet incomplete. The Diocese, to which it belonged, required subdivision. Comprising, at that time, Nova Scotia, which possesses a larger area than that of Greece; Cape Breton, which is larger than South Wales; New Brunswick, which is nearly equal to Scotland; Prince Edward Island, which exceeds in size our own county of Norfolk; Newfoundland, which has been already represented to be larger than Ireland ⁸²; and the Bermudas, which only can be reached, after a voyage of several hundred miles, from the nearest part of the British possessions in North America; its varied territory was evidently far too extensive to admit of proper visitation and control. The separation, therefore, of Newfoundland and the Bermudas from the

⁸¹ I have found it impossible to give, in this part of my work, a condensed statement of the information respecting Newfoundland furnished in the Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; but they

who have carefully examined them will be the first to acknowledge their great value.

⁸² See the Table of Comparative Geography, in that most useful publication, the Colonial Church Atlas.

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jurisdiction of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the constitution of a distinct Diocese which should embrace both of them, was much to be desired⁸³. This object was happily effected in 1839; and Dr. Spencer, who, since 1824, had been Archdeacon of the Bermudas, was consecrated the first Bishop of this new Diocese. The increase of Churches, of Clergy, of Schools, of all which bears witness to the zealous and effective ministration of the Gospel of Christ, which have been manifested in Newfoundland since that period, is only one out of the many instances, which are to be seen every where, of the palpable and direct advantages which uniformly follow the establishment of Colonial Sees; and affords the strongest argument in favor of their speedy extension⁸⁴.

Although I am here setting forth a very general

⁸³ The 'unwieldy Diocese' of Nova Scotia, as the Bishop justly designates it in his Pastoral Letter, dated Halifax, April 25, 1842, has since been reduced yet further by the constitution of New Brunswick into a separate Diocese. Whilst these sheets are passing through the press, its Bishop is on the eve of being consecrated.

⁸⁴ The following report of Bishop Spencer supplies proof of the above statement:—'At my consecration to the See of Newfoundland, I found only eight clergymen of the Church of England in the whole Colony; the Church itself in a most disorganized and dispirited condition; the schools languishing, many of them broken up, and all destitute of that spirit of unity and order so essential to their real efficiency. I am very thankful that

I have been permitted, within the short space of two years, to remedy some of these evils, and to supply the most craving of their deficiencies. Twenty-five clergymen, with readers and schoolmasters under them; Sunday Schools every where revived and originated; a theological seminary of future missionaries established at the capital; the erection of more than twenty new churches, and the extension and repair of many buildings already consecrated to Divine Worship—these are the means which, under the Divine blessing, I now possess for the propagation of the Gospel, and which I humbly trust will be blessed to the success of his cause.' Sir Richard Bonycastle's 'Newfoundland in 1842,' ii. 103.

and imperfect summary of the condition of Newfoundland, and her claims upon England's sympathy, it is impossible to pass by unnoticed the exertions of a Society which has been engaged, since the year 1823, in the work of supplying the children of its poor inhabitants with the means of Christian education. To Mr. Samuel Codner, a Newfoundland merchant, its formation is to be ascribed; and his personal exertions have never been wanting to uphold and promote its efficiency. The Government of this country also answered the appeals addressed to it on behalf of the Society; evidence of which is to be found, not only in the personal support of the Earl of Liverpool, at that time Prime Minister, and of the Earl of Bathurst, and other Secretaries of State for the Colonies, but also in the facilities of a free passage to the Island, which have been afforded to its Teachers, and in the grants of land and advances of money which the local authorities had been instructed to make in furtherance of its objects. These objects have to a great extent been realised. The Teachers,—who, according to the rules of the Society, are to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to conduct the schools, as far as circumstances may permit, on Dr. Bell's System,—have been faithful and efficient; and testimonies the most unequivocal, have been given from every quarter, demonstrating the value of their services. The Society has of late years extended its operation to the Diocese of Montreal, with the sanction of the Bishop; and there, as in Newfoundland,

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the fidelity and usefulness of its Teachers have been amply proved ⁸⁵.

But, thankful as we ought to be for any instrument of help which has been extended to this Colony in her distress, it is evident that many more are needed; and that even this has not been altogether derived from the sources which should have furnished it. The poor of the flock of Christ ought not to have been suffered to remain in the condition in which this Society found them. The Church ought not thus to have left it to the zeal of individual members, to have supplied her own lack of service. And yet, what means had she properly possessed, of executing the high office committed to her charge, in this most ancient possession of the British Crown? To have planted a permanent settlement upon its shores would have been, in earlier years, to contravene the law. Her ministers were constrained to be as migratory as the fishermen with whom they went and returned. Where, then, could a resting-place be found for truth?

If these causes of evil have been now removed, and the opportunity is at length extended to the Church to show forth her Master's glory in that land, assuredly, necessity is laid upon her,—yea, woe be unto her, if she improve it not unto the uttermost. True,

⁸⁵ A convincing proof of this statement is shown by the fact, that nine of the Society's Teachers have been ordained in Newfoundland; three of whom are now entirely supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in

Foreign Parts. Ten also, who were sent into Canada, have been ordained; of whom seven are entirely maintained by local resources. A fuller notice of the proceedings of this Society is intended hereafter to be given.

there are peculiar difficulties which must impede her progress; difficulties, arising, on the one hand, from the nature of the country, and, on the other, from the religious differences which subsist among its population. From causes which have been in operation, more or less, ever since the time when Sir George Calvert first encouraged members of the Church of Rome to resort to the Island, emigrants of the same communion, chiefly from Ireland, have chosen it for their abode. They comprise, at the present time, somewhat more than half of the whole population. A considerable proportion of the remainder are members of the Church of Scotland, or of dissenting bodies, of whom the Wesleyans are the most important. It is, therefore, no ordinary demand, made upon the faith, watchfulness, wisdom, and patience, of our brethren in this Island; no ordinary claim, which the circumstances of their position present upon the sympathy, the prayers, the support of ourselves at home. May the claim be listened to! May he, who is now appointed to be the pastor and overseer of this portion of the flock of Christ, and who has already expressed his joy at beholding the "order" of his Clergy "and the steadfastness of their faith in Christ ⁸⁶," be cheered by a continuance of the same support! May he feel, too, that his hands are strengthened by the friends whom he has left in England, and who "esteem" him "very highly in love for his work's sake ⁸⁷!"

⁸⁶ With these words of the Apostle (Col. ii. 5.) Bishop Feild closes the Dedication of his first Charge to his Clergy.

⁸⁷ 1 Thess. v. 13.

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS OF COLONIZATION IN OTHER PARTS OF
NORTH AMERICA, WEST INDIES, &c. IN JAMES THE
FIRST'S REIGN.

A. D. 1607—1625.

Hudson's Voyages from 1607 to 1610—Bylot's and Baffin's Voyages in 1615 and 1616—Some of the regions visited by them interesting as the future scenes of the Moravian Missionaries' labours—Others associated with the past services of Master Wollfall, Preacher—Nova Scotia assigned in 1621, by Royal Patent, to Sir William Alexander—The first settlement of the Plymouth Company at the river Sagadahoc, in 1607, unsuccessful—Smith explores the adjoining country in 1614—The country called New England—An abortive attempt of the Plymouth Company to colonize it under Smith, in 1615—His history of New England—A fresh Charter granted to the Plymouth Company, November 3, 1620; but not available—First settlement of the Puritans in New England—The character of the covenant, by which they agreed to be governed, considered—Abortive attempt of Gorges and Morrell, in 1623, to extend the influence of the Church of England in that Colony—Raleigh's Patent to colonize Guiana, in 1617—Failure of the attempt—A part of Guiana, now a possession of the British Crown—The settlement of St. Kitt's by the English in 1623—Possession taken of Barbados by the English in 1605; but no settlement made until 1624—The relations of England with Africa, and with India, during the reign of James the First.

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THE attempts which England made towards Colonization, during James the First's reign, were mainly towards the West and North West; and several points of interest, connected with the progress of the work in that direction, remain yet to be noticed, before

we can glance at the enterprises, undertaken in other quarters of the globe and in the time of his successors.

The voyages made by Frobisher and Davis, towards the end of the sixteenth century, in search of the North-West passage to India and China, have already been referred to¹; and, before the reader's attention is turned to other scenes, it may be well to advert, for a moment, to those voyages which, in the beginning of the next century, were undertaken, in the same direction and with the same object, by the celebrated navigator, Henry Hudson.

His first voyage was 'set forth at the charge of certain Worshipfull Merchants of London, in May, 1607;' and the very first line which records the Journal of his proceedings, bears testimony to the religious feeling by which he and his company were animated. The reader will be reminded by it of a similar evidence which has been noticed in the case of Frobisher²; and will see, in both instances, that the strength of the English adventurer was sustained, as he went forth to deeds of daring enterprise, and his spirit was refreshed, by the prayers and ordinances of the Church. The passage runs thus: 'Anno 1607, Aprill the nineteenth, at Saint Ethelburga, in Bishops Gate street, did communicate with the rest of the Parishioners these persons, Seamen, purposing to goe to Sea foure days after, to discover a Passage by the North Pole to Iapan and

Hudson's
voyages
from 1607 to
1610.

¹ See pp. 106—109 of this Volume.

² Ibid. p. 107.

China³. The particulars of this voyage, and those of the second and third, which Hudson renewed in the years 1608 and 1609, are still extant⁴, and will be found full of interest; but it is impossible now to dwell upon them. It should be remembered, however, that Hudson's third voyage was undertaken, not, as the two former had been, at the charge of the English Russia Company, but of the Dutch East India Company. The course which he then pursued was, in the first instance, towards the North East; and (as has been stated in a former chapter)⁵, having failed to find an opening in that direction, he sailed Westward, by Newfoundland, to the American continent; and, by the search which he then made of a great portion of its coast, associated his name for ever with one of its noblest rivers, and opened a way for the introduction of the commerce and power of the Dutch into the New World. His fourth voyage was his last. The vessel which he then commanded was once more fitted out by the merchants of London, and set out upon her voyage at the end of April, 1610. Passing the coast of Iceland, where he saw Mount Hecla casting out its flames,—‘a signe of foule weather to come in short time,’—and thence, having doubled the Southern Cape of Greenland, Hudson proceeded, in a North-Westerly course, through those Straits which now bear his name. He then showed his ship's company ‘by his card, that hee was entred aboue an hundred leagues further than

³ Purchas, iii. 567.⁴ Ibid. 567—595.⁵ See p. 304 of this Volume.

ever any English was ⁶; and, pursuing his way contrary to the wishes of many of the crew, entered that extensive Bay, which also retains the name of its discoverer and has extended it to one of the most important, and enterprising, and prosperous commercial bodies of the present day, the Hudson's Bay Company. Whatsoever may have been the hopes kindled within Hudson's mind by this discovery, they soon perished with himself. The mutinous spirit, which had long been working in some of his people, at length broke out; and, in spite of all remonstrance and resistance, he and eight others, including his son, were seized and put into the shallop belonging to their ship, and turned adrift, and heard of no more. The murderous conspirators soon experienced, from the hands of the savage natives of the coast, a death as miserable as that which they had inflicted upon their gallant chief; and a wretched remnant of the crew, some months afterwards, returned to England ⁷.

The failure of these enterprises did but stimulate Englishmen to the renewal of more. The most important of these were the voyages, again undertaken at the charge of the English Russia Company, by Bylot and Baffin, in the years 1615 and 1616. In the first, they attempted to prosecute their discoveries through

⁶ Some writers are of opinion, that Cabot, in the voyage mentioned at pp. 12, 13, of this Volume, had already entered the Straits and Bay which now bear the name of Hudson. See Tytler's Historical View of the Progress of Discovery

on the more Northern Coasts of America. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, pp. 41, 42.)

⁷ See the abstract of Hudson's Journal until his death, and the Narratives of Abaevk Pricket and others, in Purchas, iii. 596—609.

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Hudson's Straits; an attempt, which proved utterly abortive. In the second, they were directed to pursue a course due North, through Davis's Straits; and, obeying those instructions, discovered a wide expanse of sea, together with many creeks and islands. But, in the end, Baffin was convinced that the sea was closed in on every side by land and impenetrable ice, and that no opening to the North or North West could be found. The name of Baffin's Bay remains, to this day, a witness of the zeal and perseverance of the navigator who then explored it ⁸.

Carrying on our attention now to those provinces of the mainland of America, which lie immediately to the South of the Straits and Bays last spoken of, and which bear the names of Labrador, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, we are reminded of the fact, stated at the outset of this History, that these were the regions first visited by Cabot, under the Charter of Henry the Seventh. But other European nations speedily followed the English, in exploring these coasts, and making partial and temporary settlements upon them. Portugal, for instance, in the person of Gasper de Cortereal, sought to lay her grasp upon the first of the above named provinces. An old map published at Rome, in 1508, designates it by his name, Terra Corterealis. Its present title, also, may be regarded as bearing witness to the tyranny and cupidity of the Portuguese

⁸ The account of these two voyages of Baffin is to be found in Purchas, iii. 836—848; and others also in the same direction,

which I have not thought it necessary to notice particularly, are recorded by him, iii. 699—737. See also Macpherson's Annals, ii. 245.

mariner, who, seeing that its natives were fitted to endure hard labour, carried many of them off by violence to his own country, and called the land from which he had taken them, the land of the labouring slave,—Terra de Laborador⁹.

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The reader is not to suppose that the lands and seas of the frozen North are here spoken of, merely because their names occur in the histories of maritime discovery; and that they have no association with the immediate object of this present work. This would be to treat with undutiful neglect the record of many a faithful missionary's labour in those very regions. True it is, that, not until a later period than that now under review, have the zeal and piety of the Moravians made the names of Greenland and Labrador precious in our eyes. Yet, it is just because we know that many of the United Brethren have long since set up tokens of their heavenly Master's victory in those inclement regions, and, after harassing delays and painful toil, have realised the fair visions present to the minds of those who made their first dwelling in Hoffenthal, 'the valley of hope¹⁰,' that we ask the reader to pause for a moment, and consider their bright example. The circumstances which led them to that quarter, and which were themselves preceded by the hearty sympathy and support which they received from the

Some of the regions visited by them interesting as the future scene of the Moravian Missionaries' labours.

⁹ See Tytler's Historical View, &c. ut sup. pp. 34 — 37; and the Memoir of Sebastian Cabot there quoted by him.

¹⁰ Cranz's History of the United Brethren, pp. 404, 405. (London, 1780.)

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Archbishops and Bishops of our Church, towards the end of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth centuries¹¹, will be noticed more particularly in the second Volume of this work. But I could not even now glance at this one field of the Moravians' conflict and the Moravians' triumph, —and it is but one of many,—without acknowledging, by anticipation, the services of these holy men.

Others associated with the past faithful services of Master Wollfall, Preacher.

It is a subject also of gratifying interest to know, that, at a period still earlier than that which now occupies our attention, the faithful ministrations of a clergyman of the English Church accompanied and sanctified the earliest entrance of our countrymen into the Arctic regions. We read not, indeed, of any who sailed with Frobisher, in his two first voyages; or with Hudson, in any of the three which he made under English auspices. And, since those voyages were, all of them, strictly of an experimental character, without any definite or immediate purpose of Colonization, it is probable that good reasons existed for confining the number of the ships' companies strictly to those who, during their short absence, were to be employed in navigating them. But, in Frobisher's third voyage, in 1578, when an hundred persons were selected for the purpose of forming a settlement in the land which he had discovered, and which, we have already said, was called by Elizabeth 'Meta Incognita,' the following passages are recorded in the Journal. I have pur-

¹¹ La Trobe's Preface to Cranz's History.

posely deferred noticing them until now, because of their connexion with the train of thought suggested in this part of our narrative.

The first passage relates to the feelings of the party, upon rejoining some of their comrades from whom they had been separated, and whom they had never expected to see again: 'Here euery man greatly reioyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped vp their sundry fortunes and perils past, they highly prayed God, and altogether vpon their knees gaue him due, humble, and heartie thanks; and Maister Wolfall, a learned man, appointed by her Maiestie's Councell to be their Minister and Preacher, made vnto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankfull to God for their strange and miraculous deliuerance in those so dangerous places and putting them in mind of the vncertainetie of man's life, willed them to make themselues alwayes readie as resolute men to enioy and accept thankfully whatsoeuer aduenture his diuine Prouidence should appoint. This Maister Wolfall, being well seated and settled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honest woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to saue soules, and to reforme these Infidels if it were possible to Christianitie: and also partly for the great desire that he had that this notable

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voyage so well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to stay the whole yeare, if occasion had serued, being in euery necessary action as forward as the resoluteſt men of all. Wherefore, in this behalfe, he may rightly be called a true Pastor and Miniſter of God's Word, which for the profite of his flocke ſpared not to venture his owne life¹².' The next notice of this good man's miniſtrations occurs towards the end of the Journal: 'Maſter Wolfall on Winter's Fornace preached a godly ſermon, which being ended, he celebrated alſo a Communion vpon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the diuine myſtery was the firſt ſigne, ſeale, and confirmation of Chriſt's name, death, and paſſion euer knowen in theſe quarters. The ſaid M. Wolfall made ſermons, and celebrated the Communion at ſundry other times, in ſeueral and ſundry ſhips, becauſe the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place¹³.'

Bylot and
Baffin's
voyages in
1615 and
1616.

To the countries which lie immediately to the ſouth of Labrador, and which are now called Canada, New Brunſwick, and Nova Scotia, it has been ſtated¹⁴, that France had laid claim, from a period long prior to that which wiſſeſſed the firſt ſettle-

¹² Hakluyt, iii. 116.

¹³ Ibid. 124.

¹⁴ See pp. 301 — 304 of this Volume.

ment of the English in Virginia under James the First's charter. The very names now given to the rivers, gulfs, straits, islands, and promontories of those deeply indented shores, are, in most instances, the same which were originally imposed upon them by kings, and nobles, and mariners of the French nation. That priority of claim, we have seen, had been set at nought by the English; and Argall, in 1613, attacked and plundered, without scruple, the settlements which the French had made in Acadie and other places, regarding them as encroachments upon the territory marked out in the North Virginia Charter.

The aggression was not then repelled; neither was any redress sought for by the party against whom the outrage was committed. The English monarch still acted, as if he were the sole disposer of every part of the American Continent lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of North latitude; and, in 1621, assigned by Royal Patent to Sir William Alexander, who was afterwards Earl of Stirling¹⁵, the whole of the country lying Eastward of a line drawn in a Northerly direction to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from the river St. Croix, which falls into Passamaquoddy Bay. To this country, which included the province now called New Brunswick¹⁶, the name of Nova Scotia was

Nova Scotia assigned in 1621, by Royal Patent, to Sir William Alexander.

¹⁵ Sir William Alexander was created, in 1633, Lord Alexander of Tullibody in Clackmannanshire,

1739. Beatson's Political Index, iii. 23.

¹⁶ The separation between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was not made until 1785.

then given¹⁷. The terms of the Patent were of the most ample character, and conferred upon its possessors rights and privileges scarcely inferior to those attached to the Crown. The only reservation made to King James and his successors was a tenth part of the gold and silver ore which might be dug out of the mines of Nova Scotia, and a duty of five per cent. to be levied, after the lapse of thirteen years, upon all exports and imports¹⁸. The high and holy purposes, ever to be kept in view by the extension of the Christian name, are distinctly avowed in this, as in former Charters¹⁹; and to Sir William Alexander was delegated the trust of appointing not only to civil, naval, and military, but also to ecclesiastical offices²⁰. It is impossible to say how far this last enactment,—which may be regarded, in one sense, as a witness to the necessity of securing to our Colonies the spiritual birthright of their mother country,—is to be considered as an index of the zeal and faithfulness of him to whom the trust was committed; for no opportunity of exercising it was

¹⁷ 'Quæ quidem terræ prædictæ omni tempore futuro nomine Novæ Scotiæ in Americâ gaudebunt.' See the Patent given at length in Hazard's Historical Collections, (Philadelphia, 1792.) i. 135.—145. A part of it is also to be found in Purchas, iv. 1871, 1872; and, in the margin, Purchas describes Alexander as one 'who at other weapons hath plaid his Muses prizes, and giuen the world ample testimony of his learning:' a description, probably exceeding the estimate which would now be

formed of Alexander's poems.

¹⁸ Hazard, ut sup. pp. 136 and 140.

¹⁹ 'Infidelibus, quos ad Christianam converti fidem, ad Dei gloriam interest plurimum.' Hazard, ut sup. p. 134.

²⁰ 'Unâ cum plenariâ potestate, privilegio, et jurisdictione liberâ regalitatis, Capellæ et Cancellariæ in perpetuum; cumque donatione et Patronatûs jure Ecclesiarum Capellaniarum et Beneficiorum, cum tenentibus,' &c. Hazard, ut sup. p. 136.

afforded to him, during James's reign. He set out, indeed, towards the end of 1622, to visit the new possessions assigned to him; but was compelled to pass the following winter in Newfoundland. And, although in the next summer he proceeded to Nova Scotia, he did nothing more than explore a portion of its coast, and refrained from any attempt to establish a Colony upon it²¹.

The next province of the American Continent, to be presented to the reader's notice, is that originally assigned to the North Virginia Company, under James's Charter of 1606. The parties, whom it invested with authority to plant a settlement within the limits there prescribed, were, as we have already said, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham, and others of the towns of Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter²². They were not slow to exercise the powers thus conveyed to them. In the very year of the enrolment of the Company, Chief Justice Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who were among its most influential members, sent out two vessels to explore the territory; the first, under the command of Henry Challons, which was

²¹ Purchas, iv. 1873.

²² See p. 203 of this Volume. I am anxious here to correct a statement which I have made in the above passage, namely, that which relates to the collision likely to arise from the intermixture of the geographical boundaries assigned to the two Companies. The security against this collision, which I

then omitted to notice, and which I desire now to supply, is to be found in the sixth Article of the Charter, which provides that whichever Colony established itself last, should not come within an hundred English miles of any plantation already made by the other Colony.

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The first settlement of the Plymouth Company at the mouth of the River Sagadahoc, in 1607-8, unsuccessful.

taken and confiscated by the Spaniards; and the second, under the command of Thomas Hanham, which brought back a most encouraging report. Whereupon, it is said, 'the Lord Chiefe Justice and all waxed so confident of the businesse, that the yeere following, euery man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing to ioyne in the charge for the sending ouer a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopefull Plantation²³.' The charge was entrusted to Captain George Popham, who was to fill the office of President, and Rawley Gilbert,—a son, probably, of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh,—who was to be Admiral²⁴. I cannot learn, from any of the original narratives, the name of the clergyman who accompanied this expedition. But that a clergyman did accompany it, there can be no doubt; for, after landing at the mouth of the river Sagadahoc²⁵,—upon a peninsula of which the adventurers resolved to settle themselves,—I find, that a Sermon was delivered²⁶. The Patent and Laws, under which they were to act, were then read; and a storehouse was built and fortified, to which they gave the name of Fort St. George. Calamities, heavy and numerous, speedily overwhelmed the infant Colony. The winter was most severe, the country wild and barren, their storehouse was destroyed by fire, their President died, the first

²³ Purchas, iv. 1827. Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 79.

²⁴ Harlow's narrative in Smith's History of New England, p. 204.

²⁵ This river is the main west-

ern branch of the Kennebec, the largest in the Province of Maine.

²⁶ Belknap, quoted in Holmes's American Annals, i. 132.

vessels which came with supplies from England brought news that the Chief Justice was also dead; and, all these things being against them, the survivors abandoned their enterprise, and returned to England in 1608.

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No attempt worthy of record was made for six years to revisit a country which the holders of the charter looked upon 'as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desert ²⁷.' But they still regarded it as their own possession; and hence the efforts, already noted by us, which Argall made to dislodge the French from the settlements established by them, during that interval, upon the same coast ²⁸. At length, in 1614, John Smith, whose name is so illustrious as the early governor and chronicler of Virginia, went forth, at the charge of four persons in London, and explored the whole coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod. He returned at the end of six months; having 'drawne,' as he tells us, 'a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks, and Land-Markes, as' he 'passed close aboard the shore in a little Boat ²⁹.' Smith's map is still extant, and prefixed to his history of the country, and, like that of Virginia, already spoken of ³⁰, bears testimony to his great ability, accuracy, and perseverance. The coast which it represents is about three degrees in extent,

Smith explores the adjoining coast in 1614.

²⁷ Smith's History, ut sup. p. 204.

²⁸ See p. 305 of this Volume, and Purchas, iv. 1828.

²⁹ Smith's History, ut sup. p. 207.

³⁰ See note ⁶² at p. 225 of this Volume.

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The country
called New
England.

and now forms the Eastern boundary of the Province of Maine and the States of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. To the whole of this coast and the adjoining territory, Smith gave the title of New England, a title which, it has been already said³¹, was confirmed by Prince Charles. This was done at the earnest request of Smith himself. He was indignant that the name of New England, which he had chosen and given to the country, should be 'drowned with the eccho of Cannaday,' and other titles, by which former mariners designated them; and, accordingly, he says, 'I presented this Discourse, with the Map, to our most gracious Prince Charles, humbly intreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince Charles was their God-father³².'

Whilst Smith was thus endeavouring to spread

³¹ See p. 203 of this Volume.

³² Smith's History, ut sup. p. 205. Among the various names mentioned in the schedule which is given in the above passage, occurs that of *Tragabiganda*, which Smith had given to the north-east promontory of Massachusetts Bay. This strange title was selected in memory of the Turkish lady whose slave Smith had once been (p. 212). But this name was changed by Prince Charles to *Cape Ann*, in honour of his mother: 'neither of them,' it is said, 'glorifying in these Mahometan titles.' (Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. quoted in Holmes's *American Annals*, i. 151.) The name of *Cape Ann* re-

mains to this day. The same immortality has not followed the name then assigned to the opposite promontory of Massachusetts Bay, namely, *Cape James*, in honour of the English King. It is so designated in Smith's Map; but the name of *Cape Cod*, given to it by Gosnold, the first Englishman who explored this part of the coast, (p. 194.) has still been preserved. And, so far, Cotton Mather's words are verified, who supposes that the promontory 'will never lose this name, till shoals of Cod Fish be seen swimming upon the tops of its highest hills.' *Magn. Christ. Amer.* p. 3.

information, and to create an interest, with respect to New England, his work was greatly hindered by an outrage which one of the commanders of the vessels, left upon that coast, committed, in his absence, against the natives. The name of the commander was Thomas Hunt; and Smith relates that he 'betraied foure and twenty of these poore Saluages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanely for their vsage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little priuate gaine, sold these silly Saluages for Rials of eight: but this wilde act kept him euer after from any more imploiment to these parts³³.' One of these poor slaves made his way from Spain to England, and, thence returning to his native country, became afterwards an interpreter and valuable assistant to the English settlers. So far, the outrage of which Hunt was guilty was overruled for good; but the remembrance of it caused the minds of the natives for a long time to be evil-affected towards the strangers who set foot upon their shores.

Smith was still unwearied in the prosecution of his design. Albeit the Patent of the Plymouth Company seemed 'dead,' and the country allotted to them under its authority was 'unregarded³⁴,' and tempting offers of employment were made to him by the supporters of the Virginia Colony, he felt himself bound to go on with the New England enterprise. But obstacle after obstacle arose to check his progress. The ships and men, which the

An abortive attempt of the Plymouth Company to colonize it under Smith, in 1615.

³³ Ibid.³⁴ Ibid. p. 205.

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Company, after much entreaty, promised to provide for him, were not ready at the time appointed. And when, after 'a labyrinth of trouble,' he set out, in 1615, with two vessels, and instructions to begin a settlement in New England, with a handful of men only sixteen in number, he was first beaten back by storms; and, upon renewing his voyage, fell in with some French pirates, who seized his ship. After passing some months as a prisoner in their hands, and witnessing various captures which they made, he at length escaped from them, as they were on their return to France, by trusting himself in a dark and stormy night to a small open boat, in which he drifted to the coast near Rochelle. Thence making his way to England, he resumed his efforts as cheerfully as if all had prospered with him³⁵.

His History
of New
England.

The following passage may be regarded as a specimen of the honest and enthusiastic zeal with which Smith sought to stir up his countrymen to that which he believed to be a deed of manly and lawful enterprise. 'Who can desire more content,' he asks, 'that hath small meanes, or but onely his merit to aduance his fortunes, then to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If hee haue but the taste and vertue of magnanimity, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant then planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his owne industry, without prejudice to any? If hee haue

³⁵ Ibid. pp. 222—227.

any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can he doe lesse full [of] hurt to any, or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert these poore Saluages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paine? What so truly sutes with honour and honesty as the discovering things unknowne, erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching vertue and gaine to our natiue mother Country, a Kingdome to attend her, finde imploiment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe; so farre from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembering thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise? Consider what were the beginnings and endings of the Monarchies of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians and Romans, but this one rule: what was it they would not doe for the good of their common weale, or their mother city? For example: Rome, what made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home, but in dangers abroad, and the iustice and iudgement out of their experiences when they grew aged? What was their ruine and hurt but this, the excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of parents, the want of experience in Maiestrates, the admiration of their vnderdeserved honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iequalities, their politike incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnesse and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? Finally, in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in

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many yeeres they lost in a few daies: those by their paines and vertues became Lords of the world, they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants. This is the difference betwixt the vse of armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones; the golden age and the leaden age; prosperity and misery; iustice and corruption; substance and shadows; words and deeds; 'experience and imagination making commonweales, and marring commonweales; the fruits of vertue, and the conclusions of vice.' He then proceeds, in a strain of lofty rebuke, to expose the folly and wickedness of him who lives 'at home idly, onely to eat, drinke, and sleepe, and so die; or by consuming that carelessly his friends got worthily; or by vsing that miserably that maintained vertue honestly;' and adds, 'I would be sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning; for I wish good to all: but rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it or their life³⁶.'—'My purpose,' he declares in another place, 'is not to perswade children from their parents, men from their wiues, nor seruants from their masters; onely such as with free consent may bee spared: but that each Parish, or Village, in Citie or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children of thirteene or fourteene yeares of age, or young married people that haue small wealth to liue on, here by their labour

³⁶ Ibid. pp. 216, 217.

may liue exceeding well. Prouided alwaies, that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defende them, and meet prouisions for them: for any place may be ouer-laine³⁷.’

The reference, which Smith makes to the commercial prosperity of Holland at that period, is worthy of notice, as the testimony of one who was an eyewitness of the zeal and industry of that nation; and who strove to lead his countrymen to profit by her example. It is suggested to him by the description, which he had given in his Discourse, of the rich fisheries, open to the English, off the coasts of North America and Newfoundland. ‘It may seeme,’ he says, ‘a meane and a base commoditie; yet who will but truly take the paines, and consider the sequell, I thinke, will allow it well worth the labour. —Who doth not know the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious, and by vending this poore Commoditie to the Easterlings for wood, flax, pitch, tarre, rozen, cordage, and such like; which they exchange againe to the French, Spaniards, Portugals, and English, &c. for what they want, are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no state but Venice of twice their magnitude is so well furnished with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that abundance of shipping, and all sorts of merchandise, as well of

³⁷ Ibid. p. 220.

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gold, siluer, pearles, diamonds, pretious stones, silks, Veluets, and cloth of gold? What voiajes, and discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea, about the world, make they? What an army by sea and land haue they long maintained, in despiht of one of the greatest Princes of the world? And neuer could the Spaniard, with all his mines of gold and silver, pay his debts so truly as the Hollanders still haue done by this contemptible trade of fish. Diuers (I know) may alleage many other assistances; but this is the chiefest Mine; and the Sea the source of those siluer streames of all their vertue, which hath made them now the very miracle of industry, the onely paterne of perfection for those affaires³⁸. Many other examples are brought forward by Smith from the enterprises undertaken by Spain and Portugal; and the interweaving of these historical references with his own narrative of facts, and with his soul-stirring exhortations to his countrymen to sustain and carry onwards the work unto which he summoned them, gives to his treatise a depth and variety of interest which it were diffi-

³⁸ Ibid. p. 209. It is not only as a source of commercial greatness that Smith thus points to the rich fisheries of the Atlantic, and to the example of Holland. To those who shared with Izaak Walton the love for angling, he holds out the advantages which New England afforded for its pursuit. 'May they not,' he asks, 'make this a pretty recreation, although they fish but an houre in a day, to

take more than they can eat in a weeke, or if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choice, yet sell it or change it with the fishermen or merchants for any thing you want? And what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing contents, and lesse hurt and charge than angling with a hooke, and crossing the sweet aire frome Ile to Ile, ouer the silent streames of a calme Sea?' Ibid. p. 219.

cult, if not impossible, to find in any similar work of that day.

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The representations of Smith were so far successful, as to lead to the granting of a new Charter to the Plymouth Company by James, on the third of November, 1620. But it conferred upon them rights and immunities so extravagant, as to excite the opposition of Parliament, and defeat the very object which its members wished to secure³⁹. Meanwhile, New England was about to be occupied by men who possessed no share in the privileges intended to be conveyed by this instrument. Some members of the Puritan body, whose rise and progress has been already described, had found, for many years, in Holland, a refuge from the persecution which had driven them forth from home. Their minister was Mr. John Robinson, who, in early life, had been 'sowred,' as Cotton Mather acknowledges, 'with the principles of the most rigid Separation⁴⁰.' His opinions, it is said, were afterwards modified; and he is generally considered as having formed the system of the Independents, to which Browne had led the way⁴¹. Amsterdam had first afforded a place of settlement for him and his followers, for the space of two years; but, in 1609, they removed to Leyden. Here too,

A fresh Charter granted to the Plymouth Company, Nov. 3, 1620; but not available.

First Settlement of the Puritans in New England.

³⁹ Hazard's Historical Coll. i. 103—118; Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 83.

⁴⁰ Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, p. 5; and Neal's History of the Puritans, i. 423.

⁴¹ Holmes, in his American

Annals, has taken much pains to show that Robinson was free from some of the extravagancies of the Brownists, i. 412. For a notice of the Brownists, see pp. 155, 156, of this Volume.

they were subject to many evils; to incessant toil, and exposure to sickness; to the dissipated habits of the Dutch; to the apprehension of war with Spain. These and other causes compelled them to turn their thoughts elsewhere; and, in 1617, they resolved to seek a resting-place in Virginia. Agents were despatched to London, for the purpose of obtaining the requisite permission to settle in that province: and, after many failures and disappointments, they succeeded in obtaining a Patent granted and confirmed under the seal of the Virginia Company. Their first application appears to have been made in 1617; but it was not until 1619 that the Patent was obtained⁴². It will be remembered that Sir Edwin Sandys, and John and Nicholas Ferrar, were the chief officers by whom the affairs of Virginia were administered at that time. It deserves, therefore, to be carefully noted, that, if intolerance were the reproach of the Church in that day, there were those among her members, second to none for their piety and zeal, who proved themselves guiltless of it. It is the more necessary to observe this fact, since among many of the Puritan historians, there is an

⁴² Holmes's American Annals, i. 163. He states that this Patent 'was never used, because it was taken out in the name of a gentleman who, though at that time designing to accompany the Leyden congregation, was providentially prevented.' Bancroft also declares that it 'was never of the least service,' i. 305. Nevertheless, this Patent must have been the sole encouragement for the Leyden

emigrants to proceed; for Holmes distinctly adds, that it was 'carried to that city for the consideration of the people, with several proposals from English merchants and friends for their transportation,' and that 'they were requested to prepare immediately for their voyage.' See also a Tract, entitled, 'A Battell in New England,' London, 1637, p. 2.

unwillingness fully to acknowledge it; and, by others, it is altogether omitted ⁴³.

Upon the strength of the encouragement thus afforded them, the followers of Robinson at Leyden made the necessary preparation for their departure; took leave of their affectionate pastor with many prayers and tears; repaired to England; and, after many difficulties and delays, sailed finally from Plymouth, on the sixth of September, 1620, on board the *Mayflower*, a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons' burthen. The first land which they discovered, on the ninth of November, was Cape Cod. Finding that this promontory was in the forty-second degree of North latitude, and therefore beyond the limits assigned to the Virginia Company, they resolved at first to proceed Southwards; but,—either through fear of danger in coasting along an untried shore, or the counsel of the pilot who was bribed, as some think, to keep the Englishmen from approaching too near the settlements of the Dutch,—they returned, and dropped anchor in the harbour of Cape Cod.

Before they landed, they drew up and signed the following remarkable document:—

⁴³ Cotton Mather is led into the error of stating that it was in New England, and not Virginia, that the emigrants of Leyden intended to settle; and that they had received authority to do this from the Plymouth Company. p. 6, ut sup.

This statement is repeated in a recent article, entitled, 'The Pilgrim Fathers,' p. 20, in the

first number (lately published) of the British Quarterly Review, which professes to review Bancroft's History of the United States. Had the reviewer, however, carefully examined Bancroft, he would have found that he does not give any authority for such a statement, and certainly has not himself adopted it.

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The character of the covenant, by which they agreed to be governed, considered.

‘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, &c., having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour 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 another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: And by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, 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 obedience⁴⁴.’

This document bears date the eleventh of November, 1620; and was signed by all the men of the party, forty-one in number. Their wives and children amounted, with themselves, to the number of one hundred. The first name on the list is that of John Carver, who was chosen Governor for one year. Before we trace the outline of their proceedings, the character of that covenant, by which they agreed to be governed, demands our notice. They acknowledged therein that England was their coun-

⁴⁴ Hazard's Hist. Coll. i. 119.

try; that James was their sovereign; and that they were his 'loyal subjects.' But, did it not follow, as a necessary corollary from such propositions, that the laws of their country and the authority of their king were still binding upon them? Did their removal across the Atlantic destroy their birthright as English citizens, or change the character of their allegiance? Again, was not the very coast which then lay before them already the property of others, their countrymen, more numerous than themselves, to whom it had been assigned by an authority whose competency they confessed? The rights of the Aborigines need not now enter into the question; for if those rights had been fully admitted by the emigrants of Leyden, it is clear that they ought not to have entertained the design of settling upon their coast, unasked. The rights of their brother-Englishmen were the prominent objects involved in the enterprise upon which they were about to enter, and the question which demanded their consideration was, by what authority they entered into their territory; set up an order of government, which might be converted to their prejudice; and claimed the exercise of prerogatives, which belonged only to the supreme legislature of their native country⁴⁵?

It is true, that the Plymouth Company did not resist the encroachment thus made upon their borders; their own slowness to act, and their divisions and disputes at home, induced them to remain at first indifferent spectators of the enterprise; and

⁴⁵ Chalmers's Political Annals, pp. 86. 87.

afterwards, when it gathered strength, they found it convenient to enter into amicable relations with its promoters. But this was a contingency, so to speak, which cannot make right that which in itself was wrong, nor convert an usurpation into a lawful act. The piety of the Puritans was, doubtless, most sincere; their zeal, ardent; their constancy, unshaken; their sufferings, such as call forth the language of just and severest reprobation against their persecutors. Hence, a bright halo surrounds the persons of 'The Pilgrim Fathers,' which hinders the spectator, oftentimes, from seeing any other objects than those which poets and historians have described as the triumphs of their martyrdom. But men are not infallible, because they have been persecuted; neither is the oppressed man, when free from the grasp of the oppressor, free always from those vices against which he has so loudly lifted up his voice. The subsequent conduct of the Independents of New England shows that their counsels were frequently animated by a spirit as tyrannical and unsparing as any that distinguished those of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. And I cannot but think that the germ of this rigorous despotism is to be found in the terms of independence and lordly rule, which characterize their first and self-constituted order of government. It recognised no other law than that which they might be pleased to think just and equal; and referred to no other standard than that of their own judgment: intolerance became, therefore, well nigh inevitable.

It is difficult to understand the process by which a writer, like Bancroft, should have been led to make the following statement respecting the Puritan Settlers of New England; namely, that 'their residence in Holland had made them acquainted with various forms of Christianity; a wide experience had emancipated them from bigotry; and they were never betrayed into the excesses of religious persecution; though they sometimes permitted a disproportion between punishment and crime ⁴⁶.' I will not now enter into any detailed enquiry into the subject, but simply content myself with the description which Bancroft himself gives of the expulsion, a few years afterwards (1629) of two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, members of the Colonial Council of Massachusetts, upon no other ground than that they had 'gathered a company in which "the Common Prayer worship" was upheld.' The Colonists were determined, he says, that 'the very purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic' should not be given up; that 'the hierarchy' should not 'intrude on their devotions in the forests of Massachusetts;' and that 'they deemed the existence of their liberty and of prelacy impossible.'—'The adherents of Episcopacy,' he adds, therefore, 'were in their turn rebuked as separatists; their plea was reproved as sedition, their worship forbidden as a mutiny; while the Brownes, who could not be terrified into silence, were seized like

⁴⁶ Bancroft's History, &c. i. 322.

criminals, and in the returning ships were transported to England. They were banished from Salem because they were Churchmen. Thus was Episcopacy first professed in Massachusetts, and thus was it exiled. The blessings of the promised land were to be kept for the Puritanic dissenters⁴⁷. And yet these were the men of whom Bancroft declares, in the passage already cited, that they 'were never betrayed into the excesses of a religious persecution⁴⁸;' and whose covenant he describes,—even in the page preceding that which has recorded such gross tyranny—as 'cherishing the severest virtues, but without one tinge of fanaticism. It was an act of piety,' he says, 'not of study; it favored virtue, not superstition; inquiry, and not submission. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots⁴⁹.' Can any representation be more inconsistent than this? or any defence of religious persecution be supported by more monstrous arguments? If these be the fruits

⁴⁷ Ibid. i. 349, 350.

⁴⁸ I have been led to notice this misstatement of Bancroft more particularly, because I observe, in the Review to which I have before adverted, that it is adopted without any qualification, as 'the testimony of' one, 'whose work on this interesting department of modern history, is the most authentic and able in our language. But 'this result,' the Reviewer adds, 'so little to have been expected in those times, may be traced to the personal character of Robinson, fully as much as to residence in Holland,' p. 35. Assuredly, a much wider range of ob-

servations ought to have been taken, before such a judgment was pronounced. The Reviewer shows no ordinary power of description in relating the severities inflicted upon the Puritans under Elizabeth; the dangers of the voyage across the Atlantic; the hardships and difficulties of their first settlement in America. I regret that he should not only have passed over in total silence the fact of their own persecuting spirit, but that, sheltering himself under the authority of Bancroft, he should have made it appear that they were wholly guiltless of it.

⁴⁹ Ibid. i. 348.

of Independence, the graces of religious freedom, wherein were the cruel counsels of St. Dominic or Torquemada to be blamed ⁵⁰?

It is evident that no room was left for the Church of England to send forth her sons to the Bay of Massachusetts, when men, animated with such a spirit of bitter hostility against her, were exploring its harbours, making treaties with its native chiefs ⁵¹, and laying the foundation of its future towns. Their progress was slow and painful; but their perseverance never failed. From the day on which they set their first footsteps upon the rock, at the place on which now stands the town of Plymouth ⁵², they per-

⁵⁰ Since writing the above, I find it stated in the valuable Volume of Sermons, &c. published by Bishop Doane of New Jersey, at the end of a note to the fifteenth sermon, p. 461, in which he had very properly exposed the inconsistency of Bancroft's representations, that a copy of the Sermon (preached at Elizabeth Town, December 31, 1840,) had been sent to that historian, and that the Bishop had been informed that he had since corrected his narrative in this respect. I have not been able to ascertain the correctness of this report. In the edition (the ninth) of Bancroft, which now lies before me, and which was reprinted in London by Murray, in 1842, the narrative certainly remains as it was.

It is a just remark of Hallam, applied by him to the early Reformers, but equally applicable to the persons here spoken of, that, 'in men hardly escaped from a similar peril, in men who had no-

thing to plead but the right of private judgment, in men who had defied the prescriptive authority of past ages and of established power, the crime of persecution assumes a far deeper hue, and is capable of far less extenuation, than in a Roman inquisitor.' Hallam's Constitutional History, i. 132.

⁵¹ It is remarkable that among the natives who visited the New England settlers, in a few months after their arrival, was the man who has been already described, in this chapter, (p. 441) as having been carried off by Hunt, and afterwards, through a series of adventures, returned to America. He was of great service to the English in opening a communication with the native chiefs. Purchas, iv. 1849; and Cotton Mather's Magn., pp. 9, 10.

⁵² 'It was on the eleventh of December, 1620, that the venerable fathers of New England first stepped on that rock, which is

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severed in faith and patience. Their numbers were thinned by sickness, and cold, and hard fare; but other brethren joined them, in small and straggling companies; and so the work went on. Before the end of James the First's reign, they had extended their range of enterprise from Cape Cod, where they first landed, along the whole Bay of Massachusetts to Cape Ann, the opposite promontory. Thence they had proceeded, Northwards, as far as the Kennebec, one of the chief rivers of the territory now called the Province of Maine; and, again, towards the South, they had marked out settlements upon the banks of the Connecticut⁵³.

Abortive attempt of Gorges and Morrell, in 1623, to extend the influence of the Church of England to that Colony.

The only attempt, which I can find, made during this period by the Plymouth Company in England, to occupy any portion of the territory over which others of their countrymen were extending their search, and to set up within its borders, in the face of every discouragement, any token of the ministrations of our own Church, was that under Robert Gorges, and the Reverend William Morrell. The former was son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whose name has been already mentioned. He received a Patent in 1623, constituting him governor of a certain portion of land in the Bay of Massachusetts, called Messachusick, which comprised an extent of

sacredly preserved in memory of their arrival. A ponderous fragment of it has been removed into the main street of Plymouth. The twenty-second day of December, new style, corresponding to the eleventh, old style, has been long

observed at Plymouth, and several years at Boston, as the anniversary of the landing of the fathers.' Holmes's American Annals, i. 170.

⁵³ Bancroft's History, &c. i. 321.

ten miles along the coast, and thirty miles inland, and the islands lying within three miles of the same ⁵⁴. The latter was a clergyman who accompanied Gorges, and was entrusted with a commission from the ecclesiastical courts of this kingdom, to exercise a kind of superintendence over the churches which were, or might be, established in New England. The enterprise altogether failed. Gorges appears to have been a man utterly devoid of the energy and perseverance required for such a work; and had scarcely set foot upon the shore, before he returned to England. Morrell remained about a year longer, collecting such information as he could; but, alone, in a strange land, and amid a strange people, it cannot be matter of astonishment to find, that, at the expiration of that period, he should have been compelled to retire, baffled and discomfited ⁵⁵.

I turn away, with feelings of sorrow and humiliation, from contemplating such records; for it shows what a bitter harvest of resistance and of strife had sprung up from the evil seed of persecution sown in preceding years. The Church of England found herself shorn of her strength, at the very moment in which a door was opened for the extension of it in a most important territory of the New World.

⁵⁴ The Patent is given at length by Hazard, i. 152—155, and is taken by him from the second part of Gorges' History of America, edit. 1658, p. 34.

⁵⁵ Holmes's American Annals, i. 188. The only result of Morrell's enquiries, which remains to the present day, is a Latin poem, de-

scriptive of the country, which he wrote, and which is preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 125—189. Bancroft calls it 'a dull poem,' i. 326; but Holmes speaks of it in terms of commendation. Ibid.

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She had cast out her children from her, with a violence which assuredly none dare palliate; and, lo! they now stood, with scowling brows, and sturdy arms, ready to repel her from the shore which they had made their refuge.

Other portions of the globe now demand our attention, which, during the reign of James the First, were made subject to the British Crown, or became the scenes of British enterprise. The notice of them must be brief; for their history does not immediately supply any important materials bearing upon the object of the present work. But the consequences which have resulted from the relations of England with these countries are most important; and their influence is felt, in some quarters, to this very day: the commencement, therefore, and progress of such relations cannot be wholly omitted.

Raleigh's
Patent to
colonize
Guiana, in
1617.

And, first, let us glance at Guiana, that province of South America lying between the Rivers Amazon and Orinoco, which was the scene of Raleigh's latest expedition. We have already traced his various efforts to colonize Virginia, and have seen that they were terminated in 1589, by his transferring to a Company of merchants all the rights and privileges which he had received by Letters Patent from Elizabeth over that province; and accompanying that act with a donation 'for the propagation of the Christian religion,' in that portion of the New World⁵⁶. The Patent, by which he

⁵⁶ See pp. 100, 101, of this Volume.

went forth for the last time to Guiana, is dated the twenty-sixth of August, 1616; and contains the profession, which has been noticed in other charters, of a desire to propagate ‘the Christian Faith and Reformed Religion amongst the savage and idolatrous people;’ and also the provision that ‘the Statutes, Ordinances, and proceedings’ appointed by Raleigh in the new Colony, should, ‘as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government, and policy of this our realm of England, and not against the true Christian Faith now professed in the Church of England ⁵⁷.’ Guiana had been, for many years, regarded as a treasure-house of wealth; its rocks were represented as streaked with gold; gold sparkled upon its sands; gold also was the dust, thrown over the persons of its princes and priests in sacrifice; and its city, rising up amid the transparent waters of a lake, shot forth a dazzling brightness from its roofs of gold. Such was the fabled grandeur of El Dorado. Raleigh’s footsteps had been directed thither, soon after he had relinquished the Virginia scheme ⁵⁸; and his own account, still extant, of its varied wonders, shows how eager he was to realize all that his imagination had pictured to itself. After the lapse of more than twenty years, he set out again, for the last time, to that same coast ⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ The Patent is given at length in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, xvii. 789; Hazard’s *Hist. Coll.* i. 82—85; and *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 19—22. 4to edit.

⁵⁸ His first voyage to Guiana was in 1595.

⁵⁹ He commenced his last voyage in 1617.

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And by what eventful circumstances had this interval in his career been marked! Deeds of military and naval prowess, distinguished for their daring character, even in an age conspicuous above most others for them; the brilliant, but delusive, gaieties of an ardent spirit; the pursuits of science; the duties of the senate; the sunshine of a court, followed by its darkest frowns; the charge of treason; trial, condemnation, imprisonment; a mind notwithstanding free, and stamping immortality upon its hours of solitude by the composition of that great work,—the History of the World,—which attracted the admiration of the good and faithful in that day⁶⁰, and, surviving the detractions of false criticism, has retained their suffrages in our own:—these had been the materials which formed the chequered web of Raleigh's life. And these were but the preludes to that expedition to Guiana, the prospect of which had cheered him even in his darkest vicissitudes, and upon which he now entered, only to see every hope break under him. His son

Failure of
the attempt.

⁶⁰ The following testimony occurs in one of the Practical works of Bishop Hall, entitled, 'The Balm of Gilead; or Comforts for the Distressed; both Moral and Divine.' It is in the Section which contains 'Comforts against imprisonment':—'How memorable an instance hath our age yielded us, of an eminent person, to whose engagement we are beholden, besides many philosophical experiments. for that noble History of the World, which is now in our hands! The Court had his youth-

ful and freer times; the Tower, his later age: the Tower reformed the Court in him; and produced those worthy monuments of art and industry, which we should have in vain expected from his freedom and jollity. It is observed, that shining wood, when it is kept within doors, loseth its light. It is otherwise with this and many other active wits, which had never shone so much, if not for their closeness.' Works, vii. 171.

was slain; his enterprise was baffled at every point; his body was worn down with pain and sickness; and his return to England was but the pathway to the place of his former imprisonment, and thence, by a refinement of legal subtlety as iniquitous as it was cruel, to the scaffold. The terms of an unfulfilled sentence, unjustly passed upon him sixteen years before, were the alleged grounds upon which Raleigh suffered; but the influence of Gondomar and the Spanish Court,—that influence which we have already seen was so detrimental to the British interests in Virginia and the Somers-Isles,—were the real instruments which effected his execution.

It would be a needless anticipation of the history to trace at this moment the subsequent fortunes of Guiana. Suffice it to observe, that the territory, now called British Guiana,—after having been taken from the Dutch, towards the close of the last, and restored to them, at the beginning of the present century,—became finally a possession of the British Crown, by capitulation, in 1803. It consists of the united districts of Demerara and Essequibo, and the district of Berbice; and was constituted a distinct See of the Colonial Church in 1842⁶¹.

A part of Guiana, now a possession of the British Crown.

Not far distant from Guiana,—among the most Northern of the Caribbee Islands⁶²,—is the Island of

The settlement of St. Kitt's by the English in 1623.

⁶¹ See Preface, p. xii., note 10.

⁶² The name of Charaibes, or Caribbees, was applied, by the people of Hispaniola, to the savage cannibals inhabiting the most East-

ern Islands of the West Indies; and, under that name, they expressed to Columbus their dread of those invaders. Bryan Edwards's History of the West In-

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Saint Christopher, or, as it is more commonly called, St. Kitt's, the oldest of all the British possessions in the West Indies. The name which it received from its ancient possessors, the Charaibes or Caribbees, was that of Liamuiga, or the Fertile Island; and, upon its discovery by Columbus, in 1493, he was so pleased with its appearance, that he conferred upon it the title of his own Christian name. The first Englishman who planted a settlement upon this Island, was Mr. Warner, who, in a voyage to Surinam, having learnt the encouraging prospects which existed for colonizing some of the smaller Islands which had been deserted by the Spaniards, resolved to make the attempt. Accordingly, upon his return to England, he associated himself with fourteen other persons; and, embarking, in the first instance, for Virginia, sailed thence to St. Kitt's, where he arrived in January, 1623, and forthwith set about raising a crop of tobacco, which he proposed to make the staple commodity of the Island. Before the close of that year, a violent hurricane destroyed the plantations which had been commenced; and Warner returned to England to seek for help. That

dies, i. 5. He adds, in a note to the above passage, 'that the old Spanish navigators, in speaking of the West Indian Islands in general, frequently distinguish them into two classes, by the terms Barlovento and Sotovento, from whence our Windward and Leeward Islands; the Charibbean constituting in strict propriety the former class; and the four large Islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola or St. Do-

mingo, and Porto Rico, the latter.' Edwards follows this division in his history; but adds, that our English mariners 'appropriate both terms to the Caribbean Islands only, subdividing them according to their situation in the course of the trade wind; the Windward Islands by their arrangement terminating with Martinico, and the Leeward commencing at Dominica, and extending to Porto Rico.

help was speedily extended to him by James Hay, the Earl of Carlisle, a nobleman of considerable influence in that day; and in May, 1624, a ship was sent out to St. Kitt's with supplies for the settlers ⁶³. To grant the whole of the Caribbee Islands by Patent to the Earl of Carlisle, and his heirs, was no unlikely consequence which, according to the custom of that day, was likely to arise from the interest thus excited in the mind of that nobleman; and, accordingly, in the first year of Charles the First, a grant, comprising these ample possessions, was conferred upon him ⁶⁴. It is said also, that, before the passing of this grant, he had already received from James the First a warrant for the same; and that the King had therein erected the Caribbee Islands into a province called Carliola, on the model of the Palatinate of Durham ⁶⁵.

Barbados, which is situated furthest to the East of any of the Windward Islands, is said to have received its name from the Portuguese, who discovered it in their voyages from Brazil. It was then entirely devoid of human inhabitants; the Caribbees had abandoned it; and, the continent of South America holding out a bright prospect for the Portuguese, they took no steps to colonize it. In 1605, the crew of an English vessel, fitted out by Sir Oliph Leagh, 'a worshipfulle Knighte of Kent ⁶⁶,' and bound for Surinam, is said to have landed upon

Possession taken of Barbados by the English, in 1605; but no settlement made until 1624.

⁶³ Ibid. i. 421, 422.

⁶⁵ Bryan Edwards's History, &c.

⁶⁴ Clark's Summary of Colonial Law, p. 160.

i. 324, note b.

⁶⁶ Purchas, iv. 1255.

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that Island, and to have taken possession of it in the name of King James⁶⁷. No formal settlement was made in it until 1624, when an English merchant, Sir William Courteen, having brought home a favorable report of the Island, to which he had been driven by stress of weather, upon his return from Brazil, a grant of it was conferred by King James upon Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, the Lord High Treasurer; and a band of Colonists was forthwith sent out, who, upon their arrival at Barbados, laid the foundations of a town, which, like that first erected in Virginia, was called, in honour of their Sovereign, James Town. The grant thus conferred upon Ley, evidently stood in the way of that, which we have just said was given, of all the Caribbee Islands, in the following year, to the Earl of Carlisle. A dispute, therefore, was inevitable between these rival possessors of West Indian Isles: and, after having continued for some time, it was finally settled in 1627, by Ley agreeing to waive his Patent in favor of the Earl of Carlisle, and to receive the payment of three hundred pounds annually. The proprietorship thus became finally and solely vested in the Earl of Carlisle⁶⁸.

The relations of England with Africa.

The brief and transient glance which has now been taken of the manner in which England had been led

⁶⁷ This is the statement of Bryan Edwards, i. 322, who cites Purchas as his authority; but I cannot find in Purchas any thing more than that the vessel touched at Barbados in its way.
⁶⁸ Bryan Edwards's History, &c. i. 321—324.

to set up tokens of her sovereignty in the West Indies, necessarily turns our thoughts to Africa, that country whose unhappy sons have been made, for so many years, victims of European cupidity in those Islands. I have already noticed the relations which England had endeavoured to establish with Africa during the sixteenth century; and the first participation in the nefarious traffic of slaves of which Englishmen were guilty, in the expeditions made under the command of Hawkins⁶⁹. Another attempt was made by James the First to secure commercial intercourse with that continent, by granting an exclusive charter for that purpose to Sir Robert Rich, and other merchants of London, in the year 1618. The Company thus established failed to attain their proposed object, owing to the intrusion of separate traders from England, the superior activity and perseverance of the Dutch, and the small amount of gold and drug trade which at that period could be effected⁷⁰. For the hateful exportation of slaves, no opening was presented in James's reign. I cannot find the record even of a solitary attempt made by the English, during the period, with reference to that object. The transaction which took place in Virginia in 1620⁷¹, was, as we have already seen, wholly independent of the atrocious system established in a later age.

India,—the last portion of the globe to which And with India, during

⁶⁹ See pp. 110—114 of this Volume.

⁷⁰ Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii.

292; and Bryan Edwards's History, ii. 44.

⁷¹ See p. 326 of this Volume.

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the reign
of James
the First.

the reader's attention shall now be directed,—was, throughout the whole of James's reign, an object of great interest with those to whom Elizabeth had granted a charter at the beginning of the seventeenth century⁷². This charter expired in 1615; but, five years before its expiration, James granted a second charter⁷³, and, in 1623, added to it fresh judicial powers⁷⁴. In 1603, an English factory was established at Surat⁷⁵; and, from that time, until the end of James's reign, trading voyages were constantly made to India. Vessels of large burden, and many in number, were equipped for that purpose; the capital of separate traders was united into one general stock; officers of high distinction were entrusted with command; factories were settled at various places; and an ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was appointed in 1614 to visit the court of the Mogul⁷⁶. Among the persons whose names are mentioned in these early transactions with India, were Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, who had already held such important offices in the infant Colony of Virginia. I find also that the latter officer had met at Japan with Mr. Copeland, (who has been already mentioned as having been chaplain on board the Royal James, East Indiaman,) and had conversed with him upon many of the affairs connected

⁷² Ibid. p. 122.

⁷³ Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 259.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 320.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 232.

⁷⁶ Ibid. ii. 241—276. Sir Thomas

Roe was afterwards a member of the King's Council for Virginia; and Stith relates of him, p. 178, that he was 'well known to the learned, by the intimacy and dearness that was between him and Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's.'

with Virginia and its rulers⁷⁷. To the acquaintance thus formed, and to the information thus obtained, I think it not improbable that the interest, which Mr. Copeland afterwards manifested in the spiritual welfare of that province, may be ascribed. It were difficult otherwise to account for the remarkable fact, which has been already noticed⁷⁸, that a clergyman on board a vessel trading with the East, should have had his thoughts, his prayers, his untiring energies directed to the propagation of Christian truth on the shores of the American Continent.

If the question should present itself to the reader's mind, why did not Copeland turn his efforts towards those countries of India on which they might appear most naturally to have been fixed, the answer is supplied in the fact, that America opened a wide field for colonization, and that India did not yet offer any prospect of it. India had been occupied, for centuries, by a population far advanced in civilization and refinement; and 'invited,' therefore, as has been justly observed, 'commercial activity, rather than colonization. The earlier establishments of Europeans in India were accordingly mere factories, and their more extended possessions were slowly acquired by conquest or intrigue, not suddenly wrested from a feeble resistance, or simply occupied by an overflowing emigration⁷⁹.'

⁷⁷ Stith's History, p. 297.

⁷⁹ Miller's 'History philosophi-

⁷⁸ See pp. 319 and 336 of this Volume. cally illustrated,' iv. 93.

With this brief notice of India, and the extent to which British enterprise had been carried in the reign of James the First, the present portion of our enquiry terminates. The reader will have seen how vast and various have been the territories which, even at that period, were becoming associated with the British name; the many elements of disturbance which were already in operation; and the efforts which, notwithstanding these impediments, had been made towards the extension of Christian truth and holiness in foreign lands.

Of the events which marked the reign of his successor, it is impossible, at the close of this chapter, to commence an adequate survey. They were fraught with consequences so directly and intimately affecting the Church of England, both at home and in the Colonies, that they demand a more careful and deliberate investigation than can now be made of them; and to that part of the subject, the reader's attention will be, if God permit, directed in the second Volume.

APPENDIX.

No. I. Page 287.

A Praier dvly said Morning and Euening vpon the Court of Gvard, either by the Captaine of the Watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers.

MERCIFVL FATHER and Lord of heauen and earth, we come before Thy presence to worship Thee in calling vpon Thy name, and giuing thanks vnto Thee; and though ovr dvties and ovr verie necessities call vs heerevnto, yet we confesse ovr hearts to be so dvll and vntoward, that vnlesse Thou be mercifvll to vs to teach vs how to pray, we shall not please Thee, nor profit ovr selves in these dvties.

Wee therefore most hvmbly beseech Thee to raise vp ovr hearts with Thy good Sp̄irit, and so to dispose vs to praier, that with trve feruencie of heart, feeling of ovr wants, hvmblesse of minde, and faith in Thy gracious promises, we may present ovr svites acceptably vnto Thee by ovr Lord and Sauour Jesvs Christ.

And Thou ovr Father of al mercies, that hast called vs vnto Thee, heare vs and pitie Thy poore seruants: we haue indeed sinned wondrovly against Thee through ovr blindness of mind, prophanesse of spirit, hardness of heart, selfe

loue, worldliness, carnall lusts, hypocrisie, pride, uanitie, vnthankfulness, infidelitie, and other ovr natiue corruptions, which being bred in vs, and with vs, haue defiled vs euen from the wombe, and vnto this day, and haue broken ovt as plague sores into innvmerable transgressions of all Thy holy lawes, (the good waies wherof we haue wilfully declined,) and haue many times displeased Thee, and ovr own consciences in chvsing those things, which Thou hast most iustly, and seuerely forbidden vs. And besides all this, we haue ovtstood the gracious time and meanes of our conuersion, or at least not stooped and hvmbled ovr selues before Thee, as wee ovght, although we haue wanted none of those helpes, which Thou vouchsafest vnto Thy wandering children to fetch them home, withall; for we haue had together with Thy glorious workes, Thy Word calling vpon vs withovt, and Thy Spirit within, and haue been solicited by promises, by threatenings, by blessings, by chastisings, and by examples, on all hands. And yet ovr corrupted spirits cannot become wise before Thee, to hvmble themselves, and to take heede as we ovght, and wish to do.

Wherefore, O Lord God, we do acknowledge Thy patience to haue beene infinite and incomparable, in that Thou hast been able to hold Thy hands from reuenging Thy selfe vpon vs thus long, and yet pleasest to hold open the doore of grace, that we might come into vnto Thee and be saued.

And now, O blessed Lord God, we are desirovs to come vnto Thee, how wretched soeuer in ovr selues, yea ovr very wretchedness sends vs vnto Thee: vnto Thee with whom the fatherlesse, and he that hath no helper findeth mercy, we come to Thee in thy Son's name, not daring to come in ovr owne. In His name that came for vs, we come to Thee, in His mediation Whom Thou hast sent. In Him, O Father,

in Whom Thov hast professed Thy selfe to be well pleased, we come vnto Thee, and doe most hvmbly beseech Thee to pitie vs, and to saue vs for Thy mercies' sake in Him.

O Lord ovr God, ovr sins haue not ovttidden that bloud of Thy Holy Son which speaks for ovr pardon, nor can they be so infinite, as Thov art in thy mercies, and ovr hearts (O God Thou seest them) ovr hearts are desirovs to haue peace with Thee, and war with ovr lusts, and wish that they could melt before Thee, and be dissolued into godly movrnng for all that filth that hath gone through them, and defiled them. And ovr desires are now to serue and please Thee, and ovr pvrposes to endeouvr it more faithfvly : we pray Thee therefore for the Lord Jesvs' sake seale vp in ovr consciences Thy gracious pardon of all ovr sins past, and giue vs to feele the consolation of this grace shed abroad in ovr hearts for ovr eternall comfort and saluation : and that we may know this persvasion to be of Thy spirit, and not of carnall presvmp-tion, (blessed God) let those graces of thy Spirit, which doe accompany saluation, be powred ovt more plentifully vpon vs : encrease in vs all godly knowledge, faith, patience, temperance, meeknesse, wisdome, godlinesse, loue to Thy Saints and seruice, zeale of Thy glory, jvdgment to discern the difference of good and ill, and things present which are temporary, and things to come which are eternall.

Make vs yet at the last wise hearted to lay vp ovr treasure in heauen, and to set ovr affections more vpon things that are aboue, where Christ sits at Thy right hand : And let all the uaine and transitory enticements of this poore life, appeare vnto vs as they are, that ovr hearts may no more be intangled and bewitched with the loue of them.

O Lord, O God, ovr God, Thov hast dearely bought vs for Thine owne selfe, giue vs so honest hearts as may be glad to yield the possession of Thine owne. And be Thou

so gracious, as yet to take them vp, though we haue desperately held Thee ovt of them, in times past, and dwell in vs, and raigne in vs by Thy Spirit, that we may be svre to raigne with Thee in Thy gloriovs kingdome, according to Thy promise, through Him that hath pvrchased that inheritance for all that trvst in Him.

And seeing Thou doest so promise these graces to vs, as that Thov requirest ovr indvstrie and diligence in the vse of svch meanes as serue thereto (good Lord) let vs not so crosse ovr praiers for grace, as not to seeke that by diligence, which we make show to seeke by prayer, least ovr owne waies condemne us of hypocrisie. Stirre vs vp therefore (O Lord) to the frequent vse of prayer, to reading, hearing and meditating of Thy holy Word; teach vs to profit by the conuersation of Thy people, and to be profitable in ovr owne; make vs wise to apprehend all oportvnities of doing or receiuing spiritval good; strengthen vs with grace to obserue ovr hearts and waies, to containe them in good order, or to redvce them quickly, let vs neuer thinke any company so good as Thine, nor any time so well spent, as that which is in Thy service, and beautifying of Thine Image in ovr selues or others.

Particvlarly, we pray Thee, open ovr eies to see ovr natvrall infirmities, and to discouer the aduantages which Satan gets thereby. And giue vs care to striue most, where we are most assavlted and endamaged.

And Thou, O God, that hast promised to blesse Thine owne ordinances, blesse all things vnto vs, that we may grow in grace and in knowledge, and so may shine as light in this darke world, giuing good example to all men, and may in ovr time lie downe in peace of a good conscience, embaulmed with a good report, and may leaue Thy blessings entailed vnto ovr s after vs for an inheritance.

These, O Father, are ovr speciall svits, wherein wee beseech Thee to set forth the wonderfvl riches of thy grace towards vs, as for this life, and the things thereof, we craue them of Thee so farre as may be for ovr good, and Thy glory, beseeching Thee to provide for vs, as vnto this day in mercy.

And when Thou wilt hvmbly or exalt us, gouerne vs so long, and so farre, in all conditions and changes, as we may cleaue fast vnto Thee ovr God vnchangeably, esteeming Thee ovr portion, and svfficient inheritance for euermore. Now what graces we craue for ovr selves, which are here before Thy presence, we hvmbly begge for all those that belong vnto vs; and that by dvtie or promise wee owe ovr praiers vnto, beseeching Thee to be as graciovs vnto them, as vnto ovr owne sovl, and specially to svch of them, as in respect of any present affliction or temptation may be in speciall neede of some more speedie helpe or comfort from Thy mightie hand.

Yea, ovr Lord God, we hvmbly desire to blesse with ovr praiers the whole Church, more specially ovr nation, and therein the king's Majestie ovr Soueraigne, his Queene and royall seede, with all that be in avthoritie vnder him, beseeching Thee to follow him and them with those blessings of Thy protection and direction, which may preserue them safe from the malice of the world and of Satan, and may yeeld them in their great places faithfvll to Thee for the good of Thy people, and their owne eternall happinesse and honovr.

We beseech Thee to fvrrish the Churches with faithfull and frvitfull ministers, and to blesse their liues and labovrs for those mercifvll vses, to which Thov hast ordained them; sanctifie Thy people, O God, and let them not deceiue themselves with a formalitie of religion instead of the power

thereof; giue them grace to profit both by those fauours, and by those chasticements which Thou hast sent successiue-ly or mixedly amongst them. And, Lord, repress that rage of sinne and prophanesse in all Christian states, which breeds so much Apostacy and defection, threatening the taking away of this light from them. Confound Thou, O God, all the counsel and practises of Satan and his ministers, which are or shall be taken vp against Thee, and the kingdome of Thy deare Sonne. And call in the Jewes together with the fulnesse of the Gentiles, that Thy name may be gloriously in al the world, the daies of iniquity may come to an end, and we with all Thine elect people may come to see Thy face in glorie, and be filled with the light thereof for euermore.

And now, O Lord of Mercie, O Father of the spirits of all flesh, looke in mercie vpon the Gentiles, who yet know Thee not; O gracious God be mercifull to vs, and blesse vs, and not vs alone, but let Thy waies be knowne vpon earth, and Thy sauing health amongst all nations: we praise Thee, and we blesse Thee. But let the people praise Thee, O God; yea, let all the people praise Thee; and let these ends of the world remember themselues, and turne to Thee, the God of their saluation. And, seeing Thou hast honoured vs, to choose vs out to beare Thy name vnto the Gentiles, we therefore beseech Thee to blesse vs, and this our plantation, which we and our nation haue begun in Thy feare, and for Thy glory. We know, O Lord, we haue the diuel and al the gates of hel against vs; but, if Thou, O Lord, be on our side, we care not who be against vs. O therefore vouchsafe to be our God, and let vs be a part and portion of Thy people; confirm Thy couenant of grace and mercy with vs, which Thou hast made to thy Church in Christ Iesus. And seeing, Lord, the highest end of our plantation here

is to set vp the standard, and display the banner of Iesvs Christ, euen here where Satan's throne is, Lord, let ovr labovr be blessed in laboring the conuersion of the heathen. And, because Thov vvest not to work svch mighty works by vnholy means, Lord, sanctifie ovr spirits, and giue vs holy harts, that so we may be Thy instrvments in this most gloriovs work. Lord, inspire ovr sovl's with Thy grace, kindle in vs zeale of Thy glory ; fill ovr harts with Thy feare, and ovr tongves with Thy praise ; fvrnish vs all, from the highest to the lowest, with all gifts and graces needful not onely for ovr saluation, bvt for the discharge of ovr dvties in ovr seuerall places ; adorn vs with the garments of iustice, mercy, loue, pitie, faithfvlnesse, hvmility, and all vertues ; and teach vs to abhor al uice, that ovr lights may so shine before these heathen, that they may see ovr good works, and so be brovght to glorifie Thee, ovr heauenly Father. And seeing, Lord, we professe ovrselues Thy seruants, and are abovt Thy worke, Lord, blesse vs ; arme vs against diffvlties, strength vs against all base thoughts and temptations, that may make vs looke backe againe. And, seeing by Thy motion and work in ovr harts, we haue left ovr warme nests at home, and pvt our liues into ovr hands, principally to honovr Thy name, and aduance the kingdome of Thy Son, Lord giue vs leaue to commit ovr liues into Thy hands ; let thy Angels be abovt vs, and let vs be as Angels of God sent to this people. And so blesse vs, Lord, and so prosper all ovr proceedings, that the heathen may neuer say vnto vs, Where is now yovr God ? Their idols are not so good as siluer and gold, bvt lead and copper, and the works of their own hands. But Thou, Jehouah, art ovr God, and we are the works of Thy hands. O then let Dagon fall before Thy arke, let Satan be confvnded at Thy presence ; and let the heathen see it, and be ashamed, that they may

sceke Thy face, for their God is not as ovr God, themselues being iudges. Arise, therefore, O Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate Thee, sic before Thee. As the smoke vanisheth, so let Satan and his delvsions come to nought; and, as wax melteth before the fire, so let wickedness, svperstition, ignorance, and idolatrie, perish at the presence of Thee ovr God. And, whereas we haue by vndertaking this plantation vndergone the reproofs of the base world, insomvch as many of ovr owne brethren lavgh vs to scorne, O Lord, we pray Thee, fortifie vs against this temptation: let Sanballat and Tobias, Papists and players, and svch other Amonits and Horonits, the scvm and dregs of the earth, let them mocke svch as helpe to bvild vp the wals of Jervsaleme; and they that be filthy, let them be filthy still; and let svch swine still wallow in their mire, bvt let not the rod of the wicked fal vpon the lot of the righteovs; let them not pvt forth their hands to svch vanity, bvt let them that feare Thee rejoyce and be glad in Thee, and let them know that it is Thou, O Lord, that raigest in England, and vnto the ends of the world. And seeing this work mvst needs expose vs to many miseries, and dangers of sovl and bodie, by land and sea, O Lord, we earnestly beseech Thee to receiue vs into Thy fauour and protection; defend vs from the delvsions of the diuel, the malice of the heathen, the inuasions of ovr enemies, and mvtnies and dissensions of ovr own people; knit ovr hearts altogether in faith and feare of Thee, and loue one to another; giue vs patience, wisdom, and constancy, to goe on through all difficvlties and temptations, till this blessed work be accomplished, for the honovr of Thy name, and glory of the Gospel of Jesvs Christ. That when the heathen do know Thee to be their God, and Jesvs Christ to be their saluation, they may say, Blessed be the King and Prince

of England, and blessed be the English nation, and blessed for euer be the most high God, possessor of heauen and earth, that sent them amongst vs. And heere, O Lord, we do vpon the knees of ovr harts offer Thee the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiuing, for that Thou hast moved ovr harts to vndertake the performance of this blessed work with the hazard of ovr person, and the hearts of so many hvndreds of ovr nation to assist it with meanes and prouision, and with their holy praiera: Lord looke mercifvly vpon them all, and for that portion of their svbstance which they willingly offer for thy honovr and service in this action; recompence it to them and theirs, and reward it seuenfold into their bosomes with better blessings; Lord blesse England ovr sweet natiue covntrey, saue it from Popery, this land from heathenisme, and both from Atheisme. And, Lord, heare their praiera for vs, and vs for them, and Christ Jesvs ovr gloriovs Mediator for vs all. Amen.

No. II. Page 420.

Extract from the Copy of Royal Instructions to the Governor of Newfoundland, July 26, 1832; and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed August 7, 1832. They are given also in the Appendix to Clark's Summary of Colonial Law, &c. pp. 435—449.

49. AND whereas by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date at Westminster the 10th day of May, 1825, the Island of Newfoundland was constituted to be part of the See of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the said Bishop was thereby duly authorized to exercise jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical, in the said Colonies, it is Our will and pleasure, that in the administration of the government of our said island you should be aiding and assisting to the said Bishop, and to his commissary or commissaries, in the execution of their charge and the exercise of such ecclesiastical jurisdiction, excepting only the granting licences for marriages and probates of wills.

50. We do enjoin and require that you do take especial care that Almighty God be devoutly and truly served throughout your government, the Book of Common Prayer, as by law established, read each Sunday and holiday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England. You shall be careful that all orthodox churches already built there be well and orderly kept, and that more be built, as Our island shall, by God's blessing, be improved. And that, besides a compe-

tent maintenance to be assigned to the minister of each orthodox church, a convenient house be built at the common charge for each minister, and a competent portion of land for a glebe be allotted to him. And you are to take care that the parishes be so limited and settled as you shall find most convenient for the accomplishing this good work: and in all matters relating to the celebration of Divine Worship, the erection and repair of churches, the maintenance of ministers, and the settlement of parishes throughout your government, you are to advise with the Right Reverend Father in God the Bishop of Nova Scotia for the time being.

51. Upon the vacancy of any ecclesiastical benefice in Our said island, you will present to the said Bishop of Nova Scotia for the time being, for institution to such vacant benefice, any clerk in holy orders of the United Church of England and Ireland, who shall have been actually resident within the said diocese, and officiating there as a clerk in holy orders for six calendar months at the least next before such benefice shall have become vacant, whom the said Bishop may certify to you to be a fit and proper person to fill such vacancy, and to be a person of good life and conversation, and conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the said United Church. But if at the time of any such vacancy occurring there shall not be resident within the said diocese any clerk in holy orders of the said United Church who shall have been resident and officiating therein as aforesaid, in whose favour the said Bishop shall think proper so to certify to you, or if no such certificate shall be received by you from the said Bishop within three calendar months next after such vacancy shall occur, then, and in either of such cases, you shall forthwith report the circumstances to Us, through one of Our Prin-

Principal Secretaries of State, to the intent that We may nominate some fit and proper person, being a clerk in holy orders as aforesaid, to fill the said vacancy. And We do enjoin and command you to present to the said Bishop for institution to any such vacant ecclesiastical benefice, any clerk who may be so nominated by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

52. You are to inquire whether there be any minister within your government, who preaches and administers the Sacrament in any orthodox church or chapel without being in due orders, and to give an account thereof to the said Bishop of Nova Scotia.

53. And whereas doubts have arisen whether the powers of granting licences for marriages and probates of wills, commonly called the Office of Ordinary, which We have reserved to you, Our Governor, can be exercised by deputation from you to any other person within Our said island under your government, it is Our express will and pleasure, and you are hereby directed and required not to grant deputations for the exercise of the said powers, commonly called the Office of Ordinary, to any person or persons whatsoever in Our said island under your government.

54. And you are to take especial care, that a table of marriages established by the canons of the Church of England be hung up in every orthodox church and duly observed.

55. The Right Reverend Father in God, Edmund, then Lord Bishop of London¹, having presented a petition to his Majesty King George the First, humbly beseeching him to send instructions to the governors of all the several colonies

¹ Bishop Gibson, who presided over the See of London from 1723 to 1748.

and plantations in America, that they cause all laws already made against blasphemy, profaneness, adultery, fornication, polygamy, incest, profanation of the Lord's day, swearing, and drunkenness, in their respective governments to be rigorously executed; and We, thinking it highly just that all persons who shall offend in any of the particulars aforesaid should be prosecuted and punished for their said offences, it is therefore Our will and pleasure that you take due care for the punishment of the afore-mentioned vices; and that you earnestly recommend that effectual laws be passed for the restraint and punishment of all such of the afore-mentioned vices against which no laws are as yet provided. And also you are to use your endeavours to render the laws in being more effectual, by providing for the punishment of the afore-mentioned vices, by presentment upon oath to be made to the temporal courts by the churchwardens of the several parishes, at proper times of the year to be appointed for that purpose; and for the further discouragement of vice, and encouragement of virtue and good living, you are not to admit any person to public trusts or employments in the island under your government whose ill-fame and conversation may occasion scandal.

56. It is Our further will and pleasure, that you recommend to the Legislature to enter upon proper methods for the erecting and maintaining schools, in order to the training up of youth to reading, and to a necessary knowledge of the principles of religion. You are not, however, to give your consent to any act respecting religion, without a clause suspending its operation, until Our pleasure shall have been signified thereupon, unless a draft thereof shall have been previously transmitted by you for Our consideration and approval.

57. And We do further direct, that in all matters arising

within your government, connected with the education of youth in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine of the said United Church of England, or connected with the prevention of vice and profaneness, or the conversion of negroes and other slaves, or connected with the worship of Almighty God, or the promotion of religion and virtue, you be advising with the Bishop for the time being of the said diocese of Nova Scotia, and be aiding him in the execution of all such designs and undertakings as may be recommended by the said Bishop for the promotion of any of the objects before-mentioned, so far as such designs and undertakings may be consistent with the law and with your said commission, and these Our instructions.

APPENDIX.—No. III.

(See Preface, Page xvii. Note 13.)

RETURN RELATIVE TO THE POPULATION AND TRADE OF THE COLONIES OR FOREIGN POSSESSIONS OF THE BRITISH CROWN.

RETURN of the DATE at which each COLONY or FOREIGN POSSESSION of the BRITISH CROWN was Captured, Ceded or Settled; the Number of POPULATION, and whether having LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES, or governed by Order of the Queen in Council; stating also, the VALUE of EXPORTS and IMPORTS, and Number and Tonnage of VESSELS entered Inwards and cleared Outwards in each Colony in the Year 1842.

COLONIES.	DATE of CAPTURE, CESSION or SETTLEMENT.	Whether having LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES, or GOVERNED BY ORDERS IN COUNCIL.	POPULATION, 1842, or last Census.	TRADE between the UNITED KINGDOM and the several BRITISH COLONIES in the Year 1842.									
				OFFICIAL VALUE.				Declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported from the United Kingdom.	NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF VESSELS.				
				IMPORTS into the United Kingdom.	EXPORTS from the UNITED KINGDOM.		Total Exports.		Entered Inwards in the United Kingdom.		Cleared Outwards from the United Kingdom.		
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.				
NORTH AMERICA:													
Lower Canada	Capitulation, 18 Sept. 1759 ... and ... 8 Sept. 1760 } and Cession by Treaty, 1763	Governor, Council and Assembly	678,590										
Upper Canada		... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	406,055	922,731	2,912,505	370,161	3,290,666	1,589,169	876	322,145	739	267,492	
New Brunswick		... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	156,142	171,155	232,063	22,338	254,401	146,513	437	173,544	275	107,965	
Nova Scotia		Fisheries and Settlements, established soon after their discovery in 1497 ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	178,237	50,001	392,108	93,847	486,035	268,149	81	25,309	121	44,753
Cape Breton			... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	47,034	246,568	337,404	77,019	414,423	276,650	158	19,450	194	25,360
Prince Edward's Island	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...		75,094										
Newfoundland	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...												
TOTALS			1,621,152	£1,391,255	3,874,160	571,365	4,445,525	2,280,481	1,552	540,448	1,329	445,570	
WEST INDIES:													
Antigua	Settlement, 1632	Governor, Council, and Assembly	36,405	272,397	141,509	13,883	155,392	87,338	43	10,298	50	13,383	
Barbados	... ditto ... 1605	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	122,198	520,097	459,180	50,936	510,116	266,942	71	26,085	121	51,758	
Dominica	Ceded by France, 1763	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	18,291	109,293	52,102	6,762	58,864	32,258	12	3,051	11	2,678	
Grenada	... ditto ... 1763	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	29,650	133,857	66,947	6,404	73,351	48,882	16	4,353	42	11,045	
Jamaica	Capitulation, 1655	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	377,433	1,018,227	2,634,710	141,153	2,775,863	1,161,146	168	47,776	215	61,923	
Montserrat	Settlement, 1632	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	7,119	22,574	2,867	78	2,945	3,884	4	804	2	481	
Nevis	... ditto ... 1628	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	7,470	38,790	4,320	1,645	5,965	4,884	9	1,995	5	1,147	
St. Kitt's	... ditto ... 1623	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	21,578	164,426	89,952	8,090	98,042	55,533	22	6,072	18	5,271	
St. Lucia	Capitulation, 22 June, 1803	Governor and Council, and Orders of Queen in Council	21,001	132,795	36,036	13,552	49,588	23,750	16	3,321	11	2,238	
St. Vincent	Ceded by France, 1763	Governor, Council, and Assembly	27,248	234,233	92,745	9,149	101,894	72,625	30	7,911	30	7,952	
Tobago	... ditto ... 1763	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	13,208	82,564	19,851	2,674	22,525	21,845	13	3,323	15	3,752	
Tortola	Settlement, 1666	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	8,500	9,316	95	12	107	97	1	146	1	283	
Anguilla	... ditto ... 1666	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	2,934										
Trinidad	Capitulation, 18 Feb. 1797	Governor and Council, and Orders of Queen in Council	60,319	572,879	340,018	32,196	372,214	223,647	82	19,219	93	21,866	
Bahamas	Settlement, 1629	Governor, Council, and Assembly	25,244	59,626	103,312	5,060	108,372	45,448	23	3,864	13	2,312	
Bermudas	... ditto ... 1609	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	9,930	16,958	72,755	5,617	78,372	55,103	6	968	52	18,483	
British Guiana	Capitulation, 18 Sept. 1803 ... } District of Demerara & Essequibo	Governor and Council, and Orders of Queen in Council	102,354	708,884	447,398	43,017	490,415	332,613	126	33,316	171	45,525	
Guiana		... ditto ... 23 Sept. 1803 ... } District of Berbice	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	10,000	174,347	50,049	8,344	58,393	43,625	25	6,158	25	5,985
Honduras	Treaty, 1670	Superintendent and Magistrates	10,000	864,502	403,818	10,285	414,103	111,804	47	13,028	21	5,257	
TOTALS			901,082	£6,015,765	5,017,664	358,857	5,376,521	2,591,424	714	191,688	896	261,344	
GIBRALTAR													
Gibraltar	Capitulation, 4 Aug. 1704	Governor and Council, and Orders of Queen in Council	11,318	39,891	3,022,002	146,299	3,168,301	937,719	81	20,602	252	43,508	
Malta and Gozo	... ditto ... 5 Sept. 1800	Governor and Council, and Orders of Queen in Council	118,759	232,414	843,027	115,707	958,734	289,304	122	21,583	209	40,141	
Cape of Good Hope	Capitulation, 10 Jan. 1806	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	159,451	280,324	606,582	80,595	687,177	369,076	26	4,980	73	16,408	
Sierra Leone	Settlement, 1787	Governor and Council, and British Acts of Parliament	39,839	89,823	240,093	75,415	323,508	132,112	69	18,464	58	13,519	
Gambia	... ditto ... 1618	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	4,495										
Gold Coast	African Forts, 1618	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...											
Ceylon	Capitulation, 17 Sept. 1795	Governor and Council, and Orders of Queen in Council	1,421,631	1,012,266	567,398	12,397	579,795	248,841	31	9,666	31	10,950	
Mauritius	... ditto ... 3 Dec. 1810	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	174,699	960,396	526,133	22,943	549,076	244,922	108	28,650	54	16,397	
New South Wales	Settlement, 1787	Governor and Council, and British Acts of Parliament	130,856	298,507	662,351	105,931	768,282	598,645	79	22,865	139	51,234	
Van Diemen's Land	... ditto ... 1803	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	50,216	134,150	267,910	51,660	319,570	260,730					
Western Australia	... ditto ... 1829	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	3,476	1,297	20,418	4,807	25,225	22,579					
South Australia	... ditto ... 1834	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	15,527	23,127	34,681	4,225	38,906	34,212					
New Zealand	... ditto ... 1839	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...	17,000	10,998	43,583	11,435	55,018	42,758					
Falkland Islands	... ditto ... ditto ... ditto ditto ... ditto ... ditto ...		1,077	307	631	938	384	1	92	2	216	
St. Helena	Ceded by Holland, 1673	... ditto ... ditto, and Orders of Queen in Council ...	4,634	3,729	16,595	5,499	22,094	17,530	1	350	10	2,086	
Hong Kong	Treaty, 1842	... ditto ... ditto, and Orders of Queen in Council ...											
				2,152,101	£3,007,999	6,859,080	637,544	7,496,624	3,198,812	522	128,593	852	204,119
TOTALS...			1,621,152	£1,391,255	3,874,160	571,365	4,445,525	2,280,481	1,552	540,448	1,329	445,570	
WEST INDIES			901,082	£6,015,765	5,017,664	358,857	5,376,521	2,591,424	714	191,688	896	261,344	
OTHER COLONIES			2,152,101	£3,007,999	6,859,080	637,544	7,496,624	3,198,812	522	128,593	852	204,119	
GENERAL TOTALS			4,674,335	£10,495,019	15,750,904	1,567,766	17,318,670	8,070,717	2,788	860,729	3,077	911,033	

The trade with Hong Kong in this year not distinguished from the general trade with China.