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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES OF
SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN, AND HIS EXPE-
RIENCES IN FOUNDING BOTH QUEBEC
AND MONTREAL; ALSO OF THE PHIPS
EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC AND
THE REASONS FOR ITS FAILURE.

Samuel de Champlain was the son of Antoine de Champlain, a captain in the marine, and his wife Marguerite le Roy. There appears to be no record of the exact day or even year of his birth. As near as can be ascertained he was born about the year 1567, in the village of Brouage in the ancient province of Saintonge. This village, of great antiquity, is situated in a low, marshy region on the southern bank of an inlet or arm of the sea, on the southwestern shores of France, opposite to that part of the Island of Oleron, where it is separated from the mainland only by a narrow channel.

From Champlain's birth throughout the whole period of his youth, and until he entered upon his manhood, the little town within whose walls he was reared was the fitful scene of war and peace, of alarm and conflict, caused by the civil contentions that raged in that province for a period of nearly forty years. During all these busy scenes

the village of Brouage became a military post of considerable importance. The military and commercial enterprise of the place brought the subject of our sketch into daily contact with men of the highest character in their several departments. Distinguished officers of the French army were frequently there, it being a rendezvous for the young nobility. It became more or less a training school for those entering the military profession, and gave young Champlain an opportunity for cultivating and acquiring that firmness and strength of character he so largely displayed in after years. From his writings we must, however, infer that his education was rather limited and rudimentary, but through his associations with educated men he acquired a general knowledge of his native language, and became more or less proficient in the art of drawing.

In his youth, and certainly during the early years of his manhood, he appears to have been engaged in practical navigation, for in his address to the Queen, he says, "Of all the most useful and excellent arts, that of navigation has always seemed to me to occupy the first place, for the more hazardous it is and the more numerous the perils and losses by which it is attended, so much the more it is esteemed and exalted above all others, being wholly unsuited to the timid and irresolute. By this art we obtain knowledge of different countries, regions and realms; by it we attract and bring to our own land all kinds of riches; by it the idolatry of paganism is overthrown and Christianity proclaimed throughout all the regions of the earth. This is the art which from my early age has won my love and induced me to expose myself almost all my life to the impetuous waves of the ocean, and led me to explore the coasts of a part of America, especially of New France where I have always desired to see the lily flourish, and also the only religion, *Catholic, Apostolic and Roman*. This I trust now to accomplish with the help of God, assisted by the favor of your majesty, whom I most humbly entreat

to continue to sustain us, in order that all may succeed to the honor of God, the welfare of France, and the splendor of your reign, for the grandeur and prosperity of which I will pray God to attend you always with a thousand blessings."

About the year 1592, he was appointed quartermaster in the royal army in Brittany, a province on the western coast of France, and continued in office until by the peace of Vervins in 1598, the authority of Henry the Fourth was firmly established throughout the kingdom.

This war in Brittany was the closing scene of that mighty struggle which had been agitating the nation, wasting its resources and its best blood, for more than half a century. It began back in the decade following 1530, when the preaching of Calvin in the kingdom of Navarre began to make known his transcendent power. The new faith, which was making rapid strides in other countries, easily awakened the warm heart and active temperament of the French people. The effort to put down the movement by the extermination of those engaged in it proved quite unsuccessful. In the year 1599, Champlain was placed in command of the *St. Julian*, a large French ship of five hundred tons burden, which had been chartered by the Spanish authorities for a voyage to the West Indies. Sailing from St. Lucas in the early part of January, passing the Canaries, they touched at Guadaloupe, winding their way among the group called the Virgins, passed Margarita, then famous for pearl fisheries, and thence sailed to St. Juan de Portorico. From this point, Champlain coasted along the northern shore of the island of St. Domingo, and after touching the southern coast of Cuba they at length cast anchor in the harbor of San Juan d'Ulloa, the island fortress near Vera Cruz. While here Champlain made an inland journey to the City of Mexico, where he remained a month. Returning to his vessel he sailed to Havana, from which place he was commissioned to visit, on public business, Carta-

gena, within the present limits of New Grenada on the coast of South America. Returning to Havana he again set sail for Saint Lucas, reaching there early in March, 1601, after an absence from that port of a little more than two years. On Champlain's return to France he prepared an elaborate report of his observations and discoveries. This interesting document remained in manuscript two hundred and fifty-seven years, when it was first printed in London in an English translation, by the Hakluyt Society, in 1859. This valuable tract gave a lucid description of the peculiarities, manners and customs of the people; the soil, mountains and rivers; the trees, fruits and plants; the animals, birds and fishes; the rich mines found at different points; with frequent allusions to the system of colonial management; together with the character and sources of the vast wealth which these settlements were annually yielding to the Spanish crown.

It was on this trip that he visited the Isthmus of Panama, and suggested that a ship canal across this Isthmus would be a work of great practical utility.*

The ability displayed by Champlain in this report of his voyage among the Spanish colonies, caused his sovereign, Henry IV., to assign him a pension to enable him to reside near his person, and occupy a place within the charmed circle of the French nobility. While residing at court Champlain had abundant opportunity for observing the efforts at colonization on the coast of North America, and after frequent interviews with the famous commander, De Chastes, on the subject, the latter decided to send out an expedition to the northern portion of North America, which was then claimed by France, and invited the zealous Champlain to join the exploring party. The consent of the King was obtained by De Chastes for the young navigator to accompany the expedition, provided he should bring back

*Now after the lapse of 300 years his suggestion of a ship canal across the Isthmus has been revived with a prospect of realization.

a faithful report of the voyage. March 15, 1603, the party set sail from Hornfleur for the New World.

At this time no settlements had been established on the northern coasts of America, although these regions had been frequented by European fishermen under employment, who carried home only meagre information concerning the country along the shores they were permitted to coast. The two barques, of about fifteen tons each, with their passengers through the assistance of favorable winds soon reached the banks of Newfoundland; passing into the river St. Lawrence they left their vessels at Tadousac, a trading post, and proceeded up the stream in a small boat to a point above the present site of Montreal, casting anchor at the Falls of St. Louis. Excursions in various directions were made, enabling Champlain to note the general features of the country and make rude drawings or maps for a more full description of what they witnessed. After securing, through exchange, a valuable collection of furs from the Indians, who also exhibited specimens of native copper, the expedition prepared to return to France. But before the departure from Tadousac one of the sagamores asked that his son might accompany the party to France, there to see some of the wonders of the Old World. An Iroquois woman who had been captured in war and was about to be sacrificed as one of the victims at a cannibal feast, was also presented, as well as four other natives; and in the month of August the return trip was commenced, arriving at Havre on the 20th of September, after an absence of six months and six days. The report of this voyage, "Petit Discours," as Champlain called it, contained a very complete account of the character and products of the country, its trees, plants, fruits and vines; a description of the native inhabitants, their mode of living, clothing, food and its preparation, their banquets, religion and method of burying their dead; with many other particulars relating to their habits and customs.

Although commander De Chastes did not live to witness the return of his expedition, the report brought by Champlain so interested Henry IV. that he promised to continue his royal favor and patronage on the undertaking. And in less than two months after the return of the De Chastes expedition the King granted a charter to a nobleman, De Monts by name, constituting him the King's Lieutenant in La Cadie, with all powers to establish a colonial settlement.

De Monts's first grant included the territory lying between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude; but finding the line not far enough north, it was extended so as to include the whole region of the gulf and river St. Lawrence. Soon the third exploring party in which Champlain took part was ready to sail, he having been invited by De Monts to attend this expedition in the same capacity as the previous one. April 7, 1604, the vessels sailed from Havre with about one hundred and twenty artisans, soldiers and laborers, for the purpose of establishing a French colony. On reaching the river St. Lawrence, while the principal portion of the fleet was employed in the fur trade with the Indians, Champlain was sent with a party to explore the coast towards the west, touching at various points along the shore; doubling Cape Sable they entered the Bay of Fundy, explored St. Mary's Bay and discovered several mines of both silver and iron. Returning to the fleet, Champlain made a minute report to De Monts. Later the latter with Champlain and a few attendants skirted the whole coast as far south as the river St. Croix, and fixed upon De Monts Island as the seat of their colony. In the autumn of 1604, Champlain was deputized with the command of a party to explore the coast still farther south. This trip occupied just one month, during which time a careful examination of the present coast of Maine was made and many places named by Champlain, one being Monts Deserts, which has been Anglicized into Mount Desert.

In June, 1605, Champlain headed another party for further exploration of the coast to the southward from De Monts Island, finding their way as far south as the present Nauset harbor, spending Saturday night July 16, in what is now Boston harbor.

The place selected for the settlement of their colony had, through the winter months, proved to be exceedingly cold and uncomfortable, and these explorations southward were made with the hope of finding a more acceptable location in La Cadie than the region about the mouth of the St. Croix had furnished. September 5, 1606, another trip south was entered upon, reaching as far as the present Chatham and Martha's Vineyard; returning, arrived at their late headquarters (Annapolis Basin), November 14, 1606. This was the last time Champlain trod the soil of New England.

De Monts's colony was soon broken up and called home to France. But for three years Champlain had been faithfully serving as geographer to his King, and in his charts, maps of the coast and rivers, together with his voluminous notes on customs, character and manners of the aborigines, climate of the country, etc., had produced a most valuable record, which proved to be the most careful and accurate survey of this region, down to the establishment of the Plymouth colony in 1620.

On September 3, 1607, Champlain and his associates left the coast of La Cadie for France, reaching Saint Malo October 1. De Monts, still hoping to retrieve some of his lost fortune, obtained letters-patent from the King for extensive right to trade in America for the space of one year; and fitting out two vessels for the trip, appointed Champlain lieutenant of the expedition. Leaving Hornfleur April 13, 1608, he arrived at Tadousac on the St. Lawrence River, the third of June following, and at once began the renewal of his explorations in that vicinity. The lofty mountains, beautiful vales, dense forests, enchanting little bays and

inlets, were all carefully examined and noted in his journal.

July 3, 1608, he located and began laying the foundations of Quebec. Soon after beginning improvements here, a plot was discovered among some of the men to assassinate Champlain and confiscate the property. But the scheme having been discovered the prime movers were brought to an account and the life of our zealous navigator saved. The winter of 1608 and that of 1609, proved very severe; twenty out of his twenty-eight men died of disease and exposure. But the warm sun of spring came and with it a fresh arrival from France, and plans were laid for further explorations. June 18, 1609, Champlain with eleven men and a party of Indians began the ascent of the river St. Lawrence. At the Falls of Chambly he dismissed a portion of his associates, ordering them to return to Quebec while he with two companions were to proceed with the Indians as guides. Continuing up the river they came to the lake which now bears his name. This they entered with their canoes, but were obliged to pass the daytime in thickets on shore, travelling only by night in order to escape the notice of hostile tribes within whose country they were exploring.

On the evening of July 29, while gliding noiselessly along near the point where Fort Carillon was afterwards erected at Ticonderoga, they suddenly came upon a collection of heavy canoes, containing not far from two hundred Iroquois warriors. Champlain with his allies drew away an arrow shot from the shore, and fastened their canoes together by poles. The Iroquois were asked if they desired to fight, to which they replied nothing would suit them better. But as it was then dark, sunrise in the morning was chosen for the time hostilities were to begin. All night long each party entertained the other with charges of cowardice and weakness, declaring they would prove the truth of their assertions on the coming morrow. Scarcely had the sun touched the mountain-tops when all were ready

for the fray. Champlain and his two comrades, armed with hand guns or arquebuses, went on shore with their Indian allies, and taking their proper position in line, marched to within thirty paces of the enemy, when the battle began. The destruction of the hand guns, which were new to the Iroquois, caused such terrible slaughter they soon turned and fled, leaving many of their dead and wounded behind and also their canoes and provisions. The latter with ten or twelve prisoners were soon started down the lake in company with the victorious combatants on their homeward voyage.

In September, Champlain decided to return to France and arrived at Hornfleur October 13, 1609, where with the assistance of De Monts two more vessels were supplied with articles most necessary to strengthen the colony at Quebec. On account of sickness of Champlain the expedition did not leave France until April 8, 1610. At the end of eighteen days the vessels reached Tadousac and the twenty-eighth day of April found them at Quebec, where the little colony were enjoying good health and spirits.

Hostilities then existing between the neighboring tribes of Indians became a barrier to Champlain's plans for further exploration, and owing to the reported assassination of Henry IV. on May 14, and other troubles at home, he decided to return to France, where he arrived the 27th of September, 1610. During the autumn, while residing in Paris, Champlain became attracted by the presence of Helene, daughter of Nicholas Boulle, Secretary of the King's chamber, she being quite young, the marriage contract was subscribed to December 27, but the marriage was not to take place within at least two years.

With a determination evidently of winning success in his colonization scheme, he again set out from Hornfleur for New France, arriving at Tadousac May 13, 1611. During this season he selected a spot within the present city of Montreal on which to locate a trading-house and permanent

settlement. In September he returned to France for securing more powerful personal influence towards building up and sustaining the settlements in his chosen territory. He succeeded in doing this and returned to Tadousac April 29, 1613, and to Quebec May 7, where he found everything in good order. Twenty days later Champlain with four Frenchmen and an Indian guide started on a trip up the Ottawa River, covering a distance of two hundred and twenty-five miles into that northern country, and on his return was accompanied by a large delegation of Indians, bringing loads of furs to exchange for other merchandise at Montreal. The season having been spent he set sail for France, arriving at St. Malo the 26th of August, 1613.

The year 1614, Champlain passed in France, adding new members to his company of associates and devising means for the establishment of the Christian faith in the wilds of America. Thus far no missionary had found his way to the region of the St. Lawrence River. But through the efforts of Champlain, four Recollet friars set sail with him from Hornfleur, April 24, 1615, for Quebec, from where, after their arrival, they were assigned various points in the territory at which to begin their Christianizing work among the native tribes. On reaching Montreal, Champlain met representatives from various Indian tribes, demanding that he accompany them and help in subjugating or annihilating their common enemy, the Iroquois. So strongly did they plead, that in order to retain them as his allies he was forced to join them in their scheme, and at once set out for their homes near Lake Huron, where it merges into the River St. Lawrence, there to collect an army that should march upon the stronghold of the despised Iroquois and put them to death.

The journey was made, the fortress besieged and many of the Iroquois killed. But Champlain found the Algonquins and Hurons too hot-headed to obey his commands,

and a retreat was in progress before he could rally them for another attack.

Not being able to procure an Indian escort back to Montreal, Champlain was forced to remain with the Indians through the winter, during which time he was completing his records, and map of the country over which he travelled.

About the 20th of May, 1616, our navigator in company with Le Caron, one of the missionaries, left the Huron capital with an Indian escort, for their return to Quebec, where they arrived July 11, amid great rejoicing, the settlers having imagined Champlain had perished at the hands of the savages. Ten days later he left for France, where he arrived September 10. He made visits to his little colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence, both in 1617 and 1618.

Some of his associates in the enterprise merely hoped *for the gain* to be derived from trade with the Indians, but Champlain labored to develop a self-sustaining colony, consequently certain discords arose in the management of the company's affairs. But through the intervention of Duke de Montmorency, the new viceroy of France, the difficulties were settled, and Champlain, accompanied by his wife, sailed from Hornfleur early in May, 1620, arriving at Tadousac two months later. He soon pushed on to Quebec, where he was received with great cordiality; a sermon composed for the occasion was preached, and his arrival otherwise celebrated.

After a sojourn of four years, he with his wife visited France in October, 1624. Two years later they returned to Quebec and he devoted his time to repairing the company's buildings and trying to settle disputes among the Indian tribes.

Nearly twenty years had elapsed since the founding of Quebec and still it remained but a trading-post, which fact proved quite discouraging to Champlain. A new company was now formed including one hundred and seven wealthy

merchants, but still discouragements continued. The little colony was not only beset by savages, but a fleet of English war vessels, in 1629, sailed up the St. Lawrence and demanded the half starved, terror stricken colony to surrender. Already the larger portion of the French had taken passage for France, and it only remained for Champlain to surrender to the English vice-admiral (David Keith), at the head of two hundred armed men; thereby securing a safe transport for himself and those who wished to accompany him from Quebec to France.

On reaching England it appeared that peace between England and France had been established three months before the surrender of Quebec, so that in due time, through the treaty of St. Germain, the property was again returned to the French company; and March 23, 1632, Champlain, having been commissioned Governor of New France, again sailed for Quebec, arriving on the 23d of May. Again his coming was celebrated amid great joy and the booming of cannon. Two years soon passed away, while the numerous cares and demands of the little colony were being attended to. In the early part of October, 1635, Champlain, stricken with disease that was fast undermining his hitherto iron constitution, lay in his chamber in the little fort on the crest of that rugged promontory at Quebec, where, on Christmas day December 25, 1635, he closed his earthly career, surrounded by many friends who deeply mourned their loss.

It appears that under the patronage of this company of French merchants trade with the natives was continued, and in 1642 they acquired right to the soil by charter. Their traffic with the Indians assumed a ratio of no mean proportion, annual fairs or sales were held, usually beginning in the month of June, sometimes lasting three months. These gatherings became so popular that Indians in great numbers patronized them, many coming with their furs and articles for trade a distance of a thousand miles to spend

a week or more at Montreal and Quebec in true holiday fashion. They flocked there not only from the region of New York State, but even from the Mississippi River country, and the far north. In the year 1663, the charter to this company of French merchants was revoked, and the following year Canada (it is said) was assigned to the control of the West India Company. But it continued the center of trade for the Indians; there could be had everything they desired, from the spirit-reviving firewater to guns and ammunition.

Through the means of unrestrictive trade the Indians were easily drawn to the side of the French when war was declared; with them they had found a ready market for their entire product, receiving in return whatever articles they might select; fully appreciating freedom of choice, they considered those their best friends who gave them their liberty of selection without restriction, as was not the custom with the English. Again, should the English prevail in the contest, the Indians might lose their most desirable market, therefore they rallied to the side of the French and against the English. Count Frontenac was appointed Governor of Canada, and in the month of January, 1690, organized several parties and sent them to operate against the English settlements. One was ordered to Albany, but turned aside to Schenectady, reaching that place at eleven o'clock Saturday night, February 8; found the inhabitants asleep, to be awakened by the glaring flames consuming their homes, every house in the place being on fire. It was a complete surprise. Amid the din that followed men, women and children were murdered. Sixty persons perished in the flames, twenty-five were taken prisoners, while the remainder of the inhabitants, half naked, fled to Albany, the nearest place to afford them protection. They were overtaken by a furious storm on their way, and among those who reached Albany, twenty-five suffered the loss of limbs from the cold.

Another party of French and Indians fell upon Salmon Falls in New Hampshire, killed twenty-six men, burned the town and took away fifty prisoners. The third party made an attack upon Casco, Maine, where they killed and captured ninety-five persons. Measures were immediately set in motion to check these bloodthirsty invasions. An army was despatched from New York, but reaching Lake Champlain, and not finding boats with which to cross, were obliged to return. Sir William Phips with a fleet of thirty-two vessels sailed from Boston, and with his army made an unsuccessful attack upon Quebec. For seven years under the guise of international warfare, the most dreadful and heart-rending scenes were enacted, one after the other. Dec. 10, 1697, a treaty of peace was made between Great Britain and France, which gave a material check to the fierce atrocities perpetrated. But war clouds were of common experience, no sooner than one disappeared, another came, and for more than sixty years trouble to the colonies came from this quarter. Not until the armies under Wolfe, Amherst and Johnson had been declared victorious was this terrible warfare brought to a close by the ceding of that territory held by the French to the British crown Feby. 10, 1763, at which time there were about 65,000 French people residing there, principally along the banks of the river St. Lawrence and its tributaries; also a large representation of Indians—Mohawks, Senecas, Iroquois, Chippewas, Delawares, Massasaugas, Tuscaroras, Hurons and others. In conclusion, there are two questions that with your permission, I would like to consider although briefly. Why were so many Indians found fighting on the side of the French? And why was this expedition under Sir William Phips unsuccessful?

Some of the early historians place considerable stress on work done among the Indians by Catholic missionaries, and would have us believe it was largely through that influence that those savages were drawn to the side of the French.

But the English had their Eliot, Gookin, Rawson, Mayhew, Brainerd and others spreading their gospel among those heathen, and perhaps some genuine good may have been done by both factions. Yet from the pages of history we find very little to convince us that the Indians stopped to consider the divine laws as they relate to moral character and conduct, or displayed the least sign as having been imbued with Christian precepts, as they swung the bloody tomahawk and scalping knife, carrying death and destruction to many a peaceful, happy home among French as well as English. It could hardly be expected that the intellect of the Indian could grasp those theological principles as readily as others more common and practical in their application. The English took possession of the soil under authority granted by the crown. No consideration or provision was made for the care of the natives. They were completely ignored. The rights of the Indian were left to be adjusted by settlers as they saw fit, some paid them something, others did not. There were special cases where natives were paid several times for the same lands; but as a rule they were peace offerings, some trifling, others of considerable value. There were exceptions; full value was paid for lands taken by the English in some instances, but in the main those payments were trivial.

Boundary lines in some of the Indian deeds were very indefinite in their description: *viz.*, "as far as a man could walk in a day" (or day and a half); "as far as a man could ride on horseback in two days;" "as far as a man could travel in two summer days on horseback;" or "as far as a man can go in two days' journey," etc. Laws were passed forbidding settlers buying lands of the Indians without consent of the government. Under the law the English claimed that the Indian could retain only the soil he actually occupied and tilled (as a home). He could roam and hunt in the forests and wilderness for game, but that was to be in common with the Englishman or White man. After

a time encroachments were made upon the homes of the natives, then an effort was made to pay a fair price for the purchase. But to suppose the Indian a match for the Englishman in such a transaction would not be placing a high estimate on Yankee intelligence. The only solicitude the Englishman had for the Indian was his conversion to Christianity. In 1664, Charles II. sent a commission to investigate the condition of the colonies, hear claims and complaints. Massachusetts opposed any interference with purchases made of the Indians.

When it came to trade, the English would buy the furs and other articles for sale, but would not sell the Indian certain articles he called for. In other words the English treated the Indians more as masters while the French received and met them as equals; encouraged them to join them in their settlements; protected them in their rights; assisted in defending them against their enemies; allowed free and unrestricted trade in dealing with them; encouraged them to bring to market whatever they desired to sell, giving in exchange whatever they might select. Market places were provided, special days, weeks and months were set apart to meet Indians who came from long distances for the purpose of trade. And, as for many years commerce was the chief object of the French at Quebec and Montreal, the meetings of these people were of mutual benefit. The French took possession of the soil in the name of the Crown, established their settlements in a formal yet peaceable way, invited the natives to come under and accept the King of France as their ruler over their territory and people, they living and enjoying the same rights as formerly, and in common with the French, to come together as one people. If natives were obstinate and refused obedience they were to be controlled by force of arms. No proposition was made to buy their lands. But possession seemed based on mutual good will and profit. And the policy adopted by the French in their treatment with

the Indians is considered to have been the most just and humane of all the other powers. When the struggle came between the French and English the Indians naturally joined the French to save their market and help those who furnished them unrestrictive trade, their mutual friends.

So frequent had become invasions upon the frontier settlements that the English people felt no real security either in life or property. And while hostilities existed between France and England the colonists seized upon the opportunity in the year 1690, to plan (as they hoped) a decisive campaign that should, if possible, result in removing one element that caused them no little trouble. Therefore, March 20th it was resolved (by the commissioners of New York and New England) that one thousand soldiers from New York and Connecticut, to be joined by fifteen hundred Indian allies, were to proceed by land and capture Montreal, while Massachusetts was to send a large fleet from Boston that should capture Quebec. Fitz John Winthrop, eldest son of Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut, was commissioned Major-General and given command of the land forces. He was born in Ipswich, Mass., in 1638, educated in England, and for a time held a commission under Cromwell; was Major in King Philip's war and Governor of Connecticut, 1698, and to the time of his death, in Boston, Nov. 27, 1707.

In April a small vessel was despatched to England to apprise the home government of the plan, and to secure ammunition and arms, also several frigates to more fully equip the expedition. Winthrop and his English soldiers arrived near the falls, at the head of Wood Creek in August and pushed on up along Lake Champlain, about one hundred miles, only to meet disappointment. Where he looked for fifteen hundred Indian warriors, he found but seventy. On reaching the point where he intended to cross the Lake, there were not a sufficient number of canoes in readiness to safely carry the army to the opposite shore and that

dreaded disease small-pox had made its appearance in camp. Filled with disappointment and mortification, Winthrop and his soldiers retraced their steps to Albany. The unsatisfactory termination of this part of the expedition engendered bad feeling. Some of the officers became ill-tempered, harsh words ensued, and Acting Governor Jacob Leisler arrested Major-General Winthrop and confined him in the fort at Albany. This act so enraged the Connecticut soldiers they were about to attack the fort to release him, when the Mohawk Indians performed that service for them, thus Winthrop was given his liberty, and the Connecticut men returned home. The command of the fleet was given to Gen. Sir William Phips. The day of departure was delayed, hoping for the arrival of the vessel on her return from England with the much needed supply of arms and ammunition. But as the season was fast advancing and report of the proposed expedition was liable to reach the enemy they hoped to surprise, it was decided to set sail without hearing from the despatch-boat.

The fleet consisted of thirty-two vessels, divided into three squadrons, twelve in the Admiral's squadron, ten in the Vice-Admiral's squadron and ten in the Rear-Admiral's squadron, manned with about 2,500 soldiers and marines, 44 great guns and 200 men.

ADMIRAL'S FLAGSHIP.

<i>*Six Friends,</i>	Capt. Gregory Sugers.
<i>John and Thomas,</i>	“ Thos. Carter.
<i>Return, a fire ship,</i>	“ Andrew Knott.
<i>Lark,</i>	“ John Walley.
<i>Batchelor,</i>	“ Thos. Gwynne.
<i>Mary,</i>	“ John Raynsford.
<i>Elizabeth and Mary,</i>	“ Caleb Lamb.
<i>Mary Anne,</i>	“ Gregory Sugers, Jr.
<i>Hanny and Mary,</i>	“ Thos. Parker.
<i>Friendshipp,</i>	“ Windsor.
<i>Ebijah,</i>	“ Elias Noe.
<i>Swallow,</i>	“ Thos. Lyzenby.

VICE-ADMIRAL'S SQUADRON.

<i>Swann,</i>	Capt. Thos. Gilbert (Vice Admiral).
<i>Swallow,</i>	“ Small.
<i>Samuel,</i>	“ Sam Robinson.
<i>Delight,</i>	“ Ingerston.
<i>Mary,</i>	“ Jonathan Balston.
<i>Begining,</i>	“ Samuel Elsoe.
<i>Speedwell,</i>	“ Barger.
<i>Mayflower,</i>	“ Bowdick.
<i>Boston Merchant,</i>	“ Michael Shute.
<i>William and Mary,</i>	“ Peter Ruck.

REAR ADMIRAL'S SQUADRON.

* <i>American Merchant,</i>	Capt. Jos. Eldridge (Rear Admiral).
— —	“ Febershear.
<i>Lark,</i>	“ Walk.
<i>Union,</i>	“ Brown.
<i>Adventure,</i>	“ Thos. Barrington.
<i>Kathrine,</i>	“ Thos. Berry.
<i>Fraternity,</i>	“ Elias Jarvis.
— —	“ William Clutterbuck.
<i>Sucsesse,</i>	“ John Carlisle.
<i>Batchelor,</i>	“ Edward Ladd.

August 9 the fleet sailed from Hull and anchored in the channel between Orleans, the south and north shore, and Quebec Town, on Oct. 5. The run to the mouth of the St. Lawrence was made in reasonable time. But from the last of August to September 26, when the ascent of the river was begun, the time was consumed in securing plunder along the shores, and capturing a number of fishing vessels, while (as was said) waiting for favorable weather to proceed up river. By a council of officers it had been decided to first demand the surrender of the forts and castles to the crown of England, and the formal message was delivered under a flag of truce by Capt. Lieutenant Ephraim Savage October 6th. The French Governor Count — Frontenac

*Gun ship.

replied (by word of mouth) that no answer might be expected from him except that given from the mouth of his cannon.

Another council of officers of the fleet was held at four o'clock on the morning of Oct. 7, when it was decided to prepare for landing a portion of the soldiers; and they were ordered into the small vessels standing in near the shore, one of which (a French barque captured a few days before), with Capt. Savage and his company of sixty men on board, grounded on the north shore about two miles from Quebec, the weather being too rough for landing. The French, taking advantage of the low tide which left the barque high and dry upon the flats, made an attack upon Savage and his men. But with the assistance of a few shots from the big guns from two of the larger vessels* Capt. Savage and his men drove the French back from a large rock on which they had posted their field-pieces. With the returning tide the barque floated into deep water. Although the engagement was quite spirited the English escaped with only a few bullet holes through their clothing.

The place selected for landing the troops was near and just below where the barque had grounded and little below Charles River that comes in north of Quebec. Here the boats were brought near the shore and about one o'clock, on October 8, by wading in places the depth of three feet, the men reached land and the order was given to form into line upon the river bank. No sooner had the order been executed when about seven hundred Frenchmen who were in ambush a few rods away in a swamp, opened fire upon them; their first shots passed overhead. The English immediately gave battle and drove the French from the swamp up through the North Town, where they scattered in various directions, their losses were several, including officers and privates; in all from thirty to fifty killed and several wounded. The English had eight killed and several

**Six Friends and American Merchant.*

wounded, among the latter Major Nathaniel Wade, Capt. Ephraim Savage and Lieut. Knowlton.

Thus far the English had apparently been successful but for some reason they failed to follow up the advantage so unexpectedly gained. The surprise in ambush seemed to strike terror to the heart of the Lieut.-General commanding the land forces, as Major John Walley was styled. Many of the men were anxious and even craved the opportunity to proceed with the attempt to capture Quebec, but as one of the enthusiasts who was on the spot writes, "What is an army of lions when they must not go on except a frightened Hart shall lead them." Certainly it appears on this occasion that Major Walley was very careful of his men, a commendable trait in a commanding officer. He no doubt felt justified in the course adopted.

It does not appear that the officers of this division of the expedition had heard from General Winthrop and his men, who were to attack Montreal. But from French captives it was learned that Earl Frontenac and the Governor of Montreal were together, that there were not less than 3,000 men in Quebec, therefore, it was fair to suppose that General Winthrop was not where he could render this portion of the expedition any immediate assistance. Therefore, Walley may have concluded (and with good reason) that his land force of 1,400 men was too small to capture 3,000 protected by fortifications, even with the fleet of armed vessels to assist them. Another discouraging feature was lack of ammunition. With a scanty supply at the start the fleet had been using from it during the month of September while capturing prizes, and now at the moment when it was most needed the stock in the magazines was found to be surprisingly low. Nevertheless General Phips expecting General Walley would on the afternoon of Oct. 8th order his men to attack the main town, sailed close up to the fortifications with his fleet and from four to eight o'clock poured in his shot and shell, at the same

time the forts were returning the fire; and the following morning the firing was resumed for a short time. The flagship *Six Brothers* was struck many times by shot from the fort, General Phips running her within pistol shot of the fortifications. One man was killed and six wounded, two of them mortally. At the close of the firing, October 9th, General Phips sent on shore to learn of the conditions there. Finding the general attack had not been made; that many of the soldiers were suffering from frozen limbs gained through exposure during the three nights they had lodged on shore; the small-pox having also made its appearance among the soldiers,—he ordered all on board ship for rest, hoping to renew the attack the following day. But during the night a severe storm arose and with it a heavy fall of snow, the fleet became scattered by the high winds, and the severe cold weather made it seem to the commanding officers unsafe to remain longer in the river. In the face of all the discouragements it was decided best to leave the taking of Quebec for some future time. And after a treaty for the exchange of captives had been consummated, reluctantly, with hearts bleeding with disappointment, the fleet, on the 15th of October, was headed towards Boston, where about one-fourth of the ships arrived November 19. Less than twenty men were lost in engagements, but about one hundred and fifty died of small-pox and malignant fever, among them persons of great worth to the colony.

Thus terminated the most formidable expedition thus far planned by the New England colonies. To fit out and man a fleet of thirty-two vessels to co-operate with an additional land force of 1,000 or 1,500 men was no small undertaking at that period of our colonial history. For fifteen years prior to the sailing of this expedition these people had been severely taxed in defending their homes against invasions from the cruel and relentless savages. Many lives had been sacrificed; a large amount of property

destroyed; a large number of men were of necessity kept under arms, thereby greatly diminishing the productive agency of the colonies; the treasury was well nigh if not quite empty. But the exigency of the time demanded it, therefore the sacrifice was made, resulting in a miserable failure, due principally from lack of organization and proper discipline.

BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND.

Whatever may have been the frailties of England's Queen Elizabeth, her wisdom led her to so direct the department of state as to make it possible for her subjects to thrive under prosecution of their various callings and industries, thereby bringing prosperity upon themselves, while her realm advanced to such a degree of success and affluence as to render her reign famous in the annals of history.

During the first twenty years of her reign, a material increase in her navy was accomplished, and special encouragements were granted her sailors. The corporation of merchant adventurers empowered by her sister Queen Mary had already gained considerable prominence in the commercial world, and the success attending their efforts in the lines of trade and discovery had created no little enthusiasm among their English brethren. Enterprising navigators began to appear, conducting voyages to different parts of the world, bringing more or less profit and renown to the kingdom, while the volume of English commerce was greatly enhanced.

Intercourse through trade with other nations stimulated a desire to conduct new and more difficult undertakings. The knowledge of what Spain had accomplished, awakened a thirst among the English people to try their hand at

planting colonies in the new world. Sir Humphrey Gilbert of Compton, in Devonshire, England, a military officer of note, who had been giving attention to the subject of navigation, was conductor of the first English colony to America. June 11, 1578, through letters patent by Queen Elizabeth, Gilbert was given powers to establish a colony in any remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people. It was the first charter to a colony granted by the English crown. Gilbert with his half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, took possession of Newfoundland, where the attempt was made to plant a colony. Their efforts, however, resulted in a disastrous shipwreck, in which Gilbert lost his life. Raleigh, after securing a patent from the Queen, March 26, 1584, soon despatched two vessels on a prospecting tour. They reached the shores of what is now North Carolina, returning to England Sept. 15. Amadas and Barlow, captains in charge of the vessels, presented such a flattering report of the country, the Queen gave it the name Virginia. Raleigh immediately fitted out the expedition that located on Roanoke Island. The result of the effort being the wasting of Raleigh's fortune, and the introduction of tobacco into England,—in the light of progress, possibly two very valuable accomplishments. But English grit prevailed, and after several attempts Jamestown was settled.

In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold sighted and named Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth Island, and on his return to England awakened great interest in the country he visited. The merchants of Bristol sent out an expedition to verify his report, and word was returned confirming the statements.

James I. had ascended the throne, and learning of the great value of his possessions across the Atlantic, extending from the thirty-fourth to the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, decided for certain political reasons to divide it into two nearly equal parts, naming one the South Colony and the

other the North Colony of Virginia. April 10, 1616, he authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hakluyt and their associates (chiefly residents of London), to settle any portion of South Virginia, granting them right to a tract of land extending fifty miles north and south upon the coast, and one hundred miles into the interior. North Virginia King James granted to sundry knights, gentlemen and merchants of Bristol, Plymouth and other places in the west of England, with similar rights to the soil as that conveyed in South Virginia.

The charters given were for trading purposes, allowing the companies to have a seal, and to act as a body politic. The supreme government, however, of either colony was to be vested in a council appointed by the King, and resident in England. A subordinate council was also provided for, to be named by the King, to be resident in the colony, but to act on instructions. Special concessions were added to encourage persons to settle in those colonies, all necessary articles could be imported from England to those colonies for seven years free of duty. Liberty to trade with other nations, and the duty levied for twenty-one years on all foreign trade was to be used as a fund for the benefit of the colony. Consent was also given for those of his subjects who desired to settle in either colony, to do so. Although there were many favorable stipulations in the charters, the chief management and control of these colonies remained in the hands of the crown of England, thus depriving the settler of his rights as a freeman. Under such liberties and restrictions the first permanent English settlements were established in America.

The London Company proved somewhat active and made considerable progress in South Virginia. The Plymouth Company, under a previous charter executed in 1606, attempted in a feeble way to locate a settlement within their territory; their first ship, however, was captured by the Spaniards. Although Sir John Popham,

Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and other prominent men at the west of England were at the head of this Plymouth Company, there was much less energy displayed by them towards carrying forward the work of colonization than by the London Company. In 1607 the Plymouth Company located a settlement of one hundred men at Sagadahock. They found the winter much too severe for comfort and returned to England. Only voyages for the purpose of fishing, and trading with the natives, were continued, until the year 1614, when Capt. John Smith of Jamestown fame, having been sent from England in charge of a trading expedition, landed on the shores of Cape Cod and prepared a map, covering many miles of the coast, outlining the rivers and harbors with great precision, which, on his return he presented to the company, and being called to lay the subject before the crown he performed the service in such forcible and convincing words that Prince Charles gave this locality the name of New England. From this time forward the Plymouth Company seemed to take on new life. Offers of encouragement to private adventurers were made, with the hope that some substantial beginning might be developed toward establishing a permanent colony within their borders. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason had each expended £20,000 [equal to \$600,000, present currency], in the effort, but without success.

The religious dissensions had been gradually working society in England into a state of unrest bordering on chaos. The people could endure the molestations, oppressions and persecutions no longer, they would prefer to face a rigorous climate, the trials and exposures of life in a wilderness surrounded by savage men and wild beasts, than to be humiliated and tortured by their kinsmen at home. The promulgation of the following decree struck deep into the hearts of the Puritans, "Any person absent from church one month was subject to a fine and

imprisonment, if after conviction he did not within three months renounce his erroneous opinions and conform to the laws, he must abjure the realm; if he refused to comply, or returned from banishment, he was to be put to death as a felon with no benefit of the clergy." This edict left no hope for the ultra Puritan to gain reformation or even reconciliation in the Church of England. The question that remained was either submission or depart the country. A band of the faithful had already taken refuge at Leyden, in Holland, where for several years they had enjoyed their freedom of conscience under the teachings of that beloved pastor John Robinson. But even there they were beginning to feel anxious for the future, the church was not gaining in numbers; and while casting about for another place in which to locate, they turned toward America, and besought King James to grant them religious freedom in Virginia. Although he refused to fully acquiesce in their demands, he gave such signs of encouragement that negotiations were opened with the Council for Virginia to secure land on which to locate.

From the fact that more than two years elapsed before consent was obtained, is evidence there was opposition from that quarter. But on the 22d day of July, 1620, sufficient means having been secured to defray the expense of transporting half of the Leyden congregation, they entered two ships and after an affectionate parting started on their perilous voyage. A storm soon drove the vessels to land again. Through craftiness of the Dutch and the misconduct of those not their friends, it was the 6th of September when the one hundred and twenty souls, with their scanty outfit, having been crowded into one vessel, sailed from the harbor of Plymouth, England, for Virginia or as they supposed Hudson's River. The captain of the vessel, at the instigation of the Dutch East India Company, landed them on Cape Cod, outside the territory for which they had bargained, outside the jurisdiction of the com-

pany from whom they had acquired their right to settle. On account of sickness and lateness of the season, the little colony felt obliged, without further delay, to land, selecting a site for their settlement, named it out of respect, and perhaps to pacify the real owners of the location, New Plymouth.

The severity of the winter, with disease incident to the new climate, reduced their number one-half by death before the return of spring. Their church government was copied from that in Holland. Their civil government was based on equality among men. Every freeman, member of the church, was admitted to the legislative body, who annually elected the governor and assistants. At first all property was held in common, work was performed by joint labor. They made a town plat, built houses, and surrounded them with a stockade, similar to the scheme adopted at Jamestown.

At the end of ten years they were able to count about three hundred settlers. The sum of their riches seemed to consist in their supreme liberty of conscience. Up to this time they held no legal right to the land they occupied. But in 1630 they secured their title, although not incorporated as a body politic by royal charter. They were merely a voluntary association of persons, bound together by common consent to recognize the authority of laws of their own making. Thus this colony remained until it became a part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It would appear that James I. contemplated planting a colony in New England after his own model, for in the year 1620, he executed a charter to the Duke of Lenox, Marquis of Buckingham and other members of his court, granting extensive rights to territory in America, creating them a body politic, with powers and jurisdictions similar to those granted to the companies of North and South Virginia. It was styled the Grand Council of Plymouth for Planting and Governing New England.

The work may not have fallen into good hands. For some reason, after various trials, all schemes failed of success. Through the efforts of Mr. White, a non-conformist minister of Dorchester, a movement was started to organize an association to settle in New England. March 19, 1627, this association purchased of this Grand Council of Plymouth all the territory lying between the point three miles north of the Merrimac and three miles south of the Charles Rivers, extending east and west from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. In addition to their rights to the land obtained of the Grand Council of Plymouth, they sought from Charles I. the right to govern the society they designed to establish. So eager was the King to enlarge his commercial circle that he assented even to the demands of those non-conformist leaders, and issued to them a charter corresponding to that given by his father to the Virginia companies, incorporating them as a body politic, confirming title to the soil with right to dispose of lands and govern the people that should settle with them. The first governor and assistants were to be named by the crown; their successors were to be elected by the corporation; legislation was left to the body of proprietors, who were to make laws not inconsistent with the laws of England, to govern their colony, and to enforce their observance. They were to be exempt from internal taxes, duties on exports and imports, and to remain English subjects, they and their descendants. King Charles may have overlooked the religious side of this movement or he may have thought it the best way to rid Old England of a class of citizens that had given and were giving the crown no small degree of trouble. Two years later (1629), when proper arrangements had been completed, five ships were employed to carry out three hundred or more persons with their effects, as the first installment to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Endicott, with his little band of Puritans of the Puritans,

slipped away the year before (on June 29, 1628), and located Naunkeag (Salem), where the late arrival landed. So completely absorbed and bound up in religious thoughts and aspirations, that personal liberty in that special direction was the question uppermost in the minds and hearts of these newcomers. Without regard to conformity even to the laws of England, which their charter demanded, they, August 5, established an independent form of public worship devoid of all needless ceremony, after the strict Calvinistic type. This radical movement in ecclesiastical matters proved at the very outset a signal for dissensions. The very persons who for years had felt so keenly the iron heel of the oppressor in England, immediately assumed the role of the oppressor in New England. They declared no person should hereafter be received into their church until satisfaction was given of their faith and sanctity.

Although the majority of persons who early came to New England were perhaps among the extreme wing of Puritans, there were many who took a middle ground. Besides, there were as they soon learned Independents. For three generations in England severe and animated theological and ecclesiastical discussions had developed many independent thinkers on these lines. Now that they were out from under the ban of Old England they became more bold and outspoken in presenting new ideas. But those in authority felt that a check would have to be placed upon such conduct at once, and within a very few months after the first arrival, two of the original patentees, John and Samuel Brown, men of note, were called up by Endicott, expelled from the society and sent home to England. The severe measures put into operation by Wm. Laud, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, continued to help increase the number in England anxious to escape the turmoils of both church and state, among them men of opulence, occupying high positions in society, who, in scanning the charter of the colony to which they contem-

plated removing, suggested that full corporate powers be transferred from Old to New England, believing that government of the colony should be vested in the settlers themselves. So reasonable was the suggestion, that the Plymouth Company, although contrary to their stipulated charter rights, acceded, and it was arranged that the charter should be transferred and the government settled in New England.

The King, occupied with questions which perhaps seemed to him far more weighty, again overlooked the procedure and allowed the transaction to stand without apparent objection. Thus (as Mr. Robertson in his history says), "It turned the jurisdiction of a trading corporation in England, into a provincial government in America." Those of the corporation who did not remove to New England were to retain a share in the trading stock and profits of the company during the term of seven years. In a General Court, John Winthrop was appointed Governor, Thomas Dudley, Deputy Governor, and eighteen assistants were chosen, in whom, together with the body of freemen who should settle in New England, were vested all the corporate rights of the company.

Plans finally had reached a satisfactory conclusion. New England was to become the provincial home of the Puritans. During the following year (1630) seventeen ships, with over 1500 persons, set out from England to swell the new colony. It will be remembered the charter gave the right as a body politic to govern themselves in obedience to the laws of England. But on reaching American soil they adopted such ordinances for their government as best suited the people, regardless of charter stipulations. The bounds of Salem proved much too narrow for the accommodation of the newcomers. Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester and even Watertown were required to conveniently locate the fresh arrivals. Churches were soon established in each of these towns, on the same lines as

the one at Salem. Their first General Court was held Oct. 19, 1630, when it was found the charter provided that the Council of Assistants, and not the freemen, must elect the governor and other officers, also make the laws. But in 1631, with the help of further additions to their number, the settlers resumed their former customs. A law was passed providing that hereafter no person, unless he be a member of their church (Congregational), should be admitted freeman, entitled to hold office, share in the government or even serve as juryman. By which means the civil rights of every settler were to be determined by the ecclesiastical standard alone. The year 1634 introduced another innovation. When the General Court was to be convened, the freemen, in place of attending in person, as the charter prescribed, elected representatives in their districts to appear in their name with full power to deliberate and decide all matters submitted to the General Court. These representatives acted in conjunction with the Governor and assistants as the supreme legislative assembly of the colony, by which act the settlers assumed civil liberty.

Having assumed civil as well as ecclesiastical liberty in the conduct of church and state, the spirit of liberty began to grow among not only the ministers and teachers, but among the laity. Roger Williams, preaching at Salem, declaimed against the cross of St. George in the standard of England, branding it as a relic of superstition and idolatry. Governor Endicott publicly cut it from the ensign displayed at the governor's gate. Some of the militia hesitated to follow colors in which the cross formed a part, claiming it was doing honor to an idol, others refused to serve under a mutilated banner, as if it were showing want of allegiance to the crown of England. A compromise was, however, effected by the cross being used on the forts and ships, but omitted in the ensigns of the militia. This silly episode, in connection with events that followed, drove Roger Williams from the colony of Massachusetts

Bay and led to the planting of the settlements in Rhode Island. Notwithstanding the little bickerings and clashings among rivals for popularity in the colony, life of the people was tame and fraught with such light sequences, when compared with their experience on the opposite side the Atlantic, that New England had indeed become the harbor of rest for the Puritans of England.

The year 1635 brought another large increase in population, Hugh Peters, chaplain of Oliver Cromwell, and Henry Vane among the number. The latter, the following year, was chosen Governor. Although a man of great promise, he became identified with the views of Ann, wife of Wm. Hutchinson; as the views were not in harmony with those adopted by the ministerial board and the court, she was banished from the colony in 1637. Vane, out of respect for himself if not for his lady teacher, recrossed the Atlantic and became a famous political leader, but so tinctured with duplicity that Cromwell styled him a "juggling fellow." He ran his course, and June 14, 1662, came to the block, where he lost his head for the last time. Vane did however, while clothed with influence, serve Roger Williams a good turn in assisting him both in America and while in England to secure right to the territory on which he had settled in Rhode Island. Williams had his faults, but he possessed noble qualities and proved a man far in advance of his time. He was parent of the Providence and Rhode Island plantations, the government of which was derived from the freemen directly. Williams, Smith, Wheelwright, Peters, Shepard, Hooker, Cotton, Wilson, Winthrop, Endicott, Vane, Dudley, Nowell, Haynes, Beltingham and Ann Hutchinson kept the political and ecclesiastical atmosphere in and about Boston so hot, that many persons were forced to remove to other locations. The ministers felt that each one of them had the training and care of their respective congregations, while Endicott and his assistants felt they had the enormous responsibil-

ity of the care and training of the ministers and parishioners combined, which together with the rivalry among the ministers for popularity, made matters lively in the Massachusetts colony for a few years. Rev. Roger Williams's chief offense and cause of banishment from the Massachusetts colony, January, 1636, was denial of the civil magistrate's right to govern in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1643, he published the following, which sounds quite familiar to the present generation, and seems good doctrine for to-day: "The sovereign, original, and foundation of civil power lies in the people; and it is evident that such governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power, nor for no longer time, than the civil power of the people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is clear, not only in reason, but in the experience of all commonwealths where the people are not deprived of their natural freedom by the power of tyrants."

Endicott planned to send Williams back to England, where very likely he would have been beheaded. But he slipped away from his home in Salem, and after wandering about for fourteen weeks in the winter of 1636-7, without food or shelter except that contributed by savages, he found himself among the Wampanoags and obtained of Massasoit, their sachem, a tract of land, where later he was joined by his family and a few friends. This was the beginning of the Providence Plantation, where first was granted absolute liberty of conscience in New England. Rev. John Wheelwright, who was preaching temporarily at Braintree, was also banished from the Massachusetts Colony by a General Court, chosen out of its turn, perhaps specially for that purpose, which met November 2, 1637. He was given fourteen days in which to settle his affairs. Ann Hutchinson, sister-in-law to Mr. Wheelwright, was also banished by order of the same General Court. Mr. Wheelwright, it is recorded, uttered these words in a discourse delivered in Braintree on fast day January 19, 1673:

“The second sort of people that are to be condemned are all such as do set themselves against the Lord Jesus Christ: Such are the greatest enemies to the state as can be, if they can have their wills, You see what a lamentable state both Church & Commonwealth will be in: Then we shall have need of mourning: the Lord cannot endure those that are enemies to himself and kingdom and people, and unto the good of his Church.” The point seemed to be that “such utterances would tend to cause divisions, and make people look at their magistrates, Ministers and brethren, as enemies to Christ &c.” Wheelwright and his followers seemed to think they were a little better, a grain purer than the average members of the churches at Salem, Cambridge and Boston, and in order that they might remain thus pure, and avoid pollution by contact with their neighbors, turned their steps northward into what was then a cold, bleak, forbidding country, where none but the proper strain would be likely to follow. They located Exeter and Hampton, giving the settlements in New Hampshire a start much needed; and thus forged a link in the chain that bound her for a time to Massachusetts.

Immediately following the banishment of Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson and others, public opinion became so inflamed through discussions held in and about Boston, that the authorities feared an insurrection. As a precautionary measure an order was issued by the General Court to disarm seventy-six men,—fifty-eight in Boston, five in Roxbury, two in Charlestown, six in Salem, two in Ipswich, and three at Newbury. It was further ordered that these men “should not buy or borrow said weapons until further order of the Court.”

Among this list were those who had served as assistants and deputies. At this same time a law was passed to protect the courts from defamation, thereby admitting cause for disapproval among the people, and providing a lash with which to punish those who should dare to publicly murmur.

Mrs. Hutchinson was a woman of strong mental powers, proud spirited, warm hearted, enthusiastic to a high degree and of good family. In her teachings on religious sentiments, she argued that the evidence of Christian hope, confidence, trust, came from a desire within the person rather than from the observance of forms and ceremonies, the performance of divine precepts; supporting her ideas by claiming special revelations and extraordinary inward knowledge, or light received through inward manifestations. She succeeded in winning many converts, a considerable number of whom retired with Wheelwright to New Hampshire, while others followed her to the Providence Plantation. After the death of her husband, she with her family removed to a place near the present city of New York, where she, her son Francis and a daughter, the wife of Mr. William Collins (a learned gentleman), were killed by the Indians while waging war against the Dutch settlers in 1643, one member of her family, however, escaping death by being made a captive. The site of their home is still pointed out near the village of Tuckahoe, where a stream known as Hutchinson's River passes, winding its way and entering Pelham Bay.

As early as the year 1634, the people at Newton, afterward called Cambridge, under the leadership of Rev. Thomas Hooker, asked the General Court at the September session, for permission to remove to the Connecticut River; at first they were refused, but the following year permission was granted on condition that the new settlement continue subject to the Massachusetts colony. Possibly the rivalry for power and fame between Hooker and Cotton (two popular divines), influenced the former to lead his little flock (in 1636), to the banks of that river, where in company with Rev. Samuel Stone and his followers the towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield were planted. The first General Court was held there April 26, 1636.

In September, 1636, Mr. William Pyncheon with some

of his friends at Roxbury began the settlement at Springfield. These settlers took authority to hold their lands from the governor and assistants of Massachusetts Bay Colony. The location they selected was principally outside the jurisdiction of that colony. The Dutch had already taken possession of that territory and built trading-posts along the banks of the river they had discovered, which act under the rules of that period secured to them the right of possession to that territory. Besides, Lord Say and Sele with Lord Brook, under charter from the crown,—men of noble birth, who, on account of the extreme measures adopted by King Charles I. against his subjects, felt obliged to forego the comforts wealth and high positions in society might bring to them in England, and remove to America,—had located at the mouth of the Connecticut River and erected a fort, calling the place Saybrook. But Hooker and his people, having exhausted their means and a large share of their physical strength in traversing the wilderness from Cambridge to the Connecticut River, decided to go no farther, and under the dominating spirit of personal liberty pitched their tents, built their houses, planted their fields, apparently determined to hold the country against all comers. The Dutch were too feeble to enforce their rights by war, and Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook soon conveyed to the colony their rights, leaving Hooker and his people masters of the situation. They immediately organized a government after that of the Massachusetts Colony, although later they were incorporated by royal charter.

The seeds were now planted for five colonies or settlements in New England, and the churches established within their borders furnished abundant opportunity for all those good people to find rest for their disturbed minds on theological subjects.

At that time it may have been advisable to place considerable distance between the villages and hamlets of

those good men, in order that their daily lives might not become tarnished by the reckless inconsistencies of other minds less pure than they. But the scattered condition of those settlements proved a temptation for attacks from the crafty Indians, who began to realize they might soon be despoiled of their happy hunting-grounds, if the white men were allowed to continue multiplying their villages. Although the English were careful to secure from the natives the right to occupy their lands, there was more or less dissatisfaction among certain portions of the tribes in regard to the encroachments of the white people upon what they deemed their special privileges. The Pequots and Narragansetts both gave signs of uneasiness, and the far-seeing politicians of the Massachusetts colony thought to bring on a war between those tribes, knowing they were not specially friendly toward each other. As the Pequots were irritating the Connecticut settlers, and a powerful, warlike tribe, the English proposed to become allies to the Narragansetts and help them to punish the wicked Pequots. The scheme was put into execution, not however until considerable diplomacy had been used.

The killing of John Oldham near Block Island and the severe punishment given the Indians by the English in return for the murder, developed a spirit and thirst for revenge, not only among the Pequots, but also the Narragansetts, that gave cause for serious alarm for the safety of the English settlements. A delegation of the Pequots called upon the Narragansetts for the purpose of securing their co-operation in a general campaign against the English. A letter was despatched from Boston to Roger Williams, asking him to intercede for the safety of the colonies. That noble, magnanimous man proceeded at once to the spot where the Indian war council was in session; there for the space of two days and two nights in the presence of the Pequot emissaries, he labored to prevent the union of those two powerful tribes against the English, and

finally succeeded in persuading Miantonomoh to become an ally of the English rather than the Pequots,—thus preventing (it is firmly believed), the destruction of the English settlements at that time. Williams was always a friend to the Indian, the Narragansetts felt perfect confidence in him. He was not in danger. It was Boston, and the men who had been his persecutors, the men who ordered his banishment, that he went to save.

The result of the compact perfected with the Narragansetts by Williams was the complete overthrow of Sassicus and his Pequot followers during the years 1636 and 1637. For with the Narragansetts and Wampanoags as allies the English made short work of the war. The Pequots were slaughtered at every turn; the few that were not killed or taken prisoners, scattered into other parts of the country and lost their identity as a tribe. The prisoners taken were (some of them) sold into slavery, others distributed among Wampanoags and the Narragansetts. After one of the most decisive battles in which the Connecticut troops achieved a complete victory, word reached Boston that the war with the Pequots was raging, and the militia were ordered out to assist their Connecticut brothers. On being mustered and about ready to march, the discovery was made that some of the officers and privates were under a covenant of works. The blessings of God could not be implored or success be expected to crown the arms of such a band of unhallowed men, and the unclean were therefore cast out before the little army of one hundred and twenty men under Captain Stoughton, with Rev. John Wilson as chaplain, could proceed on their errand of destruction. Chaplain Wilson received £20 for services on this trip, and remained on board ship six miles from the scene of that decisive battle which almost exterminated the Pequots.

The prosecution of the war against this tribe led the soldiers of the colonies over new fields, where a desirable

place was discovered for planting a new settlement. They had no sooner reached their homes and put aside their arms, than the arrival of Rev. John Davenport, Samuel and Theophilus Eaton, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Gregson and others, was reported in Boston. Mr. Davenport and his company were men of standing and well supplied with means to carry forward their plans, and far better equipped than any previous company that reached Boston. Special inducements were offered to secure their co-operation. Charlestown made them a generous proposition, Newbury proffered them the whole town if they would settle there. But all offers were declined, preferring to be (as they said), out of the way of a General Governor of New England. March 30, 1638, they sailed from Boston and located the colony at New Haven, Rev. John Davenport performing his first Sabbath-day service there, April 18, 1638. Other towns, Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Branford with Southhold, L. I., constituted the New Haven colony.

The fires of civil and religious agitation were still burning in England. William Laud's inhuman course, cropping ears, branding foreheads and splitting the nose, was within a few years brought to a close, not however until he had driven many thousand English subjects to seek the shores of New England. In 1641, the tables were turned on this Bishop of Canterbury, and he was called to face the executioner, who not only robbed him of his hearing but his thinking on Jany. 10, 1644-45. These colonies became such a popular resort, that the authorities in England issued a proclamation forbidding masters of vessels carrying passengers to New England without special permission. This act dissuaded many persons from embarking openly, and forced a large number to slip away without official sanction, which fact, no doubt, accounts for the great trouble many families experience in connecting their progenitor in this country with the line in England. It is possible assumed names may have been used in some instances.

Had King Charles allowed Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell and a number of their associates, to proceed on their way to New England as they contemplated, there might have been quite another chapter of events to chronicle in the history of his reign. But he forcibly detained them when on board their ships ready to sail.

It is believed Hampden visited Plymouth colony some years prior to this fruitless attempt and passed the winter there. That he accompanied Edward Winslow on that memorable errand of mercy over the snow, and through the woods of Pakanoket in the month of March, 1622-23, for the relief of Massasoit, who was reported at Mattapoiset sick nigh unto death. Two days were consumed on the journey through the wilderness. Reaching the home of the sachem they learned the natives had lost hope in the recovery of their favorite chief. But under the skilful ministrations of Winslow he revived and finally recovered. This humane act riveted the friendship that lasted many years between Massasoit and his people with the Plymouth Colony. At this time Hampden was upon the threshold of his public life. Early in his career he displayed friendship for the Puritans. After a most eventful political experience he received a wound at Chalgrovefield while leading a charge of the Parliamentary forces against the King's army under Prince Rupert, and died June 24, 1643.

Notwithstanding the means adopted to prevent the rush of settlers to New England, about three thousand persons removed there from Old England during the year 1638. Chagrined at the lack of respect paid his proclamation Charles I. issued a writ of *quo warranto* against the corporation of Massachusetts Bay. Having failed to control the action of his subjects on the east side the Atlantic, he now proposed to try those on the west side. The training given the Puritans for three generations had made them scrupulous non-conformists, not only in ecclesiastical

matters, but in regard to the stipulated conditions in their charter. As might be expected, the case was decided against the colony. It was found they had forfeited their rights as a corporation, and the King was free to frame an entire new government, which step he held in contemplation when the sovereignty of Charles I. was checked by a people goaded to desperation by a tyrant King. The colonists were so disturbed by the action of the King, that April 12, 1638, was observed in the churches as a day of fasting and prayer for divine deliverance from the threatening evil of a General Governor for the colonies, and the consequent dissolution of their charter privileges, and the loss of all their religious liberty. From the year 1620 to 1640, 21,200 British settled in New England, nearly £200,000 was expended in fitting out ships, buying stock and transporting those settlers.

On the meeting of the Long Parliament, 1640, the hopes of the Puritans brightened. If they had felt special uneasiness regarding their charter rights, they were now dispelled. Cromwell, always their friend, was now able to render greater assistance to the colonies than his mere presence as a citizen might have given them. In 1642 the House of Commons voted to exempt all the various plantations in New England from payment of duties on all exports to, and imports from the mother country, a privilege most valuable, therefore most acceptable to the colonies. It stimulated new and extraordinary activity to trade throughout the entire settlements, the spirit of bitterness toward the mother country was immediately changed to filial regard.

May 19, 1643, the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Haven formed a federation called "United Colonies of New England," each colony retaining its individual identity. But in case of war it was provided that each colony should furnish her quota of men and means for offense and defense in proportion

to her population. Two commissioners from each colony were annually to meet and determine the course to be followed by the confederacy. Whatever action six of the commissioners were able to agree upon, that should determine, the action of the confederacy.

The first commissioners were: for Massachusetts Bay, Governor John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley; for Plymouth Colony, Edward Winslow, William Collier; for Connecticut Colony, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Gregson; for New Haven Colony, Theophilus Eaton, George Fenwick.

This confederacy of four colonies was the precursor of that later union of thirteen colonies that successfully waged the war for national independence.

Although Roger Williams had rendered valuable assistance in negotiating with the Indians in behalf of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, this colony refused to allow the Providence settlement to come into the confederacy; and when in 1643, Williams asked the privilege of crossing the territory to Boston for the purpose of there taking ship for England, the authorities declined to grant him even that request, compelling him to travel to Manhattan, now New York, to embark from that point. And while there (waiting for a vessel to sail), the Dutch settlements were being threatened with total destruction by the Long Island Indians assisted by other tribes. Here Williams again displayed his remarkable powers of diplomacy. He went among the Long Island Indians and secured for the Dutch a renewal of peace and their friendship, and thus saved that settlement from destruction. Not only did the Massachusetts Colony deny Williams and his people privileges; many things were done to disrupt his little colony; brewing contentions, disputing title to, or jurisdiction over land on which he located: and when he returned from England armed with the charter obtained May 14, 1643-44, from the Parliamentary committee, of which Earl of Warwick was chairman, feeling sure he could rightfully claim the

territory held in dispute, he was served with a notice that the Massachusetts Colony held a charter called the Narragansett Patent, dated three months prior to his charter, covering the same tract of land. For some reason, however, this claim was not pressed. Was it a forgery? Williams said Earl Warwick told him he knew of no other charter for that territory.

Among the thousands of men and women driven to these New England shores were many of the very highest type England had produced. Some of them possessed of superior knowledge, wise, thoughtful, prudent, industrious people, trained in the principles of the pure religion of their time, they were prepared to formulate a popular government based upon human rights and equality among men.

Although they knew what it meant to smart under the lash of theological and ecclesiastical dogma, they did not hesitate to apply the same treatment whenever and wherever it seemed to them good for the community. That there were cranks among them cannot be denied. But God's elect were there, and to them is due the honor and glory of shaping the beginnings of New England. The colony of Pilgrims at Plymouth enjoyed the special distinction of being first among the permanent settlers, and planting the seeds for popular government. But to the Puritans must be given the credit for dressing the ground, raking out the weeds, and preparing for the full rich harvest. Men of large estates and men of moderate means joined hands in the undertaking. But father Time, who levels all conditions in life, was there, and within a few short years, riches had taken wings, wealth was not to be found in the colony, it had gone to the aid of the common need.

The hand of Gov. Winthrop was ever extended toward the needy. His estate when he left England was worth £700 (equal to \$10,500), a year, yet it is related that as he was dealing out the last handful of meal in his cupboard

to relieve a starving family, a ship laden with provisions appeared in the harbor to the relief of the settlement.

There were many persons who gave from their estates until they were spent in promoting the general welfare of the colony. Another writer, referring to the experience of those early days, says, "Their straits were sometimes so great that the very crusts from his father's table in England would have been as a dainty in this Wilderness." If such scanty cupboards were found among the better classes, how must it have been among those of the middle or lower classes?

I fear I have already wearied you, but in closing let me add:—

Who can tell what the fate of this country would have been had not those civil and religious persecutions been enacted in England during the period to which we have referred? Queen Elizabeth, King James I. and Charles I., with their assistants Thomas Wentworth and William Laud, unwittingly engineered the grandest, noblest political achievement of the centuries. They forced to these shores many thousands of Old England's strong, resolute, high-minded, liberty-loving people, who mapped out and laid the foundations for a magnificent republic, which to-day is the pride and glory of her eighty-four millions of happy, thrifty people,—the envy of the whole world. Surely there must have been a power behind the throne, guiding and directing movements that brought forth such stupendous results in behalf of a noble type of humanity, and the true principles of a just and equitable government among men.

ORIGIN AND USE OF POST-ROADS IN NEW ENGLAND.

When Mr. Charles E. Staples handed me the photographs of a few of the old milestones found standing near Framingham on the line of the old road leading from Boston, my first thought was, they were pictures of rough stone monuments set in their places simply to indicate to the traveler the distance to or from Boston, indicating at least that if Boston was not the end of the journey, it might be reckoned from as the starting point for all travelers. But it was hardly necessary to erect those monuments merely to tell distance, for the New England Yankee has the reputation of being a good guesser, besides that, he does not hesitate to ask questions. While these rare old monuments stand for all that has been intimated they also have a far deeper significance; they are to be counted among the great milestones in the development and progress of the country and the general march of civilization.

It requires no small stretch of imagination for the New England people of today to realize that this beautiful landscape, enriched by fertile fields, attractive homes, thriving towns and great bustling cities, the pride and joy of generations of contented people, was once an unbroken wilderness, inhabited only by wild beasts and a race of wild people whose only apparent aim and object was to exist. At that time the only means of intercourse between the several tribes and families of these red men was found over rugged paths and blind trails through the forests, or to float in their roughly made dugouts upon the various watercourses that now add beauty to the

scenery. The location of many of those early paths has been forgotten. Records of a few of them, however, have come down to us. The Old Connecticut or Bay Path, as it has variously been styled, notable as the avenue over which William Pynchon led his band of followers to Springfield, is perhaps among the most prominent.

It grew from a simple Indian trail to the main avenue for traffic between Boston and the early settlements on the Connecticut River, and has been so well described by our Mr. Levi Chase in his paper printed in the Society's Proceedings, April meeting, 1895, that I will just thus call attention to it. It ran from Cambridge through Waltham, Marlboro (now Framingham), Hopkinton, Westboro, Grafton, Sutton, Oxford, Charlton, Sturbridge and Brimfield to the Connecticut River.

For forty years from 1633, the time John Oldham, that indefatigable trader, passed over this route in pursuit of traffic with the Indians, this Connecticut Path was the chief or central overland route to the westward from Boston. December 23, 1673, a new road was ordered by the court to be laid out, to go through Marlboro and Worcester to Brookfield. This was known as the Country Road and also as the Connecticut Road. It soon became the popular way from Boston to the Connecticut River Valley and to Albany, New York. It was perhaps at first little more than a path or trail in condition to accommodate pack trains or the traveler on foot or on horseback, then a common way of transporting merchandise or covering distance across the country from place to place. In 1715, representatives of several towns in Hampshire County asked the General Court to appoint a committee to discover and report where a road for carts and wagons might be most conveniently made from Marlboro to Springfield and from Brookfield to Hadley. We presume the committee was chosen and a portion of the work accomplished. Seven years later the General Court expended about fifteen

pounds in repairing the highway from Worcester to Brookfield. In the early history of these trails or roads there were few if any bridges over the streams, they were crossed at selected fording places.

In setting out from Boston in the very early days it was necessary to cross the Charles River by ferry to Charlestown, where Edward Converse, in 1631, established a ferry. In 1640, the profits of this ferry went to Harvard College. At first one boat was used, soon it was found necessary to use two (one to be kept on each side of the river). In 1781, four boats were required to meet the demands of the service. In 1785, a petition was presented to the Legislature for leave to build a bridge over the Charles River between Boston and Cambridge. But this scheme was defeated by the passage of a bill to construct a bridge between Boston and Charlestown where the ancient ferry had been established. This bridge was opened to travel January 17, 1786. Thus it will be noticed that for more than one hundred and fifty years one of the principal outlets for travel from Boston toward the north and west by trail or wagon road was by means of this ferry.

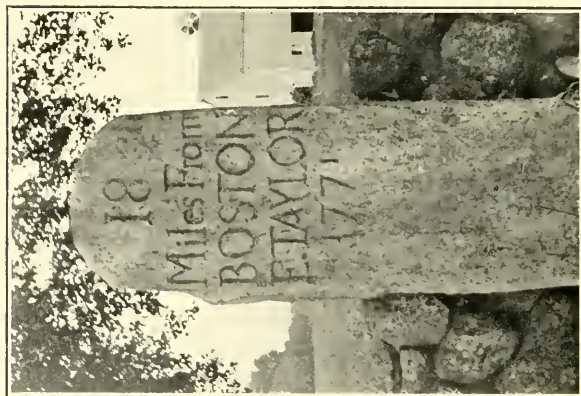
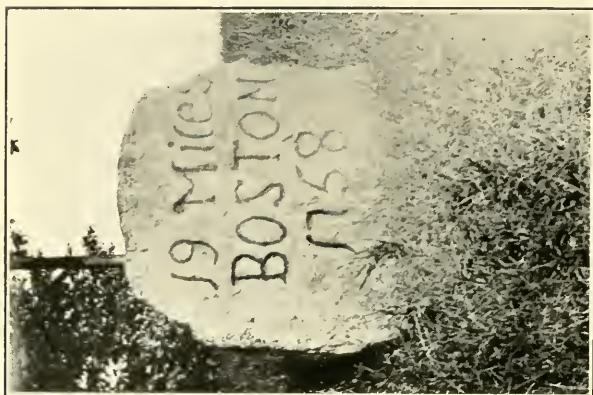
Some years prior to the construction of this bridge from Boston to Charlestown there was a bridge over the Charles River, connecting what is now Brighton and Cambridge, possibly built about 1641. From the best information at hand these two routes, the one over this Charlestown Ferry and the one passing out over Boston Neck to Roxbury and on through Dedham, or crossing the Charles River at this upper bridge and going by way of Watertown, were the outlets open to the traveler contemplating an overland journey to the west or south.

At first, the old Indian trails were followed where it was found convenient to do so. But as various towns were located, better roads were made to accommodate the travel. Prior to the War of the Revolution travel,

or the transportation of merchandise by teams, was confined within certain limits and to special locations. That seven-years' war, while it drained the country of its treasures, and drenched the land in blood, opened the way for those who survived the shock, to gain a far better knowledge of their country, as well as the people who occupied it, and to partially foresee the great possibilities to be realized by its development in the future.

In 1764, we find the Upper Post Road advertised, from Boston to Hartford and New Haven. Although it had been in general use a number of years, possibly as early as 1755, or earlier, it had not been styled a post-road. It passed through Watertown, Waltham, Weston, Sudbury, Marlboro, Northboro, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Leicester, Spencer, Brookfield, Western, Palmer, Wilbraham, Springfield, Long Meadow, Enfield, Windsor, East Hartford, Hartford, Wethersfield, Middletown, Durham, Wallingford, North Haven to New Haven (162 miles). It was then, as it is now, forty-four miles from Boston to Worcester, and in the latter place four houses of entertainment were to be found to supply the necessary comforts for the traveler. John Curtis kept the one nearest the Shrewsbury line, it being two miles distant from that town. Two miles towards the centre of the village came Brown's Tavern. One mile further stood the Stearns' Tavern, and a travel of two miles further west found the Jones Tavern. These houses were of sufficient distance apart when taking into consideration the slow mode of travel to prepare the appetite for a sample of flip from each of the four Worcester landlords.

The Middle Road, from Boston to Hartford, was also in use as early as 1759. This road passed through Dedham, Medfield, Medway, Mendon, Uxbridge, Douglas, Thompson, Pomfret, Ashford, Mansfield, Coventry, East Hartford to Hartford and on to New Haven, through Wethersfield, Great Swamp, Kensington, Meriden, Wallingford, North



STANDING IN WAYLAND.

Haven (151 miles). The Lower Road, which was the oldest "Post Road," or "King's Highway," over which Benjamin Franklin as Deputy Postmaster-General, set mileposts, was in use as early as 1737, and laid down as the (*only*) road from Boston to New Haven and on to New York. The distance was 278 miles, as given in Jacob Taylor's almanac for the year 1737. It passed through "Dedham, Whites, Billends (Billings), Woodcock, Providence, French Town, Darby, Pemberton, Stonington, New London, Seabrook, Killingworth, Gilford, Branford, New Haven, Millford, Stradford, Fairfield, Norwalk, Stanford, Horse Neck, Rye, New Rochel, East Chester, King's Bridge, Half-way-House to New York." A road was also given by Taylor from New York to Philadelphia (98 miles), and from the latter place to Annapolis, Maryland, 144 miles.

Although as early as 1758, there were three roads by which New Haven could be reached from Boston, there was but one road connecting New Haven with New York. As early as 1770, there were other roads leading out from Boston,—one to Plymouth on the Cape, another in a northerly direction to Portsmouth, N. H., passing through Medford, Woburn, Wilmington, Andover, Bradford, Haverhill, Plastow, Kingston, Exeter, Stratham, Greenland to Portsmouth, sixty-six miles. There was also a road to Portsmouth, turning at Medford, going through Lynn, Salem, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, coming into the other road at Greenland. This road reached further on through York, Wells, Kennebunk, Scarborough, Falmouth, North Yarmouth, Brunswick, George Town, Pawnalboro, Fort Western, Fort Halifax and by passing on over the Great Carrying Place, Quebec was to be reached. This possibly was the route taken by Arnold and his command, including Col. Timothy Bigelow and other Worcester men, on their way to attempt the capture of Quebec, September, 1775. There was still another route to

the northward, in 1770, called the Road to Number Four, crossing the Charlestown Ferry and passing through Cambridge, Lexington, Concord, Acton, Littleton, Groton, Shirley, Lunenburg, Fitchburg, Ashburnham, Winchendon, Swanzey, Keene, Walpole to Charlestown, N. H. (119 miles). These six or seven roads were the main avenues by land to the east, north, south and west from Boston, which it will be seen was the Hub then as it is now.

No doubt the development of the country would have been far more rapid from the year 1770, had not the war-ery been sounded commanding the attention as well as the services of nearly every man, woman and child in the land. At last peace came, and after the shattered forces of the country could again swing into regular motion the onward march was renewed, and internal improvements grew apace. Not however until Captain Levi Pease became prominent as the pioneer in establishing lines of stages to run at stated times for the accommodation of travelers, and the transportation of the mails, necessitating the building of good roads, was there rapid progress made in developing routes in New England and in various other parts of the country.

Captain Pease was a native of Enfield, Connecticut. After serving as a soldier in the Revolutionary War, opened a tavern in the town of Somers in his native state, and after a moderately successful career, desiring a larger field from which to draw patronage, removed to Boston, assuming there the responsible duties as entertainer for the traveler or the public in general at the "Lamb Tavern," which stood on the site of the present Adams House, Washington street. Mr. Samuel A. Drake says, it was at this "Lamb Tavern" that the first stage to Providence, R. I., put up, which was advertised by Thomas Sabin July 20, 1767, and it was from this same tavern that Captain Pease, when its landlord established the first permanent stage-line between Boston and Hartford, Conn., as driver,

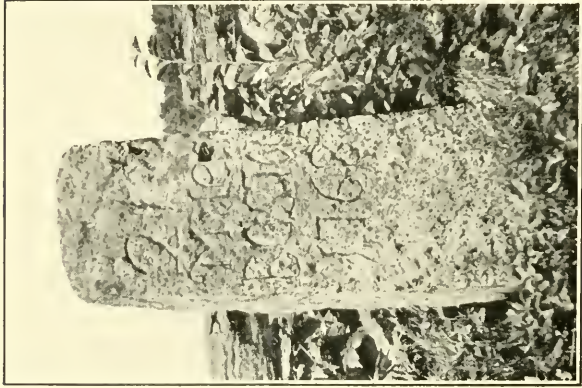
starting on his first trip, Monday morning, October 20, 1783. He was by trade a blacksmith and his associate in this enterprise, Reuben Sikes, was also a blacksmith and a native of Somers, Conn. They with an equipment of eight horses and two wagons began the venture, Pease starting from his tavern in Boston Mondays at six o'clock A. M. for Hartford and Sikes leaving Hartford simultaneously for Boston, each arriving at his destination on Thursday of the same week. It was prophesied that financially the scheme would prove a failure. For that reason Pease found no person with money willing to join him except his old friend and fellow tradesman, Reuben Sikes. Week after week, and month following month, the trips were regularly made whether there were passengers or no. Within two years, however, the route became a paying one, and the line was extended to New York. The success of the enterprise was by this time no longer in doubt, and within three years from the initial trip (January, 1786), a line of stages carrying passengers and the mail was established from Portsmouth, N. H., to Savannah, Ga. Captain Pease removed to Shrewsbury in 1793, he deeming that a more advantageous point from which to manage his rapidly growing stage traffic, and purchased the tavern owned and kept by Major John Farrer. For many years Captain Pease held the government contract for carrying the mails throughout New England, and recognizing the necessity for good roads championed the cause for their construction by securing the charter for the "First Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation," in 1796. The road lay between Palmer and Warren. The Sixth Massachusetts Turnpike, from Shrewsbury to Amherst, was built in the year 1800; the Worcester Turnpike six years later. Captain Pease died in Shrewsbury, January 28, 1824, it is said, a poor man, having sacrificed all his earnings in developing stage routes and constructing roads. He certainly was a public benefactor, and deserves a suitable

monument to his memory that shall tell those who may visit his last resting-place the simple story of his patriotism and courage not only for the cause of country upon the battle-field, but of his courage in helping to develop the country after the smoke of the conflict had cleared away.

As early as the year 1800, there were at least four post-roads leading out from Boston,—one to Portsmouth and Machias via Newbury, etc., one to New York via Worcester and Hartford, another to Windsor, Vt., branching off at Springfield, the fourth to Providence, R. I. They were what might be called the principal or main roads. There were other highways centering in Boston, over which thirty lines of stages were advertised to depart for various points in the country. The road to New Haven via Worcester was published as the best road. Fares on the "Mail Stage," six and one-fourth cents per mile; fares on the "Old line," three and one-half cents per mile,—making the cost of passage to New Haven \$9.87 in the mail stage, and \$8.75, old line (about fourteen miles of the distance being saved by the route followed by the mail stage).

Stages leaving Boston Monday 10 A. M. would arrive in New York Thursday at 11 A. M. (one hour over three days), summer season. In winter season, they left Boston Tuesday 8 A. M., reaching New York Saturday 11 A. M. (four days and three hours). This speed (although slow compared with means of travel to-day), was like an express train compared with the attempt in July, 1772, to carry passengers between New York and Boston, naming thirteen days for the trip each way. But this scheme was a failure. In 1806, there were two stages through Worcester each way daily. Two years later there were four each way daily.

But why were certain highways given the name of "Post Roads"? That term is said to have originated in France. They were routes selected over which couriers



ON OLD STAGE ROAD IN FRAMINGHAM.

or letter-carriers traveled, having horses posted at regular places for their use, and originally instituted for carrying court or government messages. In France they were fixed by Louis XI. by ordinance June 19, 1464. First established in England by an act of Parliament about the year 1672, although the rate of one penny per mile for the use of post-horses was fixed as early as 1548, and thirty-three years later, during the reign of Elizabeth, the office of chief postmaster of England is mentioned, and under James I. the office of postmaster for foreign parts was created.

In the early history of our American Colonies letter-writing was a far greater accomplishment than it is at the present time. Few of the early settlers could write, in fact it was the exception rather than the rule when one was found who could write, consequently the yeomanry of the country used written communications extremely seldom. But on November 5, 1639, the Colonial government, recognizing the need of a responsible person to receive and forward letters that might come from across the sea, or even from within the limits of the Colonies, decided that the house of Richard Fairbanks in Boston should be the repository for all letters, he to see that they were delivered and sent according to directions. Mr. Fairbanks' house stood on Cornhill. There the people could call for their mail. There were no newspapers, no printed periodicals to be transported. The Colonial government had no system for the transportation of private correspondence. Letters were carried to and fro through the kindness of friends or of travelers going or coming in the proper direction. It was also a custom for the captain of a vessel when about to sail, to receive letters and small packages directed to certain points at which he might touch on his voyage, and deliver them or hand them to some person who would assist in getting the missives to their proper destination.

People were in the habit of visiting vessels on their arrival in port, to see if they had been remembered by their far-away relatives or friends, although there were some who seldom and perhaps never went to the wharf to enquire for letters; and as many times the captains would be unable to find owners for the letters sent in their care, they would hand them to some person in the town to be delivered. There were so many losses and such great delay in delivery reported, that the Colonial government decided that all private letters, whether brought by captains or otherwise, should be left at the house of Richard Fairbanks, who for many years served the public as postmaster of Boston. Government messages were delivered by specially appointed agents or messengers, who either performed their mission on foot or on horseback. Through a petition to the General Court of the Colony we learn that owing to carelessness of carriers and the uncertain way provided for delivery, many letters failed of reaching their destination, and John Haywood was chosen to take letters and convey them in Boston as they were directed. Three years later (1680) Haywood was allowed to collect one penny for each letter delivered. Haywood died December 2, 1687, and June 11, 1689, Richard Wilkins succeeded him in caring for the private letters in Boston.

The price to be paid messengers sent with government despatches was fixed January 6, 1673-74, by the General Court at three pence a mile to the place sent, no landlord or innholder to charge such messenger more than two shillings a bushel for oats and four pence for hay, day and night. John Knight of Charlestown was appointed a post for the country's service, and notice was given for all innholders and ferrymen to further him on his journeyings. He was authorized to press horse or horses to his use when necessary. This appointment may have been made in anticipation of war with France, for two weeks later (July 14), the General Court voted that the govern-

ment of Rhode Island be invited to join Massachusetts in carrying on war against New France and that a post be settled for speedy intelligence between Boston and Rhode Island. February 17, 1691-92, King William and Mary issued letters patent to Thomas Neale, granting him full power to establish offices in their chief ports and said majesties' Colonies and Plantations in America and appoint an officer or officers for receiving and despatching letters, packages, at such rates and sums of money, as the planters shall agree to give. Andrew Hamilton was appointed Deputy Postmaster-General for the Plantations and Colonies in America April 4, 1692, a letter from the queen dated May 26, 1692, directed to Sir William Phips, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, announced or confirmed the appointment.

Rates of postage were fixed as follows, from ports beyond the sea: each single letter two pence, each packet of letters four pence. Letters remaining in the office forty-eight hours were to be sent to destination where directed and one penny collected on each letter on payment, for delivery.

Inland mail: from Rhode Island to Boston each single letter six pence; from Connecticut to Boston, nine pence; from New York to Boston, twelve pence; from New Jersey or Pennsylvania to Boston, fifteen pence; from Virginia and Maryland to Boston, two shillings; to or from Salem to Boston three pence; to or from Ispwich to Boston four pence; to or from Piscataqua to Boston six pence.

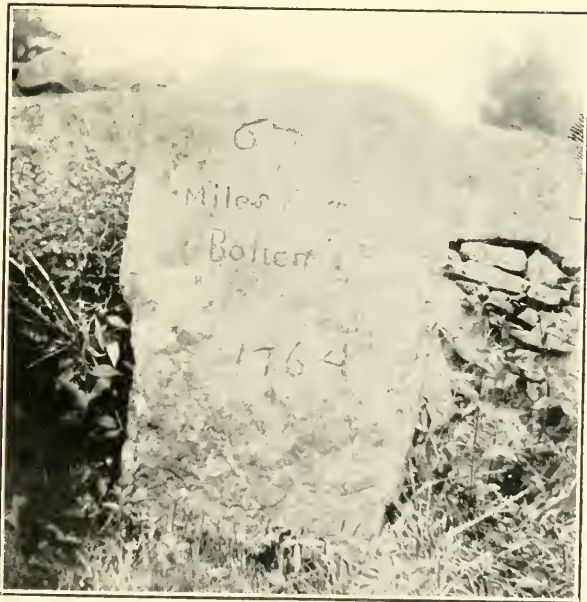
All public letters to be sent free of charge. The post was to pass all ferries free. Hamilton agreed to erect a *post-office* in Boston by the first of the following month of May and that the post should pass from Boston to New York and Piscataqua once every week, and certain days were to be fixed for its going and coming. The postmaster was to provide men and horses with necessary equipment to ride and deliver the mail matter. All letters

to be paid for on delivery and the postmaster or agent was to endorse the words post paid.

Andrew Hamilton, the first Postmaster-General for the American Colonies, was by birth a Scotchman, and for many years a successful merchant in Edinburgh. He first visited America as agent for the proprietors (residing in Great Britain), of East and West New Jersey; after making a careful inspection, returned to England and presented a report of his findings. During the summer or fall of 1686, he came and joined the New Jersey settlement, was appointed a member of the governor's council and on the return of Governor Lord Neil Campbell to England, was chosen to succeed him as governor. In August, 1689, Hamilton sailed for England for the purpose of consulting with the proprietors there, was taken prisoner and detained by the French, not reaching England until May 18, 1690, when he resigned the office of governor. But under William and Mary was reappointed March 25, 1692, and returned to the Colony in September following. Owing to the report of certain frauds and irregularities being committed within the Colonies, an act was passed by Parliament that only native born subjects of England could serve in any public post of trust and profit. As New Jersey was not entirely free from political factions, the argument was presented that Hamilton was a Scotchman and could not hold the office of governor under this act. In the spring of 1698, Hamilton again sailed for the mother country, and Jeremiah Basse, formerly an Anabaptist minister, was chosen by the settlers in the Province as governor. This action caused a tumult in the Colony, friends of Hamilton would not recognize the authority of Basse, offenders were tried and imprisoned, officers were abused and maltreated, riot and disorder now prevailed throughout the New Jersey Colony, which under the management of Hamilton had greatly prospered. August 19, 1699, Hamilton was again appointed Governor



ON OLD TURNPIKE IN SOUTHBORO'.
(16½ miles to Worcester.)



ON OLD STAGE ROAD IN STURBRIDGE.

of New Jersey, his friends in England obtaining a statement from the Solicitor-General that his being a Scotchman did not prevent him from holding the office. Basse, the deposed official, immediately went to England and exerted himself trying to prevent any reconciliation between the discordant factions on either side of the water, and Hamilton's return to New Jersey was followed with more or less trouble from the friends of Basse, and after a trial of about three years Lord Viscount Cornbury was, July 25, 1702, appointed to succeed him. It will be noticed that Hamilton received his appointment as Deputy-Postmaster for the American Colonies while on one of his visits to England. His home for the greater portion of the time passed in this country was in Burlington, N. J. He was a man of ability and very generally well liked. The principal charge made against him in New Jersey was his friendship for the Quakers. He was an associate with William Penn and held the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania at the time of his death, which occurred April 26, 1703.

November 23, 1693, Duncan Campbell was Deputy-Postmaster at Boston, under Hamilton. The post-office (first in the country), had been erected in Boston, and the department was found to be laboring under serious difficulties. The people having been accustomed to sending letters without price, were exceedingly slow to accept the new arrangement; as a result Campbell petitioned the General Court to grant an annuity to help pay his salary, as the receipts of the office did not come to more than one-third the expense of the department. The court however failed to respond to Campbell's relief, and the following year he again petitioned that honorable body in substance as follows:—

In behalf of Andrew Hamilton Esq Postmaster General of North America, Humbly Represents That whereas their magesties have been pleased to erect a Post Office in these parts of America, Which Post office has been duly kept

and maintained by constant Posts in the trading part of this country for above twelve months and is of public use, benefit and advantage not only to merchants and other travelers but to every respective government more especially to this Province by reason that all public letters and Expresses have been conveyed and despatched free of charge and finding so small encouragement by letters that it will not countervale one half of the charge thereof.

Wherefore tis hoped, This Honorable Court will take the premises into your prudent consideration and not to suffer so general a benefit to fail for want of due encouragement, But that you will please to appoint and state some salary to be paid out of the public revenue towards the support of the said office for sometime, as the neighboring Provinces have done, That is to say, York hath allowed £50, and Hampshire £20, per Annum for the space of three years.

Your Esquiers and Honorables humble Servant

DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

In answer to this petition the General Court voted to pay 20£ annually for two years, and the act was approved June 20, 1694.

No doubt Campbell was grateful for this act on the part of the court, but he did not hesitate to ask in addition, that he be relieved from paying taxes, and also be given a license to sell strong drinks, it being as he said only what other postmasters in other plantations were allowed. Possibly the government granted these simple requests, not caring to fall behind other plantations in granting perquisites to their public servants. And as a further indication of their desire to support the department, the General Court, "voted that for three years all persons not bringing letters to the post-office (except those excepted), shall pay four times the regular rates."

Death closed the earthly career of Duncan Campbell in 1702, and his successor in office, John Campbell, in the following year renewed the work of memorializing the General Court, citing a long list of grievances, the tenor of which seemed to be that the public failed to patronize the department; the ferrymen were not as prompt in serving the post-riders as they should be; the income was not sufficient to cover expenses; the department was indebted to Colonel Hamilton 1400£ sterling and as Thomas Neale would not pay him he had taken a mortgage on the patent, it being the only security obtainable; that now (May 26, 1703), the entire postal service in North America was dependent upon Colonel Hamilton; that the whole scheme was liable to be abandoned on account of irregularities on the part of the people and lack of financial support.

The claim was made that the government was enjoying a benefit of 150£ a year by the free delivery of official letters. It was also stated that the cost of maintaining the post-office department from Piscataqua to Philadelphia, postmasters, riders, etc., was 680£ per year. New England's part was 453£ 6s 8p; that of New York and Philadelphia being 226£ 13s 4p. The expense in New England being about 37£ 15s 6p per month; receipts 21£ 17s 4p each month; leaving deficit of about 15£ 18s 2p. Taking the foreign and domestic mail service together, there was a shortage of about 275£ per annum. The promptness of the period in obtaining news, or important items of events, is shown in the fact that Postmaster-General Hamilton died just one month prior to the date of Campbell's petition. This postmaster, John Campbell, was the founder of the *Boston Newsletter* in 1704, the earliest newspaper printed in America.

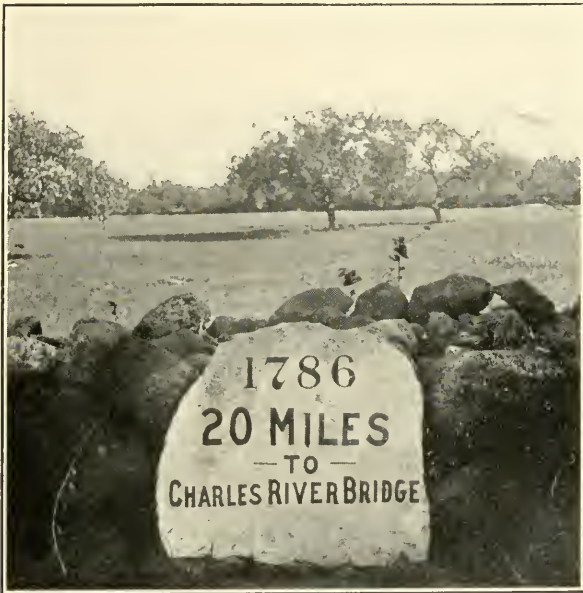
Arrangements had been made to transport the mails for a period of twenty-one years, from February 17, 1691, to February 17, 1712. That thus far the venture was a

losing one, had been fully demonstrated, and strenuous appeal for help came from the postmaster. To encourage patronage, a less rate of postage was made on domestic letters: Portsmouth to Boston four pence from six pence; Merrimac River to Boston three pence from four pence; Salem to Boston two pence from three; Connecticut to Boston six pence from nine pence.

A fine of 5£ sterling was laid upon the ferryman who should detain a post-rider, and the owners of horses pressed into service were to receive six pence per mile for their use. The government of Massachusetts Bay decided in 1703, to pay 10£ towards the arrearage, and 20£ for the ensuing year; later the sum was fixed at 20£ and 30£ respectively per annum. The pioneers in this mail service undoubtedly labored under many disadvantages and discouragements, including bad roads, lack of patronage, and in certain seasons, deep snows and high water. Occasions were not infrequent when snow-shoes were substituted for horses by those who carried the mail.

In 1704, the eastern post left Boston for Piscataqua every Monday night at seven o'clock. Letters must be in the office by six o'clock. The mail from Piscataqua reached Boston every Saturday. The western post left Boston during December, January and February, fortnightly on Tuesday at noon, and came in fortnightly every Saturday at noon. Thomas Battis was killed July 29, 1704, while riding the western post at a point east of Hadley on his return trip. This same year Lewis Bane was post-rider from York, Maine, to Berwick, and asked the General Court to pay him for service and a saddle. In 1719, William Brooker is recorded as the postmaster in Boston, and in 1727, Henry Marshall was occupying that position and had then been filling the office for the space of two years.

At the death of Thomas Neale, which occurred prior to the year 1700, it was found that his estate was indebted



ON MAIN ROAD BETWEEN BEDFORD AND BILLERICA.

to Andrew Hamilton for the sum of 1100£, the amount the latter had expended in excess of the receipts, in maintaining the post department in the American Colonies. Neale's estate being insolvent, Hamilton took an assignment of the charter rights to conduct the post business which he had instituted in America. As we have stated, Hamilton died in 1703, and his widow continued to conduct the business. In the year 1706, the English government paid the widow Hamilton 1664£ and assumed the ownership of the department, appointing John Hamilton (a son of Andrew), deputy-postmaster for the American Colonies. He resigned the office in 1722.

The next person as yet found associated with the office is Alexander Spotswood, who served from 1730 to 1739, and possibly until his death in 1740. He was an able man, and a popular governor of Virginia.

In 1753, one of America's most notable men, whose service for his country and for the world will never be forgotten so long as the pages of history remain, Benjamin Franklin, received the appointment of deputy-postmaster for the America Colonies. It was a most fitting appointment, although it came in connection with the name of another gentleman, William Hunter. The experience enjoyed by Mr. Franklin as Postmaster of Pennsylvania for a dozen or more years prior to this appointment, in addition to his natural ability, made him master of the situation, and he entered upon the duties of the office with both proficiency and earnestness. During his first year he made a tour of the country for the purpose of inspecting and establishing mail routes, and it is said visited every post-office within the American Colonies but the one at Charleston, S. C. Five months were expended in making this trip, and setting the mile-posts on the "Old Road" or "King's Highway." He rode in a chaise with a registering wheel attached, noting the distance traveled, and the men accompanying him set the posts.

Mr. Franklin says, having been some time employed by the postmaster-general as his controller in regulating several offices and bringing the officers to account, I was, upon his death in 1753, appointed jointly with Mr. William Hunter to succeed him by a commission from the postmaster-general in England. The American office had never paid any revenue to Britain. We were to have six hundred pounds between us if we could get it out of the profits of the department.

To put the department on a good foundation certain large expenditures were necessary, and the first four years found us in debt nine hundred pounds. But it soon began to pay and yielded to England three times as much as the department in Ireland. While on his visit to New England in 1753, in the interest of the post-office department, Harvard College conferred upon Franklin the degree of A.M.

Owing to Mr. Franklin's expressed sympathy with the action of those not in harmony with the English government he was dismissed from the office as deputy-postmaster-general for the Colonies January 31, 1774.

The Colonies however immediately established their own postal system, and July 26, 1775, he was elevated by the Continental Congress into the position of postmaster-general for the American Colonies, and with this appointment the department at Washington began its existence. In 1754, James Franklin (a brother of Benjamin), was postmaster at Boston, with the office in his house on Cornhill. Tuthill Hubbard was the Boston postmaster, 1771 to 1778. Post-riders and postmasters were by an act of the General Court July 5, 1777, made exempt from military duties.

There seems no evidence of sufficient weight to disprove the statement that the system of transporting travelers by means of public stage lines running regularly on schedule time was inaugurated in America by Captain Levi Pease and his friend Reuben Sikes in 1783. Prior to this date

traveling overland was performed chiefly by private or special conveyance, the saddle-horse being the most common means of overcoming long distances. At the opening of the first line the advertised stage-run, Boston to Hartford, was from six o'clock Monday morning to the Thursday noon following (three and one-half days). From Hartford to New Haven the run was made in one day. From New Haven to New York the passage was generally made by Packet Boat. In 1786 this line of stages connected Portsmouth, N. H., with Savannah, Ga., via Boston, Worcester, Hartford, New Haven, New York and Philadelphia. There was a line of stages running between Boston and Providence as early as 1787.

Rates of postage in 1798 were:—

Single letters 30 miles six cents; 60 miles eight cents; 100 miles ten cents; 150 miles twelve and one-half cents; 200 miles fifteen cents; 250 miles seventeen cents; 350 miles twenty cents; 450 miles twenty-two cents; over 450 miles twenty-five cents. Double letters double rates; triple letters triple rates; packet weighing one ounce, at rate of four shillings letters, or twenty-four cents each ounce; every enclosure same as a letter.

In 1800: not over 40 miles eight cents; not over 90 miles ten cents; not over 150 miles twelve and one-half cents; not over 300 miles seventeen cents; not over 500 miles twenty cents; over 500 miles twenty-five cents. Two pieces paper, double rates; three pieces paper, triple rates; four pieces paper weighing one ounce, four rates; every ship letter received at an office with six cents.

In 1821, also 1830: 30 miles six cents; 80 miles ten cents; 150 miles twelve and one-half cents; 250 miles eighteen and one-half cents; 400 miles and over twenty-five cents.

The first post-office was established in Worcester November 15, 1775, with Mr. Isaiah Thomas as postmaster. One mail came from the west each Tuesday evening; one

from the east each Friday morning. In April, 1789, a list of uncalled-for letters was published by Mr. Thomas and were addressed to persons in Monson, Leicester, Barre, Brookfield, Westboro, Northboro, Palmer, Petersham, Rutland, Shrewsbury, Spencer, Leominster, Springfield, Westfield, Southboro, Paxton, Sutton and Wrentham (eighteen towns). In 1775, there were but twenty-eight post-offices in the country. One-half that number were in Massachusetts, although mainly located among the coast towns, and along the line of post-roads. In 1830, there were sixty-seven post-offices in Worcester County, Brookfield having three, New Braintree one, with Amasa Bigelow, postmaster.

In 1811, there was a line of stages running from Boston to Albany, leaving Boston on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 3 P. M. There was also a line from Boston to Hartford over the Middle road, leaving Boston at 3 P. M. daily except Sunday. The New York mail-stage went via Worcester, Brookfield and Hartford, leaving Boston at noon, reaching Worcester at half past eight, Hartford the next day at 11:30 and New York at noon the following day, consuming three days for the trip.

There are people yet living who can recall the days when the stage-coach was the popular vehicle for the transportation of the traveler, and the United States mail. Not only New England, but the whole inhabited portion of the United States was at one time covered by a network of routes, over which the mail coach made daily trips.

There was a certain fascination in witnessing daily, one, three or six of those beautiful outfits gliding over the road, the driver on the box guiding with taut lines, swinging his silver-mounted whip, to the crack of which each of the four or six horses would fly at the top of their speed, causing the rolling, reeking coach to creak with its heavy load of passengers as it threw up a cloud of dust in the rear of its track. The sight was far more enjoyable

and cheering than viewing a passing train of cars drawn by a locomotive, thundering along like a whirlwind, with its unknown possibility of danger. But the stage-coach as a traveling medium was not without its discouragements and embarrassments. There were occasionally bad roads, and reckless drivers, producing vexatious delays and more or less serious accidents. An old stage-driver, commenting upon the situation after the railroads began carrying passengers, said, "If you gets comfortably capsized into a ditch by the roadside, there you are, but if you gets blown up by an engine, run into a cutting, or off an embankment, where are you?" The skill displayed by some drivers in training and handling their horses was truly marvellous, and in those far-away days furnished a subject for special comment. What a source of admiration those high-spirited Morgan horses were, with their beautiful forms, sleek coats and high gamy heads,—no pet animal was ever better groomed than were those stage-horses.

What a flutter of excitement was to be noticed in every little town and hamlet at the sound of the stage-horn as the four or six-in-hand coach, laden with dust-covered travelers, rolled up to the post-office to leave the country mail. There, old and young swarmed about the little store to take a peep at the strangers, meet old acquaintances, secure a missive from an absent relative or friend and carry home the latest news from the outside world. Those were the days that brought life and activity into every hamlet. The stage-coach through its daily visits kept alive a feeling of interest among the people of the hill-towns with what was going on in the cities and larger villages. The subject of abandoned farms was not then occupying the minds of our people.

The vehicles used by Captain Pease and his partner, Reuben Sikes, in making their initial trips were reported as comfortable carriages; but we presume were little or no better than our common wagons. As the work of

carrying passengers developed, special wagons were constructed to meet demands. Some had long bodies to accommodate a large number of passengers, also a rack extending from the rear axle to carry the baggage. Then came the lighter carriages to carry less number of passengers and make quicker time.

After experimenting with various styles of vehicles, the coach and the Concord-wagon, with bodies hung on thorough-braces, made their appearance in the very early portion of the nineteenth century and were considered in their day the very height of convenience and luxury for the traveler. It is related that when in the year 1580, coaches were first introduced into England from France, for private use, grave alarm was expressed at the pernicious influence this mode of conveyance would have on the masculine character of her people. It was deemed a disgrace for a true Briton to make use of any invention solely suited to ladies or to Frenchmen. The man who shrank from the endurance of fatigue or exposure to the weather would surely prove a coward on the field of battle. The saddle was the appropriate seat, and not the soft cushion of a carriage. But the temptation of the proffered luxurious equipage could not be resisted, the coach was bound to come, and to check its on-coming the authorities passed an act making the use of coaches by a man, a punishable offence. Legislative prohibition even did not prevent the enjoyment derived by the wealthy Britons in their rivalry for costly turnouts, and a few years later, after the Dukes of Buckingham and Northumberland had severally driven in a coach-and-six and a coach-and-eight through the streets of London, the act was, in 1625, repealed.

It is claimed that Captain Simeon Draper of Brookfield on returning from a visit to England about 1815, brought the first coach that ran on the great post-road from Boston to Albany, having a baggage rack attached to the body of the coach instead of the rear axle, and that this coach

was used by some of the coach builders in this country as a pattern. The construction and ornamentation of some of these coaches was carried to a high degree of art. The materials used were carefully selected by experts, and the most skilled mechanics employed to work, and put the materials together, while artists of no middle class displayed their skill at decorations, many of their illuminated panels proving a source of great attraction.

Israel Hatch and Thomas Beals were proprietors of the mail-stages running between Boston, and Providence, R. I., in 1793, the fare was \$3 with fourteen pounds allowed for baggage. The charge was also \$3 for carrying one hundred pounds of merchandise. In November, 1826, competition on this route reduced the price for a single fare to \$1. July 31, 1793, Samuel Blodget was operating a stage line between Boston and Haverhill, which he had established some years prior to that date.

May 15, 1804, a new line of stages commenced their trips from Boston over the Middle road, through Dedham, Medway, Milford, Mendon, Uxbridge to Hartford. The proprietors were Asa Foot, Abel Wheelock, Isaac Trask and Gragg and Estte.

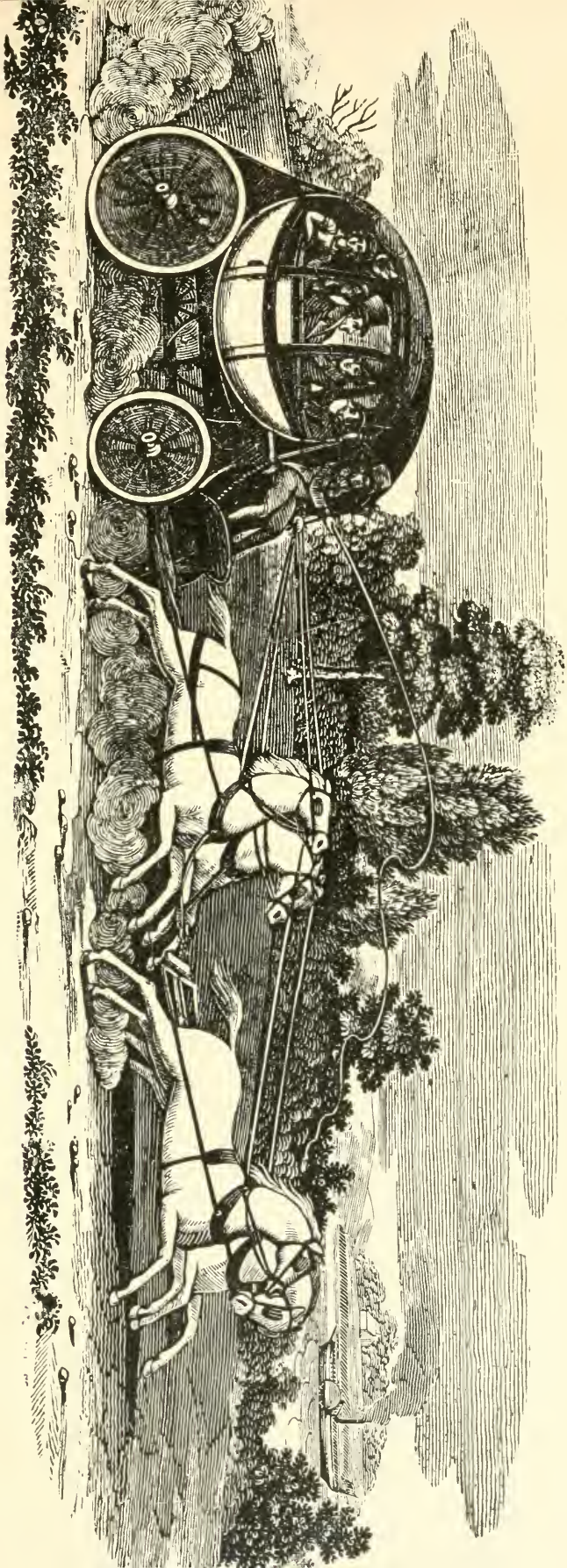
July 1, 1814, a new line, called the "Enterprise," was opened from Boston to New York. It passed over the Middle road, and advertised to make the trip in two days. The stages left the Exchange Coffee House in Boston at 3 o'clock in the morning, dined at Thompson, Conn., thence through Ashford and Tolland, arriving at Hartford in the evening for lodgings, renewing the journey in the morning at 3 o'clock, passing through Meriden, taking breakfast at New Haven, continuing through Bridgeport and Stamford, dining at Horse Neck, reaching the City Hotel in New York on the evening of the second day from Boston. Post-chaises were furnished gentlemen traveling without their families, who wished to go faster or slower than the mail-coach.

June 18, 1824, Holman Graves and Company were proprietors of a line from Boston to Albany, passing through Lancaster and Athol. About May 25, the same year, the mail-coach with ten passengers, on its way to Boston, overturned and was broken in pieces in getting out of Worcester. No person was seriously injured by the accident. In those days each passenger was by rule allowed fourteen pounds for baggage, and obliged to pay three cents a pound for all over that weight, a regulation which caused more or less trouble to passengers unaccustomed to traveling by coach.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the development of stage lines was marvellous. As early as March, 1826, there was a continuous line in operation from Machias, Me., to Detroit, Mich., and even beyond that point at the west. It was stated through the press in April that year that there was no city in the United States where so much capital was invested in stage lines as Boston. Within a year or two the number of coaches in use on these lines had been doubled. What a change had been wrought since Captain Pease began his venture.

Now there was fear the work might be overdone; numerous petty opposition lines had been set in motion and it was feared the cutting of prices would result in serious injury to the business. This same year, 1826, an association was formed by the proprietors of the various stage-lines, for the purpose of adopting rules to correct certain abuses. The association was called the New England Stage Association, Hiram Plummer, Esq., of Haverhill, was President, Calvin Bullard, of Boston, Secretary. They published the following notice: "Inasmuch as the running of stages has become an important business, requiring vast sums of money and employing a large number of persons, certain rules have been adopted prohibiting the employing of a driver who had been discharged for mis-

STAGE COACH OF ISIS.



conduct or intemperance, or for the use of profanity or abusive language."

In December, 1826, there were in Boston seventy arrivals and departures daily, and it was thought there were more than that number in Albany, N. Y. In Troy, N. Y., there were one hundred arrivals and departures each week over the various lines centering there. Four different lines of stages were plying between Troy and Boston: the 1st, via Brattleboro, Vt.; the 2d, via Williamstown and Greenfield; 3d, via Cheshire and Petersham; the 4th, via Pittsfield, Northampton and Worcester. Enough has been said, no doubt, to thoroughly convince you that Captain Pease was not left to enjoy in peace his well-earned laurels in instituting a system of stage-lines for transportation of travelers and the United States mail, clearly demonstrating that it was no visionary scheme to end in financial disaster, as he was told it would by the persons he asked to join him in his initial undertaking in 1783. It had in 1826, grown into an industry of surprising magnitude. The tendency to overdo every enterprise that gives a fair return for the investment made, and undo every person who has the foresight and courage to inaugurate and develop such an industry, was perhaps as common then as it is at the present time. Through the means of opposition lines between Boston and Providence, where the regular fare was three dollars, it was cut to two and one-half, two, one and one-half and then to a dollar. Azariah Fuller was manager of the B. & P. Commercial Line and Timothy Gay of Dedham the Citizen's Coach Line. The report of another line gives the competition still more severe, the proprietors cutting the fares until they gave their passengers a free ride, and then the opposition line advertising to pay each passenger twenty-five cents that would ride with him.

The practice of stage-drivers leaving their horses unhitched, called forth an act from the General Court to

take effect June 1, 1827, fixing a penalty of two months' imprisonment or fifty dollars fine, for leaving their team unhitched or uncared for, when passengers were within the coach. It has been related of Genery Twichell, whose career was perhaps the most remarkable among the list of drivers, that he began as a driver, became proprietor, then conductor on the railroad, then superintendent, president and finally member of Congress. He used to send his horses at a high rate of speed up in front of the hotel door, drop the lines upon the backs of the wheel-horses and climb down from his seat to attend to other duties. Benjamin Thomas Hill has given Mr. Twichell so much space in his carefully prepared paper, "Beginnings of the Boston and Worcester Rail Road," that I will refer you to Vol. XVII., page 527, W. S. A. Publications.

Shrewsbury, through the instrumentality of Captain Pease, became a popular stage town. It was the central point for the management of the Pease and Sikes stage-lines and for some years was alive with this industry. One Shrewsbury man became so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the times that in after years, having removed to the neighboring town of Leicester and residing on the line of the western post-road, when called to lay aside the cares of this life asked that he might be buried on his land at the side of the road where he could hear the stages as they went by. Many interesting stories are told of the experience of travelers while traversing the country in those coaches. The strange speculations, the queer remarks and profound sayings uttered, caused amusement among the parties and helped greatly to enliven the trip. Mr. Silas M. Freeman, who was driving on the Boston and New York mail route between Worcester and Sturbridge, was one day reprimanded by one of his passengers for some attention given in the form of chastisement to a certain balky horse in his team as he was making one of his regular trips. Not relishing any interference with

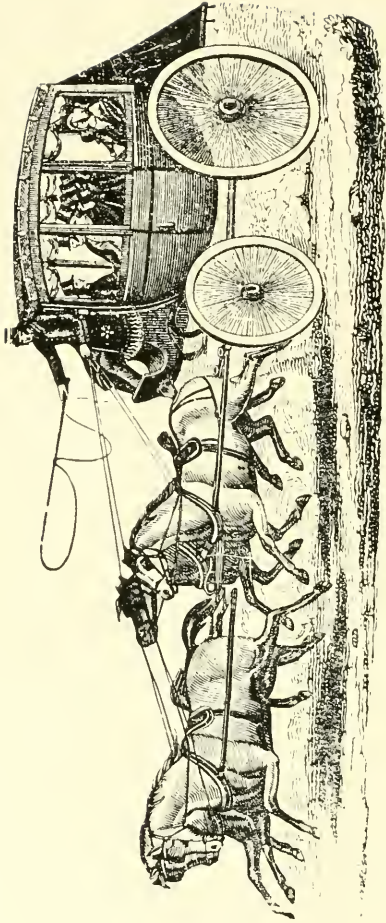
his duties, and thinking he knew best how to manage his horses, he, after persistent criticism on the part of the stranger, replied to him sharply, demanding that he stop his noise and cease interfering with that which was none of his business. After the station at Sturbridge was reached, some one said to the driver, do you know who that passenger is that you had words with; he replied he did not. That is John Quincy Adams, President of the United States.

Mr. Freeman also enjoyed the distinction of having General Lafayette as a passenger while driving the mail-coach. At times when the roads were very slippery he used to run his horses down the Charlton Hills, first giving his passengers the choice of riding or walking down; they almost invariably replied, if you can ride we can. On occasions when there was a very deep fall of snow, people along the route would turn out with shovels, and help him through the drifts. Considerable time was required now and then to cut through certain places. At one time being greatly fatigued, he was advised by his helpers to wrap himself up and take a short nap while they removed the snow-bank. Mr. Freeman consented and awoke to find both feet frozen. Mr. Freeman also drove on the line from West Sutton to Woodstock, Conn. He died in Millbury, Mass., in 1880 aged seventy-seven years.

Stories of robberies and murders were sometimes reported in connection with these stage routes. It is related that an attempt was made on March 25, 1809, by two villains to rob the mail as the stage bound east passed through Spencer on its way to Boston. The place selected for the robbery was near the sixtieth mile-post, where the road passed through a thick growth of timber and over a steep hill, causing the team to move at quite a slow pace at this point. There were no houses near at hand, and the stage made its way over this portion of the road usually in the night time; just at the moment when the robbers

were about to make their assault, the alarm was given by the driver's faithful dog, riding at his side, and the scheme was abandoned. Ephraim Mower and Simeon Draper offered a reward for the apprehension and conviction of the assailants, but the officers failed to secure them.

During that same month of March a severe snow-storm blocked the roads for teams, and Perry Chapin, the driver, carried the mail on snow-shoes one day, from Worcester to Brookfield, nineteen miles. There were many times during those early days that heavy snows stopped the stages from going through and the mails were carried between Worcester and Brookfield on handsleds. The same desire prevailed in those days as it does at present, to outdo the common or ordinary every-day methods, and a more rapid delivery of the public mail was considered. The lighter, easy-running coach had replaced the heavy lumbering wagon. Now the mail must be carried faster than the speed of the four-in-hand coach, and despatches and important letters were sent forward on a light sulky rig with a special driver. To test the courage of Samuel Sturtevant, the carrier on this Worcester division, some Brookfield men planned to attack him on the very spot in the Spencer woods where the robbery of the mail-coach was to have taken place. The first direct movement in the game was to see that the charges were stealthily drawn from Sturtevant's pistols immediately before he set out from Brookfield in the night on the arrival of the mail from the west. This was done, and the assailing party proceeded to the appointed place, where the attack on Sturtevant was made. The latter however met the aggressors with such furious and determined resistance as to completely defeat their plans to carry off the mail. Names of this party were secured, and on being called into court were each compelled to pay a fine amounting to fifty dollars, and costs of court, for as they expressed it a little harmless



STAGE COACH OF 1828.

fun, and to stimulate the drivers on the line to alertness and test their courage.

Comparatively speaking there was not much careless driving. Nida Smith, who drove for Burt & Billings, came into Worcester one day from Boston, drove around by the post-office and then to the hotel and barn, where he put up his horses. As Smith left no mail at the office, the postmaster, Maturin L. Fisher, went in hot haste after Simeon Burt to know where the Boston mail was. Burt in turn sought Smith, who was in the stable caring for his horses. But Smith could not tell where the mail-bag was unless it was up in Salisbury's brook. Investigation was made and the mail-bag found in the brook, where they used to drive through the stream very near the Salisbury mansion at Lincoln square.

It was nearly sixty years ago that on the eighth day of January, in the afternoon, the mail-coach, well filled with passengers, left Worcester for Barre and the stations beyond. After traveling about two miles three teams were overtaken, they giving the road (as was the custom), the coach passed them, but had not proceeded far before one of the teams (a one-horse rig with two men on the seat), came rushing up and passed the coach, immediately slacking their pace to a walk. The road being icy and narrow at this point, the stage was compelled to follow in the rear. On reaching a wider place the stage attempted to go by, but the driver of the single team blocked the way, and continued so to do until the passengers were nearly wild with rage, threatening to do up the ill-mannered driver. All solicitations and pleadings from the driver of the coach proved of no avail, and to quiet his restive passengers told them he knew the men lived in Hubbardston and would soon take the road leading in that direction and then they would be out of the way. Holden was reached and the coach stopped for exchange of mail. After the usual halt of a few minutes, the coach, renewing its

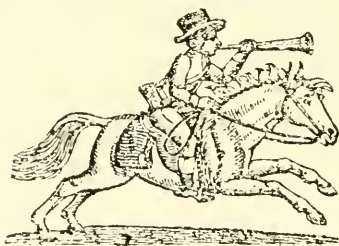
journey, soon came up behind this pestering single team. At this point one of the passengers urged the driver to stop the coach and let him get out, he would try and convince those unruly fellows it would be best to let the coach proceed, as nearly an hour's time had already been lost by their manœuverings. The passenger was advised to curb his temper. Already the road leading to Hubbardston had been passed and the single team yet in the lead. The driver of the coach was now resolved to test the strength of vehicles and when within about a mile of Rutland in a narrow place in the road there was a mix-up of coach and wagon, the result being that the wagon was doomed for extensive repairs, while the coach reached Barre one hour and a quarter behind time. These men were prosecuted in the United States Court for obstructing the mail, found guilty and both fined. Luther A. May, town treasurer 1850 to 1853, and Loring Bennett were the men who, with the hope of enjoying a little harmless fun, found themselves amenable to the law.

A story is related of an incident that occurred in the year 1821, on the stage line from Boston to Albany, N. Y., via Waltham, Stow, Bolton, Lancaster, Athol, Brattleboro and Bennington, Vt. The widow of an English colonel, whose home was in Porto Rico, a lady of wealth traveling for her health, while on her way from Albany to Boston, passing through the town of Athol, a slight accident occurred necessitating the changing of team and driver. The new driver was George ——— who by his careful attention to passengers and horses grew into favor with the widow from Porto Rico, who on reaching Lancaster, the end of his route, presented him with a silk pocket handkerchief, in one corner of which was tied a silver dollar. George hesitated to accept the gift, explaining he had performed no unusual service, therefore did not merit any reward. But she insisted, saying, always take care of the baggage and you will be prospered. The gift was

accepted with thanks. The relay being in readiness the relief driver mounted the box and with a flourish of his whip started the team at a rapid pace. The passengers in the coach soon realized they were in the hands of a reckless, whip-cracking Jehu, who was frequently snapping first at one horse then another, running them whenever his fancy dictated until a certain point in the road was reached not many miles from Lancaster, when the coach was overturned and rolled down an embankment ten or fifteen feet. An investigation soon disclosed the fact that widow B—— had sustained a serious injury, and one of the passengers mounted a horse and hurried back to Lancaster for help. Being a stranger in the town he rode to the stage barn, where he found George, who soon started a physician for the scene of the accident on one of his horses while he rode another and rendered the unfortunates all the assistance in his power. Excepting the widow from Porto Rico the passengers escaped serious injury, they only receiving a few bruises. She was taken from the overturned coach with a broken arm and carried to the nearest house, where the bone was set and the arm encased in splints. George helped to straighten out the tangled mass. Finding the vehicle not damaged beyond use, the horses were again attached to it and the whole party returned to Lancaster, from whence in due time another start was made for Boston, but with one less passenger than before, the widow deciding to remain and care for her fractured arm; George in the meantime, looking after her trunks and bandboxes and safely depositing them at the hotel where they would be convenient for her use. Several weeks passed before Mrs. B—— was able to resume her journey toward Boston, and George (when at the Lancaster end of his route), would call to enquire if there were any errands she wished to have done, declining to take pay for his services. When the time came for leaving Lancaster, Widow B—— obtained con-

sent of the proprietors of the line for George to drive the team, as she felt timid about riding with the man who had once caused her such a misfortune. The trip to Boston was made in safety, and at request of the widow George called the following morning to carry a message from her to his employers. The envelope contained a note thanking them for allowing George to drive the team to Boston, complimenting the latter for his politeness and the careful way in which he had performed all the duties assigned him. The note also contained the sum of twenty dollars, one-half of which she wished might go to George. Two weeks later George received a letter, the first he had ever received addressed to himself, although nineteen years of age. It was from the lady who appreciated his abstemious habits, thoughtfulness, faithfulness and kindness.

This letter conveyed the information that she had purchased a carriage for the purpose of journeying more leisurely and as she knew of no one more faithful in caring for and managing horses than he, she would give him thirty dollars a month and present him with a traveling suit if he would be her coachman. This was a rare chance for those days, and George immediately accepted the position, and had been in the employ of the Porto Rican lady several months, visiting various portions of the United States, when in the autumn of 1822, George drove into a village in southern Connecticut. At this time it was with difficulty that George could convey his mistress to a room in the hotel. A physician was called, who stated that Mrs. B—— was dangerously ill. She sent for an attorney to assist her in executing important papers, at the conclusion of which, she called George into her room and in addressing him said: "I am aware that you were left an orphan when quite young and are without relatives and almost without friends. Your character for faithfulness and your goodness of disposition have caused me to become interested in you. My husband died seventeen years



P Newspaper Notice!

THE Post-Rider through the towns of Leicester, Spencer, North Brookfield, Hardwick, &c., informs those who take the Worcester Newspapers of him that he will be at the following places for the purpose of settling with them, viz: At Goodell's tavern in Spencer, on Thursday, Feb. 23, in the afternoon; at the Store in New Worcester, on Friday, Feb. 24, in the forenoon; at the Post Office in Leicester, on Friday, Feb. 24, in the afternoon; at Rice's tavern in Spencer, on Friday, Feb. 24, in the evening; at W. Hill's store in Spencer, on Saturday, Feb. 25, in the forenoon; at Cary & Rice's store in North Brookfield, on Saturday, Feb. 25, in the afternoon; at Ruggles's tavern, in Hardwick, on Monday, Feb. 27, in the forenoon; at Burgess's tavern in Hardwick, on Monday, Feb. 27, in the afternoon.

It is now about three years since the subscriber commenced carrying Newspapers on this Route, and there are a good many persons (much to their shame) who have never paid him a *single cent*, although they have had the newspaper carried to them regularly and faithfully *every week*, rain or shine. He is now determined to have a settlement with ALL who are in arrears; and he hopes delinquents will look out that their grists don't get into the law-mill, as they inevitably will unless settled immediately.

DENNY S. NOYES.

New Braintree, Feb. 15.

ago, leaving me a valuable property in the West Indies and as I have no children or relatives and have not been able to find an heir in my late husband's family, I now by these papers, leave all I have both here and in the West Indies to you, believing that you will be temperate and honest and it will conduce to your happiness and respectability. Within a few hours the spirit of this true friend and benefactor had passed from earth, and all that remained was tenderly laid away in the church-yard. In due time George visited Porto Rico and took possession of his property, which he found more ample than he had expected. Two years later he returned on a visit to Massachusetts and married a farmer's daughter, for whom he had formed an attachment when driving stage, and became one of the most prosperous and wealthy men in Porto Rico.

POST-RIDERS AND STAGE-DRIVERS.

It is related by Samuel A. Drake, in his interesting book, "Old Landmarks of Boston," that the son of Seth Adams was the first post-rider from Boston to Hartford. The early post-riders went on horseback, and were employed by the government to carry messages, and subsequently by the early postmasters to carry letters as well as government messages. Still later the same term was applied to individuals who established private routes of their own, for carrying letters and periodicals, buying their papers of the publisher and supplying their customers with them, charging of course for their delivery. Oftentimes they went with teams to carry their heavy or bulky loads.

Whether Mr. Drake referred to James Adams as the son of Seth, we do not know, but James Adams who died in Charlemont was employed to carry despatches, as was also a Mr. Hyde.

Among the names of the early post-riders may be found that of Peter Rice, who was paid thirty shillings for going

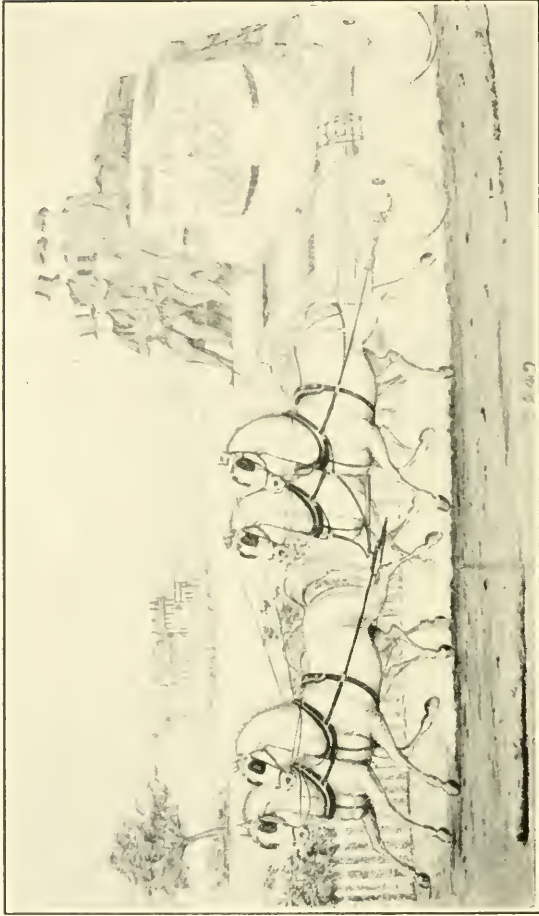
express from Marlboro to Brookfield for the government in November, 1723. Colonel Samuel Patridge paid for sending despatches from Boston to Hampshire Co., 1723. Joseph Bennet from Boston to Portsmouth, in 1725. Noah Phelps of Westfield, post-rider in 1726-27; Lewis Banc and Lieut. Timothy Child were post-riders for the government; Edward Houghton of Winchester, 1787, succeeded David Hammond in 1787, who carried out the "Worcester Magazine"; Denny S. Noyes; Joshua Thomas; Silas Fiske; Joseph Haskell; Ebenezer M. Ballard; John W. Slocomb; Leonard Patch, 1815, Worcester to Ashburnham; John Edgell, Worcester to Gardner; Hastings Glazier, Worcester to Sterling.

From the long roll of reinsmen who years gone by held such posts of honor and responsibility, only a few names have been secured. There must have been many faithful knights of the whip, whose names we would gladly place on our roll, but time has obliterated all trace of them.

Perry Chapin, who has been mentioned, drove from Worcester to Brookfield, 1809 to 1815, and later. Perry Chapin was called of Worcester, November 1, 1807, when he married Mary, daughter of Capt. Levi Pease, in Shrewsbury. He died in Worcester April 1, 1832, aged sixty-three years. Their son, Charles Perry Chapin, married Catherine, daughter of Henry Temple, for his first wife. He was a sign and ornamental painter, with shop on Main street, residence on Oak street, in 1845 to 1849, and at No. 8 Maple street in 1850 and 1851. The late Caleb Wall purchased the house of his heirs and owned it at the time of his death.

Samuel Sturtevant carried mail in a sulky between Worcester and Brookfield.

Ansell Tucker, 1826 to 1842, drove between Boston and Haverhill. Then for more than thirty-two years was a conductor on the Boston and Maine Railroad. All through his career he was especially free from accidents.



THE DRIVER IS CHARLES DANIEL GALE, 1842.

Charles Daniel Gale began driving stage in 1827, at the age of eighteen. During his service of thirty-two years he never had a passenger seriously injured, although his coach was overturned several times. He was born in Jamaica, Vt., March 15, 1809. His father, Daniel E. Gale, died in 1817, and the widow, whose maiden name was Clarissa Ball, removed with her children to Warwick, Franklin County, Mass., of which place both she and her late husband were natives. Mr. Gale's first route was from Brattleboro, Vt., to Athol, Mass. (one section of a through line to Boston). In 1828, he came to Worcester and drove between that place and Northampton, through Paxton, New Braintree, Hardwick, Greenwich, Pelham, Amherst and Hadley. It was called the "Cheese Line." Later he was employed on the line between Boston and Keene, N. H., and between Nashua and Lowell. In 1840, he again came to Worcester and drove between that town and Fitchburg, and later succeeded John Stiles as conductor on the Fitchburg Railroad, serving three years. He then settled on a farm in Fitchburg. But about 1877, removed to Spencer, where he now resides, enjoying good health, having just passed his ninety-fifth birthday and still quite active about the farm.

All through his long and active life Mr. Gale has held to a strict observance of that cardinal virtue, temperance. He had no use for tobacco or alcoholic drinks, and wherever he made his home, has enjoyed the respect and confidence of his fellow townsmen. While in Worcester he was admitted within the home circle of the townspeople and took part in many of the prominent social events of that period, for he was complimented owing to his correct habits, good looks, gentlemanly manners, neat and tidy appearance. He also enjoys the distinction of having met during those early days some notable people. Not only Daniel Webster, but many prominent personages were passengers in his coach. He witnessed the reception given Louis Kossuth

and saw him in the procession, with Governor Levi Lincoln, mounted on a beautiful white horse. He saw Jenny Lind and listened to her sweet, charming voice, has shaken hands with Abraham Lincoln, General Grant and Theodore Roosevelt. He voted for William Henry Harrison in 1836, and again in 1840, also later voted for his grandson Benjamin Harrison. In 1840, he was driver of a huge wagon loaded with a log cabin drawn by six gray horses from Winchester to Concord, New Hampshire, accompanied with thirty Winchester townsmen and a generous supply of hard cider. He married Miss Harriet M. Moore of Brattleboro, Vermont, in 1850. Two sons reside on the farm with him at South Spencer, Mass.

Genery Twichell, 1834. He had a livery stable on Market street, 1842-43. His brother Sylvanus Twichell.

Elliott Swan, who succeeded Genery Twichell as driver on the line from Worcester to Brattleboro, Vt., between the years 1840 and 1850, many Worcester people will remember, for he was a resident of this place many years. It was his custom to leave Brattleboro at six o'clock in the morning with his coach and four horses. At Northfield he was given a change of horses. On reaching Irving six horses were furnished for the run to Petersham. From the latter place to Barre four were used, but from Barre to Paxton six horses were again required. Worcester was usually reached by five o'clock in the afternoon, a distance of seventy miles made in eleven hours. During certain seasons of the year when the roads were heavy, lost time was made up by running the horses from Paxton to Worcester. Mr. Swan was a man of large frame and apparently possessed of great physical strength. His intrepidity in carrying the mail on his back across the Connecticut river when full of floating ice compares favorably with that of Twichell carrying the sack of letters from Barre to Worcester in a blinding snow-storm which blocked the roads for teams between the two places.

He was proprietor of the old Swan Tavern, which was a landmark in Washington square. He removed from there to his farm near Coal Mine brook. This he subsequently sold, and died in Spencer about seven years ago.

Michar R. Ball, saddler by trade, father of the late Rev. Geo. S. Ball of Upton, was proprietor of stage line, Worcester to Leominster, and also to Keene, N. H., and Groton to Amherst, 1820-1824.

Marcus Barrett drove between Worcester and Boston also Worcester and Barre.

Abner Orcutt (of Athol). ——— Crandall, Keene, N. H.

Anson Johnson, William Geer, Worcester to Boston and Jason Temple, Worcester to Boston, 1844. ——— Alden, whose brother Harvey kept tavern north of Worcester.

Freeman Bigelow drove from East Douglas to Providence.

James Parker, Worcester to Providence, agent, and subsequently conductor on B. & A. R. R.

Anson White and Samuel Lawton, Worcester to Providence.

Nida Smith, Worcester to Boston (lost mail in Mill Brook). Freeman Smith, Charles Smith, Joel Maynard, drove Boston to Fitchburg.

Nathan C. Bemis. His brother Elias Bemis.

John C. Stiles, Worcester to Lancaster and Clinton. First conductor on Fitchburg Railroad. Mrs. Abbot Lawrence wanted to occupy a whole seat, causing a lady to stand, Stiles came through the car and asked her to move along and let the lady have half the seat, Mrs. Lawrence said, "Do you know who I am?" Stiles says, "No." She replied, "I am Mrs. Abbot Lawrence." His reply was, "I don't care if you are God Almighty you will move along and let this lady sit down."

Baria Curtis drove from Worcester to Groton.

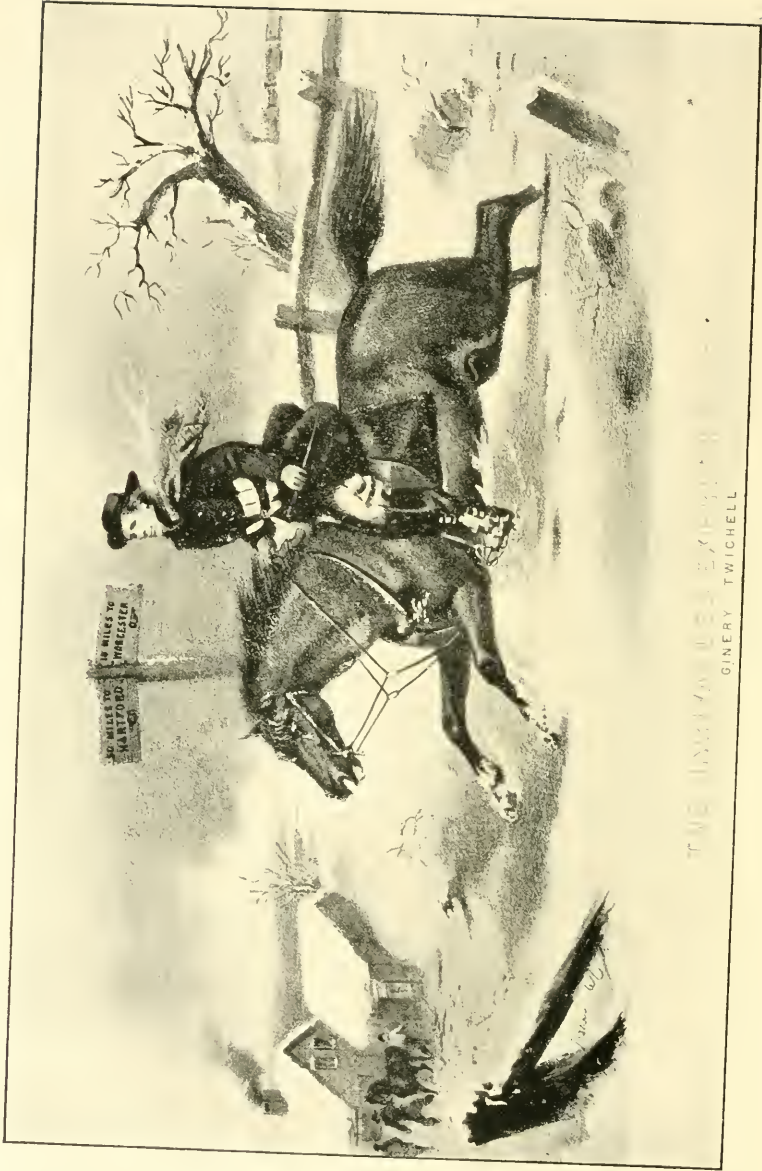
Joseph ~~Joseph~~ Nichols, Worcester to Hubbardston.

Austin Rockwood, Fitchburg.

The names of other drivers who drew the lines over

New England stage teams, some of whom became proprietors of stage-lines, were: Abraham Poole, Salmon F. Perry, Dexter Dean, Jack Downing, Jacob Cushman, Gideon Southworth, Joseph Hunt, Joseph Long, Charles R. Sisson, William Peck, Frank Poole, William Sima, Andrew Sisson, George Richards, Alfred Richards, Josiah Thurston, Richard Sisson, Charles H. Fuller, Thomas Dunmore, Mathew T. Fuller, M. O. Bradford, John A. Wilcox, Luther F. Shaw, Stephen D. Perry, Frank Blake, Josiah Bliss, Samuel Burnham, James Tudor Talcott, George G. Kilburn, Isaac H. Redding, Stephen R. White, Isaac Hall, Leonard Day, Baxter Barnes, Charles Nudd, William Aspinwall. *Zealotes H. Dear*

Alvan Allen, grandfather of Chas. Allen, of Worcester, the noted civil engineer. He ran a line of stages from Worcester to Sturbridge and Southbridge, and became associated with Genery Twichell, Simeon Burt, Frederick Billings and others in equipping and operating various lines of stages running in and out of Worcester, Mass. In 1836, he removed from Sturbridge to Worcester that he might better attend the demands of the company's rapidly growing business. The Old United States Hotel and the Central House were the headquarters for the company. While the Norwich and Worcester Railroad was in process of construction to the Sound, Mr. Allen held the contract for conveying passengers to and from Allyn's Point, connecting with trains on the road. In looking after the interests held in the several stage-lines he made numerous journeys to the national capital for the purpose of securing contracts for carrying the United States mail. In 1845, Mr. Allen was engaged in the grocery business, with a store on Main street in Paine's new block. Two years later he became associated in the same trade with W. M. Brewer, under the style of Allen and Brewer. In 1848, he opened a store in Paine's Block, number two hundred thirty-six Main street, for the sale of pianofortes, securing about this time the sole agency for the sale in Worcester of the Chickering



THE INDIAN BEECHER
GINERY TWICHELL

JANUARY, 1846.

piano. This agency he retained until his death. His residence was at sixteen Trumbull street, where he erected the first two brick buildings constructed on that street. In 1849, 1850 and 1858, he represented ward four in the City Council. In 1853, he was assistant assessor and also city marshal, and chosen to serve on the school committee in 1859, the year of his death, which occurred in December by accident, he being run over by the steamboat train on the Norwich and Worcester Railroad, while passing between Front and Mechanic streets. He was sixty-three years old at the time of his death.

J. Hilton drove to Templeton via Princeton, 1844.

Henry Penniman, Penniman & Eddy, Worcester to Millbury, 1844.

William Hatch, Worcester and Leicester.

Lucian B. Stone, of Worcester, afterwards street commissioner and member of the board of aldermen, succeeded Hatch, Worcester to Leicester.

Samuel Woodbury, Worcester to Shrewsbury.

Cyrus Stockwell drove in and out of Worcester.

—— McKenzie, on Hartford turnpike, Pascoag to Providence. Went to California in 1856, and drove stage there.

Alexander W. Ballard, late of Spencer, drove stage many years.

—— Rogers drove stage from Worcester.

William P. Aldrich, Worcester to Uxbridge, 1844.

Roswell Smith.

William C. Clark, proprietor of line, Worcester to Keene and Nashua, N. H., also Lowell, Mass., 1844. He was a citizen of Worcester many years, owned property, corner Main and Mechanic streets; kept United States Hotel.

Charles W. Estabrook. C. W. Fling. S. Carlton.

Henry S. Mansfield of Slatersville, cashier of bank there, was manager of a line between Worcester and Providence;

Leonard S. Wheelock drove on this line and lived in Grafton.

John Quincy Adams, also drove from Grafton.

George Hawes, stage-driver, boarded at Central Hotel, 1850, 1851.

James Perry drove Uxbridge to Milford coach-and-four in forties and fifties.

Simeon Butler, Worcester to Barre. He lived on Park street, Worcester.

John B. White, Grafton and Worcester.

Reuben Glazier. L. Lakin. Geo. D. Hurlbert.

Samuel Ripley. S. Wood. H. L. Lawrence.

Mulvin Allen.

Elias Lovell, Worcester to Millbury; kept hotel at Bramanville; succeeded by his son Wm. Frank.

Henry Salford drove on line from Boston to Providence. He began driving about 1825. Seven years later had taken a wife and was thrifty and very happy. But through the opening of the steam railroad he lost his position and became thoroughly discouraged. His wife died. The loss of his favorite employment so prayed upon his mind that in a fit of despondency took his own life in 1836.

Simeon Burt, who was for many years prominently identified with the stage business in and about Worcester as proprietor and agent, went from Monson, about 1810, with Cyrus Merrick to Sturbridge, where they purchased the tavern which they operated in connection with their interests in the Worcester and Hartford line of stages. Prior to 1820, they sold the tavern there to D. K. Porter. Burt came to Worcester, where his first wife, Martha, died March 22, 1820, and he married October 25, 1821, Anna Robinson. For some years his residence was at 100 Main street, and his place of business at 13 School street, where he appears to have been manager of the Worcester Stage Company. About 1845, he went to board at the United States Hotel, corner of Main and

Mechanic streets, and three years later his name disappeared from the Worcester Directory.

In 1830, stages were running from Augusta, Me., to Savannah, Ga., 1257 miles. (Boston to Savannah, Ga., 1094 miles.)

In 1789, 1790 there were 75 post-offices and 1,875 miles of post-roads; 1791, 89 post-offices and 1,905 miles post-roads; 1792, 195 post-offices and 5,642 miles post-roads; 1793, 209 post-offices and 5,642 miles post-roads; 1794, 450 post-offices and 11,984 miles post-roads; 1797, 554 post-offices and 16,180 miles post-roads; 1800, 903 post-offices and 20,817 miles post-roads; 1815, 3,000 post-offices and 43,748 miles post-roads; 1820, 4,500 post-offices and 72,492 miles post-roads; 1825, 5677 post-offices and 94,052 miles post-roads; 1830, 8,450 post-offices and 115,176 miles post-roads.

1808	there was a deficit of	\$2,264
1820	“ “ “ “	48,999
1821	“ “ “ “	125,196
1822	“ “ “ “	50,082
1823	“ “ “ “	26,880
1828	“ “ “ “	26,285
1829	“ “ “ “	105,317
1830	“ “ “ “	39,809

All other years, 1789 to 1830, inclusive, a profit from \$1,875 to \$105,336 in the year 1827.

Just prior to the opening of the railway lines for the accommodation of the traveler, the advantages for journeying by the stage-coach had assumed not only gigantic proportions but had developed into a system of great utility. Travel during the early thirties between Boston and New York was considerable, and one of the popular routes was by the way of Providence over the Citizens' Line. Timothy Gay was president of this line, having his headquarters at his tavern-stand in Dedham.

Thomas P. Brown was the agent in Boston with general office at the Marlboro Hotel. The company's stable and yard was in the rear of the old Mansion House on Milk street, with a front on Hawley street. 300 horses and a large number of coaches were used in operating this line. The Boston Stage ran to Providence connecting with the New York boat at India Point. One hundred passengers were often booked in one day for this ride. Their names being taken in the various offices located in different parts of the city the day before starting on the trip, and then reported at the central office, from which, at four o'clock in the morning, a special messenger was sent in a gig to wake up and notify the passengers to be in readiness for the stage which followed in due time to pick up its load, and by five o'clock the coaches were on the way to Dedham where breakfast was partaken at Gay's Tavern. There were frequently from ten to twelve coaches in a line bound for the steamer's wharf where they were due to arrive at half-past eleven, in the forenoon, a half-hour before the boat was to start. The stage route passed through Dedham, Walpole, Wrentham, Attleboro and Pawtucket. President Jackson's message was delivered in Boston, from Providence, during those stage-going days, by express riders, in two hours and forty-five minutes. The message was lashed around a whip handle, which, on arrival of the boat, was thrown to a rider who immediately started on his errand of delivery, passing it from one rider to another, who received it while riding at full speed.

The Citizens' Line was not to have its own way for any great length of time without effort. David Homer, a member of the board of directors for this line, became dissatisfied for some reason, and withdrew from the board and going to Washington secured, through Stockton and Stokes, a contract to carry the mail from Boston to Providence over a new line. Brown, however, was equal to the occasion. He conceived and brought out what was termed the

United States Mail Pilot which carried but seven passengers, six inside and one with the driver. The Pilot with its light load would leave Boston after breakfast and then reach India Point in season for passengers to take the New York boat, returning reach Boston more than an hour ahead of the heavy old style coaches, and in less than six months time he had driven off the new opposition line. But in 1834, when the Boston & Providence railroad was open to travel the stages were forced to retire from this once popular field.

THE TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS BY THE
COLONISTS.

It is always a source of pleasure to be able to speak well of the deeds of our ancestors. Much has been said and written, and much more will be said and written in praise of their noble and heroic achievements: the encomiums of a grateful and loving people have been inscribed in characters of gold to commemorate them. But if we are true to ourselves and just to them, all questions shall be treated impartially, and the facts presented as found upon the time-worn pages of their history. If to err is human, surely we shall expect to meet with some dark spots upon the marvelously bright leaves of their early annals, and without a pulse-beat of remorse congratulate ourselves in being able to place our fingers upon so few points in their eventful career where we could wish they had performed their part a trifle better; notably their treatment of those unfortunate, demented persons called witches, and possibly the Indians.

As we stand upon the threshold of this new century, and look back over the annals of the centuries that are gone, we can more fully realize that surely the world is growing better, the general standard of citizenship is higher, notwithstanding the voice of the doubter is frequently heard.

Gazing across the span of nearly three hundred years, contrasting the methods, customs and habits of our ancestors with those in practice to-day, we must admit the general standard of life, conduct of life, treatment of our fellow men at home and abroad, is much higher than it was at the time our forefathers settled this country. We lift our hands in perfect horror and exclaim with our senior Senator at Washington, when we learn of similar acts being performed to-day by our soldiers in arms, that we have been in the habit of believing not only right but

proper in the conduct of our forefathers, and extolled them for their heroism as we read how they carried on their war of extermination of natives of the soil they came to confiscate. That our ancestors acted according to the highest, noblest and best within them, as they saw it, there can be no question. Our point of view has, perhaps, changed from theirs with the intervening years. We believe we are wiser and better now, although not yet sufficiently wise to put aside the barbarous customs of warfare, but we have learned to wage it more scientifically and with more terrible destruction to life and property, thereby showing progress in that direction.

But what was the conduct of the colonists toward the Indians?

The Spaniards were first to locate this side of the Atlantic. They set the example. Other nations might have profited by Spanish experience had they so desired.

At that period in our world's history church and state were one and inseparable, consequently the apparent or pretended object in extension of territory was chiefly for the spreading of the Gospel among the heathen, carrying the word of promise to the ungodly, opening the eyes of those who lived in total darkness toward the teachings of Christ, thereby to enhance the government under which they lived.

When Cortez received his commission as captain general of New Spain, early as 1529, he was directed to give his principal care to the conversion of the Indians. He was to see that no Indians were given the Spaniards to serve them; that they paid such tribute to his majesty as they might easily afford; that there should be a good correspondence maintained between the Spaniards and the Indians, and no wrong offered the latter, either in their goods, families or persons.

It is recorded that Bishop Don Sebastian Ramirez (acting governor under Cortez) earnestly endeavored to have

these humane instructions carried out, by which means it is said the country was much improved and all things carried on with equity to the general satisfaction of all good men. Laws enacted for the government of the Indies fully recognized the rights of the Indians to their landed possessions, in fact to all their rights; and provision was granted them under the laws to protect themselves against injuries caused by the Spaniards. It was ordered when cattle owned by Spaniards roamed over lands cultivated by the Indians, whatever damage the latter sustained was to be appraised by the judges without solicitation of the Indians, that full reparation should be made for the injury.

All sales or gifts of land by Indians to the Spaniards were to be witnessed by the attorneys of the royal audiences that no injustice should be done either party. It was commanded that the sale, grant and composition of lands be executed with such attention that the Indians should be left in possession of the full amount of lands belonging to them, either singly or in communities, together with their rivers and waters. And the lands they had drained or otherwise improved could in no case be sold or aliened. Every inducement was to be offered to encourage the Indians to cultivate their lands and sell the product. All these provisions were wise and humane. But this was the sugar coating. On the other hand, should the natives attempt to oppose the settlement of a colony, they should be given to understand that the intention in forming it was to teach them to know God and His holy law, by which means they were to be saved: also to preserve friendship with them and teach them to live in a civilized state, not to do them harm or take them from their settlements. They were to be convinced of this by mild means, through the interference of religion and priests and other persons appointed by the Governor, that the settlement might be made in peace, and with their consent. If, notwithstand-

ing, they withheld their consent, the settlers, after having notified them pursuant to law, should proceed to make their settlement without taking anything that belonged to the Indians, and without doing them any greater damage than necessary for the protection of the settlers, and to remove obstacles to the settlement. As we catch the real meaning, it bears the same point as the dying injunction of the father who had been moderately successful in accumulating a stock of this world's goods: "My son," he said, "make money; make it honestly if you can, but make money."

The Spanish government claimed the right to possession of the whole territory by conquest. The Indians could, however, continue to occupy the acreage they actually tilled, or what was necessary for their support. Outside of that was called waste lands, to which the Indians could have no claim. That is to say, if the Indians would remain quietly upon their little ranches or gardens, submit to, and obey the laws enacted by the Spaniards (in the making of which the Indian had no voice), and quietly observe the Spaniards gather about them, taking possession of the best lands within reach, leaving little or no opportunity for the Indian to enlarge his holdings, but of necessity remove his stakes many miles, should his children and grandchildren desire to establish homes, accept the religion and opportunities for civilization offered by the Spaniards, they could live in peace.

It would, indeed, seem a righteous exchange, for surely, what doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

So far as we have been able to learn, the Spanish government never adopted the policy of purchasing the Indian title to lands, although as may have been discovered from quotations made, they distinctly recognized such titles in so far as the lands they actually occupied, but when the lands on which the Indians had located were wanted by

the Spaniards, compensation was made by giving them other lands.

The French were more skillful, cunning or diplomatic in their policy. They established no clearly defined ordinances relating to extinguishment of Indian titles to lands. (Sec. 53) Letters patent issued by Louis XV reads: Whereas, in the settlement of lands granted to the said company by these present letters, we have chiefly in view the glory of God by procuring the salvation of the Indian savage and negro inhabitants, whom we wish to be instructed in the true religion, the said company shall be bound to build churches at her expense in the places of her settlements, as likewise to maintain there as many approved clergymen as may be necessary. (Sec. 6) The said company shall be free in the said granted lands to negotiate and make alliance in our name with all nations of the land, except those which are dependent on the other powers of Europe. She may agree with them on such conditions as she may think fit, to settle among them and trade freely with them, and in case they insult her she may declare war against them, attack them or defend herself by means of arms, and negotiate with them for peace or for a truce. They could sell or give away lands on whatever terms they saw fit. The same privileges substantially were granted the Company of One Hundred Associates, who struggled so manfully under their leader, Champlain. The policy seemed to be when a tribe or nation agreed to come under French domination, the act carried also title to their lands. The first step was to take possession peaceably, if they could, but take it and settle afterward, and the French were quite successful in perfecting a settlement. Their custom was to invite representatives of the tribes to assemble at some designated place, where they were met by a number of Frenchmen who would erect a post and affix to it the King's Arms, and declare to those present that they had

been called together in order to be received into the King's protection, and in his name to take possession of all their lands, so that thenceforth their possessions and the King's should be one, to which the Indians readily agreed, for they were seeking an alliance for protection against that powerful enemy, the six nations. The French considered the action of joining in this ceremony absolutely passed to the crown the Indians possessory rights. Although nowhere in the King's commission or in any of his grants was there any direct recognition of such titles, nor was there any provision for securing to the Indian possession of land necessary for his use, full powers were granted the King's Lieutenant-general to build fortifications, declare war, organize armed forces to establish authority, subdue, subject and exact obedience from all the people of said countries, and to defend the said countries with all his power. So far as the French stated their position, it was the war policy: right to the soil by conquest.

The Dutch or West India Company were rather more magnanimous toward the natives. Still, even with their feigned liberality in dealing with the Indians, there appears from our point of view a sharpness that we cannot overlook. They purchased the Island of Manhattes of the natives for 60 guilders, and Peter Minuet, before they had erected a single building, treated with them for their hunting grounds. Price paid was a trifle more than one dollar per thousand acres, and the record reads: "The Indians accepted the terms with unfeigned delight."

The Patroons of New Netherland purchased their lands of the natives, and well they could afford to (at one dollar per thousand acres). Furthermore, those guilders passed to the Indians would, doubtless, come back in trade. What good could the Indian gain by hoarding them? And it is recorded that aside from this purchase of lands, their dealings with

the Indians were much less honorable. The Dutch purchased the lands on the Connecticut River, on Long Island, and up the Hudson, giving articles of clothing, implements for hunting and fishing, domestic utensils and personal ornaments. This government allowed companies and individuals to make purchases of lands a custom that later caused much trouble. It is a matter of record that Governor Fletcher confirmed certain grants in the Mohawk country that were fraudulently secured from the Indians, notwithstanding the protests of the latter. This same governor stated he was always ready to purchase tracts of land of the Indians at small price, and in doing so he was following instructions from the King.

The policy of the English government was to entirely ignore the Indians' possessory rights to the soil. The grants and charters issued are almost entirely lacking reference to any native population, treating the subject as if taking possession of a waste and uninhabited country.

Those grants issued to her subjects, retaining rights of sovereignty, made her responsible for the treatment of the Indians.

The great patent of New England granted absolutely from 40° to 48° north latitude, north and south, and from sea to sea, all the firm land, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishings, mines and minerals, but not a word intimating the territory was pre-occupied by natives (unless they be Christian people), and, of course, no word of solicitude for their welfare or proper treatment.

In the charter of Charles I to Lord Baltimore, where reference is made to the Indian, Lord Baltimore is authorized to "collect troops and wage war on the 'barbarians' and other enemies who may make incursions into the settlements, and to pursue them even beyond the limits of their province, and, if God shall grant it, to vanquish and captivate them, the captives to put to death, or, according to their discretion, to save."

The charter to William Penn bears about the same language. From the citations it is apparent that the English government placed the entire treatment of the natives in the hands of the grantees and colonists. They, however, came to the conclusion the Indians had a right of occupancy which the home government ought properly to extinguish by purchase, and when Charles II came into power he sent a commission to America for the purpose of looking into this matter (examine complaints, etc.). Massachusetts objected to having the subject opened up, although some Indian claims were adjusted by purchase, but no settled policy came from the movement.

Thus far I have been attempting to place before you the principles on which treatment toward the Indians was officially based. Now let us examine the course actually followed.

History reveals the cruel and oppressive treatment the Spaniards gave the natives who first came under their domination. How they depopulated Hispaniola of 3,000,000, and Cuba of 600,000 souls (if Indians have souls). A witness to their cruelty and violence writes: "They went out with their dogs to hunt for natives to kill. The unarmed savages were pursued like deer, and devoured by dogs, shot down and consumed in their huts, that were burned over their heads." And all for gold and precious stones. With such an introduction how could we expect otherwise than that the pathway of the Spaniard would be stained with blood and carnage until every Indian with a spark of self-reliance had given his life for the protection of kindred, home and country.

"Wherever the Spaniards marched they spared no age or sect, nothing sacred or profane." Their bloody hands were not stayed until Guatimozin had been roasted on a bed of live coals to compel him to disclose the location of his treasurer, and the native Americans were compelled to sue for peace on bended knee.

The French met with comparatively little trouble with the Indians. Their conduct toward them was perhaps, on the whole, the most humane and just of either of the nationalities who planted colonies upon these American shores. They said to the natives, come and live with us, dwell under the protection of our King, accept him as your sovereign, and we will protect you against your enemies, assist in fighting your battles: buy your furs and such other products as you may wish to sell or exchange; in return will give you money, or merchandise of all kinds, including guns, pistols, powder, lead, flints, anything you want, even fire-water. Agents were sent in various directions hundreds of miles over the country calling attention to the advantages offered, encouraging the Indians to bring their furs and trade with the liberal, open-handed Frenchman. The latter instituted seasons for holding sales at Montreal, where the Indians came from all parts of the country within a radius of a thousand miles. These sales or fairs were usually held in the month of June, sometimes lasting four or five weeks. Here the natives brought their furs and articles for trade, and passed the days and weeks in various kinds of amusements, ample opportunity, no doubt, being given them to not only deposit their furs, but also the money received for them before leaving Montreal. Nevertheless, this custom drew the Indians to the side of the Frenchman, whom they firmly believed was their true friend, inasmuch as he furnished such a delightful opportunity for their personal happiness.

As has been stated, the English (using that term collectively) made no special provision for treating with the Indians, except coming well prepared with arms and ammunition to protect and enforce the interests granted them in their various charters.

The proposition for carrying Christianity among them originated through goodness in the hearts of private individuals, and the work of spreading the Gospel in that

direction was supported by self-sacrifice and the contributions of private citizens, chiefly in England, where an association was formed for that object.

The London Company found the natives at the mouth of the James River occupying the most favorable grounds both for fishing and cultivation. Although the location and extension of the English settlement caused them to retreat to other places, for a time feelings of friendship continued and exchange of traffic was carried on, to the mutual advantage of both parties. But the crowding process of the Englishman soon began to breed a feeling of distrust that, together with his failure to keep his promises, caused the Indians to break faith with him, and hostilities began; not, however, before a pretence had been made of purchasing the land taken by the English, the purchase being substantially Powhatan's grant to Smith (in 1609), the place known as Powhatan (this chief's residence), for a "portion of copper" and an agreement that Smith would assist in protecting Powhatan from attacks of the Manakins.

The extent of this possession is not known, and may not have had any defined boundary lines. This co-emption, hardly worthy to be called a purchase, may perhaps be counted a fair sample of others made. No one knew the extent of the land involved, while the price paid was, in a commercial sense, equally as indefinite. It was a trade admitted to have been unfair and illegal. But the Indians accepted it in good faith, and an interchange of trade was for a time carried on to the advantage of all parties.

The enlargement of the settlement began to press upon the limits of the natives, causing them to become restless, and, finally being dissatisfied at the encroachments, even upon lands which had been secured to the Indians by treaty, open hostilities began, and after the massacre the latter were stripped of everything the English could secure. From that time on until 1660 outbreaks were frequent. These Indians had a few pounds of copper and the English had their lands.

During this year (1660) Act No. 138 was passed with the object of establishing better feeling between the settlers and the natives. (As it plainly states the cause of the trouble, allow me to quote a few lines):

“Whereas, the mutual discontents, complaints, jealousies and affairs of the English and Indians proceed chiefly from the violent intrusions of diverse English made into their lands, the governor, council and burgesses enact, ordain and confirm,” etc. (will not quote further). The act was to prevent any Englishman from purchasing any lands of the Indians; all such bargains should be void, and all former acts covering this matter were repealed.

That we may better understand the manner in which the natives were ready to welcome the settlers, let me repeat a few lines from an interview between Capt. John Smith and Powhatan. The latter said: “I am an old man and must soon die, and the succession must descend in order to my brothers, and then to my two sisters and their daughters. I wish their experience was equal to mine, and that your love to us might not be less than ours to you. Why should you take by force from us that which you can obtain by love? Why should you destroy us who have provided you with food? What can you gain by war? We can hide our provisions and fly into the woods, and then you must, consequently, almost famish by reason of wronging your friends. You see us unarmed and willing to supply your wants, if you will come in a friendly manner and not with swords and guns as to evade an enemy. I am not so simple as not to know it is better to eat good meat, be well, and sleep quietly with my women and children, to laugh and be merry with the English, and, being their friend, have copper hatchets and whatever else I want, than to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and such trash, and to be so hunted that I cannot rest, eat, or sleep, and so in this miserable manner to end my miserable life; and, Captain Smith, this might soon be your fate, too,

through your rashness and unadvisedness. I, therefore, exhort you to peaceable councils.”

This grand old chief spoke words of wisdom. Had they been heeded and allowed to prevail during the early life of the colonies, much suffering would have been averted.

King Charles II granted Lord Baltimore full powers to sell, convey and dispose of the lands ceded to him under his charter, and no reference made to the Indian titles. Lord Baltimore claimed the right to enter upon and hold possession of any lands purchased of any Indian by any of his subjects, he being the only person to give titles to lands within his domain.

The first lands taken up in Pennsylvania were purchased of the Indians by the Dutch and the Swedes, purchases thus far having been made more on the ground of policy than strict justice. But when William Penn established himself in his province, under his charter from Charles II, in 1681, he attempted to act upon the principle of equity in dealing with the natives within his grant. He knew his King had given him a title with definite metes and bounds. He felt no anxiety as to the extent of his possessions, but the Indians occupying that territory he was determined should, if possible, be satisfactorily reimbursed for the interest they held in it.

He called them together in council and agreed with them as to the price for each section they claimed, and paid them the agreed condition, and when any of the chiefs insisted they had not received full satisfaction, he gave them more and took another deed. Many of those deeds overlapped each other, and the description given for some of the boundary lines seems decidedly ludicrous, if not very definite. Penn cared little for that. What he desired was to peaceably secure their titles, and he succeeded so well that for more than seventy-five years Penn and his successors enjoyed the confidence and friendship of the redskins. So firm and

secure was this friendship that for more than a half century there was not a hostile gun fired or a fort built within his province.

I quote the description of the lines, that you may guess on the measurement:

“To run two days’ journey with an horse up into the country as the river doth go.”

“From thence northwesterly back into the woods to make up two full days’ journey, as far as a man can go in two days from the said station.”

“Backward as far as a man can ride two days with a horse.”

“Up the Delaware and extending backward to the remotest bounds of the province.”

“So far as a horse can travel in two summer days.”

In the first payment to the Indians, made by Penn in 1682, rum, cider and beer are among the articles mentioned in the invoice, but in the one made July 30, 1685, those articles were omitted, but the following are mentioned: “200 fathoms of wampum, 30 duffels, 30 guns, 60 fathoms of stroud-waters, 30 kettles, 30 shirts, 20 gimlets, 12 pairs shoes, 30 pairs stockings, 30 pairs scissors, 30 combs, 30 axes, 30 knives, 31 tobacco tongs, 30 bars lead, 30 pounds powder, 30 awls, 30 glasses, 30 tobacco boxes, 3 papers beads, 44 pounds red lead, 30 pairs hawk bells, 6 drawing knives, 6 caps, 12 hoes.”

The words quoted as having been uttered by Powhatan ought to convince us that he was of finer mould than a mere savage, and it leads to the inquiry, who were those beings called by some of the early writers “pagan savages”? All writers did not describe them by the same terms. Much depended upon the point of view and color of glasses worn.

The author of a geography and history published in 1784, an exceedingly carefully prepared work of about 900

octavo pages, evidently a standard work for its time, says (with a design to present facts): "When the thirst for gold carried the inhabitants of Europe beyond the Atlantic, they found the inhabitants of the new world immersed in what they reckoned barbarity, but which, however, was a state of honest independence and noble simplicity. The natives of America were unacquainted with almost every European art; even agriculture itself, the most useful of them all, was hardly known, or cultivated very sparingly. The only method on which they depended for acquiring the necessities of life was by hunting the wild animals, which their mountains and forests supplied in great abundance. A people so employed cannot be supposed to enjoy much gayety of temper or high flow of spirits. The Indians, therefore, are in general grave, even to sadness. They have nothing of that giddy vivacity peculiar to some nations in Europe, and they despise it, being ignorant of the arts of amusements, of which saying trifles agreeably is one of the most considerable. They never speak but when they have something important to observe, and all their actions, words, and even looks are attended with some meaning. Their subsistence depends entirely on what they procure with their hands, and their lives, their honor, and every thing dear to them, may be lost by the smallest inattention to the designs of their enemies. Of necessity, the tribes or nations are extremely small, and live a considerable distance apart.

There is established in each society a certain species of government, which over the whole continent of America prevails with very little variation, because their manners and ways of living are nearly similar and uniform.

Without arts, riches or luxury (the great instruments of subjection in polished societies) an American has no method by which he can render himself considerable among his companions, but by superiority in personal qualities of body and mind. As nature had not been very

lavish in her personal distinctions, all enjoy about the same education, all are pretty much equal, and will desire to remain so. Liberty is, therefore, the prevailing passion of the Americans, and their government under the influence of this sentiment is better secured than by the wisest political regulations. They are very far, however, from despising all sorts of authority. They are attentive to the voice of wisdom, which experience has conferred on the aged, and they enlist under the banners of the chief, in whose valor and military address they have learned to repose their confidence. In every society there is to be considered the power of the chief and of the elders. The power of the chief is rather persuasive than coercive. He is revered as a father rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice, and one act of ill-judged violence would put him from the throne. In some tribes there is a kind of hereditary nobility. It is age which teaches experience, and experience is the only source of knowledge among a barbarous people. Among these people business is conducted with the utmost simplicity. Heads of the families meet at the appointed place, where the business is discussed, and here those distinguished for their eloquence or wisdom are heard; when the business is over, they sometimes hold a feast, in which nearly all the tribe joins. Where tribes are at peace, the behavior towards each other is of the most friendly and courteous manner, but if war exists, they fight with the most savage fury. No people carry their friendships or their resentments so far as they do. Indians who live in small societies, who see few persons, become wonderfully attached to those persons and cannot be deprived of them without being miserable. Their ideas are too narrow to entertain sentiments of general benevolence or ordinary humanity. But this very circumstance, while it makes them cruel and savage in war, adds new force to their

particular friendships and to the common tie which binds together members of the tribe.

Salmon, in his geography and astronomical grammar published in 1785, says: "The Indians are neither so ignorant nor so innocent as some people have supposed them to be, but are a very intelligent race, quick of apprehension, sudden in despatch, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in labor; no nation can boast better marksmen. Some tribes observe certain religious rites, worshipping the sun, and images as representing the Deity, and seem to acknowledge one supreme God, but do not adore Him, as they believe Him to be too far exalted above them. They believe in a future state of rewards and punishments."

Referring to the tribe known as the Iroquois, Salmon says: "They are the bravest and most formidable of the people of North America, and at the same time the most humane. The Romans never expressed a greater love for their country, or a greater contempt of death in the cause of liberty, than these people who, though lacking in advantages of education, they display a noble genius. Nor can any of the most polished nations boast of greater benevolence or more unfeigned hospitality."

The white people took possession of these shores with drawn sabre and muskets charged with powder and ball, the report of which, when discharged, sent terror to the hearts of the natives. They fled before the pale-faces as chaff goes before the wind. These terrified people saw (as they imagined) something supernatural about these newcomers; they were ready to fall at their feet and extend the hand of true friendship. Had the whites improved that opportunity and held strictly to honorable dealing, they would have experienced very little trouble from the redmen. But, no; about the first thing they did after terrifying them by the explosion of gunpowder, was to

entice a number of them on board their vessel and sail away to a foreign port, and there sell them into slavery for £20 each. This act, worse than barbarism, was heralded up and down the coast by the natives, and when whitemen were next seen along these shores trouble was in store for them; and why not? Who was to blame for this hostile reception?

Regarding the settlements in New England (as before stated), the home government left the Indians entirely in the hands of the settlers.

The Plymouth Colony by mere chance located on territory unoccupied by habitations, although possibly held in common as hunting grounds. Because void of inhabitants Massasoit freely gave them the lands they needed, no payment being required.

As their settlement grew, more land was wanted and purchased of the Indians. This word purchased should be accepted in a figurative sense. It is well known how that little colony struggled to provide the common necessities of life, but in some way they were able to satisfy the Indians for the land they occupied, and by adopting wise and conciliatory measures in dealing with them, retained their friendship unbroken for nearly a half century, and until the Massachusetts Bay Colony began to dictate terms.

With the advent of the Puritans complications with the natives began to multiply. The settlement at Charlestown was located at the solicitation of "Sagamore John," but nearly all the other settlements were established by right given under their charter, it being held that the Indians were entitled only to such lands as they actually kept enclosed or under cultivation.

Winthrop wrote: "That which is common to all is proper to none. This savage people ruleth over many lands without title or property, for they enclose no ground, neither have they cattle to maintain it, but remove their dwellings as they have occasion, or as they can prevail

against their neighbors, and why may not Christians have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods (leaving them such places as they have manured for their corn) as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites? For God hath given to the sons of men a two-fold right to the earth. There is a natural right and a civil right," etc. The straight-jackets prepared for the Indians by the Puritans were of the following dimensions:

No person should trade with them or employ them as servants without a license (1630). (This was repealed in 1646.)

No Indian should enter a house without knocking and on Sabbath-day must go only to church (1644).

Forbidden to pow-wow or worship false gods (1646).

No guns or ammunition were to be sold them or guns large or small repaired for them without license (1637), and that was granted only on certainty they were friendly Indians.

No boats, skiffs, or strong waters to be sold them (1633), or horses (1656).

All strange Indians to be kept away from the settlements, except on training day, when the militia were on parade; then they were to be watched. Guards were set against Indian attacks (1645).

If Indians did not return to the English all strays, the latter could proceed to take as many wherever found (1641).

Indians living with the English were obliged to do military duty (1652). If they wished to be good citizens, lands were to be given them for a settlement (1652).

In 1645 the deputies of Massachusetts began to talk about adopting measures to bring the natives to the knowledge of God, and the General Court, 1646, decided to help Elliot start on his Indian settlement scheme, and the following year granted him £10 to go with the £20 given by Lady Armin for that purpose.

In 1634 natives were not to be allowed to shoot for the English, but two years later, if the latter would pay for a license, the privilege might be granted.

September, 1632, Richard Hopkins was ordered to be whipped and branded with a hot iron on one of his cheeks for "selling" pieces, powder and shot to Indians.

In 1640 two Indian women were whipped for being insolent to Mrs. Weld.

In 1646 an Indian was given a long coat and two pounds of tobacco for relieving a party of English and piloting them to their homes, they having been left on shore by De La Tour to find their way home from the eastern portion of Maine, and might have perished without the help of this Indian.

In 1653 the people of Concord and Woburn wanted land that was being planted by the Indians. The General Court granted their request, and the Indians were forced to select another spot.

In 1637 an Indian claiming a portion of the land where Charlestown was located was paid 36s. That same year a settlement was made for the land at Concord. The next year an attempt was made to satisfy the Indians for Lynn and Watertown, and the following year they treated with them for Cambridge and Boston, but no settlement is recorded. In 1642 land for Haverhill was purchased, consisting of a tract 6 x 14 miles square, for which £3 10s. was paid. Indian deeds, however, were considered of "no more value than the scratch of a bear's claw." Chapter 61, Acts of the General Court June 14, 1712, reads: "Order for encouragement of volunteers against the enemy." The wages of the soldiers shall be materially increased; besides, a premium is offered each soldier of £60 for each male scalp. Statute of Massachusetts, 1722, contains the offer of a reward of £100 for every male Indian scalp twelve years and over old, and £50 for every one of such killed in battle. Please notice the comparative value of a twelve-

year-old Indian scalp with a 6 x 14 mile square tract of land. One of these scalps would buy land for $33\frac{1}{2}$ towns.

This Haverhill purchase may, perhaps, be considered a fair sample of other land deals made with the natives.

Such Indians as became civilized and lived with the English were to have the privileges of the English.

Was it not an astonishing attempt at generosity to offer those natives a plat of land which they and their fathers had held for untold generations, if they would transform themselves on brief notice into a citizen that could be measured by the Puritan yard-stick? Non-conformity had no place here any more than it had on the east side of the Atlantic. Through the efforts of Rev. John Elliot and Major-general Daniel Gookin, seven Indian villages were established, and under their wise ministrations for a brief time prospered, but Philip's War brought them to a sad ending in nearly every instance. It was no easy matter for those Indians to at once adopt English customs, habits and religion to any considerable degree. But failing in those accomplishments they were not wanted, and many of them naturally turned toward their more liberal friends, the French, and when war was declared between England and France it furnished an opportunity for disaffected natives to seek revenge, as it was their nature to do. Seeing this movement on the part of Indians the English immediately began the attempt to recover their friendship, which proved a difficult task.

You can, no doubt, recall the words of Powhatan, quoted a few moments ago. Let me give a later speech delivered at Albany, N. Y., June 27, 1754, by Canadagaia, who represented the lower castle of the Mohawks. Addressing Lieutenant-governor James de Lancey of New York and others he said: "We are here this day by God's will and your Honor's order, to which place you have led us, as it were, by the hand. This is our old meeting-place, where, if we have any grievances, we can lay them open. You are

lately come to the administration and we are glad to see you to lay our complaints before you. We take it very kind you have given us this opportunity to unfold our minds, and will now proceed to declare our grievances. Brother, we shall now open our minds, and we beg you will take time to consider what we shall say and not give us too hasty an answer, or in two or three words, and then turn your back upon us. As you are a new governor, we beg you will treat us tenderly and not as the former governor did, who turned his back upon us before we knew he intended to depart, so that we had no opportunity to finish our business with him. The reason we desire you would treat us in this tender manner is because this is the place where we are to expect a redress of our grievances, and we hope all things will be so settled that we may part good friends.

“Brother, we told you a little while ago that we had an uneasiness on our minds and we shall now tell you what it is. It is concerning our land. We understand that there are writings for all our lands so that we shall have none left but the very spot we live upon, and hardly that. We have examined amongst the elderly people who are now present if they have sold any of it, who deny that they ever have, and we earnestly desire you will take this into consideration, which will give us great satisfaction and convince us you have a friendship for us. We don't complain of those who have honestly bought the land they possess, or those to whom we have given any, but to some who have taken more than we have given them. We find we are very poor. We thought we had yet land round about us, but it is said there are writings for it all. It is one condition of the ancient covenant chain, that if there be any uneasiness on either side, or any request to be made, that they shall be considered with a brotherly regard, and we hope you will fulfill this condition on your side, as we shall always be ready to do on ours.”

Hendrick, for the upper castle of the Mohawks, said: "Brother," addressing the Lieutenant-governor, "we had a message from you some time ago to meet you at this place where the fire burns. We of Canajoharie met the messenger you sent with a letter at Colonel Johnson's, and as soon as we received it came down running, and the six nations are now here complete. Governor * * * Brother, we thank you for condoling our loss since last we met, and for wiping away our tears that we may speak freely, and as we do not doubt but what you have lost some of your great men and friends, we give you this string of condolence in return, that it may remove your sorrow, and that we may both speak freely. * * * Brother, we thought you would wonder why we of Canajoharie staid so long. We shall now give you the reason. Last summer we went down to New York to make our complaints, and we then thought the covenant chain was broken because we were neglected; and when you neglect business, the French take advantage of it, for they are never quiet.

"It seemed to us that the Governor had turned his back on the five nations, as if they were no more, whereas the French are doing all in their power to draw us over to them. We told the Governor last summer we blamed him for the neglect of the five nations, and at same time told him the French were drawing the five nations away to Osweegachie, owing to that neglect which might have been prevented if proper use had been made of that warning, but now we are afraid it is too late. We remember how it was in former times when we were a strong and powerful people. Colonel Schuyler used frequently to come amongst us and by this means we were kept together. We, the Mohawks, are in very difficult circumstances, and are blamed for things behind our backs which we don't deserve. Last summer, when we went up with Colonel Johnson to Onondaga, and he made his speech to the five nations, the five nations said

they liked his speech very well, but that the Mohawks had made it. We are looked upon by the other nations as Colonel Johnson's counselors, and supposed to hear all news from him, which is not the case, for Colonel Johnson does not receive from or impart much news to us. This is our reason for staying behind, for if we had come first, the other nations would have said that we made the Governor's speech, and, therefore, although we were resolved to come we intended the other nations should go before us, that they might hear the Governor's speech, which we could hear afterwards. There are some of our people who have large, open ears, and talk a little broken English and Dutch, so that they sometimes hear what is said by the Christian settlers near them; and by this means we came to understand that we are looked upon to be a proud nation and, therefore, staid behind. 'Tis true and known we are so, and that we, the Mohawks, are the head of all the other nations; here they are, and must own it. But it was not out of pride we of Canajoharie staid behind, but for the reason given you."

Five days later, Kendrick, one of the sachems, and brother of Abraham, also a sachem at the upper castle of the Mohawks, spoke as follows:

"Brethren, Saturday last you told us that you came here by order of the great King, our common father, and in his name to renew the ancient chain of friendship between this and the other governments on the continent, and us, the six united nations; and you said, also, there were present commissioners from Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and that Virginia and Carolina desired to be considered also present. We rejoice that by the King's orders we are all met here this day, and are glad to see each other face to face. We are very thankful for the same, and we look upon the governors of South Carolina and Virginia as also present. (Gave a belt.)

“Brethren, we thank you in the most hearty manner for your condolence to us. We also condole all your friends and relations who have died since our last meeting here. (Gave three strings of wampum.)

“Brethren (holding up the chain belt given by the several governors), we return you all our grateful acknowledgments for renewing and brightening the covenant chain. This chain belt is of very great importance to our united nations and all our allies. We will, therefore, take it to Onondaga, where our council fire always burns, and keep it so securely that neither thunder nor lightning shall break it. There we will consult over it, and as we have lately added two links to it, so we will use our endeavors to add as many links more to it as lies in our power; and we hope when we show you this belt again we shall give you reason to rejoice at it, by your seeing the vacancies in it filled up. In the meantime, we desire that you will strengthen yourselves and bring as many into this chain as you possibly can. We do now solemnly renew and brighten the covenant chain with our brethren here present, and all our other absent brethren on the continent. Brethren, as to the accounts you have heard of our living dispersed from each other, it is very true. We have several times endeavored to draw off those our brethren who are settled at Oswegatie, but in vain, for the Governor of Canada is like a wicked, deluding spirit; however, as you desire, we shall persist in our endeavors.

“You have asked us the reason of our living in this dispersed manner. The reason is your neglecting us for these three years past (taking a stick and throwing it behind his back); you have thus thrown us behind your back and disregarded us: whereas the French are a subtle and vigilant people, ever using their utmost endeavors to seduce and bring our people over to them. (Gave a belt.)

“Brethren, as to the encroachments of the French and

what you have said to us on that article in the behalf of our King, our father, as these matters were laid before us as of great importance, so we have made a strict inquiry amongst all our people if any of them have either sold or given the French leave to build the forts you mention, and we cannot find that either any sale has been made or leave has been given, but the French have gone thither without our consent or approbation, nor ever mentioned it to us. Brethren, the Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both quarreling about lands which belong to us, and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction. They fight who shall have the land. The governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania have made paths through our country to trade and build houses without acquainting us with it; they should first have asked our consent to build there, as was done when Oswego was built. (Gave a belt.) Brethren, it is very true, as you told us, that the clouds hang heavy over us, and 'tis not very pleasant to look up, but we give you this belt (giving a belt) to clear away all clouds, that we may all live in bright sunshine and keep together in strict union and friendship; then we shall become strong and nothing can hurt us. Brethren, this, the ancient place of treaty, where the fire of friendship always used to burn, and 'tis now three years since we have been called to any public treaty here. 'Tis true there are commissioners here, but they have never invited us to smoke with them, but the Indians of Canada come frequently and smoke here, which is for the sake of our beaver, but we hate the French Indians. We have not as yet confirmed the peace with them.

“ 'Tis your fault, brethren, that we are not strengthened by conquest, for we would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us. We had concluded to go and take it, but we were told it was too late and that the ice would not bear us. Instead of this, you burned your own fort at Saratoga and ran away from it, which was a shame

and a scandal to you. Look about your country and see; you have no fortifications about you, no, not even to this city; 'tis but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of your doors. Brethren, you desired us to speak from the bottom of our hearts, and we shall do it. Look about you and see all these houses full of beaver, and the money is all gone to Canada; likewise powder, lead and guns, which the French now make use of at Ohio. Brethren, the goods which go from hence to Oswego, go from thence to Ohio, which further enables the French to carry on their designs at the Ohio.

“Brethren, you were desirous that we should open our minds and our hearts to you. Look at the French; they are men; they are fortifying everywhere, but we are ashamed to say it. You are all like women, and without any fortifications.”

I trust you will bear with me while I give one more quotation, the statement is so clear:

The speech of the River Indians: “Fathers, we are greatly rejoiced to see you all here. It is by the will of heaven that we are met here, and we thank you for this opportunity of seeing you all together, as it is a long while since we have had such a one.

“Fathers, who sit present here, we will just give you a short relation of the long friendship which has subsisted between the white people of this country and us. Our forefathers had a castle on this river; as one of them walked out he saw something on the river, but was at loss to know what it was; he took it at first for a great fish; he ran into the castle and gave notice to the other Indians. Two of our forefathers went to see what it was and found it a vessel with men in it. They immediately joined hands with the people in the vessel and became friends. The white people told them they should not come any farther up the river at that time, and said they would return back from whence they came and come again in a year's time.

According to their promise they returned back in a year's time and came as far up the river as where the old fort stood. Our forefathers invited them ashore and said to them, here we will give you a place to make you a town; it shall be from this place up to such a stream (meaning where the patroons' mill now stands), and from the river back to the hill. Our forefathers told them though they were now a small people, they would in time multiply and fill up the land they had given them. After they were ashore sometime, some other Indians who had not seen them before looked fiercely at them, and our forefathers observing it and seeing the white people so few in number, lest they should be destroyed took and sheltered them under their arms. But it turned out that those Indians did not desire to destroy them, but wished also to have the said white people for their friends. At this time we have now spoken of, the white people were small, but we were very numerous and strong. We defended them in that low state, but now the case is altered. You are numerous and strong; we are few and weak. Therefore, we expect that you will do by us in these circumstances as we did by you in those we have just now related. We view you now as a very large tree, which has taken deep root in the ground, whose branches are spread very wide. We stand by the body of this tree and we look round to see if there be any who endeavor to hurt it, and if it should so happen that any are powerful enough to destroy it, we are ready to fall with it. (Gave a belt.)

“Fathers, you see how early we made friendship with you. We tied each other in a very strong chain; that chain has not yet been broken. We now clean and rub that chain to make it brighter and stronger, and we determine on our part that it never shall be broken, and we hope you will take care that neither you nor any one else shall break it, and we are greatly rejoiced that peace and

friendship have so long subsisted between us. (Gave a belt.)

“Fathers, don’t think strange at what we are about to say. We would say something respecting our lands. When the white people purchased from time to time of us they said they only wanted to purchase the low lands; they told us the hilly land was good for nothing, and that it was full of wood and stones; but now we see people living all about the hills and woods, although they have not purchased the lands. When we inquire of the people who live on these lands what right they have to them, they reply to us that we are not to be regarded, and that these lands belong to the King, but we were the first possessors of them, and when the King has paid us for them, then they may say they are his.

“Hunting now is grown scarce, and we are not like to get our livings that way. Therefore, we hope our fathers will take care that we are paid for our lands, that we may live.” (Gave a belt, and made a present of a bundle of skins.)

It seems clear this question of land ownership became the chief cause of trouble between the Indians and the English, that the former were willing to give the latter a friendly welcome while few in numbers, and at a moment when their annihilation would have been an easy accomplishment, shows the sincerity of their friendship. So long as the English felt uncertain of their ability to protect themselves, they were quite careful in their treatment of the natives. But as their strength grew in numbers the crowding process began, the rights of the Indians were not recognized, and they were watched and hunted as thieves day and night. As might have been expected, they defended their homes from invasion, following the style of warfare best known to them, and against great disadvantages not only in weapons, but against the skill of trained, intelligent soldiers. There is scarcely a doubt but that

had the Indians been properly recognized and treated equitably, they would have remained true to the English. The experience in Pennsylvania with Penn, and also in the French colony, give us confidence to believe this.

Therefore, we reach the conclusion that the action of the English towards the Indians was not such as to win their lasting friendship, but rather to cause them great uneasiness of mind, and also to feel they were being wrongfully driven from their lands, which, for untold generations, had been their dwelling places, the lands made sacred by numberless associations, where the bones of their fathers and forefathers were laid to rest. To be sure, there were various causes, many of them comparatively trivial, which led to outbreaks, but this deep-seated dissatisfaction constantly came to the surface when any differences developed, making it an easy matter to stir the smouldering embers into a living flame.

A STORY OF THE TRIALS ATTENDING THE
EARLY SETTLEMENT OF JAMESTOWN.

Sir Humphry Gilbert of Compton in Devonshire, England, a military officer of some note who had been giving his attention to the subject of navigation, was conductor of the first English colony to America. June 11th, 1578, through letters patent by Queen Elizabeth, he was given powers to establish a colony in any remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people.

It was the first charter to a colony granted by the English crown, and by it Gilbert and his heirs were given full property rights in the soil of which he might take possession.

Gilbert, with his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, made attempts to find some barbarous lands and took possession of Newfoundland, but were unsuccessful in establishing a colony there. After wasting his fortune, Gilbert lost his life in the shipwreck that terminated the last undertaking.

Raleigh immediately took up the work with the advantage of his brother's experience. Securing of the Queen a patent March 26th, 1584, he, April 27th, sent out two vessels under command of Amadas and Barlow on a prospecting tour, to visit the countries where he proposed to settle and report on their climate, soil and productions. It was a wise measure, and adopted with the hope of avoiding, if possible, Gilbert's blunder. Amadas and Barlow reached the shores of what is now North Carolina, by the way of the Canaries, West Indies and Florida. After trading with the natives and getting some idea of the country, they returned to England September 15th, accompanied by two Indians. Their report of the country proved so flattering the Queen gave it the name "Virginia." Raleigh at once fitted out seven ships under command of Sir Richard Greenville, a man of very high standing and

of unquestioned courage. These vessels proceeded by the way of the West Indies, and the colony, consisting of 108 persons, was planted on Roanoke Island, Aug 25.

Influenced by the dazzling report of discoveries by the Spaniards, these Englishmen gave all their time and strength to hunting for pearl fisheries and mines of gold, silver and other minerals, to the neglect of planting their fields for providing food for the colony. The cunning Indians soon observed that the chief object of the Englishman's visit was to obtain riches, and began to allure them in various ways. When this was realized by the Englishmen, they became enraged and trouble soon appeared. Bad feeling was engendered on both sides, and the aid that was expected from the natives was withheld. Nine months of the time had been consumed prospecting for rich mines. Raleigh's scanty means at home delayed his sending the promised and much needed supplies, and the colony was in sore distress for food when Sir Francis Drake with his fleet appeared off the coast June 1, 1586. But just at the moment when aid seemed to be within reach, a storm arose and dashed in pieces many of the vessels laden for their relief. At the most earnest request of the colonists, Drake took them on board the ships that outrode the storm and returned to England June 19. As compensation for this costly experience, a somewhat better knowledge had been obtained of the climate, products of the soil, customs and habits of the natives, also the art of using tobacco had been discovered; and rather than have his undertaking result in seeming failure, Raleigh with some of the fashionable young men of his time inaugurated the habit of smoking tobacco, and from that moment to the present the degree of culture for many young men among nearly all nations has been tested by their skill in this art of burning tobacco. For the protection of her young men England passed a law forbidding the use of tobacco, but the act helped to arouse curiosity and its use was cultivated more widely.

A few days after the settlement at Roanoke had been abandoned, a vessel loaded with supplies, sent out by Raleigh, reached that island, to find everything deserted. There seeming to be no better alternative, the captain returned to England. A short time afterward Sir Richard Greenville arrived with three ships, only to find that the colony had disappeared. Failing to discover any trace of the missing men, he left fifteen of his crew to hold possession of the island, and returned to England.

Raleigh still retained his courage for planting a colony in America. Early the following year (1587), he fitted out three ships, under Captain John White, having on board a larger number of persons than on his previous venture. Arriving at Roanoke, they were discouraged to find the country covered with heavy forests, and believing they were not fully supplied to meet the requirements of a settlement, they demanded of White that he return with them to England, which he did, to find Philip II about to invade that country. Raleigh, Greenville and the rest were now (1588) needed at home to help preserve the honor and dignity of the realm, therefore the far-off colony (of fifteen souls) was left to languish at the mercy of the savages.

Although Raleigh was a man of no meagre talent, he appears to have been somewhat visionary, and went to assume undertakings too vast for his powers of execution, and turning attention to other matters failed to again attempt his colonization scheme in America. Assigning in March, 1596, all his rights in the soil of Virginia to Sir Thomas Smith and a company of merchants in London, a certain amount of trading with the natives was continued. But no further attempt to plant a colony was made until after Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602 or 3 sighted and named Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth's Island. The flattering report he carried back to England awakened throughout the realm a deep interest in this hitherto

mysterious country, and various plans for colonization began to be developed. The merchants of Bristol sent out a ship, also the Earl of Southampton, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, for the purpose of verifying Gosnold's account of the country.

April 10, 1616, King James authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hakluyt and their associates, mostly residents of London, to settle any portion of South Virginia, granting right to a tract of land fifty miles north and south on the coast and extending 100 miles into the interior. The charter given was for trading purposes, allowing the company to have a seal and to act as a body politic. The supreme government, however, of the colony was to be vested in a council appointed by the King and resident in England. A subordinate council was also provided for, to be named by the King, to be resident in the colony, but to act on instructions. Special concessions were added to encourage persons to settle there. All necessary articles could be imported from England to the colony for seven years without duties. Liberty was given to trade with other nations, and the duty levied for twenty-one years on all foreign trade was to be used as a fund for the benefit of the colony, and consent was given for those of his subjects who desired to settle in this new country to do so. Although many stipulations were favorable for the settler, the chief management and control of the colony was still to be in the hands of the crown of England, thus depriving the settler of his rights as a freeman. Under such liberties and under such restrictions the first permanent English settlements were established in America.

Among the 105 men who went with Captain Newport who sailed from England Dec. 19, 1606, for South Virginia, were several persons of considerable prominence. They reached the American coast by the way of the West Indies, April 26, 1607. Proceeding up the river Powhatan,

which Newport called the James, they laid the foundations of Jamestown. During the long voyage of four months in making their journey, bitter opposition and even hatred had been engendered among the leaders in the expedition, and about their first act after making their landing was to exclude Captain John Smith, who had received his appointment from the crown, from serving in the local council. Discord in the settlement continued, each party having its friends and sympathizers; but the necessities and exigencies that followed soon brought them together, cementing them into one bond of brotherhood for protection against attacks from Indians and the unwelcome prospect of possible starvation. June 15 the vessels started on their return to England, leaving a short supply of food for the colony. Even that proved in bad condition and so unwholesome that much sickness and death resulted from its use. Captain Smith's previous experience as a soldier, together with his constitutional vigor, enabled him to successfully withstand the hardships and exposure that brought death to half the number of his associates, while the physical condition of those remaining was so shattered by disease that every person able to bear arms was needed to repel invasions by the natives, who were cunning enough to attempt to profit by the weakened condition of the colonists. With possible annihilation awaiting the little colony, Smith was called to assume command. His first work was to surround the village with a stockade, then at the head of a detachment of men he marched upon the enemy, making fearless attacks upon those tribes that failed to enter into bonds of peace with him, and was soon able to secure through peaceably disposed tribes considerable toward a winter stock of provisions. Thus through Smith's efforts a degree of confidence and contentment settled over the little village of Jamestown. But the respite was brief. Smith, while executing one of his incursions into the Indian

country, was surprised by a superior force, and after making gallant resistance, feeling obliged to surrender, attempted to secrete himself by wading into a swamp. Although only his head was out of water, he was discovered and dragged from his slimy bath, when soon followed that scene in the drama where the daughter of Powhatan enacted her part so well in that famous role of which you are all no doubt familiar.

On Captain Smith's return to Jamestown, only thirty-eight out of the 105 persons were left to represent the colony, and they were in a thoroughly demoralized condition, planning a return to England. It was with great difficulty that he prevailed on them to remain and await the arrival of supplies from home. Finally order and confidence was once more restored.

Another chapter of discouragements soon overtook the colony, in the guise of flattering riches. In the bed of a small stream that found its way into the great river, was discovered what they called gold. According to *their* tests it was pronounced the very article which since time began has led men to forsake home, wife, children and all that is dear to recover it. It was the shibboleth that brought those men out from old England, and every one of those Englishmen went to digging in that glittering sand, supposing that at last their fortunes were made. They neglected to plant their gardens or provide for growing crops to supply their tables, so intent were they in loading one of the vessels with this yellow sand and starting it for England.

Thus far the colony had not succeeded in attracting to itself any considerable number of influential men, owing, it was thought, to certain restrictions in its charter, and when that fact was explained to the King, he, on May 23, 1609, issued a new one in which he abolished the council resident in Virginia and vested the entire government in the council at London, who were to be elected by the pro-

prietors of the company, and also extended the boundaries of the colony. Lord Delaware was made governor and captain general; Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-general, and Sir George Summers, admiral. Gates and Summers left England for Virginia with nine ships and 500 men. On their arrival, notice was to be given of the appointment of Lord Delaware as governor, and Gates and Summers were to assume direction of the colony until the governor should arrive. August 11 a violent storm cast Gates and Summers, with their vessel, on the island of Bermuda, while the remaining eight ships were allowed to reach Jamestown in safety. It was the belief of those who were safely landed that the missing ship with officers, papers and all on board had found a watery grave. The colony was distracted. The previous form of government was declared at an end, but there was no authority on which to establish another. Captain Smith, through an accidental explosion of powder, had met with a severe injury, preventing him from actively assuming authority, and it was found necessary to send him to England for more skillful treatment than could be obtained at Jamestown. Thus the class of wild, reckless adventurers who had been sent out were left to enjoy their own free will, and carried a high hand, simply reveling on the supplies brought from home, with no attempt at cultivating the soil. Soon the supplies were exhausted, and being harassed continuously by the savages they were within a few months brought to sore straits for food. They were forced to eat roots and berries and finally to devour the flesh of Indians they slew, as well as the bodies of their comrades who were unable to further withstand the terrible state of dire distress. In six months after the departure of Smith, only sixty persons survived out of the 500 he left, and those survivors could not have held out many days had not Gates and Summers, on May 23, 1610, landed at Jamestown with their associates, having after a ten months' stay left the Bermudas

in two barques they constructed there for the trip. The sorry plight in which they found the handful of nearly starved subjects, without knowledge of immediate relief, struck terror and disappointment to the hearts of Gates and his 150 associates. A resolution was at once made to abandon the settlement, and with but sixteen days' stock of provisions the little company steared for England, intending to pass the fishing stations on the coast of Newfoundland for the purpose of securing further supply of food to last them on the remainder of their voyage to England. But again fortune lent her smile upon the undertaking. Before reaching the open sea they met Lord Delaware with three ships with a supply of provisions and a number of new settlers. A return to Jamestown was made and the old quarters reinhabited. Lord Delaware immediately turned attention to healing discords and adjusting grievances, and once more the colony assumed a happy and prosperous aspect. Owing to climatic troubles, Lord Delaware was obliged to return to England March 28, 1611, leaving direction of the colony to Mr. Percy, who was superseded May 10 by Sir Thomas Dale, who had been given authority to rule by martial law. This severe measure was instituted, we presume, on account of the lawlessness observed by many of the settlers under previous governors, and the character of many of the recruits to the settlement, who, it is agreed, were not of the best class of citizens.

The new system of government was extremely arbitrary, but Dale applied it with remarkable discretion, and satisfactory order and rule prevailed, while the despotic privileges were not abused. Such promise and tranquillity existed in the colony that the King, March 12, 1612, confirmed all former rights and privileges, extended the length of time for exemptions of duties on exports, enlarged property rights and jurisdiction by providing that all islands within 300 leagues of the coast were to belong

to Virginia. This encouraged the company to take possession of the Bermudas. About thirty thousand pounds in money was raised in England by lottery to cover the proposed expense attending this new movement. The right to adopt that method for raising money was granted the company in its charter, and is said to have been the first instance in the history of England where such rights were accorded. King James was so much annoyed by the House of Commons on account of this act that he afterward felt compelled to recall it. The new code of regulations in the colony confined the planters to proper channels: fields were tilled, ample crops raised to supply the settlement, and success followed. Dale persuaded one of the most powerful and hostile Indian tribes located on the Chickahominy River to accept James as their sovereign king, and adopt the title of Englishmen; to assist the colony in their defense against any enemy, and to furnish the colony annually a given amount of corn. The marriage of Rolfe and Pocahontas soon followed, an event that helped to increase and strengthen the friendly feeling then existing between the English and the natives. Other daughters from this friendly tribe were offered in marriage to the colonists, and being rejected, there sprang up a feeling of distrust, a lack of confidence, which finally grew to unfriendliness on the part of the natives.

Thus far individual property rights had not been fully established; planting and tilling of the land had been done by joint labor; the crops, or proceeds of that labor, were garnered into the common storehouse and served weekly to each family according to their number and needs. With the hope of encouraging thrift among the settlers, Dale plotted a portion of land and granted individual ownership to the several lots. This experiment proved of benefit, as it encouraged individual industry and gave opportunity for each person to choose his crop to cultivate.

As all the colonists were there for gold, and wished to

secure it at the earliest possible moment, they selected tobacco, that article then bringing them three shillings a pound in the English market. The cultivation of this commodity was carried to such an extent that even the streets of Jamestown were planted with it. So much time was given to tobacco that the corn fields were neglected, and the greatly increased demand upon the resources of their Indian neighbors, which were by the latter thought to be excessive, caused an increase of trouble from that quarter. The planters, however, were happy in counting over their flattering cash returns from the tobacco industry, for many of them had reached the stage of easy circumstances, while some had become quite opulent through that chosen speculation.

Only a very few women had as yet ventured to grace the colony with their presence. As an encouragement for the men to establish permanent homes, the council sent out a number of young women of good character, offering premiums to those who would marry them; and while the country was fast assuming the garb of thrift and home-like appearance, a Dutch ship called and sold a portion of her cargo of negroes to the colonists, and the field labor was now to be performed by slaves.

With the coming of prosperity the settlers felt the restrictions thrown about them by their present military form of government, and in June, 1619, Sir George Yeardly called the first General Assembly ever held in Virginia, to see what might be done for their relief from the strictures imposed thereby. Eleven corporations were represented at this convention. July 24 they issued a charter or ordinance giving a legal form of government to the colony. The supreme legislative authority was (after the style at home) an Assembly composed of representatives of the people, similar to House of Commons, a Council of state to be named by the company, with a Governor at the head. In both branches a majority vote was to carry, and the

Governor was given veto power, but all laws passed were to be ratified by the council in England.

The colony continued to prosper rapidly, and as it gained in strength of numbers the boundary lines of the various settlements were materially extended. Thus matters proceeded, and while the people were quietly enjoying the prosperity so dearly purchased, Powhatan, the trusty sachem, who, with his tribe had shown much friendliness toward the colony, having died in 1618, his successor in office, Opechancanough, conspicuous for his fearless courage and deceitfulness, and withal a revengeful disposition, in order to save their lands from confiscation and punish the English settlers for seeming disrespect for native rights, planned a scheme to massacre the entire white population. March 22, 1620, the day set for the bloody work, Opechancanough sent a few of his subjects with venison and fruits as presents to the settlers, but the main object, no doubt, was to learn whether they had been appraised of his scheme. Finding all quiet and apparently unsuspecting, at the agreed signal the savages put in their destructive work; within an hour nearly one quarter of the whole colony were put to death. The destruction would have been more complete had not word of the proposed attack reached a friendly Indian at Jamestown, the evening before, when the alarm was conveyed to some of the nearest settlements, where the people were able to defend themselves against their bloodthirsty foe. In some places, however, not a person escaped their death-dealing blows, and many persons of prominence in the colony, including several members of the Council, were slain. This terrible experience drove all the survivors within the narrow limits of Jamestown, where they organized for a determined attack for retaliation. Every man took up arms against the Indians, and a war of extermination began and was conducted with relentless fury. During the summer of 1623 there was a cessation, but in the autumn, when harvest

time came, the attack was renewed and the tribes nearest the settlement were totally annihilated. The English, being now held in great fear, began renewing their habits of industry with the hope of again extending the boundaries of the settlement.

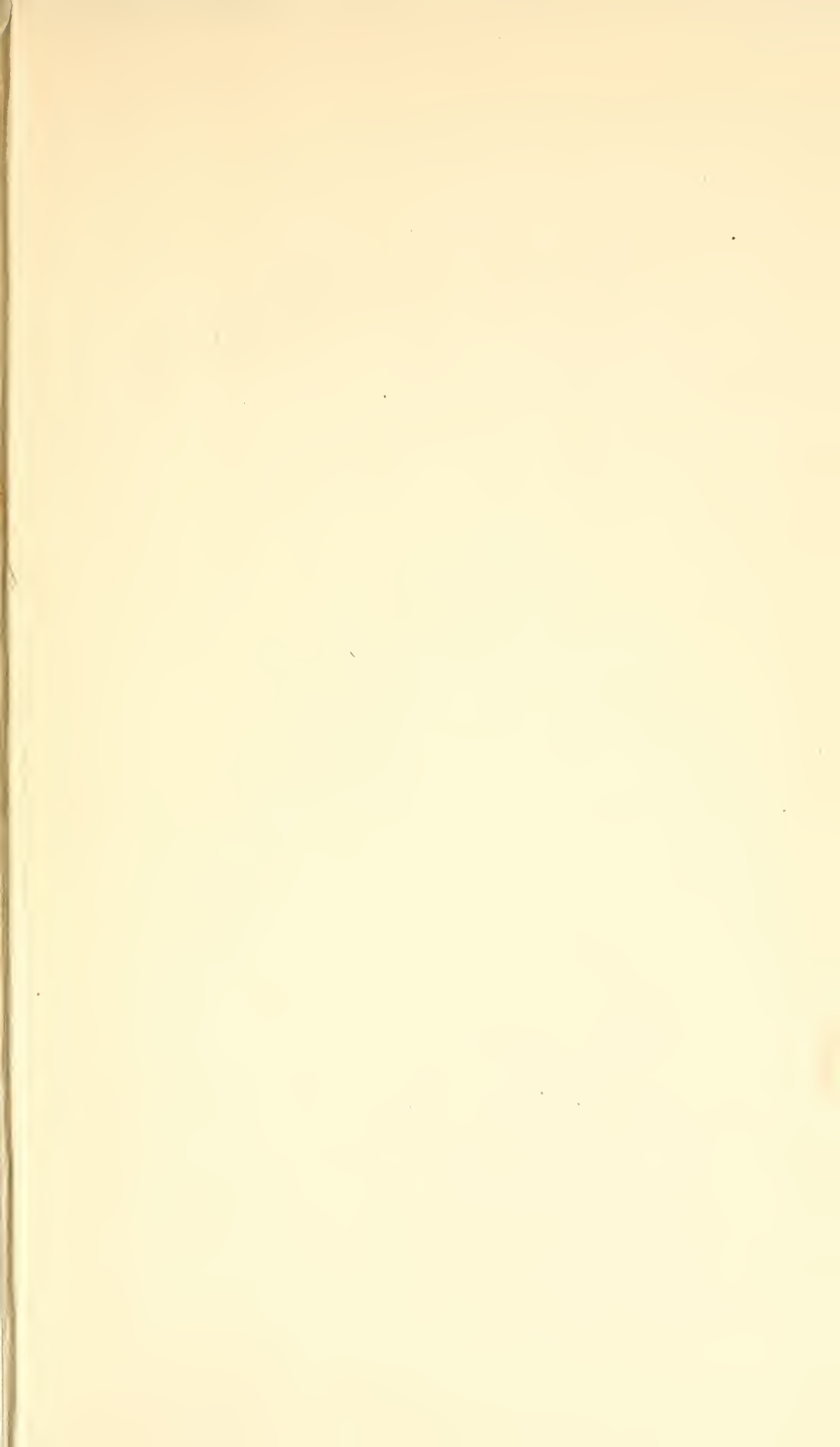
Just at the moment when assistance from the home government would have been opportune, the company, by meddling with matters in England, outside the objects of its organization, and lending its influence in a direction that displeased the King, who summarily, without giving consideration to personal rights already conveyed by charter, appointed a commission May 9, 1623, to investigate the transactions of the company and to report findings to the Privy Council. Two of the principal officers were arrested and all of the company's papers seized. Upon the report of that commission, the King on October 8 informed the company that he proposed to place the supreme government of the colony in a governor, to be of his appointing, and twelve assistants, to reside in England, and the executive power in a council of twelve persons, to be appointed by the Governor and assistants, who should reside in Virginia; the appointment of both branches to be subject to the approval of the Privy Council; private property rights of the settlers to be deemed sacred, and all grants of land by former company to be confirmed by the new one. The King also called for the charter given the old company, but the company refused to surrender it. Neither persuasion nor threats could induce the company to give it up. King James, however, was determined, and November 10 ordered a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company to test the validity of the charter in the court of the King's Bench, and sent persons to Virginia to secure information of the conduct there in the colony. Of course the King's wishes were recognized by the court. The charter was forfeited and the company dissolved June, 1624.

More than £150,000 had been expended in the attempt to plant this first English colony in America. More than 9000 persons had been transported to the Virginia shore from England to populate this settlement, of which less than two thousand survived at the time of the dissolution of the old company.

Although the King executed his purpose to dissolve the company of adventurers in Virginia, he still desired to perpetuate the colony at Jamestown, and August 26 appointed a council of twelve persons to take temporary direction of matters there until he could perfect a government better to his liking, but death put an end to his plans, and, leaving his son Charles I to take up the task, he declared the colony in Virginia to be a part of the empire under the crown and appointed Sir George Yeardly governor.

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