

CHAPTER 2

THE FOUNDING OF VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONIES

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Historians search for clues about past events, ideas, or people, discounting some evidence to piece together a meaningful story. Occasionally the stories we tell evoke broad, enduring emotional responses. These accounts are passed forward from generation to generation and become engrained in the collective memory of a people, entering the realm of "myth." In labeling a story a myth, we are not saying that it is necessarily untrue. Rather, we simply mean that the story has become a traditional tale, shared by all members of a community, that purports to explain the origins, customs, and institutions of a people.

Stories of the early English settlements have become American myths. Most of us can recall accounts about Jamestown, the first permanent English colony in America, and Captain John Smith, the savior of the colony, who himself was saved by the pleas of the Algonquian princess Pocahontas, a beautiful maiden who later converted to Christianity and married another English settler. From childhood, we also remember stories of the Pilgrims who settled near Plymouth Rock and later joined with the local natives to give thanks for their first fall harvest. These memories, while not necessarily incorrect, are highly selective. In Virginia, for example, stories of *first* English efforts to settle the land named for the "virgin" Queen Elizabeth begin, not in Jamestown in 1607, but in the failed colonies of Roanoke (today, part of North Carolina) in the 1580s. Only after the Roanoke settlers mysteriously disappeared did Jamestown become Britain's first permanent New World colony. Moreover, as a business enterprise, Jamestown was a financial disaster that cost investors their fortunes and colonists their lives. Similarly, in New England, the inspirational stories of the Pilgrims of Plymouth are only a footnote to the much larger story of the Puritans who later settled Massachusetts Bay and left a complex legacy.

This chapter includes descriptions of life in Virginia and in Massachusetts Bay during the first half-centuries of attempted British settlement. In reading the documents written by those who participated in these historic ventures, try to identify the principal concerns of the settlers. To what degree do these descriptions correspond to your preconceived notions? How do you explain the discrepancies?

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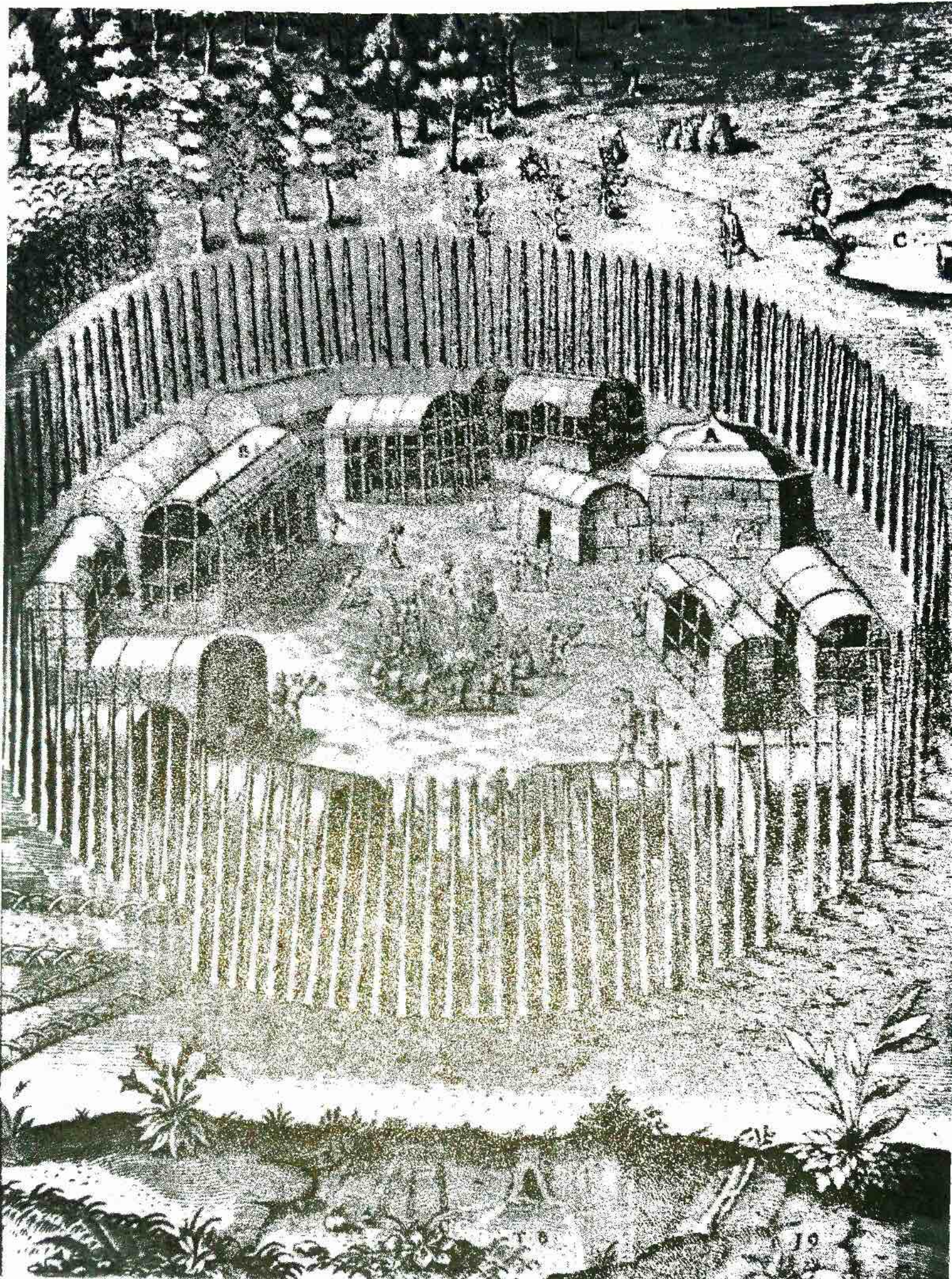
DYING AND SURVIVING IN VIRGINIA

For nearly a century following Columbus's first voyage, Spain was the dominant nation on earth. Midway into Queen Elizabeth's reign, however, the English monarch quietly gave two half-brothers, Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh, permission to establish an English settlement in any land not actually possessed by a "Christian prince." In the careful wording of this license, Elizabeth avoided directly challenging Philip II, who had claimed all of North America for Spain, but who actually possessed as his northernmost outpost only a lonely fort in Saint Augustine, Florida. The English queen did not worry herself about affronting the chieftains of the indigenous peoples of North America.

In 1583, Gilbert attempted to plant an English outpost in Newfoundland. The harsh environment there forced an early return to England for additional supplies, during which Gilbert was lost at sea. Undaunted, Raleigh sent a 1584 exploration party to find a more suitable and warmer settlement location. After this advance party under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe had explored the Chesapeake Bay area of North America, Raleigh sent about 100 would-be English colonists, most of whom were soldiers, to the region, now renamed "Virginia." The colonists built a fort at Roanoke Island on the Carolina Outer Banks. Within a year, this effort failed, but in 1587, a second group made up of 155 English recruits, including seventeen women and eleven children, reestablished the settlement at Roanoke. England's war against the Spanish Armada delayed the resupply of Roanoke, and when help finally arrived in 1590, the island was abandoned and the settlers had vanished.

The twice-failed venture at Roanoke demonstrated how risky and expensive colonization was. Future settlements would be undertaken not by individual promoters such as Gilbert or Raleigh, but by joint-stock companies, the forerunners of the modern-day corporation. These companies, which generally secured from the Crown special trading privileges, raised funds to support the enterprise by selling shares to investors who preferred to divide among themselves the financial risks as well as the anticipated profits. One of these joint-stock companies consisted of merchants from London, who in 1606 received from King James I rights to colonize in Virginia. After recruiting about 140 colonists, the London investors sent three ships to the Chesapeake region. In April 1607, those who survived the passage selected an encampment on a peninsula about sixty miles up a river. They chose the site, calling it "Jamestown" in honor of their king, because it had a deep-water shoreline and an abundance of trees and game, and could be readily defended from Spanish attack. Unfortunately, Jamestown lacked adequate freshwater springs, and the high ground rimming its shores made much of the peninsula a marshland—an ideal habitat for malaria-bearing mosquitoes. The Spanish never attacked, but the mosquitoes and Native Americans did. By the time a second shipment of supplies arrived in January 1608, only thirty-eight of the original group remained alive. Later English recruits swelled the population to about 500, but all save sixty of these died during the "Starving Time" of the winter of 1609–1610.

Many of the earliest settlers were gentlemen, who expected to lead rather than work, or servants and tradesmen, who were accustomed to labor but did not consider farming their line of work. Having come to Virginia with unrealistic expectations, they found the environment unfamiliar and hostile. Ill prepared and ill supplied, they quickly lost both health and spirit. The dictatorial controls of such leaders as John Smith and Sir Thomas Dale kept the colony afloat for a while, but even during the best of times, survival—not the pursuit



bound laborers who, in exchange for the price of passage, legally committed themselves to work a set number of years (generally four to seven) for their masters.

In a desperate search for profits, the stockholders in England tried many tactics. They censored colonial publications, lied about life in Virginia, and brought Pocahontas to England (and to her death!) to promote their enterprise. To encourage more migration to the colony, they recruited shiploads of unmarried English women and auctioned them off for tobacco as wives for the Virginia bachelors. To bring order to the colony, they invoked martial law, and when they deemed it to be to their financial advantage, they instituted a House of Burgesses that gave the Virginians some say in local affairs—subject, of course, to the veto of the company. However, after an Indian uprising of 1622 killed one-third of the white population in Virginia, even the most optimistic of the investors fell into despair. By 1624, when King James finally revoked the company's charter, the stockholders had lost about 100,000 pounds, an equivalent of \$15 million in today's currency. Jamestown was the first permanent English colony in the New World, but it also was a death trap and a financial bust.

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENTS 1 AND 2

The first two documents are taken from a collection of narratives published in 1589 by Richard Hakluyt, a friend of Raleigh's colonization ventures (spelling and grammar have been modernized). Although the documents were written by Englishmen with European biases and were edited to fit the propaganda needs of Raleigh, the texts are important, for they provide us with the first view of North America before English occupation. The excerpts from Arthur Barlowe's "Narrative of the 1584 Voyage" describe the landscape and peoples of the North American seacoast at the time of contact, though Barlowe's description is as much an English fantasy of Eden as a real description of native people. The much darker selections from Thomas Harriot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* detail sympathetic observations of the inner life and beliefs of the native peoples. What can such an account tell us about these early interactions between the English and natives? Harriot's descriptions of the mysterious epidemics that marked his travels also inform us of one of the appalling results of contact: the spread of European diseases among the aboriginal populations. Compare Harriot and Barlowe's descriptions of contact in Virginia with Columbus's initial impressions of the Caribbean. In what ways are the accounts similar and different?

1. "NARRATIVE OF THE 1584 VOYAGE"

ARTHUR BARLOWE

The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two boats, were [by] Captains Master Philip Amadas and Master Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the country now called Virginia, in 1584;

Written by one of the said Captains and sent to Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, at whose charge and direction the voyage was set forth.

On the 27th day of April, in the year of our redemption 1584, we departed the west of England with two boats well furnished with men and victuals. . . .

On the tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and on the tenth of June in this present year, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies. . . .

The next day there came upon us divers boats, and in one of them, the King's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behavior as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the King is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa (and now by her Majesty, Virginia). . . .

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered. The King himself was sorely wounded in a fight which he had with the King of the next country. . . . A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had for chamous leather, elk and deer skins. When we showed him all our packet of merchandise, of all the things that he saw, a bright tin dish most pleased him. He presently took it up, clapt it before his breast, and afterward made a hole in the brim thereof, and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemies arrows. Those people maintain a deadly and terrible war with the people and King adjoining.

[The people] are of color yellowish, and their hair black for the most, and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut color hair. . . . No people in the world carry more respect to their King, Nobility and Governors than these do. The King's brother's wife, when she came to us, as she did many times, was always followed with forty or fifty women. . . .

The King's brother had great liking of our armor, a sword, and divers other things which we had, and offered to lay a great box of pearl in exchange for them. But we refused it for this time because we would not make them know that we esteemed it until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew (which now your worship does very well understand). He was very just in his promise, for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word and always he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brace or two of fat bucks, conies, hares, fish, the best of

the world. He sent us divers kinds of fruits, melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and divers roots, and fruits very excellent good, and of their country corn, which is very white, fair and well tasted and grows three times in five months. In May they sow, in July they reap; in June they sow, in August they reap; in July they sow, in September they reap. They only cast the corn into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turf with a wooden mattock or pick ax. We proved the soil and put some of our peas into the ground. In ten days they were of fourteen inches high. They have also beans very fair, of divers colors and wonderful plenty, some growing naturally and some in their gardens. And so have they both wheat and oats. . . .

The following evening we came to an island which they call Roanoke. [It was] distant from the harbor by which we entered, seven leagues. At the north end thereof, there was a village of nine houses, built of cedar and fortified round about with sharp trees to keep out their enemies. The entrance into it made it like a turnpike very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the waters side, the wife of Grangyno, the King's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly. Her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on the shore for the beating of the billow. Others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them and dried them again. Some of the women pulled off our stockings and washed them. Some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat. . . . We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age. The earth brings forth all things in abundance as in the first creation, without toil or labor. . . .¹

2. "A BRIEF AND TRUE REPORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIRGINIA" (1588)

THOMAS HARRIOT

Within a few days after our departure from every . . . town, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some towns about twenty, in some [forty] and in one six score, which in truth was very many in respect of their numbers. . . . The disease also so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the country never happened before, time out of mind. A thing especially observed by us, as also by the natural inhabitants themselves.

Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had observed such effects in four or five towns to follow their wicked practices, they were persuaded that it was the work of our God through our means, and that we by him might kill and slay

whom we would without weapons, and not come near them. . . .

This marvelous accident in all the country wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to think us gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sickness, there was no man of ours known to die, or that was especially sick. They noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many years past, then risen again to immortality. Some would likewise seem to prophecy, that there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done.²

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENTS 3-7

The following documents depict life in Jamestown. Documents 3 and 4 were written by two of the fortunate survivors of the colony's early years: George Percy and John Smith (again, the spelling and grammar of these documents have been modernized). Percy's 1607 observations describe the tenuous relationships between the English and their Algonquian neighbors. Smith's account detail the "Starving Time" of 1609, and his cartographic representation of the colony, are presented in Documents 4 and 5. Between 1610 and 1616, the company attempted to restore order by imposing severe regulations upon the colonists. Document 6 describes these stern rules and punishments, which constitute the first English body of laws in the western hemisphere. Ask yourself why these particular rules were devised, and why the punishments were so severe. After 1617, company reforms gave more freedoms to the colonists and resulted in a rising population of English settlers. For many, however, life remained difficult. The final document in this section is a letter written in 1623 by a young indentured servant to his family back in England.

3. "DISCOURSE" (1607)

GEORGE PERCY

About four o'clock in the morning, we descried [detected] the land of Virginia. The same day we entered into the Bay of Chesapeake directly, without any let or hindrance. There we landed and discovered a little way, but we could find nothing worth speaking of but fair meadows and goodly tall trees. With such fresh waters running through the woods, I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof.

At night, when we were going abroad, there came the savages creeping upon all fours from the hills like bears, with their bows in their mouths. [They] charged us [looking] very desperately in their faces, hurt Captain Gabrill Archer in both his hands and a sailor in two very dangerous places of the body. After they had spent their arrows, and felt the sharpness of our shot, they retired into the woods with a great noise. . . .

On the twenty-ninth day we set up a cross at Chesapeake Bay, and named that place Cape Henry. On the thirtieth, we came with our ships to Cape Comfort where we saw five savages running on the shore. Presently the Captain caused the shallop to be manned. Rowing to the shore, the Captain called to them in a sign of friendship, but they were at first very timorous [fearful] until they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart. Upon that, they laid down their bows and arrows and came very boldly to us, making signs to come ashore to their town, which is called by the savages Kecoughtan. We coasted to their town, rowing over a river running into the main. The savages swam over with their bows and arrows in their mouths.

When we came over to the other side, there were many other savages which directed us to their town where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first ashore, they made a doleful noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails. We thought they had been at their idolatry. When they ended their ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought

out mats and laid [them] upon the ground. The chieftest of them sat all in a rank. The meanest sort brought us such dainties as they had: bread which they make of maize or guinea wheat. They would not suffer us to eat unless we sat down, which we did on a mat right against them. After we were well satisfied, they gave us of their tobacco, which they took in an artificial pipe made of earth like ours are, but far bigger, with the bowl fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted us, they showed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion. One of the savages was standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another. All the rest were dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground with many antic tricks and faces, making noise like so many wolves or devils. One thing of them I observed: when they were in their dance, they kept stroke with their feet just one with another. But with their hands, heads, faces and bodies, every one of them had a separate gesture. They continued for the space of half an hour. When they had ended their dance, the Captain gave them beads and other trifling jewels. They hang through their ears fowls' legs. They shave the right side of their heads with a shell. On the left side they wear an ell long tied up with an artificial knot, with many fowls feathers sticking in it. They go altogether naked, but their privates are covered with beasts skins beset commonly with little bones or beasts teeth. Some paint their bodies black, some red, with artificial knots of sundry lively colors, very beautiful and pleasing to the eye, in a braver fashion than they in the West Indies. . . .

At Port Cottage in our voyage up the river, we saw a savage boy about the age of ten years with a head of hair of perfect yellow and a reasonable white skin, which is a miracle amongst all savages.³

4. "GREAT WAS OUR FAMINE" (1609)

JOHN SMITH

... As for corn, provision and contribution from the savages, we had nothing but mortal wounds, with clubs and arrows; as for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or what lived, our commanders, officers and savages daily consumed them, some small proportions sometimes we tasted, till all was devoured; then swords, arms, pieces, or anything, we traded with the savages, whose cruel fingers were so oft imbrued in our blood, that what by their cruelty, our Governor's indiscretion, and the loss of our ships, of five hundred within six months after Captain Smith's* departure, there remained not past sixty men, women and children, most miserable and poor creatures; and those were preserved for the most part, by roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish: they that had starch in these extremities, made no small use of it; yea, even the very skins of our horses. Nay, so great was our famine, that a savage we slew, and buried, the poorer sort took him up again and ate him, and so did diverse one another boiled and stewed with roots and herbs: and one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered [i.e., salted] her, and had eaten part of her before it was known, for which he was executed, as he well deserved; now whether she was better roasted, boiled or carbonadoed [i.e., grilled], I know not, but of such a dish as powdered wife I never heard of. This was

that time, which still to this day we called the starving time; it were too vile to say, and scarce to be believed, what we endured: but the occasion was our own, for want of providence, industry, and government, and not the barrenness and defect of the country, as is generally supposed; for till then in three years, for the numbers were landed us, we had never from England provision sufficient for six months, though it seemed by the bills of loading sufficient was sent us, such a glutton is the sea, and such good fellows the mariners; we as little tasted of the great proportion sent us, as they of our want and miseries, yet notwithstanding they ever overruled the business, though we endured all that is said, and chiefly lived on what this good country naturally afforded; yet had we been even in paradise itself with these governors, it would not have been much better with us; yet there was amongst us, who had they had the government as Captain Smith appointed, but that they could not maintain it, would surely have kept us from those extremities of miseries. This in ten days more, would have supplanted us all with death.

But God that would not this country should be unplanted, sent Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Sommers with one hundred and fifty people most happily preserved by the Bermudas to preserve us. . . .⁴

5. JOHN SMITH'S MAP OF VIRGINIA (1624)

This was one of the earliest and most influential maps of the Chesapeake Bay, first printed in 1612. It is oriented with north at right and west at the top, mimicking the perspective of Europeans who came from east to west and moved into the interior. Smith's map was the first accurate representation of the terrain and its features, and it was used

to encourage future settlements. Ironically, the map depicts successful settlement—note for instance the monarchical seal—even though the colony of Jamestown failed to survive. Smith himself was careful to note the extent of his geographical knowledge with crosses, beyond which he relied on native sources.

* Note that Smith writes in the third person.

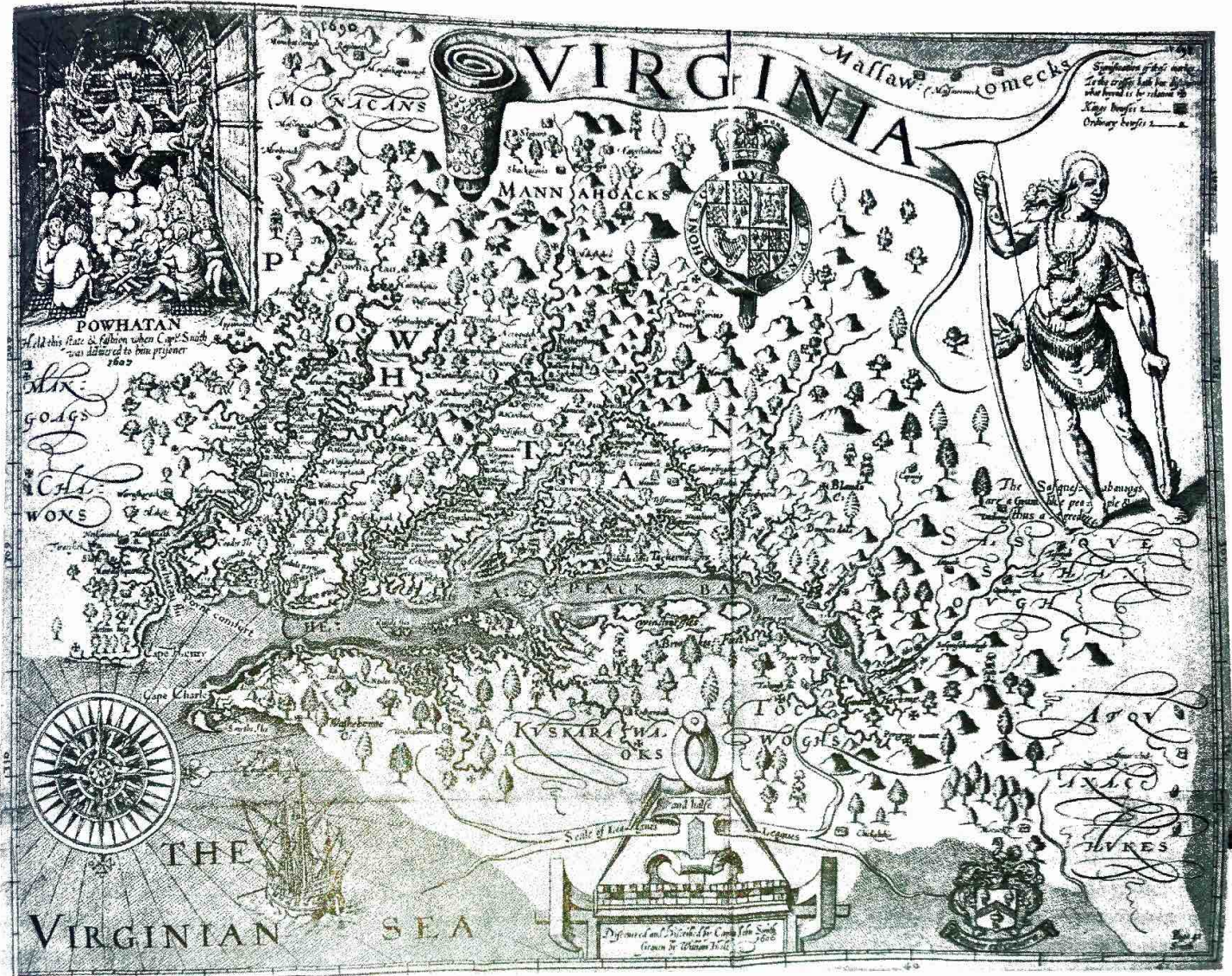


Image 2.2 John Smith's map of Virginia (1624)

Captain John Smith's map of Virginia was first published in London in 1612, depicting a settled and successful colony that was quite at odds with the reality at Jamestown.

Source: Library of Congress

6. FROM LAWS DIVINE, MORAL AND MARTIAL (1611)

1. First since we owe our highest and supreme duty, our greatest, and all our allegiance to him, from whom all power and authority is derived, and flows as from the first, and only fountain, and being especial soldiers impressed in this sacred cause, we must alone expect our success from him, who is only the blesser of all good attempts, the king of kings, the commander of commanders, and Lord of Hosts, I do strictly command and charge all captains and officers, of what quality or nature soever, whether

commanders in the field, or in town, or towns, forts or fortresses, to have a care that the Almighty God be duly and daily served. . . .

6. Every man and woman duly twice a day upon the first tolling of the bell shall upon the working days repair unto the church, to hear divine service upon pain of losing his or her day's allowance for the first omission, for the second to be whipped, and for the third to be condemned to the galleys for six months. Likewise no man or woman shall dare to violate or break the Sabbath

by any gaming, public, or private abroad, or at home, but duly sanctify and observe the same, both himself and his family, by preparing themselves at home with private prayer, that they may be the better fitted for the public, according to the commandments of God. . . .

9. No man shall commit the horrible, and detestable sins of sodomy upon pain of death; and he or she that can be lawfully convicted of adultery shall be punished with death. No man shall ravish or force any woman, maid or Indian, or other, upon pain of death, and know the[e] that he or she, that shall commit fornication, and evident proof made thereof, for their first fault shall be whipped, for their second they shall be whipped, and for their third they shall be whipped three times a week for one month, and ask public forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation. . . .

13. No manner of person whatsoever . . . shall detract, slander, calumniate, murmur, mutiny, resist, disobey, or neglect the commandments, either of the Lord Governor, and Captain General, the Lieutenant General, the Marshal, the Council, or any authorized captain, commander or public officer, upon pain for the first time so offending to be whipped several times, and upon his knees to acknowledge his offense, with asking forgiveness upon the Sabbath day in the assembly of the congregation, and for the second time so offending to be condemned to the galley for three years: and for the third time so offending to be punished with death. . . .

15. No man of what condition soever shall barter, truck, or trade with the Indians, except he be thereunto appointed by lawful authority, upon pain of death.

16. No man shall rifle or despoil, by force or violence, take away anything from any Indian coming to trade, or otherwise, upon pain of death. . . .

20. No captain, master, mariner, or sailor, or what officer else belonging to any ship, or ships, now within our river, or hereafter which shall arrive, shall dare to bargain, exchange, barter, truck, trade, or sell, upon pain of death, unto any one landman member of this present colony, any provisions of what kind soever, above the determined valuations, and prices, set down and proclaimed, and sent therefore unto each of your several ships, to be fixed upon your main mast, to the intent that want of due notice, and ignorance in this case, be no excuse, or plea, for any one offender herein. . . .

23. No man shall embezzle, lose, or willingly break, or fraudulently take away, either spade, shovel, hatchet, axe, mattock, or other tool or instrument upon pain of whipping.

25. Every man shall have an especial and due care, to keep his house sweet and clean, as also so much of the street, as lieth before his door, and especially he shall so provide, and set his bedstead whereon he lieth, that it may stand three feet at least from the ground, as he will answer the contrary at a martial court. . . .

31. What man or woman soever, shall rob any garden, public or private, being set to weed the same, or willfully pluck up therein any root, herb, or flower, to spoil and waste or steal the same, or rob any vineyard, or gather up the grapes, or steal any ears of the corn growing, whether in the ground belonging to the same fort or town where he dwelleth, or in any other, shall be punished with death. . . .⁵

7. AN INDENTURED SERVANT DESCRIBES LIFE IN VIRGINIA IN A LETTER TO HIS PARENTS, 1623

RICHARD FRETHORNE

Loving and kind father and mother:

My most humble duty remembered to you, hoping in God of your good health, as I myself am at the making hereof. This is to let you understand that I your child am in a most heavy case by reason of the nature of

the country, [which] is such that it causeth much sickness, [such] as the scurvy and the bloody flux and divers other diseases, which maketh the body very poor and weak. And when we are sick there is nothing to comfort us; for since I came out of the ship I never ate anything

but peas, and loblollie (that is, water gruel). As for deer or venison I never saw any since I came into this land. There is indeed some fowl, but we are not allowed to go and get it, but must work hard both early and late for a mess of water gruel and a mouthful of bread and beef. A mouthful of bread for a penny loaf must serve for four men which is most pitiful. [You would be grieved] if you did know as much as I [do], when people cry out day and night—Oh! that they were in England without their limbs—and would not care to lose any limb to be in England again, yea, though they beg from door to door. For we live in fear of the enemy every hour, yet we have had a combat with them on the Sunday before Shrovetide, and we took two alive and made slaves of them. But it was by policy, for we are in great danger; for our plantation is very weak by reason of the death and sickness of our company. For we came but twenty for the merchants, and they are half dead just; and we look every hour when two more should go. Yet there came some four other men yet to live with us, of which there is but one alive; and our Lieutenant is dead, and [also] his father and his brother. And there was some five or six of the last year's twenty, of which there is but three left, so that we are fain to get other men to plant with us; and yet we are but 32 to fight against 3,000 if they should come. . . .

And I have nothing to comfort me, nor is there nothing to be gotten here but sickness and death, except [in the event] that one had money to lay out in some things for profit. But I have nothing at all—no, not a shirt to my back but two rags (2), nor no clothes but one poor suit, nor but one pair of shoes, but one pair of stockings, but one cap, [and] but two bands. My cloak is stolen by one

of my own fellows, and to his dying hour [he] would not tell me what he did with it; but some of my fellows saw him have butter and beef out of a ship, which my cloak, I doubt [not], paid for. So that I have not a penny, not a penny worth, to help me to either spice or sugar or strong waters, without the which one cannot live here. . . . I do protest unto you that I have eaten more in [one] day at home than I have allowed me here for a week. . . .

And [I] saith that if you love me you will redeem me suddenly, for which I do entreat and beg. And if you cannot get the merchants to redeem me for some little money, then for God's sake get a gathering or entreat some good folks to lay out some little sum of money in meal and cheese and butter and beef. Any eating meat will yield great profit. Oil and vinegar is very good; but, father, there is great loss in leaking. But for God's sake send beef and cheese and butter, or the more of one sort and none of another. . . . And look whatsoever you send me—be it never so much—look, what[ever] I make of it, I will deal truly with you. I will send it over and beg the profit to redeem me; and if I die before it come, I have entreated Goodman Jackson to send you the worth of it, who hath promised he will. . . . Good father, do not forget me, but have mercy and pity my miserable case. I know if you did but see me, you would weep to see me. . . . Wherefore, for God's sake, pity me. I pray you to remember my love to all my friends and kindred. I hope all my brothers and sisters are in good health, and as for my part I have set down my resolution that certainly will be; that is, that the answer of this letter will be life or death to me. Therefore, good father, send as soon as you can; and if you send me anything let this be the mark.⁶

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENTS 8, 9, AND 10

Jamestown's early struggles finally came to an end, and the two essential ingredients were tobacco and slaves. Before too many years, England developed an insatiable appetite for Virginia tobacco. But who would cultivate it? The horrific mortality in early Jamestown, the unwillingness of "gentlemen" colonists to work hard, the tribulations of indentured servants like Richard Frethorne made for an unreliable labor force. A fortuitous solution presented itself. In 1620, colonist John Rolfe wrote to Edwin Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia Company, that a Dutch man-of-war (an armed boat) left off twenty Negroes in Jamestown in exchange for resupplying the ship. The Africans' precise legal status was unclear, but by the 1660s and probably before, blacks and their

10. "AN ACT CONCERNING SERVANTS AND SLAVES" (OCTOBER 1705)

VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

... And if any slave resist his master, or owner, or other person, by his or her order, correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction, it shall not be accounted felony; but the master, owner, and every such other person so giving correction, shall be free and acquit of all punishment and accusation for the same, as if such incident had never happened: And also, if any negro, mulatto,

or Indian, bond or free, shall at any time, lift his or her hand, in opposition against any Christian, not being negro, mulatto, or Indian, he or she so offending shall, for every such offence, proved by the oath of the party, receive on his or her bare back, thirty lashes, well laid on; cognizable by a justice of the peace for that county wherein such offence shall be committed.⁹

THE PURITANS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Six hundred miles up the coast from Jamestown was the region affectionately dubbed "New England" by Captain John Smith. Many of the early migrants to this area came for religious purposes. The first English subjects to settle there were the famous "Pilgrims," labeled such because of their pilgrimages in search of a place where they could practice their distinct form of Christianity. After denouncing the Church of England as an ungodly institution, these future Pilgrims were harassed by Anglicans in their hometown of Scrooby, England, and sought refuge abroad. In 1607, they sailed for Leyden, Holland, where they lived for about a dozen years until a group of merchants from Plymouth, England, offered them a deal. The Plymouth merchants, holding a charter from James I that allowed them to establish a commercial enterprise similar to the Jamestown venture, promised to transport these "Puritan Separatists" to America in return for their labor. An agreement was reached, the *Mayflower* sailed, and shortly before Christmas 1620, the Pilgrims landed near a rock named after the city of their sponsors.

A decade after the settlement of Plymouth, a second, larger wave of Puritan immigrants arrived in New England. Like the Pilgrims, the Massachusetts Bay Puritans disliked the theology, government, and lack of discipline within the Church of England. Unlike the Separatist Pilgrims, however, these Puritans believed that the Anglican Church was still God's church and could be purified. When political circumstances in England frustrated their attempts at reform, Puritan leaders devised an ambitious plan to establish a model "Christian commonwealth" in Massachusetts Bay. Confident that it was the nature of God to punish sin

and reward obedience, these Non-Separatist Puritans hoped to save their church and nation from impending calamity by setting an example for Old England to imitate.

For these visionaries, the New World was a New Canaan, and they were God's chosen people sent on an errand into the wilderness. Their goal was not worldly success but the establishment of a colony dedicated to the glory of God. (Of course, there was a contradiction here—wouldn't God smile on such a Commonwealth, and wouldn't God's people prosper, and wouldn't that very prosperity become a problem?) Creating a Godly commonwealth was not easy. Maintaining it was even harder. The seriousness of the Puritan's mission encouraged them to suppress dissent, to limit voting rights to church members, to punish moral laxity among both believers and nonbelievers, to demand hard labor from everyone, and to prevent extravagance. Nonetheless, the Puritans were not simply "puritanical" prigs. For instance, they did not prohibit seasonal times of feasting and merriment or condemn the drinking of beer or wine in moderation. They also rejected the doctrine that sex was intended solely for procreation. Rather, they viewed sex within marriage as a gift from God to be enjoyed. They discouraged all extramarital affairs—punishing severely adulterous and homosexual relationships—but they treated premarital sex, which was common, with considerable leniency. They also permitted divorces for those whose spouses were impotent, too long absent, or cruel.

If not repressed zealots, they were not *flawless citizens* or compassionate neighbors either. Holding fast to the Calvinistic doctrine *that all humans* were sinful and deserved damnation but that God in His mercy had "*predestined*" some for salvation, the Puritans relegated the non-elect to a subordinate status on earth and to eternal affliction in hell. They also viewed their Native American neighbors as cultural inferiors, assuming them to be the descendants of one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, whose original white skin coloring had been darkened naturally by the sun and unnaturally by degenerate customs. This interpretation encouraged Puritan missionaries to translate the Bible into the Algonquian language and to seek Christian converts among the natives. New England missionaries won fewer Indians to Christianity than the Jesuits did in New France, largely because the Puritans held high and rigid standards that included a knowledge of complex theological issues and a prescribed conversion experience.

Despite their concern about the salvation of the Algonquian peoples, at times the Puritans turned violently against their neighbors. A deadly confrontation erupted in 1675 between the Wampanoag chieftain Metacomet (known among the Puritans as King Philip) and the descendants of the Plymouth Pilgrims. The ensuing struggle, dubbed by the English "King Philip's War," had a devastating impact on the region's population and morale. Within two years, nearly 10 percent of the adult white male and 30 percent of the Native American population had died in the fighting or from the disease and starvation that followed.

King Philip's War forced the Puritans to reexamine themselves and their mission. In the first half-century of settlement, New England had prospered in many ways. Virtually everyone in the region could read and write, an achievement unequaled by other seventeenth-century cultures. The average adult life expectancy in New England was about sixty-five years, more than ten

years longer than in Old England and twenty years longer than in Virginia. Longer life meant more working years and the potential for more money; it meant longer marriages and more children. But for Puritans on a holy mission, prosperity had its drawbacks. From the outset, non-Puritans who came to New England for commercial reasons threatened the religious values of the founders. With the passing years, these enterprising emigrants were joined by increasing numbers of second- and third-generation New Englanders who also preferred pursuing earthly rather than heavenly treasures. For the pious remnant, the alarming drop in church membership and the disconcerting tendency to place economic gain above community concerns were signs of spiritual declension.

In the latter decades of the seventeenth century, Puritan preachers railed against the waning piety of their times and called the people to public and private repentance. Meanwhile, political troubles in England compounded their anxieties. In 1684, Charles II revoked the charter of Massachusetts Bay. In 1691, the English Crown assumed the role of appointing the governor of the colony and forced Massachusetts to drop the religious qualification for the right to vote in colonial elections. With power now in the hands of the Crown and colonial merchants, concerned Puritans could not help but wonder if their misfortunes were punishments from God. Had He forsaken the people of New England? Had they, builders of a prosperous colony mightily concerned with success, forsaken God? Was there still hope for their redemption?

The following documents touch on a variety of topics, including the original purpose of the colony; community and family life in New England; and Puritan-Indian conflicts. As you read each selection, try to identify both the changing and the unchanging elements within the Puritan experience. What was it that united and divided the people of Massachusetts Bay? To what did they give their highest allegiance, family, religion, business, education, township, colony, country? And how did they react when what they valued was threatened? In probing these facets of the New England mind and soul, you may discover that the mysterious world of the seventeenth century is not so foreign to us after all.

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 11

In 1630, while aboard the flagship *Arbella*, Governor John Winthrop wrote and delivered "A Model of Christian Charity." Although the document reads like a Puritan sermon, Winthrop was not a minister, and his intent was not simply to present a Sabbath day religious homily. Rather, as Governor of Massachusetts Bay, Winthrop took the occasion to articulate the hopes, fears, and dreams of the colony's organizers. His speech was an elaborate statement about how people must act, socially and economically, for the colony to succeed. What is the essence of Winthrop's message? In particular, what was his attitude toward the prospects of success—both individual and collective—in Massachusetts Bay?

11. "A MODEL OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY" (1630)

JOHN WINTHROP

God Almighty, in his most holy and wise providence, hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity, others mean and in subjection.

THE REASON HEREOF

First, to hold conformity with the rest of his works. Being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures. . . .

Secondly, that he might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit. First, upon the wicked, in moderating and restraining them: so that the rich and mighty should not eat up the poor, nor the poor and despised rise up against their superiors and shake off their yoke. Secondly, in the regenerate, in exercising his graces in them: as in the great ones, their love, mercy, gentleness, temperance etc.; in the poor and inferior sort, their faith, patience, obedience etc.

Thirdly, that every man might have need of other, and from hence they might be all knit more nearly together in the bond of brotherly affection. From hence it appears plainly that no man is made more honorable than another, or more wealthy etc., out of any particular and singular respect to himself, but for the glory of his creator and the common good of the creature, man. . . .

QUESTION: What rule must we observe in lending?

ANSWER: Thou must observe whether thy brother hath present or probable or possible means of repaying thee; if there be none of these, thou must give him according to his necessity, rather than lend him as he requires. If he hath present means of repaying thee, thou art to look at him, not as an act of mercy, but by way of commerce, wherein thou art to walk by the rule of Justice. But if his means of repaying thee be only probable or possible, then is he an object of thy mercy—thou must lend him, though there be danger of losing it.

QUESTION: What rule must we observe in forgiving?

ANSWER: Whether thou didst lend by way of commerce or in mercy, if he have nothing to pay thee [thou] must forgive him. . . .

Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into covenant with him for this work, we have taken out a commission, the Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles, we have professed to enterprise these actions, upon these and those ends, we have hereupon besought him of favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath he ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, [and] will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it. But if we shall neglect the observation of these articles, which are the ends we have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us, be revenged of such a perjured people and make us know the price of the breach of such a covenant.

Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity, is to follow the counsel of Micah: to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, we must be knit together in this work as one man, we must entertain each other in brotherly affection, we must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of others' necessities, we must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience and liberality; we must delight in each other, make others' conditions our own, rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, our community as members of the same body. So shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us as his own people, and will

command a blessing upon us in all our ways, so that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when he shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations: "the Lord make it like that of NEW ENGLAND." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill: The eyes of all people are upon us, so

that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world: we shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us, till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are going.

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENTS 12 AND 13

Notwithstanding Winthrop's call for Christian unity, not all settlers to Massachusetts embraced either his mission or methods. The following documents express the opinions of two of Winthrop's adversaries, Anne Hutchinson and Robert Keayne. Hutchinson was a pious Puritan woman who accused the colonial ministers of teaching that one can get to heaven by doing good works. Puritans rejected this teaching, insisting that salvation comes from grace through faith, not through good works. For accusing the ministers of this false teaching, Hutchinson was brought to court and tried for sedition in 1637. Document 12 contains some excerpts from her trial. How did Hutchinson defend her understanding of divine truth, and why was she banished from Massachusetts?

Document 13 contains excerpts from the last will and testament of the eminently successful New England merchant Robert Keayne. Throughout his career, Keayne was hounded by Puritan authorities, who claimed that he had secured his wealth by corrupt practices, which included lending money for excessive interest, selling goods at rates determined by market factors, and pursuing his own self-interest rather than the common good of the community. For these practices, Keayne was brought before the court and fined £200. In the following passages, Keayne defends himself against the charges of price-gouging and of failing to support the common good. Compare Keayne's defense with Winthrop's address to the Puritans aboard the *Arabella*. Do you think Keayne's capitalistic business practices and Winthrop's Puritan mission were compatible? Did Keayne threaten the colony in the same way that Hutchinson did?

12. EXCERPTS FROM THE TRIAL OF ANNE HUTCHINSON (NOVEMBER 1637)

MR. WINTHROP, GOVERNOR: MRS. Hutchinson, you are called here as one of those that have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and the churches here; you are known to be a woman

that hath had a great share in the promoting and divulging of those opinions that are causes of this trouble, and to be nearly joined not only in affinity and affection with some

of those the court had taken notice of and passed censure upon, but you have spoken divers things as we have been informed very prejudicial to the honour of the churches and ministers thereof, and you have maintained a meeting and an assembly in your house that hath been condemned by the general assembly as a thing not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God nor fitting for your sex. . . .

MRS. HUTCHINSON: If you please to give me leave I shall give you the ground of what I know to be true. Being much troubled to see the falseness of the constitution of the church of England, I had like to have turned separatist; where-upon I kept a day of solemn humiliation and pondering of the things; this scripture was brought upon me—he that denies Jesus Christ to be come in the flesh is the antichrist—This I considered of and in considering found that the papists did not deny him to be come in the flesh, nor we did not deny him—who then was antichrist? Was the Turk antichrist only? The Lord knows that I could not open scripture; he must by his prophetic office open it unto me. So after that being unsatisfied in the things, the Lord was pleased to bring this scripture out of the Hebrews. He that denies the testament denies the testator, and in this did open unto me and give me to see that those which did not teach the new covenant had the spirit of antichrist, and upon this he did discover the ministry unto me and ever since, I bless the Lord, he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong. Since that time I confess I have been more choice and he hath

left me to distinguish between the voice of my beloved and the voice of Moses, the voice of John Baptist and the voice of the antichrist, for all those voices are spoken of in scripture. Now if you do condemn me for speaking what in my conscience I know to be truth I must commit myself unto the Lord.

MR. NOWEL: How do you know that that was the spirit?

MRS. HUTCHINSON: How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his son, being a breach of the sixth commandment?

DEP. GOV: By an immediate voice.

MRS. HUTCHINSON: So to me by an immediate revelation.

DEP. GOV: How! an immediate revelation.

MRS. HUTCHINSON: By the voice of his own spirit to my soul. . . . You have power over my body but the Lord Jesus hath power over my body and soul, and assure yourselves thus much, you do as much as in you lies to put the Lord Jesus Christ from you, and if you go on in this course you begin you will bring a curse upon you and your posterity, and the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

After more testimony, the court rendered its verdict.

GOVERNOR: Mrs. Hutchinson, the sentence of the court you hear is that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned till the court shall send you away.

MRS. HUTCHINSON: I desire to know wherefore I am banished?

GOVERNOR: Say no more, the court knows wherefore and is satisfied.¹⁰

13. FROM THE APOLOGIA OF ROBERT KEAYNE (1653)

[My attempts] to promote the good of this place have been answered by diverse herewith unchristian, uncharitable and unjust reproaches and slanders since I

came hither, as if men had the liberty of their tongues to reproach any that were not beneficial to them, . . . as if no punishment had been sufficient to expiate

my offense, for selling a good bridle for 2s[hillings] that now worse are sold without offense for 3 . . . and so in all other things proportionably as selling gold buttons for two shilling nine pence a dozen that cost above 2 in London and yet were never paid for them that complained. These were the great matters in which I had offended, when my self have often seen and heard offenses, complaints and crimes of a high nature against God and men such as filthy uncleanness, fornications, drunkenness, fearful oaths, quarreling, mutinous Sabbath breakings thefts, forgeries, and such like which hath passed with fines or censures so small or easy as hath not been worth the naming or regarding.

I did submit to the censure, I paid the fine to the uttermost, which is not nor hath been done by many (nor so earnestly required as mine was) though for certain and not supposed offenses of far higher nature which I can make good not by hearsay only but in my own knowledge. Yea offenses of the same kind and which was so greatly aggravated and with such indignation pursued by some, as if no censure could be too great or too severe, as if I had not been worthy to have lived upon the earth . . . are not only now common almost in every shop and warehouse but even then and ever since with a higher measure of excess, yea even by some of them that were most zealous and had their hands and tongues deepest in my censure,

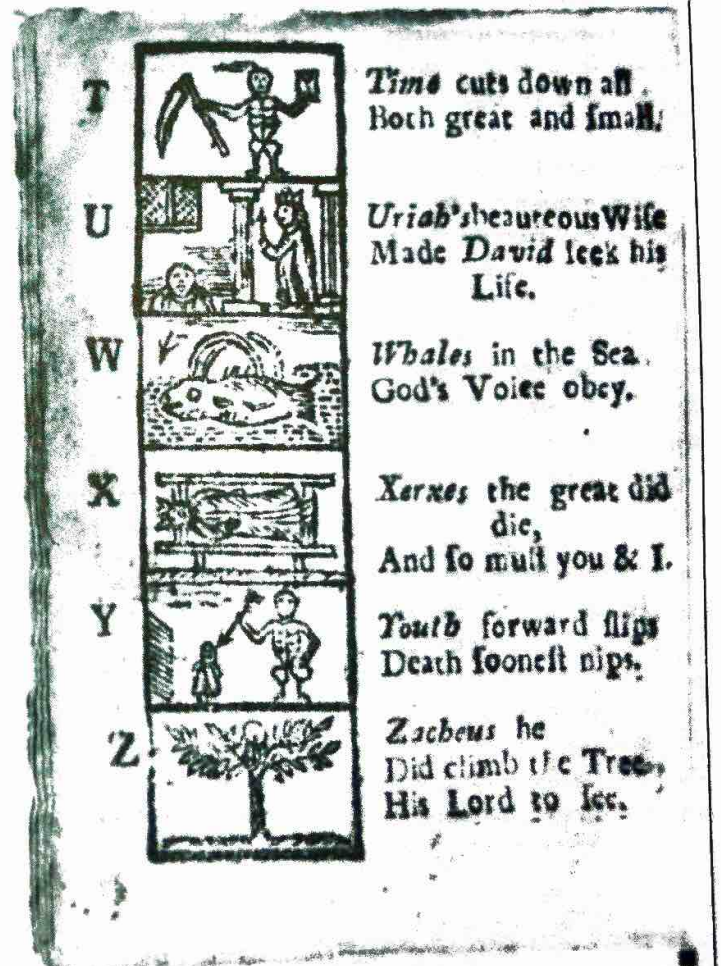
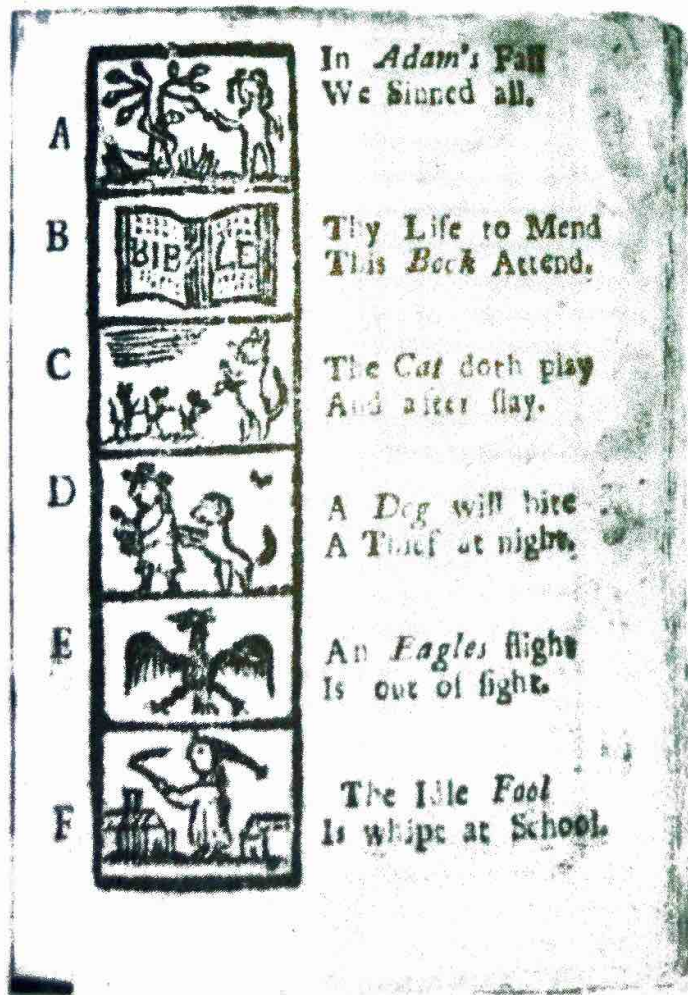


Image 2.3 Illustrated alphabet from the *New England Primer*, 1721
The Puritans believed that the word of God must come to each individual by reading the Bible, so they considered literacy essential. "The New England Primer," with its didactic style and moral lessons, was the main textbook for children. This page is from the 1721 edition, though it was first published in the 1690s.
Source: Library of Congress

since of buyers which they were then, they are turned sellers and peddling merchants themselves so that they are become no offenses now nor worthy questioning nor taking notice of in others. Yea contrary to their own promises instead of gains there was apparent loss without any gains to the seller, and the oppression lay justly and truly on the buyer's hand rather than on the seller, but then the country being all buyers and few sellers though it would not be seen on that side then, for if the lion will say the lamb is a

fox, it must be so, the lamb must be content to leave it. . . . Yet I have borne this patiently and without disturbance or troubling the Court with any petitions for remission or abatement of the fine, . . . because the more innocently that I suffer, the more patiently have I borne it, leaving my cause therein to the Lord. [In the end, Keane suggested if the Court chose to rescind his fine, that the money be given to Harvard College or to some "other more good or public use or service."] ¹¹

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 14

The most popular literary genre of late colonial times was the captivity narrative, accounts of whites being taken by Native Americans. The first and perhaps the best of the Puritan captivity narratives was written by Mary Rowlandson, the wife of a clergyman who was captured during King Philip's War. Published in 1682, it sold quickly and went through some thirty future editions, preparing the way for many other captivity stories, which also became the bestsellers of their day. This narrative was popular in part because it was a thrilling personal-adventure story placed in an exotic context. But for the Puritans, it was also a religious epic that described how God had punished but not forgotten His people. The personal story of Rowlandson was in microcosm the story of all Puritans whom God tested then redeemed. While offering some insights into the culture of the Algonquians, these selections from Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* reveal even more about the New England mind and the tensions within a conflicted Puritan society.

14. FROM THE SOVEREIGNTY AND GOODNESS OF GOD (1682)

MARY ROWLANDSON

Now is that dreadful hour come that I have often heard of (in time of war as it was the case of others), but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the house on fire over our heads, and the

bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. Now might we hear mothers and children crying out for themselves and one another, "Lord, what shall we do?" Then I took my children (and one of my sisters, hers) to go forth and leave the house,

but as soon as we came to the door and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house as if one had taken an handful of stones and threw them so that we were fain to give back. We had six stout dogs belonging to our garrison, but none of them would stir although another time, if any Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord hereby would make us the more to acknowledge His hand and to see that our help is always in Him. But out we must go, the fire increasing and coming along behind us roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their guns, spears, and hatchets to devour us. No sooner were we out of the house, but my brother-in-law [John Divoll] (being before wounded, in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead; whereat the Indians scornfully shouted, halloed, and were presently upon him, stripping off his clothes. The bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and the same (as would seem) through the bowels and hand of my dear child in my arms. One of my elder sister's children, named William [Kerley], had then his leg broken, which the Indians perceiving, they knocked him on the head. Thus were we butchered by those merciless heathen, standing amazed, with the blood running down to our heels.

... The Indians laid hold of us, pulling me one way and the children another, and said, "Come go along with us." I told them they would kill me. They answered, if I were willing to go along with them they would not hurt me.

Oh, the doleful sight that now was to behold at this house! "Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolation He has made in the earth." Of thirty-seven persons who were in this one house none escaped either present death or a bitter captivity save only one, who might say as he, Job 1:15, "And I only am escaped alone to tell the news." There were twelve killed, some shot, some stabbed with their spears, some knocked down with their hatchets. When we are in prosperity, oh, the little that we think of such dreadful sights, and to see our dear friends and relations lie bleeding out their heart-blood upon the ground! There was one who was chopped into the head with a hatchet

and stripped naked, and yet was crawling up and down. It is a solemn sight to see so many Christians lying in their blood, some here and some there, like a company of sheep torn by wolves, all of them stripped naked by a company of hellhounds, roaring, singing, ranting and insulting, as if they would have torn our very hearts out. Yet the Lord by his almighty power preserved a number of us from death, for there were twenty-four of us taken alive and carried captive.

I had often before this said that if the Indians should come I should choose rather to be killed by them than taken alive, but when it came to the trial, my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous beasts than that moment to end my days.

Thus nine days I sat upon my knees with my babe in my lap till my flesh was raw again; my child being even ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bade me carry it out to another wigwam (I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles), whither I went with a heavy heart, and down I sat with the picture of death in my lap. About two hours in the night my sweet babe like a lamb departed this life on Feb. 18, 1675, it being about six years and five months old. It was nine days from the first wounding in this miserable condition without any refreshing of one nature or other except a little cold water. I cannot but take notice how at another time I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was, but now the case is changed; I must and could lie down by my dead babe side by side all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me in preserving me in the use of my reason and senses in that distressed time that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life. . . .

In my travels an Indian came to me and told me if I were willing, he and his squaw would run away and go home along with me. I told him no. I was not willing to run away but desired to wait God's time that I might go home quietly and without fear. And now God hath granted me my desire. O, the wonderful power of God that I have seen and the

experience that I have had! I have been in the midst of those roaring lions and savage bears that feared neither God nor man nor the devil, by night and day, alone and in company, sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered me the least abuse of unchastity to me in word or action. Though some are ready to say I speak it for my own credit, I speak it in the presence of God and to His glory. God's power is as great now and as sufficient to save as when He preserved Daniel in the lion's den or the three children in the fiery furnace. I may well say as his Psal. 107:12, "Oh, give thanks unto the Lord for He is good, for His mercy endureth forever." Let the redeemed of the Lord say so whom He hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy, especially that I should come away in the midst of so many hundreds of enemies quietly and peaceably and not a dog moving his tongue. . . .

Now I see the Lord had His time to scourge and chasten me. The portion of some is to have their afflictions by drops, now one drop and then another, but the dregs of the cup, the wine of astonishment, like a sweeping rain that leaveth no food, did the Lord prepare to be my portion. Affliction I wanted and affliction I had, full measure (I thought) pressed down and running over. Yet I see when God calls a person to anything and through never so many difficulties, yet He is fully able to carry them through and make them see and say they have been gainers thereby. And I hope I can say in some measure, as David did, "It is good for me that I have been afflicted."¹²

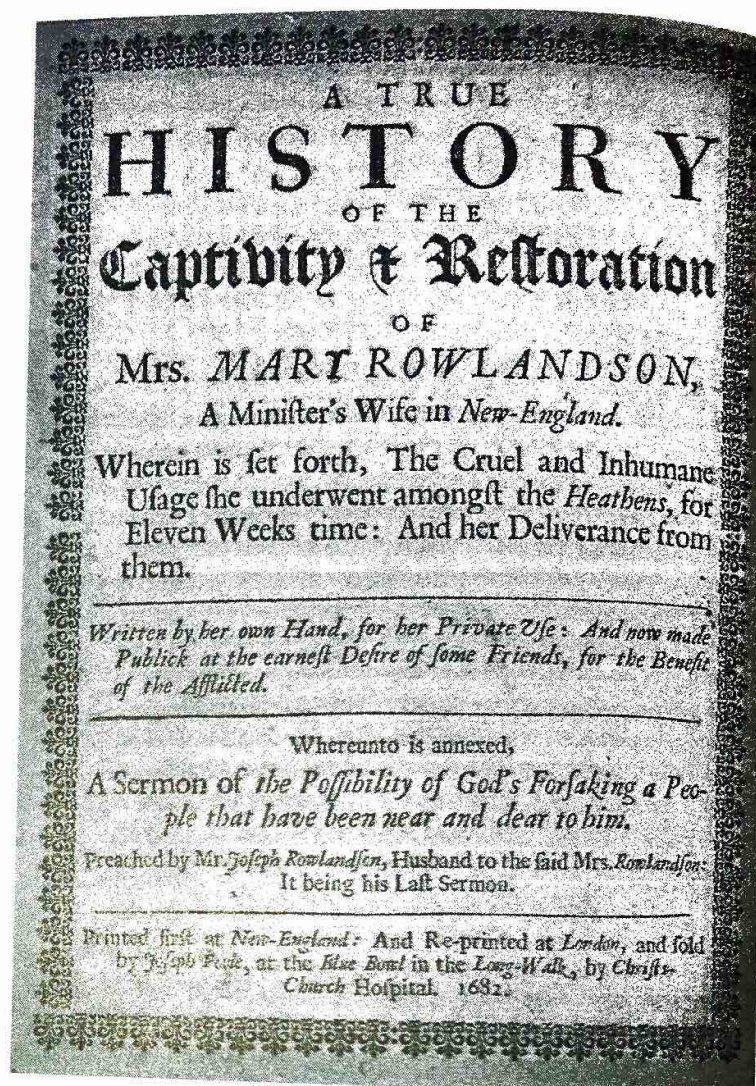


Image 2.4 From Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative (1682)
 How do you explain the wide and enduring appeal of Rowlandson's captivity narrative? What does the cover here reveal about Rowlandson's intent in writing it, and the document's contemporary use among readers?
 Source: Courtesy University of Pennsylvania Special Collections Library.

QUESTIONS

1. Compare the motivations for establishing Virginia and Massachusetts Bay. Do the outcomes reflect these differences?
2. Compare the descriptions of Native Americans in the writings of Rowlandson, Columbus, Las Casas, Barlowe, and Percy. How do you explain the similarities and the differences?
3. Do the rules instituted at Jamestown in 1611 resemble the kind of order that Winthrop hoped to establish in Massachusetts Bay?
4. Were Jamestown and Massachusetts Bay successful colonies? Explain your answer.
5. Both Keane and Hutchinson were singled out for their deviant behavior in Massachusetts Bay. Why were they understood to pose such a threat to the viability of the colony?

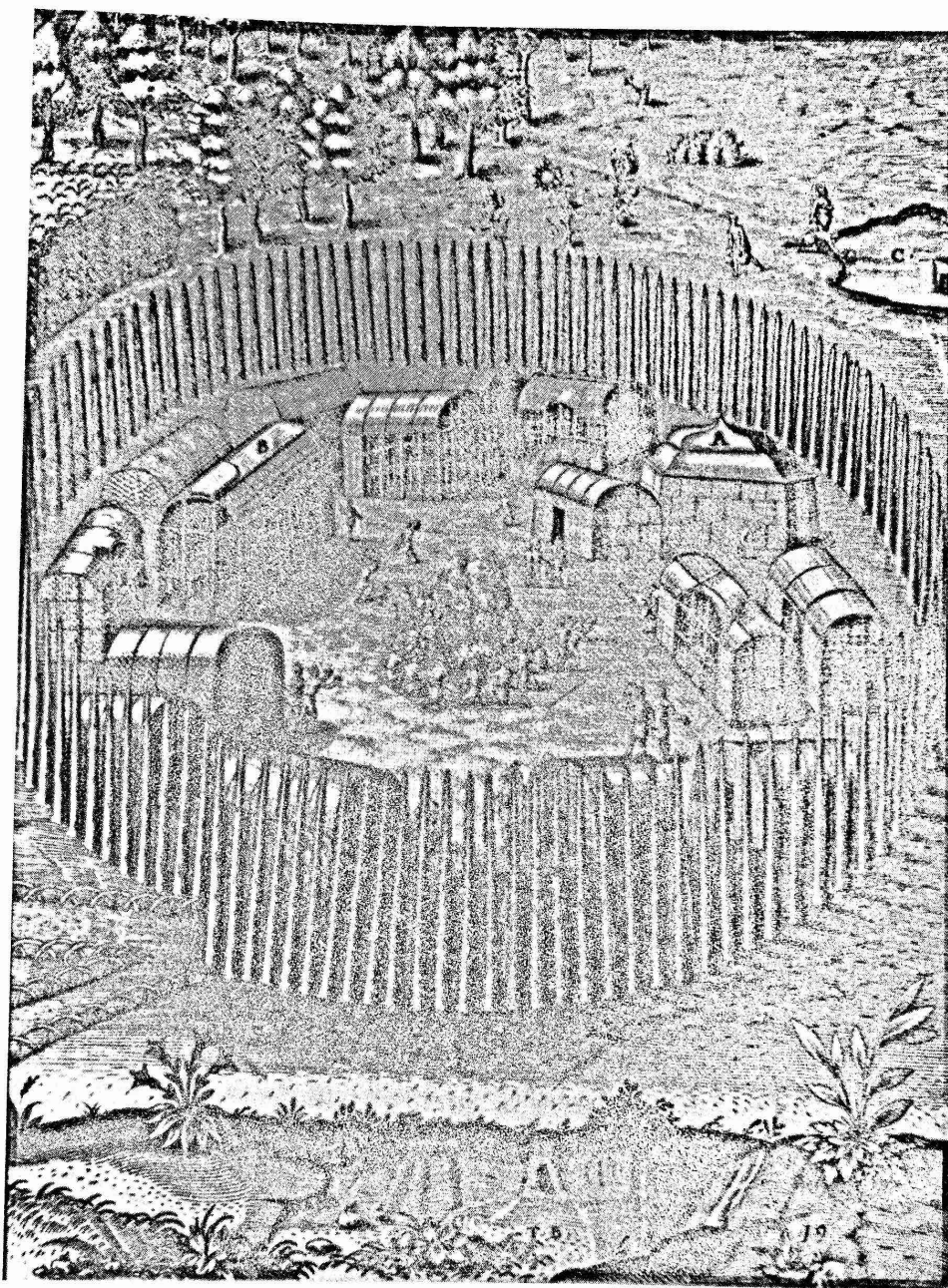


Image 2.1 Pomeiock Village

This drawing by John White, an English artist who accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh's party to America in 1585, depicts the typical Algonquian village of Pomeiock. Many Eastern groups of Native Americans settled in semi-permanent villages like this one, composed of domed houses made from woven mats and bark and surrounded by a defensive wooden palisade.

Source: 1585 John White, Courtesy Library of Congress

of happiness—was the only realistic goal. In the worst of times, some resorted to cannibalism in order to survive.

The colony endured largely because the stockholders back home refused to concede defeat. Although always short of the capital needed to fund the project adequately, the company kept sending new recruits in the hope of making a return on its investment. By the second decade of the venture, the great majority of the immigrants came as "indentured servants;" that is, as